

FORTRESS OF FEAR AND BORDERS OF CONTROL: HOW THE U.S. MEDIA
CONSTRUCTS MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AS A NATIONAL SECURITY THREAT

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Abstract

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This thesis seeks to document the construction of Mexican immigrants as a national security threat in the U.S. media during the 2006 Congressional debates over immigration reform. This is done with both a qualitative newspaper content analysis and a qualitative critical discourse analysis. A random sample of 107 newspaper articles printed between 1/1/06 and 6/30/06 are analysed from the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Houston Chronicle* and *USA Today*. Using an analysis of two framing metaphors—*Immigrant as Threat* and *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters*—this thesis documents how Mexican immigrants, by being framed as a national security threat, have been used to forward a call to secure and defend the borders from a perceived threat to U.S. Anglo culture. This thesis shows how these calls are partially rooted in beliefs about white nationalism and the fear of Mexican immigrants seen as a foreign invasion.

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This thesis is dedicated to Guy Milton Crews, who taught me the joy of language.

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Cavalier attitudes about our borders should give us all national security nightmares. It's plain to me that there is an absolute and total connection between immigration, open borders, and our national security. It isn't just that one result of keeping those borders open is that people will come across with bombs or some sort of chemical or biological agent. Out-of-control immigration is also a threat to our national security because when it combines with the cult of multiculturalism, it becomes a dagger pointed right at the heart of America.

—U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo (R-Colorado), 2006

Post-9/11, what has changed in the existing paradigm is the surge in suspicion and scapegoating that can employ the racialized language of illegal immigration, drugs and crime, and terrorism. This is a fluid language, as [Minuteman co-founder] Chris Simcox and other nativist at the border demonstrated. “To me, crime is a form of terrorism. Gangs are terrorists,” Simcox said, updating the image of the superpredator into a super threat to national security, whether the individual is a migrant border crosser, drug smuggler, gang member, or potential terrorist.

—Tram Nguyen, 2005

Section I: Introduction

While the issue of immigration is nothing new in this country—at heart we are a nation founded and colonized by immigrants—the tone of the discussion and some of the proposals being put forward to address immigration are. For the first time in U.S. history, there is a serious discussion within the U.S. public, media and halls of Congress about building a “security” wall along much of the Southern border with Mexico. Coupled with this development has been the deployment of thousands of National Guard troops to provide support for border protection in several Southwestern states. And if this was not enough, there have been proposals passed in the House of Representatives that, if implemented, would lead to the mass criminalization (and potential deportation) of an estimated 12 million undocumented individuals. This criminalization would also effect those who aid the undocumented. Put differently, imagine seventy percent of Ohio's entire border being sealed by a double-wall of razor-wire security fence while the entire population is turned into overnight felons, and you start to get a sense of the magnitude of these proposals. This is all being done under the rubric of national security or “Homeland Security,” to use official lingo, with the goal of making us safer and more secure from a variety of threats. While some of the threats from those hostile to the U.S. are real enough, many of the others raised by anti-immigrant proponents are more existential in nature. Threats to U.S. culture or “Western civilization” are placed equally high on the list next to terrorism for some anti-immigrant advocates, yet it remains unclear how

border fences or biometric identification cards can stop cultural evolution and mixing. Nevertheless, the debates taking place around the issue of immigration are real enough, as are the implications to every facet of society. As such, understanding and examining the media presentation of these issues is critical.

Contemporary mainstream media produce information, but they also provide a specific locale, a space, where social issues collide, where political issues are struggled over and subject positions (in this study, immigrants) are constituted. What is at stake is the power to control what is represented publicly as dominant truths. Words and images populate the mediascape, and audiences' understanding of the politics of their community (e.g., who is in power and who is not) may be based on, among other things, how these representations appear. (Ono and Sloop 2).

But how did the immigration discussion in this country get to where it is today? How did immigrants, and especially Mexicans, come to be seen as a national security threat? Who is creating and spreading this image of immigrants as a threat within the public consciousness, and why?

This question of immigrant identity construction forms the central inquiry driving this research project. By examining a sample of contemporary public discourse through four major U.S. newspapers, this thesis seeks to better understand this question of how and why immigrant framing as a national security threat is occurring. In order to try and answer this question, I believe that issues of cultural threat to Anglo dominance and a public fear of the foreign other must be examined. Furthermore, I argue that the nexus between issues of culture and homeland security are now playing out in calls to further

control the Southwest border. To test this claim I have undertaken both a content analysis and critical discourse analysis of a random sample from approximately 600 newspaper articles published between January 1 and June 30, 2006. These newspaper articles are explored using a form of critical discourse analysis with an emphasis on examining the language used to describe immigrants and construct narratives that are presented to the public. This allows for a deeper analysis of article content and a more nuanced understanding of how different actors in the immigrant debate are using or abusing language for their respective positions. This analysis also seeks to better understand the current debate on immigrants and immigration reforms in Congress, and how factors like racism, nativism, cultural imperialism and terrorism are influencing and driving the debate. Being able to better understand these phenomenon and the role they play in public discourse will also help those seeking to expose and challenge such practices. While the media cannot be credited with creating and driving all public policy and debate in this country, they are certainly the most influential for the average person. This phenomenon is often referred to as framing, which Robert Entman, in his book *Projections of Power* (2004) describes as “selection and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman 5). Thus, being able to understand how the media is framing or shaping public opinions and views will be a critical step in challenging those practices and working to create an alternative, or what Nancy Fraser calls a “subaltern counterpublic” discussion about immigrants and immigration in the

U.S.. Hopefully this analysis will also shed new light on the ways in which current discussions about what it means to be a U.S. citizen are taking place. To the extent that anti-immigrant advocates control the public debate, I expect to see a narrower, reified and exclusive notion of what it means to be a citizen and a more hostile framing of immigrants. However, as time has shown, there are always those who have a much more inclusive and welcoming attitude towards immigrants. To this picture we must now also add a sizeable and growing body of pro-immigrant organizing on a national level the size and scale of which has not occurred in recent history. The pro-immigrant marches, in particular the nationwide May 1 “Day Without An Immigrant” rallies, are the most visible signs of this growing trend. What role immigrants (both legal and illegal) themselves will play in this debate is hard to predict, but they are an influence on policy considerations that cannot be ignored. This is especially the case with a Latino community in the U.S. that is finding itself increasingly under attack by fellow citizens. All of these factors and many more combine in the ever-shifting media landscape that makes up the immigration debate in this country, and to which my study aims to shed much-needed critical examination.

The analysis of immigration news coverage in this study is broken into five major sections. After this introduction, *Section II* explores the recent history of immigration policy in the last century, with particular focus on immigration policies and initiatives in the mid 1990s, including the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), Proposition 187 and

Operation Gatekeeper, to help provide a background to our present study. *Section III* explores recent literature on immigrants and immigration policy, as well as a sample of recent anti-immigrant literature. *Section IV* explores the empirical data from the content analysis of news coverage, looking at nine major themes, as well as the issue of 911 and terrorism, and their role in the current immigration debate. *Section V* goes into more depth by building on the empirical findings in the previous section and uses a critical discourse analysis focusing on the use of metaphors in the text. A deep textual analysis focusing on the link between the issue of border security and the metaphor *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* is used, building on the findings of Otto Santa Ana and others who have take a discourse analysis approach to immigration studies. This section also develops and presents a theoretical argument that contends that issues of culture or civilization have been implicitly (and largely covertly) encoded into the discourse on immigration by the use of these metaphors. This linguistic framing has facilitated a media construction of the Mexican immigrant as a border security threat. The existence of *Immigrant as Threat* and *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphors within the text are used to illustrate this construction and present my argument. *Section VI* presents attempts to draw the whole narrative on immigration together and synthesize the findings from the previous four sections of analysis. The paper then concludes with a section entitled *Strategies of Resistance* where some tentative suggestions are offered on how to go about contesting the framing of Mexican immigrants as a security threat.

Section II: A Brief History of Immigration in America

Immigration in Perspective

Even before Christopher Columbus and the first European conquistadors arrived, the land that we today call the Americas was already inhabited by thousands of native peoples. Over the course of several hundred years the native peoples of the Americas were largely wiped out or assimilated into European culture, largely through foreign disease and intentional genocide, making way for a new nation, a “chosen people,” to create a new promised land. Ever since these first European colonists arrived on the Eastern shores of North America and established the original thirteen colonies, immigrants have populated the U.S..

That fact has not changed in the succeeding five hundred years, and North America is more diverse now than at any time in its recent past. For some this is a sign of progress and growth, a testament to the idea of this country as the home of a diverse body of people from many different parts of the world united in shared belief in the ideas of liberty and justice for all. But for others, this gradual transformation of the face of the nation is a cause for great concern and overt hostility. The U.S. “melting pot” is, according to them, being replaced by a “salad bowl” of racial, ethnic and religious heterogeneity. This Janus-faced national identity is not new, as Bill Ong Hing has clearly documented in his impressive study *Defining America Through Immigration Policy*

(2004), but it is nonetheless a serious issue we must contend with in immigration debates taking place today.

There have always been two Americas. Both begin with the understanding that America is a land of immigrants. One America has embraced the notion of welcoming newcomers from different parts of the world, although depending on the era, even this more welcoming perspective may not have been open to people from certain parts of the world or of different persuasions. This America has understood that Americans are not necessarily of the same background or tongue. The other America has remained largely mired in a Eurocentric (originally *western* Eurocentric) vision of America that idealized the *true* American as white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, and Christian. For the most part, this America has opposed more immigration, especially immigration from regions of the world that are not white or supportive of our brand of democracy. (Ong Hing 5)

For our purposes, we will not be tracing all of the historical trends of immigration policy in the U.S. from the 18th century onward, but rather looking at the last twenty years of legal changes as they relate to immigration policy. In order to do this, a brief review of the last hundred years is necessary to provide some important context about how issues of racial identity, ethnic exclusion, and competing definitions of national culture and U.S. citizenship have played a role in getting to where U.S. immigration policy is today.

The first major piece of legislation dealing with immigrants and foreigners in the 1900s was the Immigration Act of 1917, which effectively incorporated the earlier immigration provisions since the late 1800s dealing with certain excluded groups (Japanese, Chinese, anarchists, beggars, the insane etc.), but also added a literacy test and a eight-dollar head tax. Additionally, it created the “Asiatic Barred Zone” to further exclude immigrants from the Asia-Pacific region of the world (Nevins 194).

The history of the efforts that led to the enactment of the 1917 literacy law makes it clear that southern and eastern Europeans, particularly Jews and Italians, were not welcomed as Americans by much of the polity. The eugenics movement was in full swing, and racial distinctions were now placed on a scientific hierarchy with those of Nordic descent (i.e., western Europeans) at the zenith. Now, barring certain races from intermingling was not only socially desirable but also scientifically appropriate. (Ong Hing 61)

Following shortly on the heels of this was the Temporary Quota Act of 1921, which limited immigrant numbers to 3% of the already existing immigrant population in the US. This Act marked the beginning of a race and ethnic-based quota system for limiting foreign immigration into the US, and was quickly followed by the Immigration Act of 1924, which made the quotas permanent. As Ong Hing suggests, the nativist desire behind this bill was primarily to ensure that “the *fundamental American stock* was western European, and the quota laws were designed to keep it that way” (Ong Hing 69). Also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, the bill is noteworthy as it set the population base for quotas not at existing levels, but rather at population levels from the 1890 census, barred all entry from Asians except from the Philippines (via the Oriental Exclusion Act), and instituted the use of visas for all but Mexicans and Canadians. This bill also created the first U.S. Border Patrol (Ong Hing 69). The following years saw a growing anti-immigrant movement in the US, and between the late 1920s and mid 1930s hundreds of thousands of Mexican and Mexican-Americans were forcibly removed from the country. Persecution of anarchists and communist was also high, with the questionable arrest and execution of two Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in August of

1927 standing out as a highlight of anti-immigrant hysteria. Factors such as the Depression which hit the U.S. and growing tensions in Europe were also at work. This was taking place parallel to the passage of the Act of March 4, 1929 which made it a crime to enter the U.S. from an unauthorized border point as well as making it a felony to reenter if you had been deported previously (Ong Hing 69). A few years later in 1933, President Hoover created the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), and by 1940 the INS leadership had moved from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. With WWII in full swing, anti-foreign sentiment was extremely high and was clearly evident in the immigration policies coming out of Washington. As Ong Hing notes, the Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1924 became “twin elements of immigration policy, one proclaiming qualitative restrictions and the other numerical limitations,” and together these bills “remained pillars of immigration policy for decades” (70).

In 1952 Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act, which was the next major overhaul to existing immigration legislation. Ong Hing describes this legislation as “more direct and reminiscent of the Alien and Sedition Laws of early America: individuals who held certain political viewpoints were not welcome; those viewpoints were deemed un-American” (73). Not only were certain political views excluded from being defined as American, so were certain lifestyles, particularly those who were gay or lesbian (Ong Hing 82). All of this came in the wake of a post-WWII reality, marked by the growing anti-red witch hunts of Joseph McCarthy and the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Although President Harry Truman opposed the bill, it was passed over his veto. His veto

message prior to its passage by Congress made clear his main opposition to the language and intent of the bill, which he saw as deeply flawed.

The greatest vice of the present quota system, however, is that it discriminates, deliberately and intentionally, against many of the peoples of the world. The purpose behind it was to cut down and virtually eliminate immigration to this country from Southern and Eastern Europe. A theory was invented to rationalize this objective ... this discriminatory policy was, to put it baldly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names. It was thought that people of West European origin made better citizens than Rumanians or Yugoslavs or Ukrainians or Hungarians or Balts or Austrians. Such a concept is utterly worthless of our traditions and our ideals. (Ong Hing 78)

This attitude would lead in 1954 to Operation Wetback, the largest mass deportation of Latino immigrants and workers in U.S. history. With a goal of removing over one million Mexican immigrants, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) undertook sweeping raids of communities across the Southwest, as well as targeting numerous agricultural areas known for their reliance on migrant labor. While the INS deported one million immigrants, this crackdown was quickly followed by the arrival of an additional 100,000 new migrants through the Bracero program which was still in place at the time. Between 1956 and 1959 there were just under half a million immigrants involved in the program each year (Ong Hing 130).

By 1965 Congress had passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, effectively eliminating quotas based on the country of immigration, in part driven by a new vision of American that was ushered in with the election of JFK in 1961. This would mark the

beginning of a new era of immigration that is still changing the face of American today. “While not exactly what President Kennedy wanted, a more global vision of international relations did prevail ... support for the repeal of the national origins system reflected change in the public attitudes toward race and national origins—and the possibility that the image of an *American* was expanding” (Ong Hing 96). Unfortunately, this image of a more inclusive America still had its limits, as many Mexican immigrants would soon find out. Legislation between 1972 and 1976 effectively cut the immigrant quotas from Mexico in half, creating both a long backlog of immigrants wanting to enter and a gap in available visas from the Western hemisphere. This legislation came on the heels of a growing nativist campaign against Mexican immigrants which was epitomized in anti-immigrant legislation such as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill (which became the IRCA) and the INS crackdown on Mexicans and Latinos via Operation Jobs in 1982 (Ong Hing 99).

The next phase in major immigration legislation occurred in 1986 when President Reagan signed into law the IRCA, originally introduced as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. This was followed a decade later by passage of the 1996 IIRIRA (Nevins 195). These last two laws represent the latest attempts to deal with the issue of immigration in a more comprehensive manner, and are often the target of intense criticism from all sides of the issue due to their unintended consequences today. Both acts are often brought up in current debates as examples of legislative failure or success, depending on what part of the issue or which side is presenting it, and as such need to be explored in more detail.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986

This bill, often referred to simply as the IRCA, came on the heels of the Civil Rights and especially Chicano Rights movement, a faltering economy and the economic crisis of the 1970s. Once again, the story of an unprotected border began to take shape in the US media and public mind after nearly twenty years of relative quiet. Fostered by actors like Leonard Chapman, a former Marine general and INS chief from 1974-76 and William Colby, a former CIA Director under Nixon and the Director of the CIA's black-ops Phoenix project in Vietnam (Nevins 64).¹ A steady drum beat of paranoia and threats due to immigration had been gathering steam under President Ford and a host of other key political and law enforcement officials were already on the anti-immigrant bandwagon. This trend continued throughout the Reagan administrations, which passed the IRCA. This period also witnessed the early start of so-called diversity programs which were little more than a cover to increase Western European immigration in an effort to offset what many nativists saw as a growing immigrant population which they did not view as being real Americans. Bill Ong Hing notes that the idea behind the diversity claims in the IRCA was “actually an affirmative action program for natives of countries who already make up the vast ethnic background of the country, such as Western European countries. The program was about helping Europeans immigrate to an already Eurocentric country” (100). On top of these sentiments already filling the public consciousness a new crisis emerged which bolstered anti-immigrant claims. This was the

¹ See for example: <http://arlingtoncemetery.net/wcolby.htm>

1980 Mariel boat incident, where over 120,000 Cuban refugees arrived on the Florida shores in boats, fueling calls for a tougher approach to immigration and the need to regain control of American borders. This call to control the borders is a re-occurring theme in the American immigration story, but one which gained particular salience in the 1980 as Reagan began to link border control with the drug war.

The growing concern of public officials and the public at large, as well as increased legislative activism surrounding unauthorized immigration, had real effects on the U.S-Mexico boundary ... Combined with a “war on drugs” begun during the Reagan administration, efforts to fight unauthorized immigration in the border region had a transformational effect on the nature and scale of boundary policing ... a manifestation of what Timothy Dunn refers to as the “militarization” of boundary and immigration enforcement, a development with its roots in the Carter administration, but which increased significantly during Reagan's tenure. (Nevins 67-8)

Another element of the IRCA was the introduction of employer sanctions, which were seen as one way to try and reduce the demand for migrant laborers from within the U.S. labor market. While largely ineffective, the proposal outlawing the hiring of unauthorized workers was new and as such it gave the appearance of stricter immigration regulations to help appease growing nativist outcries about the “flood” of immigrants coming from Mexico and Latin America. It is important to keep in mind that during this period major conflicts were ongoing in Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua in the form of U.S.-backed “Dirty Wars” and coups attempting to overthrow leftist governments and suppress popular uprising. This caused widespread political and economic upheaval in these countries which led to major waves of political refugees fleeing North, usually to the

United States. The U.S. courts and administration, however, considered most of these economic migrants rather than political refugees, which only further fueled border tensions and border-related policy making at this time. Much of the debate at this time centered on the issue of legalization, or amnesty, which opponents of the IRCA strongly opposed. Yet there was a clear recognition by most in Congress that deportation was not practical, and many also acknowledged the need for cheap labor for major U.S. industries. Thus the IRCA dealt with the legalization issue in two ways. First, it provided permanent resident status to immigrants who had lived in the U.S. since the start of 1982. Secondly, it provided permanent resident status to farm laborers and special agricultural workers or SAWs (Ong Hing 166-7). Unfortunately, the IRCA also created a jumble of regulations and hurdles which often created serious obstacles to any serious improvements to existing immigration policies and procedures.

While many politicians and business leaders claimed that compliance with employer sanctions had become a “regular part” of doing business in the United States, the experiences of immigrants and ethnic minorities suggested otherwise. Employer sanctions were often implemented and enforced selectively, discriminatorily, and as a means of intimidating undocumented workers who sought union representation or who complained about unfair labor practices, such as sexual harassment, wage and hour violations, and unsafe working conditions. (Ong Hing 182)

The last years of the 1980s and into 1990 saw the introduction of several other immigration related bills, the most noteworthy being Democratic Congressman Bruce Morrison's H.R. 4300, which later became the Immigration Act of 1990. This bill

introduced five visa categories based on occupation, addressed some family reunification concerns, and kept the business lobby mollified through the H-1B temporary worker visas. Unfortunately, the bill and the debates in Congress were still based on ideas of racial and ethnic superiority. “Whatever reform came about, it was always with an eye toward what color or ethnic background qualified immigrants would bring, rather than simply what skills they could offer” (Ong Hing 111).

With this background context, the battle that emerged in California in 1994 over Proposition 187 and the start of the INS border crackdown entitled Operation Gatekeeper can be seen as a clear outgrowth of both nativist fears of growing immigration numbers mixed with a decade of political and economic instability throughout much of Latin America, in large part due to U.S.-influenced political and economic changes. Added to this was the a new approach to immigration, started under Reagan and accelerated under President Bill Clinton, which focused on border enforcement, or what the INS called “control through deterrence” or “concentrated enforcement,” rather than the previous efforts to detect and remove undocumented immigrants already within the country. This shift towards a hardening of the border has been a continuing trend, clearly documented by Joseph Nevins among others, and still present today. This trend has taken center stage in public discourse on immigration reform today and how to deal with the “problem” of immigration, both legal and illegal, in America.

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act, or IIRAIRA, which was put into law in the fall of 1996, made serious changes in a number of immigration policy areas, but especially concerning asylum and removal proceedings. Attorney Socheat Chea noted that the bill created “new grounds of inadmissibility, new removal proceedings, asylum changes, non immigrant changes, and public benefits and affidavit support” and that these changes created “harsh” new laws in the form of a “massive and complicated piece of legislation which is basically anti-immigration” (Chea 1999). Other changes in this law also gave immigrants less rights in legal proceedings, often making the decision of immigration officials immune from challenge or review by a judge. This is important in light of the start of Operation Gatekeeper in 1994 as well as the debate over Proposition 187 in California, which limited the services and resources which undocumented immigrants could access in California. The bill passed in California by a large majority, further highlighting the growing tension that Bill Ong Hing and others have described as the problem of “two Americas.” Nowhere is this more evident than in the debates over Proposition 187 and Operation Gatekeeper, both of which helped set the stage for much of the immigration debate taking place today.

Proposition 187 and Operation Gatekeeper

The 1994 California ballot initiative, better known as Proposition 187, revolved around the question of whether or not state or local governments should provide services

such as education, health care and related social services to undocumented immigrants and their children in California. Leading the anti-immigrant movement were two key actors. The first was a group known as the Save Our State Committee (SOS), which was a mix of nativist anti-immigrant advocates and others concerned about what they perceived as a serious problem from immigration in California. The second was California Governor Pete Wilson, who successfully used Prop 187 as a wedge issue to cultivate disgruntled voters, a strategy that ultimately helped him secure another term as Governor. Both actors employed a mix of scare and fear tactics to sell the passage of 187 to the voting public, and with the outright support of Proposition 187 by Governor Wilson, the public had a field day with open expressions of anti-immigrant sentiments. Proposition 187 was approved by a large majority of the California electorate, much to the dismay of local opponents and many immigrants. As Otto Santa Ana points out in his book *Brown Tide Rising* (2002), “Proposition 187 was overwhelmingly approved by California voters because the public discourse reaffirmed historical dominance relations at a time when the largely Anglo-American electorate felt threatened” (xvi). This would be a trend that continued throughout the rest of the 1990s in California, and which is still present today.

Operation Gatekeeper, coming on the heels of the Proposition 187 vote and Governor Wilson's successful win, added insult to injury for many undocumented immigrants. Now they faced the dual axe of a closed California social service safety net and an increasingly repressive policy border and wall building movement which

ultimately sought to restrict or deny entry—starting from the Pacific and eventually extending to the Gulf of Mexico—to future Latin American immigrants. In effect, the second stages of the construction of immigrant as enemy had begun. It is important to note here that, while Prop 187 was focused on denying services to undocumented immigrants, the overall hostility to immigrants tended to blur this distinction. With a boost in Border Patrol officers and funding, as well as an increasing reliance on high-tech surveillance efforts and hardened borders, the message being sent to prospective immigrants was very clear: you are not welcome, and we will do our best to keep you out, even if that means walling off our entire Southern border.

What was not explicitly stated, but was implied in both the actions and the rhetoric that emerged at this time, was that a Mexican or Guatemalan life was worth less than a real “American” one, and Americans were willing to sacrifice as many immigrants as it took to make the border “secure” from the perceived threat of “illegal” immigration. Anti-immigrant advocates pointed to what they saw as rising health care and education costs, decreased wages and increased welfare reliance, and an increasingly violent border as legitimate reasons for why increased enforcement and security concerns were warranted.

The most common pro-187 theme emphasized the illegal nature of unauthorized immigration, often arguing that the United States should not “reward” those who break the law with social benefits, and that the survival of the U.S. Immigration regime required a stronger distinction between “legal” and “illegal” forms of immigration. (Nevins 114)

Critics of the initiative, however, pointed out that much of the proposed bill could not stand up in court, and it was clearly targeted at the growing Latino/a population (especially Mexicans) in California. To some, this was clearly racist legislation designed by fearful Anglo residents who, even granting their argument about the need to deny certain benefits to “illegals” were clearly acting out of a perceived racial or cultural threat from Latinos, and in particular, Mexicans. Groups like SOS were quick to try and refute such claims, arguing that opponents of Prop 187 were reverting to what amounted to reverse racism against Anglo Californians. Many Californians, however, rejected such arguments in defense of Prop 187, as is clear when racial identity is factored into voting.

Indeed, how else can we understand the significant differentials among racial/ethnic groups in terms of support for certain types of immigration restrictionist measures, such as Proposition 187? While about 67 percent of white voters in California supported the measure, only about half of African-American and Asian-American voters did so. And only 23 percent of Latino voters approved of the proposition... (Nevins 116)

These race-based fears were apparent in the logic and implementation of Operation Gatekeeper as well. The increased level of fear and hostility which the Proposition 187 campaign created, and which Operation Gatekeeper institutionalized, led to further militarization and criminalization of border policy while creating a public less sympathetic to the plight of immigrants who were increasingly seen as outsiders. Once more, the border was becoming a scary place that seemed dangerously out of control. A renewed political campaign to “secure the borders” began along with the Gatekeeper initiative, and 1994 marked the beginning of a slow march towards further and more

elaborate border wall initiatives. Prior to the Operation Gatekeeper there were about nineteen miles of fencing along the U.S.-Mexico border and 980 Border Patrol agents. That number quickly grew to almost 50 miles and 2,264 agents by mid-1998 (Nevins 4). These changes are still being debated today, where border fences in particular are emerging as a central part of any final Congressional bill on immigration. Not only did these two events further stoke the xenophobic leanings of many Americans, they have also led to an emerging border policy which appears to accept increasing immigrant border deaths as the price of national and cultural security.

In southern California, the number of crossing-related deaths has definitely increased in the context of Operation Gatekeeper. In 1994, a total of 23 migrants died in the San Diego and El Centro sectors trying to cross. By 1995, the figure reached 61, staying about the same in 1996 (59). By 1997, the number of deaths had risen to 89, and then skyrocketed to 145 in 1998, dropping slightly to 110 in 1999.¹²⁶ Operation Gatekeeper's death toll reached the mark of 500 on March 22, 2000¹²⁷. (Nevins 145)

These factors, when added to the post 911 context of “Homeland Security” and the “War on Terrorism,” have led to a media discourse largely defined in terms of security and defense of our borders and way of life. As Pippin Norris reminds us about 911 and the language of terrorism coming from government official, “news frames may not only exaggerate levels of terrorist activity, as in the U.S. case” but their implication is critical in understanding the “framing process, not just for its own sake, but also because of the influence that frames have on the political process, public policy, and international affairs” (Norris et. al 298). It is within this context of border protection as national

security that the Mexican immigrant is beginning to emerge as one of the central threats. Not only are there a growing number of articles and stories about protecting the border in the context of immigration, but also increasingly those stories are straying dangerously close to overlapping with the discourse on terrorism in the way that the media frames the issue. While immigration discussions and terrorism discussions still remain largely separate on the whole, the focus on border security is creating a point of consensus that may be changing that.

The frame of terrorism will be explored later, as well as its role in shaping public perceptions about border issues. The trends which began nearly a decade ago to limit or restrict certain groups of immigrants is not new, and the 1994 debates were simply one of the most recent examples of an ongoing American saga over identity and political control of what it means to be an “America.” And, as my analysis should show, this issue has not receded at all in the present immigration debate. Starting in December of 2005 with the introduction of House Bill 4437, these issues have once again taken center stage in the American political arena. Moreover, this issue and its associated debate have increased in pitch and fervor as the rhetoric of the “clash of civilizations” and “Islamofascists” have been added into the discussion in the public discourse.

Section III: Literature Review and Methodology

With the passing of Proposition 187 and the start of Operation Gatekeeper in California in 1994, scholars have had a plethora of mass media to examine relating to recent immigration debates: formal or informal media; national and local; print and TV, as well as the Internet and electronic mailing lists. There are a number of important recent studies and findings that need to be discussed in this current thesis. This study engages some of these important recent works on immigration which use a critical or media discourse approach to studying immigration. Additionally, I consider some historical immigration analysis as well as some of the recent nativist, anti-immigrant literature.

Immigration in Perspective: Critical Discourses

One particularly useful text for trying to understand the current context of immigration discourse in the U.S. is Bill Ong Hing's *Defining America Through Immigration Policy* (2004). Ong Hing's work takes a critical historical approach to immigration, emphasizing the legislative and policy aspects of immigration, as well as the role of race in shaping and defining the discussion. His book looks at the historical trends from the beginning of the U.S. and then traces those through into the 1920s, looking at the impacts of defining various ethnic, religious or political groups (Irish, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Germans, Jews, Socialists and Anarchists, etc.) on U.S. policy.

His book also deals with how “America” has been redefined through legislative and public discourse throughout the 1950s to 1990s, with particular emphasis on looking at who gets excluded from the definition of what is an American. This includes often marginalized groups such as the Gay and Lesbian community, Communists and anyone considered or labeled as an “undesirable.” He further shows how the use of racial or ethnic quotas was first used to exclude non-Anglo immigrants and how they changed with the implementation of discriminatory diversity visas.

His third major section deals specifically with the construction and definition of the Mexican as non-American, and the process of how that has occurred. This was a multi-faceted approach including hardening and increased enforcement of the border, the targeting through legislation and INS crackdowns on Mexican migrant laborers, the impacts of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) on employment and amnesty for Mexicans, as well as what Ong Hing calls the “dark side” of immigration enforcement, namely the increasing severity and escalating death toll at the U.S.-Mexico border.

What is it about our nation that condones this strategy [of border control through deterrence] and resulting deaths? Why is it that reports of this nature are not part of public consciousness? Because the majority of policy makers and most Americans do not view the Mexican migrant as “one of us,” or even *potentially* one of us. America, and therefore who a *real* American is, has been defined in a manner that excludes the Mexican migrant. And this is not simply a function of the fact that these victims are undocumented or attempting surreptitious entries; if their faces and language were accepted in the conventional image of *an American*, the reaction would be far different. (Ong Hing 2)

Complementing Ong Hing's historical approach are several recent books focusing specifically on the 1994 immigration debates in California. One of the main critical works looking at the construction of border enforcement and policy in the context of these debates is Joseph Nevins's *Operation Gatekeeper* (2002). Nevins is chiefly concerned with how the image of the “illegal alien” and the U.S.-Mexico border have been constructed, especially mechanisms of control and public discourse. Nevins uses the history of U.S.-Mexico border relations to ground his analysis of the politics of Operation Gatekeeper, which was launched by the U.S. Border Patrol parallel with the Proposition 187 battles in California. Nevins shows how this discourse has enabled the further militarization and criminalization of border policy as well as a public culture which accepts increasing immigrant border deaths as the price of national and cultural security, albeit a false security. The changes driven by economic globalization (especially NAFTA) function as an additional layer of analysis and tension in his work, stressing the importance of understanding global processes in studying U.S. immigration trends. Nevins sees this process acting to further enforce strict notions of borders, not weaken them.

All of these factors have led to a public discourse that ignores basic notions of humanity for Mexican immigrants and allows for their continual construction as illegal and a threat. Nevins's findings are particularly interesting since he helps to highlight some of the processes affecting the border and the politics surround it, both on a social and a political level. And as Nevins suggest, without taking into account the impacts of

neo-liberal economic reforms like NAFTA and the more recent CAFTA, it is impossible to understand the construction of the border and the politics intertwined with them.

Modern territorial states are not disappearing; they are merely changing. We can make the same observation about national boundaries ... national boundaries are more than simply changing; they are also growing in strength, physically and ideologically—at least with respect to unauthorized immigrants. In this regard, the legality of the boundary—in terms of the degree to which law-based practices and assumptions penetrate it—has also grown. The enhancement of boundary policing and increased efforts to fight unauthorized immigration—along with scapegoating, criminalization of those deemed “foreign” and anti-immigrant sentiment in the broader society—are not unique to the United States. (Nevins 185-6)

Building on a similar critical approach to immigration are Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, who delve into the media coverage of Proposition 187 with an eye towards the role of language. In their book *Shifting Borders* (2002), Ono and Sloop present a critical rhetoric analysis of both civic and vernacular discourse around the 1994 Proposition 187 debate in California. They examine news coverage and discussions on a Prop. 187 e-mail list in order to examine the discourse on Mexican immigrants in California. They suggest that with the end of the Cold War era a new enemy, the Mexican immigrant, has been constructed to function as the new scapegoat for internal and external U.S. problems. They also offer an examination of what they call “Outlaw Discourses” which attempt to challenge this rhetoric. These multiple discourses arise from oppressed communities and challenge accepted social, cultural and political notions prevalent in the immigration debate by re-framing or challenging assumptions or “logics” in popular discourse. Their

study offers a practical methodology (critical rhetorical analysis) for conducting future research with the goal of examining and challenging hegemonic discourses on immigration. Their aim is not only to examine the framing of immigration as a problem in popular discourse but also to offer ways to challenge this framing through the use of alternative discourses. They suggest that by using outlaw discourse it is possible to contest existing logics of immigrants as a threat to the United States.

[Dominant civil discourse and statewide vernacular discourse] ... share many logics, such as belief in bootstrapping; distinctions between good and bad immigrants and between us (citizens) and them (immigrants); constructions of immigrants as criminals (by definition as “illegals”) or potential criminals (e.g., if the paternalistic state cannot provide an education); representation of immigrants as economic commodities; anxiety over a health and, ultimately, cultural contagion; commitment to the United States as a fixed nation with clear borders, fair laws, and an ideally protective Constitution; concerns with nativist California issues, sometimes in opposition to an inattentive nation-state; and a racialization of contemporary immigrants that depends on racist stereotypes. (Ono and Sloop 158)

Complementing Ono and Sloop's methods for challenging and substantiating claims of underlying racism and xenophobia at work in much of the anti-immigrant organizing circles is Otto Santa Ana's study of the rhetoric in Proposition 187. Santa Ana's *Brown Tide Rising* (2002) focuses on linguistic metaphors used by the *Los Angeles Times* to describe Latinos in public discourse during the mid-to-late nineties, and in particular during the 1994 Proposition 187 debate. What he finds is a discourse that is highly negative and which portrays Latinos, and Mexican immigrants in particular, in the language of animals, invaders and other questionable people. Metaphorical language such

as “surge,” “wave,” and “rising tides” are also deployed in the rhetorical framing of Latinos and immigrants (the two are often conflated as one) as a problem to California and the nation. He argues this dominant logic is underpinned by racial assumptions rooted in notions of white supremacy and culture visible in the use of these linguistic metaphors. The dominant discourse deploys metaphors which paint Latinos as either a burden, a disease or a foreign invader. Santa Ana further argues, building on research from the field of cognitive linguistic theory that metaphors function as the “mental brick and mortar” upon which we build our understanding of the social world. As such, the examination of metaphors is critical to a study of the construction of social discourse towards Latinos and immigrants. He argues one of the key developments in cognitive science is that “common metaphors, as expressed in public discourse, can be studied as the principal unit of hegemonic expression” (Santa Ana 9). Building on this theory, Santa Ana argues that through the use of insurgent political metaphors, similar to Ono and Sloop's “outlaw discourse,” these dominant metaphors can be challenged and replaced in such a way that these insurgent metaphors “produce more inclusive American values, and more just practices for a new society” (Santa Ana 319). To do this, he offers a series of prescriptions for social change using insurgent political metaphors that can help to undermine and directly challenge the racist and dominant discourse on immigration.

In the late twentieth century, Latinos were represented by thoroughly negative and derogatory images in contemporary American public discourse. These were not petty aggravations that could be swept away with amended media practices of political correctness. Nor were they harmless remnants of the

blatantly racist public discourse prevalent in the earlier part of the century. These prejudicial representations were and continue to be indices of the operative social values of American society. (Santa Ana 15)

Not only does the role of metaphors in constructing racialized notions of immigrants take center stage for Santa Ana, but he also further argues that everyone serious about studying metaphors and cognitive theory in such a way would benefit from such analysis. For Santa Ana, metaphors are more than just words, and they wield considerable power, as he has shown in the public rhetoric about Latinos. “If history is a succession of metaphors, then they are the principal instruments by which vocabularies are created to speak society into existence. Insurgent metaphors are tools to construct stronger vocabularies to speak this new society” (Santa Ana 319).

Immigration in Perspective: Anti-Immigrant Discourses

Several other important books have come out recently which are also considered, but which take us in a very different line of thinking on immigration. With the rise of the anti-immigrant rhetoric surrounding the public discourse on immigration, there has been a parallel rise in the articulation and spread of nativist ideas and advocate groups, some of them even serving as leading members of Congress. Others, while not leading members of the beltway elites in Washington, are nonetheless advocating a similar approach and worldview. In short, these are the die-hard, anti-immigrant white nationalists for whom America is defined by its Protestant (and especially Evangelical) Christian beliefs, its

English language and its Anglo-Saxon roots in Western civilization. These are perhaps the most hostile of the anti-immigrant circles, as many of them view immigration not as a policy issue, but as a civilizational issue, one where the West (as defined by the U.S. and Anglo-Western Europe) is defending itself from all the rest, who are commonly portrayed as an invading “Third World” of uncivilized and backwards brown, yellow and black people.

Foremost among such nativists are writers like Frosty Wooldridge and his *Immigration's Unarmed Invasion* (2004). His book reads more like a poorly written handbook on Xenophobia 101 than a serious study of immigration politics. The sources which are referenced are generally the same right-wing white nationalist groups that we will see cited over and over again by anti-immigrant proponents, including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the Center for Immigration Policy (CIP), the American Immigration Control Forum (IACF) and English First. One excerpt from his book gives an indicator of how Wooldridge views immigrants in America today:

Most come from Third World origins that lack basic education and skills for viability in the United States. Millions come from countries that clash with our culture while practicing rituals Americans consider barbaric ... It resembles a multiplying parasite. It feeds on us as the host country as it consumes the foundation of our republic that makes our society viable.
(Wooldridge xvi)

This racist logic, exposed in its barest form here, is essentially the same thinking that permeates much of the nativist anti-immigrant position, which I refer to, following Carol M. Swain's work, as white nationalism. Common motifs of burdens to schools, welfare,

health and social services are all present, as well as the fear of crime, disease, lawlessness and cultural decay due to the presence of immigrants. Wooldridge, like other immigration opponents, calls for a total ban on all immigration, legal and otherwise, for at least the next ten years. This fear appears to go back to the issue of civilizations which this and similar authors hold, and which is clearly visible in the following passage.

Multiculturalism is an ideal whose time will never come ... [it] runs counter to humanity's nature. Races barely tolerate each other in the best of circumstances, but incompatible cultures, no matter how good the climate, do not mix. (Wooldridge 31)

This attack on multiculturalism is a central theme for other anti-immigrant writers as well. While much of what Wooldridge is advocating is not new, his blatant racism and xenophobia appears to feel quite comfortable in its expressions, a feature of the immigration debate that will be considered later in this study. Another writer in the same vein as Wooldridge is Patrick J. Buchanan. His latest book, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* (2006), lays out the dangers of immigration as made by Wooldridge. *State of Emergency* is a call to action to save Anglo-Protestant Western civilization (i.e. America) from the onslaught of a Third World invasion and its barbaric cultures and ideas. These other cultures and races simply won't mix, Buchanan suggests, in part because of where the new immigrants are from.

This is an invasion, the greatest invasion in history ... 90 percent of all immigrants now come from continents and countries whose peoples have never been assimilated fully into Western countries ... From Gibbon to Spengler to Toynbee ... symptoms of dying civilizations are well known: the death of faith, the degeneration of morals, contempt for the old values, collapse of

the culture, paralysis of the will. But the two certain signs that a civilization has begun to die are a declining population and a foreign invasion no longer resisted. (Buchanan 5)

But in order to truly understand this fear, we have to look at why the issue of different races, ethnicity or cultures makes such a difference. After all, if the United States is a nation of immigrants to start with, how can more immigrants be considered an invasion, as Buchanan and others claim? Buchanan's answer is very clear: the United States is not a nation of diverse immigrant identities, and it never should be. That fact that racial and ethnic changes in U.S. demographics are pushing these issues to the surface is no surprise, but this rhetoric is growing in volume as issues of racial identity, nationalism, assimilation, and cultural superiority fuse with issue like terrorism, immigration and homeland security. In these contexts, identity politics take on an added layer of tension and complexity due to the post-911 atmosphere against foreigners, and especially Muslims, now vogue in this country. These issues are quite clear in Buchanan's book, where one can find titles such as *The Aztlán Plot*, *Eurabia* and *The Return of Tribalism*. For Buchanan, there is an unbridgeable gap between Western Anglo culture and the rest of the world.

Both Wooldridge and Buchanan represent one side of the nativist political spectrum, but the sentiments that are being expressed are, I believe, not that far from mainstream Anglo values when it comes to issues of race and identity. Therefore it is important to look at what is being said in the political mainstream, rather than just the political margins. While taking a slightly different tone than Wooldridge and Buchanan,

Colorado Representative and House Republican Tom Tancredo presents a similar argument in his latest book, *In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America's Border and Security* (2006). His argument, much like Buchanan's, is a civilizational issue. While Tancredo makes a stronger case for accepting legal immigrants than either of the former writers (Tancredo himself is from an Italian immigrant family), his book is still deeply racist and speaks to the nativist worldview that is framed in terms of the alien invader and the foreign threat. He even goes so far as to suggest that Iraqi Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr was “possibly” in contact with the Mara Salvatrucha gang and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in order to coordinate attacks in El Salvador as leverage to get them to stop supporting the U.S. occupation in Iraq! (82). Sadly, these are comments from one of our Congressional leaders, the same person who sees the central threat to America as what he calls the “cult of multiculturalism.”

Our ability to weather this storm will surely determine how long, or even if, the United States will survive as a unique nation-state. The threats to our future are external (Islamofascism) and internal (the cult of multiculturalism). Together, they form such a potent adversary that I believe we are—as much as any time in our history—in mortal danger. (Tancredo 15)

Tancredo's book draws heavily on Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis with its overlay of civilizational war and religious strife. A similar review of chapter titles reveals such names as: *Clash of Civilizations*, *The Barbarians Are Past the Gate* and *Preserving Our National Existence*. In the section on the *Clash of Civilizations* Tancredo writes:

It was during this time [post 9/11] that I came to believe the United States and Western civilization were in a “clash of

civilizations.” And it is a real clash ... a real war. There are times when the conflict becomes violent and times when it subsides. But the clash is real, and it promises to be here for some time. This view of the current conflict is not acceptable conversation in politically correct circles. (Tancredo 65)

For Tancredo, programs of affirmative actions, bilingual education and what he calls revisionist American history—which views U.S. founders with scorn rather than praise—all play a part in the degradation of American values. While his proposals are far more nuanced than anything offered by either Buchanan or Wooldridge, reflecting his practical experience as a legislator, his plan still seeks to implement many of the same changes that these nativist groups have advocated for over the years. And as he forcibly states in the closing pages of his book, for real immigration reform to occur we must “shun the language and thinking of the true anti-American racists and bigots who pose as patriots: the multiculturalists” (Tancredo 205).

Arguing in a similar vein, and coming from a similar conservative Republican viewpoint (the intro is written by FOX News pundit Sean Hannity), is Arizona Congressman J.D. Hayworth's book *Whatever It Takes: Illegal Immigration, Border Security, and the War on Terror* (2006). Hayworth's approach to the immigration issue is similar to those considered so far, and his arguments dovetail many of those discussed in looking at Tancredo's book, such as stating that “Americanization has given way to an insidious multiculturalism, the noxious idea that all cultures are equally valid and equally worthy” (50) or that “multiculturalism is the enemy of assimilation” (57). Several factors are evident in their thinking.

First is the issue of an invasion which threatens the country, its borders, and its culture portrayed as an invasion from the “Third World.” Secondly, this invasion is most often expressed as a threat from either “illegal” Mexican (but also generally from Latin American) border crossers or Muslim terrorists—or Islamofascists, to use the language of these writers. The invasion and its threats takes a number of forms. The main areas usually cited include: economics, education, health care, welfare, jobs, crime, prisons, gangs, disease, drugs, language, and culture. Third, when this fear is then framed in the language of civilizational clashes between the East and West or the Third World and the West, what emerges is a powerful anti-immigrant worldview with deep roots in white nationalist notions of U.S. identity. Fourth is multiculturalism, which to them is one of the root causes of the current problem. While legal immigration per se is not always seen as the problem (this seems to vary with different white nationalist camps), the distinction between legal and illegal is a distinction whose critical importance is always stressed and blurred in their arguments, usually depending on how they build their case for various changes to immigration policy. Finally, the fear of a Mexican or Islamic “invasion” serves to bolster the nativist case to the larger public for “cracking down” on the border, which for them translates into a high-tech fenced and militarized border. Ironically, these critics scoff at anyone who suggest such a move would be akin to a Berlin Wall on the border. “Absurd” claims Patrick Buchanan. “Nonsense,” suggests Representative Hayworth, “the Berlin Wall kept people prisoner,” while what he and his associates have in mind is far more benign. Instead, he suggest, our “border fence would have more in

common with the fence the Israelis have built” (Hayworth 179). Personally, such a wall would be an even greater concern than the Berlin Wall. If we can expect a border fence between the U.S. and Mexico to look like the partition wall in occupied Palestine, it's not clear why a prison fence isn't the most apt description. Regardless, these fears of an invasion in the context of terrorism appear to have allowed the issue of border security and control to emerge as the key narrative in literature from this perspective. This message has not been lost on either the media or the American public.

The fence is no longer an immigration issue. It is a national security and a national survival issue. (Buchanan 256)

To be sure, the Canadian border and official ports of entry are also concerns, but we simply cannot ignore the central reality that most illegal immigrants come here across our southern border. It is time to start treating that border as the security threat it is. (Hayworth 176)

What will be of particular interest for this study is the extent to which the public agrees with this viewpoint, even as they are being heavily propagandized by it. Does the public really believe that the border is a national security issue as Hayworth and others claim? If recent polling data is any indication, the answer would seem to be no. However, this discourse linking national security to immigration is apparent in both the white nationalist movement and the mainstream media, so it will be critical to try and understand how much this white nationalist language is reflected as mainstream opinion.

Quantitative Content Analysis

In reviewing and exploring the literature on immigration policy and public attitudes it quickly became clear that a variety of methodological approaches are possible. Depending on how one chooses to approach the issue, one method makes more sense than another. As I began researching further it became clear that my decision to study immigration rhetoric in the media would benefit from a two-fold methodological approach. The first approach, a more traditional news content analysis, would provide qualitative data to work with, but lost much of the rich intertextual context and meaning. After all, numbers can only tell one so much. This is where the second approach of critical discourse analysis made sense. A textual analysis of the data allows for a richer discussion of the subject and a chance to explore different discourse approaches within the media studies field. Not only that, it facilitates better narrative analysis of data that might be obscured in a purely quantitative analysis. While my original approach was purely quantitative, as I moved deeper into the material and began to read more coverage, the discourse analysis approach began to emerge as both ideal and necessary.

My original interest began with looking at the coverage of House Resolution 4437 which was introduced by Representative James Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.) in December of 2005 and passed later that same month by the House. By mid-2006 several major pro-immigrant and anti-H.R. 4437 protests had taken place across the country. There was also a national boycott called and plans were developing for a Latino voter drive reminiscent

of the 1964 Freedom Summer efforts in the South. In trying to capture a sense of what was going on, and trying to stay abreast of developments, I began more closely following immigration in the news. It quickly became evident that there was too much information to keep track of without more help, something I did not have. And while TV coverage is perhaps the richest media to explore for a study like this, not everything is transcribed and easily accessible, making coding and analysis more difficult. Due to this, I decided to use newspaper coverage as my primary source of analysis. I began collecting data with a Lexis-Nexis (Academic version) media query. I searched in the 'General News' category with 'Major Papers' as a filter, with four news media outlets selected from major papers. This was done to create a sample size that was workable but still captured a range of coverage. To do this I selected the following four newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, the *Houston Chronicle*, and *USA Today*. *The New York Times* was selected due to its dominance in the US newspaper market, as well as being the official newspaper of record for many both inside and outside Washington. Besides their influence in the media market, they offer a geographically different bias in their coverage, being located in the Northeast rather than the Southwest or Midwest. The *Los Angeles Times* was selected both for its importance in the Southwestern media market and in the politics of California, perhaps the most critical states where immigration battles have taken place over the last forty years. The *Houston Chronicle* was selected as it covers a wide readership area in the Southwest but is not a California paper, providing a second view from the border that might prove different enough from the *L.A. Times* to

show state or regional variations that would be lost without a second paper for comparison. Finally, *USA Today* was selected since it has a national coverage and scope and, as of the time of this study, was still the most widely read newspaper in the nation. Once these papers were selected, the 'Major Papers' filter in Lexis-Nexis was further refined by a query on only these four papers. The first search field term used was 'immigration' and the second field was 'Mexico.' Both were queried with the 'Headline, Lead Paragraph(s), Terms' option. The date range was further refined to search stories between 1/1/06 and 6/30/06. Running this query resulted in 617 news stories. I then began the analysis with a quick reading of all these stories to make sure they were in fact relevant and that a different search query was not needed. Satisfied that this was a viable starting data set, I selected a random sample of 107 news articles. This gave me a representative sample set of about 17%, which I felt was sufficient for both my analysis and for statistical reliability. Once I had a fixed data set to work with I compiled and printed out the entire set, putting it into a 3-ring binder for ease of use. Next I revised and formalized my coding categories for the analysis. When I began my formal coding I had a coding sheet with 18 different variables. A copy of the coding sheet can be found in Appendix 1. Besides capturing basic data such as article date, publication source and publication section, there were a number of variables which I used.

Variable 1: Themes

The first set of variables was key themes. These included: terrorism/homeland security, crime/drugs, borders/border crossers, congressional legislation, economics, culture/identity, immigration protests (pro and con), education, government spending, and 911. Each variable was coded as Yes (1) or No (2) if they appeared in the articles.

Variable 2: Metaphors

The second set of variables coded for were the metaphors which were used in the articles to describe immigrants or immigration. These were entered both as individual keywords or phrases. Similar to the findings of Santa Ana, metaphors for *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* and *Immigrant as Enemy* emerged as a dominant metaphor in my analysis. Nine groups of metaphors emerged from an initial reading and later review of the sample set, and these were turned into the two dominant metaphor variables, 'Dangerous Waters' and 'Threat.' Examples of these water metaphors include phrases like “stream by,” “a flood of immigrants,” and “porous border.” Examples of the threat metaphor include phrases like “hordes” and “overwhelmed.”

Variable 3: Article Depth

The third variable which was coded dealt with the depth of the news stories. This variable was operationalized in the form of a graduated scale from 1-3, with 1 being a

shallow story and 3 being a deep story. A shallow story is one that has two or fewer sources quoted or cited and includes little to no background information about immigration. Additionally, it offers little to no information about competing opinions on immigration. A medium story is one that includes basic information about competing opinions on immigration and provides a brief overview of the larger debate on immigration. An article may include how different groups discuss immigration, how politicians are responding to public opinions, or how immigrants themselves view the issue. These articles contain between three and five sources and may or may not offer competing opinions on immigration. Finally, a deep story is one that includes detailed information about competing immigration opinions as well as contemporary or historical details which add context to the story. A story might include immigration statistics, an overview of historical patterns of immigration, past U.S. policy responses to immigration, or how varying groups, politicians or government agencies are attempting to shape the debate. These articles include six or more sources who may offer different or competing opinions on the issue of immigration.

Variable 4: Immigrant Framing

The fourth variable which was coded was the framing of immigrants and immigration in news stories. This variable also used a graduated scale from 1-3, with 1 being an article which was hostile towards immigrants, while 3 was friendly to them. A hostile position is one where immigration is framed as an urgent problem. Immigrants are

described as a threat to the public, national security, economy, health, values or culture of the U.S. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a negative context within the article and there is little to no information presented which is sympathetic or favorable towards pro-immigrant viewpoints. A balanced position is one where immigration is framed as an issue which the government (state or federal) should be addressing. Pro and con viewpoints are given equal attention or space in a story. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a balanced manner and there is little to no clear bias in favor of either sympathetic or hostile viewpoints on immigrants or immigration. Finally, a friendly position is one in which immigration is framed as a positive for the nation. Benefits from immigrants to the nation, economy or culture may be discussed or highlighted. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a sympathetic context and there is little to no information presented which is hostile towards immigrants or immigration.

While there is no doubt that this is the most subjective variable in the coding scheme, I believe I have clearly defined each possible variable's designation (1-3) in such a way that anyone could conduct a similar evaluation regardless of their ideological predisposition towards immigrants or immigration. Inter-coder agreement was calculated at eighty-two percent for the primary variable of immigrant framing based off a ten percent sample of the data set. However, it must be noted that someone extremely hostile or overly sympathetic to immigrants might have coded some of the stories defined as balanced in a different direction. I have attempted to offset this as much as possible by focusing on both the content of the overall article as well as the content of individual

speakers who are quoted. This allows for a two-tiered approach to evaluating the immigrant framing and serves as a secondary point of confirmation. By coding both individual sources' immigration stance as well as the overall article stance, I have tried to construct a built-in check to help validate my determinations. And as I share the viewpoint that there is no such thing as truly “objective” news reporting or scholarship, this secondary layer of coding is intended to help catch potential researcher bias in the coding process.

Variable 5: Sources

The fifth variable which was coded for was the source of individuals quoted or cited in a given article. For this I used a twelve option variable which aimed to capture the position of most expected sources. These included labels such as legal immigrant, US politician and labor/union member.

Variable 6: Source Affiliation

The sixth variable which was coded for was the affiliation of each source. I used a fifteen option variable which aimed to capture their formal affiliations. These included labels such as Republican, State/Local government official, and Church/religious group.

Variable 7: Source Gender

The seventh variable which was coded for was the gender of the source, which was a four label variable including male, female, transgender and unknown/unclear. Not surprisingly, I did not find any sources quoted or listed as transgender. A decision was made to limit the list of coded sources to the first six sources for these last few variables. This was done as many articles had 6 or fewer sources, which made for a natural break, and also to keep the database from being excessively long (one particular story had almost 20 sources). While all sources were coded by hand and recorded in the hard-copy coding sheets, only the first six were entered into the database.

Variable 8: Source Framing of Immigrants

The eighth and final variable which was coded for was the stance of individual sources quoted or cited in the article. This category used the same graduated scale from 1-3 as explained and used in the fourth variable above to describe the overall frame of the article. A full listing and explanation of all of these variables, the coding sheets and sample coders guide are provided in Appendix 1. After the coding sheet was finalized and all articles in the sample data set were hand coded this data was then transferred into SPSS for statistical evaluation and processing. Here cross-tabulations, variable frequencies, correlations and similar analysis were run on the data. The data generated from this further processing forms the bulk of the quantitative content analysis of the news coverage as presented in Section IV below.

Qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis

I also decided to use a qualitative analysis of the text informed by both my own media research experience—largely of the constructivist persuasion—and the field of critical discourse analysis, or CDA. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, in their book *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2001) define this approach as follows:

[Critical Discourse Analysis] may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). Most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas' claim that 'language is also a medium of dominance and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power ...' (Wodak and Meyer 2)

Another theoretical influence draws from a slightly different approach to discourse analysis informed by Michael Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which Norman Fairclough uses as a theoretical approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in his book *Analyzing Discourse* (2003). He describes this approach as follows:

Critical Discourse Analysis is based upon a view of semiosis as an irreducible element of all material social processes (Williams 1977). We can see social life as inter-connected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, cultural, family etc.). The reason for centering the concept of 'social practice' is that it allows an oscillation between the perspective of social structure and the perspective of social action or agency—both necessary perspectives in social science research and analysis ... CDA is an analysis of the dialectical relationship between discourse ... and other elements of social practices. Its particular concern is with the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life ... (Fairclough 205)

In the present study the social practices and discourses that I am interested in studying are the media's construction of immigration policy as a social practice and as well as their construction of the Mexican immigrant within that public discourse. More specifically, this topic and my choice of methodological and theoretical approaches is shaped by a desire to better understand how the dynamics of identity and border construction, the fear of terrorism and the power of racial discrimination factor into shaping and defining how U.S. media thinks about and discusses immigration. My analysis takes as a given the power of the media to influence public opinion and thinking about a wide range of issues, a term commonly referred to as agenda-setting. Maxwell McCombs, one of the originators of this term, describes the process of media-public interplay in his book *Setting the Agenda* (2004) as follows.

But newspapers and television news, even the tightly edited pages of a tabloid magazine or internet web site, do considerably more than signal the existence of major events and issues. Through their day-by-day selection and display of news, editors and news directors focus our attention and influence our perceptions of what are the most important issues of the day. This ability to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda has come to be called the agenda-setting role of the news media. (McCombs 1)

In regard to agenda-setting, what I am specifically interested in exploring are the linguistic processes that actors are using to frame the Mexican immigrant. In other words, how is the choice of language, the use of metaphors, and the unspoken assumptions of actors in this policy debate impacting the way that both the media and the public think about, relate to and act on this issue?

Studying mainstream media bias and its ideological creep via the continued merging of multinational news corporations over the last decade has led me to believe the most valuable way to understand the underlying ideology at work in media framing of a particular issue is a constructivist approach which looks at the root function of media, namely its construction of a hegemonic social reality through linguistic narratives. In other words, one element in my approach towards media assumes there is no such thing as an objective reality that is simply “reported” and which is independent of our social construction of that reality. Radical Constructivist Ernst von Glasersfeld makes the following point, which is particularly relevant for any discussion, about the media and their role of identity constructors within the immigration discourse.

[Radical Constructivism] ... is an unconventional approach to the problem of knowledge and knowing. It starts from the assumption that knowledge, no matter how it is defined, is in the heads of persons, and that the thinking subject has no alternative but to construct what he or she knows on the basis of his or her own experience. What we make of experience constitutes the only world we consciously live in. It can be sorted into many kinds, such as things, self, others, and so on. But all kinds of experience are essentially subjective, and though I may find reasons to believe that my experience may not be unlike yours, I have no way of knowing that it is the same. The experience and interpretation of language are no exception. (von Glasersfeld 1)

So in the context of this media study, to borrow from Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989), my critical constructivist approach to media analysis seeks to “help increase consciousness of language and power, and particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others,” in this case the Mexican

immigrant, by “helping people to see the extent to which their language does rest upon common-sense assumptions, and the ways in which these common-sense assumption can be ideologically shaped by relations of power” (Fairclough 4). Furthermore, I also hold that the ability to control popular opinion, or what Gramsci and others have referred to as the power of a hegemonic discourse, is largely, although not entirely, a function of who has access to and control over the framing of issues through the media. To the extent that any one group has hegemony over the framing of immigrants, the issue of immigration is likely to reflect that groups' views, values and assumption. As we have seen in our historical review of immigration policy and debate, at various times different discourses were more hegemonic than others. When the immigration discourse reaches a certain level of critical hegemony then Congress is likely to act and make changes to immigration policy, as happened in 1917, 1924, 1986 and most recently, in 1996. The position which has the most public salience—or is the most hegemonic—will dictate the shape and scope of the next wave of reforms.

Besides approaching this issue of language and immigrant framing from a constructivist perspective, I also draw on the work of critical race theorists (CRT) and radical feminists who have articulated the importance of approaching issues such as this with serious attention to the different ways in which race, class, gender, ethnicity, identity and power combine to both create and deny opportunities for different marginalized groups. This matrix of interests is often referred to as intersectionality within the CRT literature, or the belief that “everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities,

loyalties, and allegiances,” and that we cannot fully understand social interactions with taking these into account (Delgado and Stefancic 9). This is particularly true when looking at, as one example, a first generation naturalized immigrant from Mexico who is also a conservative, Evangelical Republican and a strong supporter of border fences and denying illegal immigrants any access to public services. Being attentive to these multiple identities and positions, as well as the relationships of power which may visibly manifest within the media discourse, is therefore necessary. This is even more relevant for this study, as one of my goals is trying to understand to what extent the white nationalist discourse is influencing the overall debate on immigration.

The influences of this line of thinking, as well as its importance, led me to the theoretical choice to also delve deeper into the text via critical discourse analysis. As Santa Ana notes in his *Brown Tide Rising*, and as I also found in my own research, oftentimes a surface reading of popular media can leave one wondering if we aren't missing something. We know that race, class, gender and a host of others factors are at play every day in shaping how the media covers, or ignores, local and global events. By going deeper into the text, and looking at how an individual body of text interrelates and tells a story, one can begin to see the more subtle workings of the media and how they construct particular narratives. Norman Fairclough refers to this as “a covert semantic relationship” where the intentional (or perhaps unconscious) choice of words can function to mask the way that “different discourses structure the world differently” (Fairclough 129). Fairclough further suggests that one way of getting deeper into these

linguistic relationships is by “looking at collocations, patterns of co-occurrence of words in texts” (131). Additional methods one could employ include intertextual analysis and analysis of lexical or grammatical metaphors, which Fairclough describes as “words which generally represent one part of the world being extended to another” (131). The *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor is a powerful tool to illustrate this linguistic construction process at work within a body of text. McCombs offers a useful insight here when he discusses the influence of Walter Lippmann and his work on public opinions and the media.

[Lippmann's] thesis is that the news media, our windows to the vast world beyond direct experience, determine our cognitive maps of the world. Public opinion, argued Lippmann, responds not to the environment, but to the pseudo-environment constructed by the news media. (McCombs 3)

It will be very helpful to keep this construction metaphor in mind when examining the media coverage during the first half of 2006.

Section IV: Quantitative Analysis of Themes

The following findings are based on my content analysis over the first half of 2006, as described in the methodology section previously. This data presentation includes the findings from cross tabulations, correlation and frequency analysis and is presented in both text and tabular form, depending on what is most useful. The primary coding variables I explore here are the frequency of themes, the framing of immigrants, the depth and balance in story coverage, and the relationships between gender and affiliation of sources. And as mentioned earlier, variables were operationalized on a scale from 1-3 (for framing and depth) or by unique id (1-12 or 1-15) for designation and affiliations. Finally, the media uses the terms Latino and Hispanic interchangeable to talk about immigrants from Latin America. In this paper I use the term Latino/a to refer to immigrants from Central or South America, while recognizing there are debates about the most appropriate terminology.²

When looking at the data overall, several basic trends are visible. First, there appears to be a fairly large consensus in the nation that immigration as it currently exists is not acceptable, and major changes are needed in existing laws. Second, speakers are most likely to be men (73%) affiliated with the government, but not necessarily politicians. Instead members of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Border Patrol or National Guard are more likely to be speakers. Third, contrary to what one

² For a more nuanced discussion on the debate over the use of Latino and Hispanic see Richard Rodriguez's *Brown, The Last Discovery of America* (2002).

might expect, many of the common themes in the immigration debate, such as education, jobs and crime, did not receive significant coverage in this sample.

Rather, the twin topics of border enforcement and Congressional legislation captured the bulk of the media attention. Fourth, it would appear that a good deal of the immigration debate, both in Congress and in the media, is revolving around the issue of the border, but there remains a significant degree of fluidity as to how the border should be addressed as a part of immigration reform. And finally, coverage of immigration protests in March and May of 2006 suggest possible avenue for challenging anti-immigrant framing in the media, as well as an area where Latina voices may be able to further broaden the overall dialogue.

Within the media coverage I looked at, the label “Hispanic” appears 68 times, while the label “Latino” appears 120 times. The term “immigrant” is, not surprisingly, the most common label used in most stories, and appears 490 times. Following second in frequency is the word “illegal,” which appears 342. Of those occurrence, 147 are in the form of the designation “illegal immigrants” while another sixty-two are connected with the label “illegal immigration.” The other occurrences are in a variety of context used to frame immigrants. A brief example from each paper is provided below.

“...and enough agents and judicial manpower to go after those who remain **illegally**.” (USA 5/2/06, A12)

“We are the backbone of what America is, legal or **illegal**...”
(HC 5/2/06, A6)

“The cameras helped produce a dramatic drop in **illegal** crossings in some border towns...” (LAT 5/23/06, A8)

“...living in the United States **illegally** to become citizens.”
(NYT 6/6/06, A1)

The other major label which appears in the media is the term “undocumented.” Compared to the label illegal, undocumented only appears sixty times in the text. The label migrant appears sixteen times. Finally, the term “illegal aliens,” which is preferred by some nativists like Representative Hayworth, only appears four times. It is worth noting that the term illegal is interchangeably used as both a noun (illegals) and an adjective (crossed illegally, illegal worker) in these stories. This raises an interesting question which, simply put, asks whether illegal is a state of being or a temporary designation? Table 1 below shows the frequency of immigration articles in each newspaper being examined.

Table 1: Article Frequency by Newspaper Source.

	Frequency	Percent
Houston Chronicle	37	34.6%
New York Times	36	33.6%
Los Angeles Times	26	24.3%
USA Today	8	7.5%

The *Houston Chronicle* is slightly in the lead with its coverage, while the *L.A. Times* is slightly behind on theirs. It is also relevant to ask where in the actual papers these stories were located. If most immigration stories are located in section C, page 15 of a paper

rather than section A, page 1 it would suggest that the issue is not deemed a pressing matter. Since the issue of immigration has already been framed as a “problem” by most of the mainstream U.S. media, stories should be on the front page, or at least in the primary A section of the paper. As Table 2 below shows, this is precisely the case.

Table 2: Article Distribution by News Section.

Article Section	Frequency	Percent
A	77	72.0 %
B	20	18.7 %
C	2	1.9 %
Business	2	1.9 %
Other	6	5.6 %

While this is not surprising, one might consider if there are other possible factors at play. There was a slight but not significant correlation between page 1 stories and the framing of immigrants. Hostile stories found on page 1 account for 24% of total hostile articles, while balanced stories on page 1 were 12% and friendly stories 28% of the overall total stories. This suggests that there are no significant relationships between the framing of immigrants and the location within a newspaper of a story (either by section and page). A visible trend was found between immigrant framing and story depth, where a balanced frame is most likely to appear in a shallow story (30%), as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Article Depth and Immigrant Frame Crosstabulation.

Immigrant Frame	Shallow Article	Medium Article	Deep Article
Hostile frame	8	12	9
Balanced frame	32	7	10
Friendly frame	10	6	13

The overall majority of articles are shallow in their coverage (47%), which might account for some of this relationship, but this alone is not enough to explain it. Another explanation that might account for this relationship is that most shallow articles, due to their limited scope, often had only one individual quoted. The most frequent source cited in a shallow article with a balanced frame was a government official commenting on some aspect of policy that was secondary in relation to immigrants themselves. An example of this can be found in a March 4 story in the *Houston Chronicle* where Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Michael Chertoff is quoted about a joint effort with Mexico to stop drug smuggling along the border.

“We have found that when we work together we can accomplish great things,” Chertoff declared. (HC 3/4/06, B3)

While the article itself was partly focused on immigrant smuggling, the context of Chertoff's comments do not betray a particular position on immigrants per se. The next area to explore is the major article themes. Based on the earlier discussions, one might expect to find those same themes receiving the most coverage in the news stories. It may be useful to restate those themes here again in Table 4.

*Table 4: Major Historical Themes in Immigration Debates.**

economic costs	especially on state and federal resources
labor costs	job competition and decline in wages
education costs	burden on schools from illegal students
health care costs	treating illegals and competition for access
crime increases	human smuggling, drug trafficking, theft, increased gang activity, rise in crime levels
border controls	criminals, terrorist, Mexicans and other immigrants crossing without authorization
cultural threats	language, access to political and social goods, religious or ethnic differences
* These are a sample of historical themes, and not the full ten themes analyzed in this thesis.	

While other frames also compete with these, these seven are re-occurring themes in much of the media coverage as well as in arguments made against more immigration into the U.S. My approach here is to briefly explore each of these seven themes and three more which were coded as variables, and look for any significant findings in each theme.

Analysis of Themes

911, Terrorism and Homeland Security Themes

The frequency of articles which were coded as having these themes as a significant focus was only 23%. And closer examination shows that only seven articles, or 6.5% of the stories, mentioned the theme of 911 anywhere in the story. Only one story

which was favorable to immigrants included any references to homeland security or terrorism. While it was not statistically significant, the frequency of balanced stories with a link to homeland security (24.5%) suggests that this theme has some resonance with the public. There is a strong positive correlation, although not surprising, between the theme of 911 and the theme of homeland security (.218 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}).

In looking at terrorism a few things stand out. First, there is a strong positive correlation, as just mentioned, with the theme of 911. There is also a strong correlation between this theme and the theme of borders (.218 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). The importance of which will be dealt with in more detail later. There is also a positive correlation between homeland security and government spending as a theme (.200 at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}), often linked to discussions about funding or costs for proposed border security initiatives. There is an additional correlation between homeland security and the newspaper source of an article. A closer look shows that 44% of the articles in the *Houston Chronicle* were about this theme, but only one article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (4%). Table 5 shows this coverage spread. There is a brief but visible rise in the coverage of this theme for a few days after Bush made his May 15 speech from the Oval Office on the topic of immigration reform. The two primary themes of his talk were securing the border from terrorists by sending National Guard troops and the need for immigration reform by Congress.

First, the United States must **secure its borders**. This is a basic responsibility of a sovereign nation. It is also an urgent requirement of our **national security**. Our objective is

straightforward: The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration, and shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals, drug dealers, and **terrorists**... (Presidential Speech on Immigration Reform 5/15/06 *emphasis is mine*)

Bush's speech made the intended news stir with some of the following headlines:

Plan To Deploy Guard At Border Worries Mexico. (NYT 5/16/06, A1)

Plan Met With Warnings That It Won't Be Enough. (NYT 5/16/06, A21)

Thousands of Troops to Bolster the Border. (HC 5/16/06, A1)

Adding Guard troops to border is 'right action'. (USA 5/18/06, A11)

This event is also important for another reason besides the visible but momentary rise in terror-related coverage. On May 17 the Senate approved a measure to build 370 miles of double-and triple-layered fence along the U.S.-Mexico border, which the *Los Angeles Times* describer as “moving the immigration bill closer to the enforcement-focused approach favored by conservatives” (LAT 5/18/06, A1).

Bush's speech is a key turning point in media rhetoric surrounding Congressional legislation on immigration, and a major victory for those desiring a more militarized U.S.-Mexico border. Senator Jeff Session (R-Ala.), the sponsor of the Senate amendment on borders, said a fence would “signal to the world that our border is not open, it is closed” (LAT 5/18/06, A1). In discussing the border within arguments about terrorism

and immigration, the media largely adopts the official White House line, reporting that a majority of the public is in favor of using fences to help secure the border.

"The president is looking to do everything he can to secure the border," said Stephen J. Hadley, the national security adviser, on "Face the Nation" on CBS. "It's what the American people want, it's what he wants to do" (NYT 5/15/06, A1).

Based off a reading of the articles, it would appear that Republicans talk about terrorism and homeland security almost as often as Democrats—39% and 37.5% respectively. However, this obscures the fact that the total number of articles where someone from either party was quoted or cited is not equal. Republican sources appear in the terrorism and homeland security theme 33 times, while Democratic sources only 16.

The gender balance in this theme is somewhat more unequal when compared to all others. A total of seventy sources were male (78%), while only eighteen were female (20%). The men who dominating this theme were affiliated with the federal government, often the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Border Patrol or the National Guard. This theme of terrorism and homeland security was especially concentrated in the *Houston Chronicle's* coverage and almost absent in the *Los Angeles Times* coverage, as shown in Table 5. Five of the eight stories in the *USA Today*, or 62.5% of their total coverage, include this theme in their immigration coverage, suggesting they may have a bias in theme in their immigration coverage, suggesting they may have a bias in favor of a more restrictionist approach to the borders and immigration, but more data would be

Table 5: Frequency of Terror and Homeland Security Theme by Newspaper.

	Terrorism and Homeland Security Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Houston Chronicle	11	10 %
New York Times	8	7 %
USA Today	5	5 %
Los Angeles Times	1	1 %
Theme in Overall Sample	25	23 %

needed in restrictionist approach to the borders and immigration, but more data would be needed in order to support and test such a claim.

Crime and Drugs Theme

Both of these themes have a long and sordid history in the immigration debate. The mainstream media discourse on crime in America (violent or otherwise) has always been expressed (and enforced) in terms of race, class and gender (Marger 1997). The argument is that whenever poor people, especially poor people of color, move into a white neighborhood or community the quality of life drops and crime rates and drug use go up. This belief has been well studied and documented, as expressed in terms like “white flight,” but is not my central focus here.³ For my interest, the existence of this powerful racial narrative should lead us to expect that coverage of both crime and drugs would be common among stories concerning immigrants, a diverse group who are

³ See for example the National Research Council's *America Becoming* (2001).

increasingly darker skinned and less well off than many middle class Anglo citizens.

But much like the terrorism and homeland security theme, the crime and drug theme did not represent a significant focus of the media. It makes up a visible but not significant portion of the overall coverage, coming in at 32%. There are however, several relationship between this theme and others which are significant. The connection between this theme and immigrant framing was found to be statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A closer look shows a relationship between the story having a friendly immigrant frame and the story being about drugs and crime. Only two crime and drug themed stories has a positive frame of immigrants, or 6%. Three additional significant correlations were also found between this theme and the themes of Congressional legislation, economics, and culture and identity, as shown in Table 6 below.

A closer examination shows that out of a total 59 articles on Congressional legislation only fourteen (24%) had the theme of crime and drugs in the story. Similarly, of the forty-two articles about education, only nine (21%) also had the crime and drug theme. Finally, out of a total of twenty-five articles about culture, the crime and drug theme only appeared three times (12%). One important methodological caveat needs to be made about this particular theme.

Table 6: Correlation between Crime and Drug Theme and other Variables.

	Theme Crime & Drugs
Immigrant Framing Sig. (2-tailed)	.273** .005
Culture and Identity Sig. (2-tailed)	-.235* .015
Congressional Legislation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.192* .048
Economics Sig. (2-tailed)	-.191* .049
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level or **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).	

Due to the highly charged and politicized nature of this issue, I intentionally did not code any story which only mentioned immigrants as illegal as being a crime/drugs theme. Had I done this, virtually all of the cases would have been flagged as having a crime theme, making this variable essentially worthless as an analytic category. However, some might object that this has inserted a bias into the data which is clearly ideological in nature, and does not accurately reflect the data as it is. I do not accept a designation of people as “illegal” having any political or moral validity, and have approached the issue of crime and immigration as such. Regardless of how one feels about this issue, this is the approach I have taken in my research.

There is a slight bias in the coverage by the *Houston Chronicle* towards this frame of crime and drugs in their coverage, as witnessed by the 44% emphasis on this theme in their stories, as shown below in Table 7. The majority of articles on this theme were

found in shallow stories at 62%, while deep stories represented 18% of the stories. The most likely source to bring up this theme is a male (74%) official with the government (38%). An illustration of this theme appears in the following *USA Today* story.

Federal agents have arrested more than 2,000 illegal immigrants, many of them convicted criminals, child predators, gang members and fugitives, in sweeps across the country over the past three weeks... (USA 6/15/06, A2)

Table 7: Frequency of Crime and Drugs Theme by Newspaper.

	Crime and Drugs Theme	Theme Frequency
Houston Chronicle	15	14 %
New York Times	13	12 %
Los Angeles Times	5	5 %
USA Today	1	1 %
Theme in Overall Sample	34	32 %

Very often in articles about crime and drugs the connective link is smuggling, often of both drugs and people. My analysis found twenty-one references to smuggling of either people or drugs across the border. The media may also frame the link between securing the border, crime, human and drug trafficking, and homeland security.

"The nexus between our post-Sept. 11 mission and our traditional role is clear," [Border Patrol] Chief Aguilar said. "Terrorists and violent criminals may exploit smuggling routes used by migrants to enter the United States illegally and do us harm." (NYT 6/4/06, A34)

As was the case with the terrorism and homeland security theme, the crime and drugs theme is present in a noticeable percentage of the articles (32%), but is not a dominant theme. According to my analysis this theme is most prevalent in the *Houston Chronicle* (44%), followed closely by the *New York Times* (38%). Crime and drugs most often come up in a shallow (62%) but balanced story (59%). The theme is usually associated with a male speaker (74%) who is affiliated with some aspect of the federal government (38%). So while still significant, this theme is not the primary focus of either the media coverage or the larger immigration debate.

Border Theme

In her discussion of the political geography of immigration control, Jeannette Money (1999) suggests that both local and national pressures play important roles in driving and influencing policy preferences and policy options for how to address immigration. Nowhere is this more evident than in the issue of physical control of the national border and how these policies are shaped by both perceived public demand and real political realities. Writing about the perceived security threat from migrants and asylum seekers in the collected volume on migration edited by Teitelbaum and Weiner entitled *Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders* (1995), Warren Zimmerman argues that “it needs to be recognized that there are problems, even though they are not of the disastrous dimensions that doomsayers think.” He continues by adding that the “waves of

illegal immigration are clearly the place to begin,” since they “demonstrate that the United States has lost (if it ever had) an important aspect of sovereignty—control of its borders” (Zimmerman 95). The first story in our sample has three references to the border in a brief 278 word article, where the context of borders includes a proposal to “toughen border restrictions,” due to an estimated 1 million undocumented people “caught each year trying to cross the border,” and a House bill which calls for “erecting a wall across one-third of the U.S.-Mexico border” (HC 1/6/06, A7). And as seen earlier, the keyword border was the most common word in our sample after immigrant.

Two significant correlation are visible when looking at this theme. First, there is a correlation between the theme of borders and homeland security (.218 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). Of the twenty-five articles about homeland security, the border theme appears in twenty of those (80%). Table 8 below shows the overall frequency of this theme in the four newspapers being analyzed.

Table 8: Frequency of Border Theme Articles.

	Border Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Houston Chronicle	27	25 %
New York Times	22	21 %
Los Angeles Times	11	10 %
USA Today	5	5 %
Theme in Overall Sample	65	61 %

Second, there is also a strong negative correlation between the theme of immigration protests and borders ($-.262$ at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}), where only eleven articles (17%) about immigration protest appeared alongside the border theme in a story. The sixty-five articles with this theme account for 61% of the overall coverage in this data set. It seems that the border itself, while at times articulated alongside the related issues of terrorism or homeland security, is the most salient theme in media framing of immigration. This trend parallels the significant emphasis on border security and border fences expressed in H.R. 4437 and the later Senate bill which also called for more border fences.

When speaking about borders in the context of immigration policy, the following trends are evident regarding the two major parties. First, the likelihood of Republicans and Democrats talking about borders as an immigration theme are the same (87.5%), but Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to bring up borders when talking about immigration reform—58% for Republicans and 29% for Democrats. While it is unclear exactly how much the atmosphere of post-9/11 security concerns play into this phenomenon, some initial research suggest that it is a growing influence. In discussing the impacts of merging the INS under the Department of Homeland Security in 2002, M. Isabela Medina notes that “the reorganization's symbolic message to American society and the world at large was that immigration was inextricably intertwined with terrorism. Immigrant, to some, became synonymous with terrorists” (Medina 230). Donald Kerwin, the Executive Director of the Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC), offered a

similar analysis in his study entitled *The Use and Misuse of 'National Security' Rationale in Crafting U.S. Refugee and Immigration Policy* (2005). “Soon after the attacks of 11 September 2001, immigration and terrorism became inextricably linked in the U.S. public debate on security ... yet as many commentators have recognized, increased U.S. enforcement efforts on the U.S.-Mexico border led to the emergence of these very same [immigrant smuggling] networks” (Kerwin 758). Speaking before a joint hearing of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information and the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Border Security, Citizenship, and Immigration in March of 2003, Steven Flynn, a Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), offered the following border comments as part of his testimony on the hearing topic, which was entitled: “The Role of Border Technology in Advancing Homeland Security.”

Further, the experience over the past decade of stepped-up enforcement along the Mexican border suggests that U.S. efforts aimed at hardening its borders can have the unintended consequence of creating precisely the kind of an environment that is conducive to terrorists and criminals ... draconian measures to police the border invariably provide incentives for informal arrangements and criminal conspiracies to overcome cross-border barriers ... The result is that the border region becomes more chaotic which makes it ideal for exploitation by criminals and terrorists. (Flynn 2003)

Others scholars have made similar comments about this abuse of border and immigration policy in the name of Homeland Security and fighting terrorism. Bill Ong Hing, in a study entitled *Misusing Immigration Policies in the Name of Homeland Security* (2006),

clearly documents the negative impacts on immigrants, especially those of Middle Eastern appearance or identifiable as Muslims. While he does not address Mexican immigrants specifically, he notes that the overall shift in immigration framing provided anti-immigrant forces who want to shut the border “a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to use the tragic events [of 911] to draw linkages with virtually every aspect of their nativist agenda” (Ong Hing 196). This is especially true in the case of border policy, where the emphasis on securing the border has become the central focus of all immigration policy debates in Congress, as well as capturing the majority (61%) of the media's thematic focus on immigration reform. The thinking on borders in Congress and much of the media now parallels that of the nativist groups who want to shut off access to the border. We saw this same idea expressed by Jeff Session in his statements on the Senate amendment he sponsored which proposed to add an extensive border fence to the Senate's version of an immigration bill. Here is an example of this trend in newspaper coverage.

A growing number of governors, along the border and beyond, are sharpening their complaints about the flood of immigrants pouring into their states, pushing the Bush administration and Congress for action. (HC 2/27/06, A6)

Coming from what many would consider a contrarian perspective on this issue, a legal Mexican immigrant who works with the poor in Denver offers a similar view as Anglo nativists like those in the Minuteman Militia.

Waldo Benavidez sits in a low-income neighborhood in Denver and watches with anxiety and anger at the fate of the American poor who he thinks are being hurt by immigrants. He wants the border closed ... (NYT 4/16/06, A23)

While Mr. Benavidez may be the exception to the rule that Latinos in America are generally supportive of more immigration, he shows that these views are not limited to only Anglo nativists. Similarly, a minority of African-American activists have spoken out against what they perceive as the harms posed by continued illegal immigration. Ted Hayes, a Los Angeles homeless advocate, offers a similar opinion.

Reflecting intense passions over illegal immigration, a Los Angeles outdoor forum about its impact on blacks quickly became a screaming match ... Ted Hayes, founder of the Crispus Attucks Brigade, an African American group newly organized to fight the influx of undocumented migrants ... [stated that] "Illegal immigration is the greatest threat to African Americans since slavery," Hayes said ... "We're fired up! We can't take it no more!" (LAT 4/24/06, B3)

After his May 15 Oval Office address, President Bush and the White House were quoted with a similar message of border control to fix problems with existing immigration.

But White House officials said late last week that they believed the president's address on Monday would be welcomed by voters, who have told pollsters they would like to see tighter control of the borders. "The president is looking to do everything he can to secure the border," said Stephen J. Hadley, the national security adviser, on "Face the Nation" on CBS. "It's what the American people want, it's what he wants to do." (NYT 5/16/06, A1)

The actual words of the President in his address are even more revealing, and highlight the earlier discussion about linking borders, terrorism and immigration policy together.

First, the United States must secure its borders. This is a basic responsibility of a sovereign nation. It is also an urgent requirement of our national security. Our objective is straightforward: The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration, and shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals,

drug dealers, and terrorists. (Presidential Address on
Immigration Reform 5/15/06)

This trend that my data shows, however, is not entirely new. Jonathan Xavier Inda does an excellent job of documenting this same trend over time, and suggest that its genesis goes back to the early nineties and the failures of Reagan's 1986 IRCA to effectively deal with immigration in a comprehensive manner. After several years of continued border crossing and increasing immigrant numbers, it was becoming clear that the IRCA was not the magic bullet to immigration that some had hoped it would be. He points out that two major factors contributed to this feeling. The first was a belief that there were not enough federal resources being devoted to the border. The second was a belief that the INS tactic of focusing on apprehending immigrants after they had crossed the border, rather than stopping them at the border, were simply not working (Inda 140). He also confirms our present finding that, regardless of party affiliation, there is a growing call from Congress to take a different approach to border policing. This trend in the early 1990s was only further increased in the mid-90s as issues like Proposition 187 in California were being debated and the INS Operations Blockade (1993) and Gatekeeper (1995) were put into action. Also key, Inda suggests, is the pressure exerted from restrictionist groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), who has already been discussed. Along with these events are a number of major studies, some of which were conducted by Congress (specifically the GAO) and the INS, which suggest that a hardening of the border is believed to be a winning strategy for border control and interdiction, or what

was described earlier as a policy of “prevention through deterrence.” Inda points to a dramatic rise in INS funding, a parallel rise in the number of agents, and the introduction of more border fences, border lights, IDENT computer tracking, helicopter flights, surveillance cameras and similar high-tech approaches to law enforcement and border and population movement controls.⁴

What happened, then, during the 1990s and early 2000s, is that boundary enforcement became an even more formidable anti-citizenship technology for managing illegal migration. It is a technology that brought together an impressive and ever-increasing number of police personnel (Border Patrol agents), material structures (fences and lights), and surveillance devices (helicopters, ground sensors, TV cameras, and infrared night-vision scopes) in order to shape the conduct of illegal immigrants in such a way as to prevent illicit border crossings. Put otherwise, what occurred is that a continually densening web of control and surveillance was cast over the US-Mexico border. Indeed, as vast amounts of resources were poured into boundary enforcement, this southern border became a super-envelope in a police and criminal dragnet. The goal: keeping unwanted elements out of the United States. (Inda 149)

In going back and looking at the sources and their affiliations in articles with a border theme, three different clusters are evident in the data. First, those most likely to be quoted as a source in a border article are either Democratic or Republican Congressman (87.5%), followed by federal officials (83%). The second grouping with a strong likelihood of being quoted are anti-immigrant advocates (67%), state or local government officials (70%), or Latin American officials (71%). The third grouping are those least likely to be quoted in a border themed article. These include anyone with a religious affiliation

4 IDENT is an electronic fingerprint identification and verification system implemented by the DHS.

(29%), a pro-immigrant advocate (25%), a labor or union advocate (25%), or a university professor (20%). The connections between a border theme and framing of immigrants, based on the border theme's historical influences, is likely to be skewed towards a hostile frame. Table 9 below shows the relationship between the border theme and the framing of immigrants in those stories. Interestingly, this does not on the surface appear to be the case. Rather, a balanced immigrant frame is most likely to have a border theme. What this might suggest is that the rhetoric of the border has shifted enough in public discourse to now be commonly expressed in the public at large. And, based on the framing of borders as the dominant theme, and the reported base of public support for increased border fencing and control as part of legitimate immigration policy, it might make more sense to collapse the balanced and hostile together into one.

Table 9: Border Theme and Immigrant Framing Crosstabulation.

	Hostile Frame	Balanced Frame	Friendly Frame
Border Theme Frequency	21	31	13
Border Theme Percent (% within total sample n=65)	32 %	48 %	20 %

Such a move would give us a total of 52 articles, or 80% of our sources, operating within the rhetorical framework of an out of control border that needs to be secured. I would argue this move is methodologically defensible as the common ground of agreement on the border being out of control is clearly supported by the metaphors of dangerous water,

namely rising tides, floods, and stream in—and immigrant as threat metaphors, such as hordes and invasion, which appear in both balanced and hostile articles. One way to try and explore this possible relationship further is by comparing it with public opinion polling data. A 2006 Latino survey by the Pew Hispanic Center offers the following data, which seems to contradict the dominance of the media narrative and its heavy focus on border security and fences as a means of immigration control.

Most Latinos (66%) oppose building more fences along the U.S.-Mexico border, and even more (70%) are against sending the National Guard. But only half (51%) is against increasing the number of border patrol agents. As for increasing the number of border patrol agents, a bare majority (51%) opposes it. (2006 National Survey of Latinos 6/12/06)

This shows some of the interesting political dynamics within the Latino community where support exists for more Border Patrol officers but not a more militarized or heavily fenced border. But how representative is this of the larger U.S public's view on this issue? The Pew Research Center for People and the Press offers some revealing statistics.

[The Pew study found that a] ... 55% majority sees increased penalties on employers who hire illegal immigrants as the most effective way to stem cross-border immigration, up from 49% a year ago. By comparison, just 25% say increasing the number of border patrol agents is the best solution, and even fewer (7%) see more border fences as the most effective solution (Pew Survey: Mixed Views on Immigration Bill 6/7/07).

It seems as if there is a disconnect somewhere in the mix. Our data suggests the border has become a significant thematic focus in the immigration debate as reflected in the media. There is a definite trend over the last twelve years towards a hardened border with

more controls and fences on a national policy and law enforcement level. Anti-immigrant restrictionist and nativist groups have called for a total ban on Mexican immigrants from three to ten years, while Congress and the President have said that securing the border is an urgent matter of national security and proposed hundreds of miles of heavily fortified walls to meet this “threat.” Additionally, both balanced and hostile immigrant frames are likely to be found in an article with the border as an immigration theme. But the public opinion data suggests that the public is rejecting this media framing, at least the militarizing-fencing side of the border equation. This is even more the case when looking at Latino public opinion on this issue, with the slight divergence of support for more Border Patrol being the only noticeable difference.

As shown, the issue of the border is the major theme focused on by the media. Issues of border security, border fences, and illegal border crossers are all elements of this coverage, as well as within immigration literature and Congressional legislation. While there is a consensus that immigration reform is needed, when the issue moves from proposals for protecting the border to sending National Guard troops and more surveillance and fencing, broader public support begins to erode. While there is consistent support from nativist for these proposals, there is not majority support among the public, or even in Congress. Rather, increased funding and staffing of Border Patrol agents, as well as addressing underlying issues driving these migrant crossers to come here in the first place—rather than simply building walls and denying all access—tend to dominate the public responses in the polls on border control and protection.

Congressional Legislation Theme

While each of the themes is represented to varying degrees, it seems reasonable to assume that there would be even more coverage of Congressional legislation dealing with immigration reform than even the border issue we have just examined. An analysis of the data suggests that the explicit focus on immigration legislation in Congress appears in half of the coverage by two papers—the *New York Times* and *USA Today*, while the *Houston Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times* split in opposite directions on the amount of attention given to the legislation, as shown in Table 10 below. This theme was most likely to appear in an article of medium depth (68%) with a hostile immigrant frame (62%). The speaker was most likely to be an unaffiliated (12%) male (73%) source. This appears to be in part a function of many of the legislative articles having a number of person-on-the-street type interviews which then made their way into the article. Republicans (84%) and Democrats (81%) were equally likely to talk about this issue when quoted.

The least likely person to discuss this issue in the media is a woman affiliated with a labor union (0.99%). And as was mentioned earlier, there is a negative correlation between this theme and the theme of crime and drugs that was found to be significant (-.192 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}).

Table 10: Frequency of Congressional Legislation Theme in Newspapers.

	Congressional Legislation Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Houston Chronicle	27	25 %
New York Times	18	17 %
Los Angeles Times	10	9 %
USA Today	4	4 %
Theme in Overall Sample	59	55 %

Much of the discussion on this theme revolved around perceived public feelings on this issue or legislative arm-twisting which was going on in Washington. A few samples of this theme from the coverage are provided here as examples.

Because Hispanic voters are turned off by the conservative-led push for tougher penalties on illegal immigration, they are more likely to support Democrats than Republicans in November, according to the 2005 National Latino Survey released Thursday. (NYT 1/6/06, A7)

Chafing over the House leadership's decision to conduct hearings across the country on the bill before working on a legislative compromise, a bipartisan group of senators faulted House members for worrying first about saving their political skins. (HC 6/28/06, A6)

The Congressional debate over legislation was represented in 55% of the news stories, certainly higher than some of our themes, but still not as much as the overall border theme. Much of the substance of coverage over Congressional legislation, particularly

when the Senate bill was the focus, dealt with proposals for a guest-worker program and the proposal to create a multi-tiered path for current undocumented immigrants to eventually become citizens. Critics complained that this was amnesty, and in fairness to their case it is a form of amnesty—albeit a very complicated and rigorous amnesty. It would allow a majority of the estimated twelve million undocumented immigrants here now in the country to eventually become citizens over the next decade. This guest-worker program is often framed as Bush's business-friendly solution to continuing the import of cheap immigrant labor while appearing to offer a symbolic overall immigration reduction to the restrictionists who want a total or near total ban on new immigrants. And to sweeten the deal, and show that Congress really is tough on crime and terror, the proposal also included extensive wall building and a whole new slew of high-tech surveillance equipment that, in the words of the President, would be “the most technologically advanced border security initiative in American history” (Presidential Address on Immigration Reform 5/15/06). Add to this the deployment of 6,000 or more National Guard troops to help with border security and you have a sense of the current scope of the legislative theme and debate as presented by the media.

There were two other noteworthy findings on this theme in relation to other themes. First, there is a statistically significant relationship (.195 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}) between this theme and the issue of immigration protests. Secondly, there is a significant negative relationship between this theme and the theme of Crime and Drugs theme (-.191 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). These are due to the tendency of articles

about protests to also discuss legislation, and the absence of discussion about crime and drugs in the context of the legislation.

Economics Theme

Economics has long dominated immigration debates, usually in a negative manner, where immigrants are seen as job stealers and wage depressors. In his analysis of common arguments against immigration in *Thinking the Unthinkable* (2002), Nigel Harris notes that “one of the most powerful arguments for controlling immigration is that without controls immigrants will accept lower wages than natives and either drive them out of work altogether or force them to accept pay cuts to keep their jobs” (Harris 57). He notes that the blaming of immigrants for unemployment, another common anti-immigrant position, is a trend with considerable historical and popular support, but one that has not often proven to be empirically true. An excellent and well-documented case for the positive contributions from immigrants in this country was done by Joel Millman in his book *The Other Americans: How Immigrants Renew Our Country, Our Economy and Our Values* (1997). What is certainly the case, however, is the impacts that this has had on immigrant communities at different times, such as on Mexicans in the mid 1930s when this view led to a backlash in the nation against immigrants.

The same refrain occurred during the inter-war Great Depression in the US—in 'the manner of a crusade,' Martinez (1976) records 'the idea was promulgated that aliens were holding down high

paying jobs and that by giving these jobs to Americans, the depression could be cured'. The campaign was directed against Mexicans. Many left the country or were driven out. The Mexican-born population fell from 639,000 in 1930 to 377,000 in 1940. Yet still in 1940, the country had the second-highest level of unemployment ever recorded. (Harris 62)

As evidenced earlier, these feelings are still rife today. The frequency of economic themed articles in the coverage, however, is still only 40%. As we can see in Table 11, economics is a large but not dominant theme within the coverage.

Table 11: Frequency of Economic Theme by Newspaper.

	Economic Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Los Angeles Times	16	15 %
Houston Chronicle	13	12 %
New York Times	11	10 %
USA Today	3	3 %
Theme in Overall Sample	43	40 %

The issue of economics by far dominates the coverage within the *Los Angeles Times*. And as was mentioned earlier, there is a statistically significant negative correlation between this theme and the theme of crime and drugs (-.191 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}).

Additionally, there was a positive correlation between this theme and the theme of education (.202 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). A closer examination reveals that of the eight total articles on education, the theme of economics was a theme in 75% of the stories. An example of coverage of economics within the *L.A. Times* is shown below.

...Latino labor leaders have begun to address African Americans' concerns about access to jobs – the biggest flashpoint between the communities ... Mike Garcia, president of Local 1877 of the Service Employees International Union, said his largely Latino union is actively organizing African American security guards to press for better wages and working conditions. (LAT 5/5/06, B3)

This trend is also visible in others papers, as shown below, where the economic theme case can be seen from a variety of different angles and background assumptions.

C.C. Lovin has lived in Montgomery County for 25 years and in the past decade has noticed some changes in the area: Her community is attracting a fast-growing population of Hispanic illegal immigrants. Lovin is concerned because, she says, they are not paying their share for education, health care and other social services, and they're taking jobs away from local residents ... “They need to see what this immigration is doing to us financially,” Lovin said. (HC 6/15/06, B3)

Demonstrating an oppositional viewpoint to that of C.C. Lovin in the above article is a *New York Times* story looking at the net positive economic impacts of immigrants.

Some "no mas" natives complain that the country can't absorb immigrants the way it once could. But these natives also expect Social Security and Medicare to sustain them during their retirement ... If there were a moratorium on legal immigration, the Social Security deficit would rise by nearly a third over the next 50 years, according to Stuart Anderson of the National Foundation for American Policy. (NYT 5/27/06, A13)

This theme appears to be of more concern to the California media audience if looked at strictly by the amount of coverage in newspapers. A strong explanation for this trend is the fact that the largest immigrant population is based in California and thus the greatest impact on the local economy from immigrant labor, regardless of whether it is viewed as positive or negative, would be concentrated here.

According to a Migration Policy Institute (MPI) fact sheet from 2005, California ranked 1st in the percent of foreign born in the total population and 1st in the numeric change in the foreign-born population between 2000 and 2005. In 2005 California had a population of approximately 35 million residents. 25.6 million are native born (73%) and 9.6 million are foreign born (27%). Of those foreign born, 4.1 million are naturalized citizens (12%), while 5.4 million are not legal citizens (15.5%). California also ranked 1st in the number of foreign-born employees in the civilian sector, the share of all civilians employees who were foreign born, and the numeric change in the number of foreign-born civilian workers (MPI: Fact Sheet on the Foreign Born 2005). All this data appears to confirm that, at least demographically and economically, California is the most impacted area from immigrant labor. Two other trends are worth noting here on this theme that add additional support to the growing focus on the economics and labor of immigrants in California. According to the MPI data, “between 2000 and 2005, the number of foreign-born, civilian employed workers age 16 and older in California changed from 4,423,854 to 5,499,821, representing a change of 24.3 percent,” and “34.4 percent of civilian employed workers age 16 and older were foreign born, compared with 30.2 percent in 2000 and 25.0 percent in 1990” (MPI: Fact Sheet on the Foreign Born 2005). All of the recent labor and demographic trends appear to support an increased coverage focus on this issue in the *Los Angeles Times* when compared with the other papers.

While there is not a statistically significant correlation between the newspaper source and economics as a theme, there is a strong positive trend visible nonetheless, as

represented by the emphasis on economics (61.5%) in *Times* coverage. This is not to suggest that economic issues do not matter to the larger U.S. public or media, but that like in the terrorism and homeland security, as well as the crime and drugs theme, certain papers seem to have more of a tendency to focus on one aspect of the issue. Economic issues simply appear to take more of a front-row seat, or have more issue salience, in the California news market than any of the others.

Culture and Identity Theme

The issues of culture and identity are both greatly contested ideas in the nation today, as well as around the world. Whether this is expressed in terms of hyphenated Americans, dual citizenship, ethnic conflict or community identity and exclusion, widely divergent opinions are evident. This study looks at the ways that notions of identity and culture are being expressed within the media, especially concerning the construction of Latino identity and culture in public consciousness.

Issues of identity and culture were present in twenty-five of the articles, or 23%, of the entire news sample, as shown in Table 12 below. Interestingly, three of the newspapers gave the exact same amount of total coverage, while *USA Today* gave less coverage but still showed the most focus on this particular theme. There is a statistically strong negative correlation (0.01 level) between the framing of immigrants and this theme, as shown in Tables 13 and 14 below. There is a negative correlation between

Table 12: Frequency of Culture and Identity Theme in Newspapers.

	Culture and Identity Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Los Angeles Times	7	6.5 %
New York Times	7	6.5 %
Houston Chronicle	7	6.5 %
USA Today	4	3.7 %
Theme in Overall Sample	25	23 %

this theme and crime and drugs. There was also found to be a strong positive correlation between this theme and the theme of immigration protests, as shown in Table 13 below. Articles with this theme are most likely to appear in immigration protest stories with a

Table 13: Culture and Identity Correlation with Immigrant Framing and Themes.

	Theme Identity and Culture
Immigrant Framing Sig. (2-tailed)	-.270** .005
Crime and Drugs Sig. (2-tailed)	-.235* .015
Immigration Protests Sig. (2-tailed)	.274** .004
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level or **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).	

friendly immigrant frame and aren't likely to include the theme of crime and drugs. In fact, crime and drug related stories were usually very different in tone and content from

any of the coverage of the protests, and often focused on different elements of the immigration debate than what the protests addressed. Issues such as role of narco-traffickers, Mexican drug cartels, cross-border drugs smuggling and gang violence were often the focus of these crime stories in the newspapers. Other crime related stories dealt with overcrowded jails from illegal immigrants, the costs that they were imposing on communities, and the problems of illegal immigrant crime on local, state and federal law enforcement budgets and resource. Table 14 below shows the framing of immigrants within this theme.

Table 14: Identity and Culture Theme and Immigrant Framing.

	Hostile Framing	Balanced Framing	Friendly Framing
Theme Culture and Identity Frequency	5	6	14
Theme Percent (% of total theme n=25)	20 %	24 %	56 %

There are two different but complementary explanations for this correlation that are visible in the articles. First, when a hostile article is discussing issues of identity and culture, it is usually expressed as a perceived threat to U.S. culture from immigrants, especially Mexican immigrants. Secondly, when issues of identity and culture are expressed in a positive frame in an article, culture is usually articulated by an immigrant or pro-immigrant viewpoint as being a positive contribution that immigrants bring with

them into the nation. An example of each respective position on this theme from opposing frames is provided below.

A group called Help Save Herndon, which opposes the use of public money to aid illegal immigrants in the town, issued a release Wednesday calling the [Herndon city council] election results a "devastating defeat" for "those who believe in the aiding and abetting of illegal aliens." "If it can happen in Herndon, it can happen anywhere," the group said. (LAT 5/4/06, A13)

Amid a sea of U.S. and Mexican flags, protesters chanted "Si, se puede" (Yes, we can) and waved banners in Spanish that read, "We aren't criminals" and "The USA is made by immigrants." "I love this country as if it were my own, for the opportunities it has given me," said Laurentino Ramirez, 32, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico. (HC 3/26/06, A3)

These two examples help illustrate the divergence in opinions, in this case between nativist groups opposed to illegal immigrants and an undocumented immigrant marcher. This relationship is also visible in the overall number of sources who were hostile to immigrants in this theme, which accounted for only nine cases, or about 23%.

This relationship also seems to fit with the earlier review of the anti-immigrant literature and the stress placed on issues of culture and civilization, regardless of whether or not they are involved in politics. *USA Today* offers a sample of this type of thinking in an article from mid-May.

This is an issue that requires the courage to do what is right for the country as a whole ... and to preserve our way of life. As President Bush said, we need to secure our borders and enforce the law. People who come have to learn English and adapt to our culture. (USA 5/18/06, A11)

Sources with a business (23%) or U.S. citizen (19%) affiliation were most likely to bring this theme up. While business is not generally in the “business” of talking culture, in this case it is related to a focus on the role of Latino businesses in the U.S., where the speakers are usually discussing the positive contributions to society from Latino workers and entrepreneurs. An example of this source affiliation is shown in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Main Sources Discussing Identity and Culture Theme.

Source Designation	Identity and Culture Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Business	5	20 %
U.S. citizens	4	16 %
U.S. politician	2	8 %
NGO/Think Tank	2	8 %

Immigration Protests Theme

Two major immigration-related protests took place during the period under review. The first was on March 25th, when an estimated 500,000 people took to the streets for a march through downtown Los Angeles. The second major protest took place on May 1st and was dubbed as “Day Without An Immigrant” or “The Great American Boycott” by protest organizers. The sample includes twenty-eight articles (26%) which addressed immigration protests, most of them dealing with the two major pro--immigrant marches of March 25 and May 1.

Stories included a variety of opinions on this issue, but on the whole tended to give more attention and focus to the individual participants at the rallies, which made for an overall friendlier media slant in stories. A statistically significant correlation was found between this theme and the theme of Congressional legislation (.195 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). There is also a strong and statistically significant negative correlation (0.01 level {2-tailed}) between immigrant framing and the theme of immigrant protests, shown in Tables 16 and 17 below. If framing of immigrants is examined in closer detail we find that the correlation is between a hostile immigrant frame and the lack of an immigrant protest theme and between the protest theme and the story depth. Overall 93% of the coverage which had a hostile frame did not cover immigration protests.

Table 16: Immigration Protest and Article Depth Correlation.

	Article Depth	Immigrant Framing
Immig. Protest Theme	-.240*	-.375**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.013 *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level	.000

Table 17: Immigration Protest Theme and Immigrant Framing Crosstabulation.

	Hostile	Balanced	Friendly
Immigration Protest Theme Frequency	2	11	15
Theme Percent (% of total theme n=28)	7 %	39 %	54 %

An examination of coverage of these protests shows an overall positive framing (52%), as in this *New York Times* story immediately following the marches.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants and their supporters skipped work, school and shopping on Monday and marched in dozens of cities from coast to coast. The demonstrations did not bring the nation to a halt as planned by some organizers, though they did cause some disruptions and conveyed in peaceful but sometimes boisterous ways the resolve of those who favor loosening the country's laws on immigration. (NYT 5/2/06, A1)

This frame can then be contrasted with the following opinion, also expressed in this same article, used to bring out the opposing view from the anti-immigrant Minutemen Project.

"When the rule of law is dictated by a mob of illegal aliens taking to the streets, especially under a foreign flag, then that means the nation is not governed by a rule of law – it is a mobocracy," Jim Gilchrist, a founder of the Minutemen Project, a volunteer group that patrols the United States-Mexico border, said in an interview. (NYT 5/2/06, A1)

At least thirty major demonstrations took place on May 1st, with protests occurring in more than a fifteen states across the nation (Great American Boycott: *Wikipedia* 6/3/07).

And while the economic impacts of the boycott have been debated, the larger political message that was sent is visible clear. The lead *New York Times* article the following day summed it up with the headline: "Immigrants Take to U.S. Streets in Show of Strength" (NYT 5/2/06, A1).

While some immigrant supporters worried that the protests would send the wrong message and potentially harm the larger immigrant-rights movement, this did not appear to have happened, at least not based on the framing of the protests in the media

immediately after. Even President Bush took note of the protests in his May 15 Oval Office address when he referenced the protests and their impact on the issue.

The issue of immigration stirs intense emotions, and in recent weeks, Americans have seen those emotions on display. On the streets of major cities, crowds have rallied in support of those in our country illegally. At our southern border, others have organized to stop illegal immigrants from coming in. Across the country, Americans are trying to reconcile these contrasting images. And in Washington, the debate over immigration reform has reached a time of decision. (Presidential Address on Immigration Reform 5/15/06)

This increasing visibility of immigrant rights protests also appears to be gaining more support within the Latino community, at least according to the 2006 National Survey of Latinos conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center. The report notes that almost “two-thirds (63%) think the pro-immigrant marches this year signal the beginning of a new and lasting social movement,” and that “a majority (58%) now believes Hispanics are working together to achieve common goals — a marked increase from 2002, when 43% expressed confidence in Latino unity” (Pew Hispanic Center: 2006 National Survey of Latinos 7/13/06). Furthermore, two of the protest articles with a hostile immigrant frame did not actually cover the immigration protests at all. Instead, one covered the victory of anti-immigrant supporters in Herndon, Virginia who had captured several seats on the local city council. The other focused on the Build-a-Wall campaign, which was sending bricks with messages about immigration reform with a restrictionist, border wall emphasis to members of Congress. With these two stories excluded we are left with a sample of articles that are either balanced or positive in their framing of immigrants and

immigration protests which took place in March and May of 2006. Furthermore, the depth of coverage of these protests shows that the majority of articles are deep (44%), while only 18% were shallow. This relationship is statistically significant at the 0.05 level, as was visible in Table 17 above. In articles with this theme, 57% of the sources were friendly in their immigrant frame, while 30% were balanced and the remaining 12% being hostile. Also worth noting is that this theme appears to be the only one where women are close to being equally represented as sources in an article. Of sources quoted on the protests, woman accounted for 40.5% of the sources, while men were 55%. This seems to be because more women at protests were interviewed or quoted in a story, at least compared to immigration coverage of the themes looked at so far. This phenomenon will be discussed later, but is worth pointing out while looking at the data.

Education Theme

Another one of the major themes that is often brought up by anti-immigrant advocates is the burden from undocumented immigrants on the public school system. This is a particularly salient theme in California, Arizona and Texas, where complaints about school are often highlighted by immigrant critics. Education was a key part of the Prop 187 debates in 1994 as well. The frequency of this theme is a surprisingly small 7.5% of the news coverage, the least represented of all the themes. However, a strong positive correlation (at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}) was found with another one of our

variables coded for the discourse analysis of immigrant metaphors. In this case, the *Immigrant as Threat* metaphors was positively correlated with education, as shown in Table 18. There was also a statistically significant, although not as strong, correlation between education and economics (.202 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}).

Table 18: Correlation Between Education Theme and Threat Metaphor.

	Education Theme
Immigrant as Threat Metaphor Sig. (2-tailed)	.347** .000
Economics Sig. (2-tailed)	.202* .037
*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level or **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).	

This is a surprising discovery, especially since education as a theme made up such a small percentage of the coverage. Here is an example of this theme in the coverage.

"This is a national issue," said Democrat Janet Napolitano of Arizona, where 500,000 attempts to illegally cross the border were turned back last year - and an untold number got through ... "We're absorbing through taxpayer dollars the incarceration costs, health care costs, education costs," Napolitano said. (HC 2/27/06, A6)

Napolitano clearly presents the issue of education and the immigrant as threat metaphor together, illustrating nicely the tangible impacts of otherwise abstract statistical correlations. However, education is not always framed in the threat language, and positive examples were also reported on education, especially where a positive frame was presented for students involved in immigration protests. An example of this framing is

visible in the *Houston Chronicle* headline which read: “Young Hispanics stepping out, speaking out for elders; Older immigrants often unaccustomed or afraid to protest” (HC 4/1/06, Religion). The main thrust of the article is the increasing activism among young Latinos, overlaid on the 1960s Chicano activism as a historical reference point, and their growing prominence in speaking out for immigrants, in part because many are legal citizens but at least one parent may be undocumented and could still be deported.

Other articles about this theme discussed the benefit and positive contributions of immigrant to education overall, and education stories tended to receive more coverage focus in the article than other themes. For example, 62.5% of all education stories were deep stories with six or more sources quoted and the framing of immigrants was friendly 50% of the time, the other 50% being equally split between balanced and hostile. This makes the correlation between the immigrant as threat metaphor and this theme even more interesting, as the general trends shown here would seem to suggest that one would expect a positive immigrant frame in stories about education. And while this is the case, it is also true that the threat metaphor is correlated with this theme, as well as the issue of economics, making for a curious picture of education as a theme. This picture is even more complicated if one considers that recent polls suggest that although a majority the public supports cracking down and denying services to undocumented workers, there is also widespread support—71% according to a recent Pew Survey—for allowing undocumented children access to public education (Pew Research Center: America's Immigration Quandary 3/30/06).

Government Spending Theme

The cost to the government, whether at the local, state or national level, is often one of the major arguments leveled against immigrants. They cost the government millions, some even argue billions, in taxpayer money every year. Colorado Representative Tom Tancredo, citing a FAIR economic study, claims that immigrants cost U.S. taxpayer “in excess of seventy billion dollars” every year (Tancredo 156). This worry about the costs of immigrants is presented in a *USA Today* story.

Communities even in areas far from any foreign border are dealing with the burdens and social change caused by growing numbers of immigrants, both legal and illegal. Longtime residents and local officials complain of the costs of immigrant children in the schools, strains on health care systems for a population that often lacks insurance, and economic impact of people willing to work for low wages. (USA 3/30/06, A10)

Similar to the findings on education just examined, the theme of government spending is not a major issue in the coverage, accounting for only 18%. While this is not as small a percentage as education, it is the second lowest for a theme, a somewhat surprising find considering how much attention this issue has received both historically and in the literature reviewed. When comparing other variables with this theme, many of the same trends that were noted in the previous themes appear again. Government spending articles were most likely to be deep (46%), followed by medium (38.5%) and shallow (23%). Framing of immigrants in this theme is decidedly hostile (69%), while only 23% are balanced and 15% friendly. Gender balance in this theme is similar as in all of the

previous categories (with the exception of the protest theme). Male sources made up 72% of those quoted, while women only 24.5%. The sources in this article were most likely to be either a US politician (35%) or a government official (23%). The source was most likely to be affiliated with the Republican party (19%), followed by the federal government (17.5%). Democrats represented only four (7%) of the 57 total sources in this theme. So what appears in reviewing this theme is the issue of government spending being presented in a hostile and deep frame by Republican politicians who are men, followed by federal government officials who are also men. When women were included as sources, they were more likely to use a friendly (42%) than hostile (29%) immigrant frame. Two significant relationships are visible in the data on this theme. First, there is a positive correlation between government spending and the theme of homeland security (.200 at the 0.05 level {2-tailed}). Second, there is a strong positive correlation between this theme and the metaphor *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* (.320 at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}). This is most clearly seen in articles where the focus is on the enforcement costs and burdens that undocumented immigrants are perceived to place on government resources, as well as projected government expenditures for proposed new measures.

Themes Review

The dominant theme in the coverage was the issue of the border, both as a matter of security and as it relates to issues of crime, drugs, smuggling, illegally crossing, proposals to fortify, fence and patrol, as well as the fear of terrorist attacks and immigrant

invasions. Common claims about the negative impacts of immigrants on the ability of the state to provide for education, health care and welfare appear regularly in the general debate about immigrants, as do issues of increased crime and violence, drugs and the negative impacts on wages and local community resources, but only two were significant enough to even reach half of the overall coverage: borders and Congressional legislation.

Table 19 below summarizes the major themes and their frequency in the newspaper analysis of media in the first half of 2006. Economics was the next closest with 40%, while issues of education and government spending did not reach 15% of total coverage.

Table 19: Frequency of Themes in Newspaper Coverage.

Immigration Themes	Theme Frequency	Theme Percent
Borders	65	61 %
Congressional Legislation	59	55 %
Economics	43	40 %
Crime and Drugs	34	32 %
Immigration Protests	28	26 %
Terrorism and Homeland Security	25	23 %
Culture/Identity	25	23 %
Government Spending	12	12 %
Education	8	8 %
911	7	7 %

With the predominance of public discourse today around issues of terrorism, and with a significant number of actors framing the issue of the border security as a homeland security and terror threat, I had expected to find this warranting significant coverage. However, as shown, the issue of homeland security received only 23% of overall immigration coverage, hardly the significance that its advocates claim it is. The issue of border security is central to the overall policy debate on immigration reform, receiving 61% of overall thematic coverage by the media. Where the case for security does hold public salience and media attention, however, is in a more general discussion about issues of the border.

Both an analysis and review of recent public opinion data confirm that many Americans, including a sizeable percentage of Latinos of Mexican descent, see the border as a problem that is either out of control, broken or in need of fixing in some form. And as I will demonstrate in the following sections, the importance of this theme, and the metaphors and narrative frames associated with borders, gives this theme even more importance in our overall examination of Mexicans and framing in the media.

Immigrant Metaphors

As mentioned earlier, an additional category that was coded for were occurrences of metaphors for immigrants or immigration. Overall, thirty-nine instances were found where a newspaper article used some form of metaphorical mapping of either *Immigrant at Threat* or *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* to link immigrants in a story to some

perceived or real concern. Twenty-one articles included the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor in this sample. The primary findings among these metaphors for *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* are the words “flow” or “flows,” which appears twenty-one times (37%), followed by “waves” (12%) and “influx” (12%). The use of this metaphor was most likely to occur in a *New York Times* article with a hostile immigrant frame (52%), but was visible in hostile, balanced and friendly articles. Both balanced and friendly articles included this metaphor usage equally at 24%. There did not appear to be a discernible pattern to the usage of this word within the structure of the text, as it was found in all three frames and in a mix of stories. Table 20 below shows the frequency of this metaphor in the four newspaper sources.

Table 20: Dangerous Waters Metaphor and Newspaper Source Crosstabulation.

	Dangerous Waters Metaphor Frequency	Metaphor Percent
New York Times	9	43 %
Los Angeles Times	7	33 %
Houston Chronicle	5	24 %
USA Today	0	0 %

A summary of the various *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphors found in the newspaper coverage on immigration is provided below in Table 21.

Table 21: Frequency of Immigrant as Dangerous Waters Metaphor.

Immigrant as Dangerous Waters	Metaphor Frequency	Metaphor Percent
Flow/s	21	37 %
Waves	7	12 %
Influx	7	12 %
Surge	5	9 %
Porous	5	9 %
Flood	3	5 %
Stream	3	5 %
Tide	2	4 %
Pouring	2	4 %
Swirling	1	2 %
Washed over	1	2 %
Dangerous Water Metaphor Total	57	20 %*
* Total % represents the overall percent of the 107 articles with an occurrence of this metaphor (n=21).		

Furthermore, there is a strong positive correlation between the hostile framing of immigrants and the occurrence of the metaphor *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters*. This relationship is shown in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Correlation Between Immigrant Framing and Water Metaphors.

	Dangerous Waters Metaphor
Immigrant Framing	.302*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.014
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).	

There is also a statistically significant relationship (.320 at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}) between the dangerous waters metaphor and the theme of Government spending, where 54% of the government spending articles used this metaphorical framing. Eighteen articles (17%) included the *Immigrant as Threat* metaphor. The most common metaphor was the actual word “threat,” which accounted for 27% of the overall occurrence of this metaphorical usage. Unlike the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor, this metaphorical mapping is more explicit in its linguistic impact, as witnessed by the different commonplace usage in which words like “threat,” as compared to “flow,” are often found. Table 23 below shows the other commonly found threat metaphors and their frequency in the data.

Table 23: Frequency of Immigrant as Threat Metaphors in Newspapers.

Immigrant as Threat	Metaphor Frequency	Metaphor Percent
Threat	7	27 %
Drain	4	15 %
Strain	4	15 %
Burden	4	15 %
Overwhelm	3	12 %
Horde	2	8 %
Invasion	1	4 %
Swarm	1	4 %
Threat Metaphor Total	26	17 %*
* Total % represents the overall percent of the 107 articles with an occurrence of this metaphor (n=18).		

The use of this metaphor was most likely to occur in either a *New York Times* or *Houston Chronicle* article (33%). This metaphor was equally frequent in a story with a hostile or balanced immigrant framing (39%). Friendly articles accounted for 22% of this metaphor usage in the text. Table 24 below shows the frequency of this metaphor in the four newspaper sources.

Table 24: Immigrant As Threat Metaphor and Article Source Crosstabulation.

	Threat Metaphor Frequency	Metaphor Percent
New York Times	6	33 %
Houston Chronicle	6	33 %
Los Angeles Times	3	17 %
USA Today	3	17 %

While no correlation was found with the immigrant framing, a statistically significant correlation (.347 at the 0.01 level {2-tailed}) was found between this metaphor and the theme of education, where 63% of the education articles included the *Immigrant as Threat* metaphor. An example of this framing in the text is shown below.

Lovin is concerned because, she says, they are not paying their share for education, health care and other social services, and they're taking jobs away from local residents. (HC 6/15/06, B3)

Section V: Textual Analysis of Immigration Coverage

The trends explored so far suggest that the issue of immigration policy is at least as complex a debate as it has been at any time in the country's past, and continues to gain widespread attention from both the media and members of Congress. Driven by forces such as local pressures coming from border states, nativist efforts to reduce or stop future immigration, and immigrant-rights advocates calling for legalization and a path to citizenship, the issue of immigration reform has steadily grown as a major policy issue under the Bush administration throughout 2006 and into 2007. The coverage of this issue has on the whole received balanced coverage (46%), with an equal distribution of both friendly and hostile frames (27%) on opposing sides of the issue. The content of these frames is explored next in order to better understand the three contending frames of immigrants as they appear in the stories themselves. Having already laid out and examined many of the primary themes which are a part of the immigration debate, both historically and today, I will not bother reviewing those here again.

Since the primary focus of this research is the construction of Mexican immigrants as a security threat, the analysis will primarily draw upon those articles which were either balanced or hostile in their framing of immigrants. And since it is evident that the theme of the border is the dominant area where this is taking place, the study will further focus on those articles with both a border theme and a negative framing of immigrants in a story.

Using Metaphors: Immigrant as Threat, Dangerous Waters

The two metaphor constructs I use for analysis in this thesis are *Immigrant as Threat* and *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters*, following a similar line of analysis as used by Santa Ana. Another language feature I consider is the way in which certain vocabulary is used to relay information about the actors in the immigration debate, as well as the position of immigrants in relation to, or as subordinated to, these other actors. Finally, I consider the relationship of particular words to each other within a given story, or what is commonly referred to as intertextuality, to see how particular phrases or associations are at work in this process of construction. All of these tools will aid my dissection of the text and efforts to expose and highlight the functions of power and language at work.

Immigrant as Dangerous Waters

Before I begin the actual analysis of the text, some basic vocabulary needs to be established to make sense of the analysis. Wictionary defines a metaphor as: “1) The use of a word or phrase to refer to something that it isn't, implying a similarity between the word or phrase used and the thing described, and without the words "like" or "as" or 2) An implied comparison” (“Metaphor.” Wictionary). In this context, metaphors are being examined in their application to immigrants and how immigrants are framed as a threat or as dangerous waters. The framing of *Immigrant as Threat* works in two distinct but mutually-reinforcing ways. First, the immigrant themselves can be the threat, as in the

invasion of Mexican immigrants across the border. Secondly, immigration as a social process can be framed as a threat, as in the case of immigration threatening our way of life. Both uses of this metaphor exist within the immigration discourse, but they can be deployed for different purposes, or in different context. Regardless of the application, the linguistic function—and by extension the impact of this language on the reader—is the same, which is to represent the immigrant as if they were a threat. By establishing a cognitive discourse between public consciousness and associations of immigrants as a perceived threat—a process described by Styliani Kleanthous and Vania Dimitrova as Cognitive Consensus—the metaphor fixes the notion of immigrants/immigration and threats as interchangeable subjects in a common dialogue (Kleanthous and Dimitrova 3).

A parallel process occurs for the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor. The frame within this metaphor is for both the immigration process as a social phenomenon, which moves of its own will and cannot easily be controlled, and the immigrant themselves. This is visible in phrases like “a rising tide of immigrants,” or “a surge of immigrants.” This metaphor does not lend itself as readily to both individual and group process, but still encapsulates both. In this sense, it is a more powerful metaphor as it can encompass the entirety of the discourse on immigration, both as a social process and concerning the immigrant themselves. These descriptive metaphors, as this study will show, play a critical role in the media construction of the Mexican immigrant, and even immigration more generally, as a potential threat to the safety and security of the nation. By linking general fears of outsiders and other more localized sentiments like concerns over crime or

economics, these metaphors help construct a totalizing discourse of the immigrant that is immensely powerful and persuasive, particularly for those in the public who have little to no actual interaction with immigrants on a day-to-day basis.

Twenty-nine articles in our sample (27%) framed immigrants in a hostile manner, with the breakdown between sources as follows: *Houston Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times* (31%), *New York Times* (28%) and *USA Today* (10%). The first article analyzed had forty-eight separate items flagged for their language traits. The article is from the *New York Times* on April 16, and was one of a three part series looking at different perspectives on immigration. This article represented what the *Times* called “From the Inside: The Advocate” and consisted of an interview with a 67-year old American of Mexican descent named Waldo Benavidez (NYT 4/16/06 A23). Benavidez, we are told, works with the poor in Colorado where he runs a community center and food bank on Denver's west side. This is an especially fascinating article because it presents his view as that of an American “whose ancestors have been in the West for 250 years, since the days of the Spanish empire” and who “marched for civil rights in the 1960s and relishes the memory of his first vote for president, for John F. Kennedy, in 1960.” Furthermore, we are told that his personal hero, by textual reference to a picture sitting above him, is Mexico's revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata. Additionally, we are told that Mr. Benavidez is a Democrat and a liberal, thus qualifying and validating the article's chosen headline: “A Liberal's Contrarian View.”

We are further told that Mr. Benavidez believes “I’m an American first,” and that it is only because of the recent immigration protests, which “pushed him out of his comfortable old political box,” which we are told represent “predictably liberal labels and causes,” that he is now speaking out against illegal immigration. One can only assume that before he did not care about immigration and that, perhaps if the protests did not happen, he would still not care and would still be in his “comfortable old political box.” And just to show how serious the issue is, Mr. Benavidez tells us that he is considering voting for a Republican for the first time in the fall elections. All of this serves to both validate and legitimate the speaker as not only a “true” U.S. citizen but also someone with deep historical roots and Mexican ties, thus making him a powerful authority on the matter. If that were not enough, his credentials with the civil rights movement guarantee that he knows what’s what when it comes to social movements and protests—including the ones discussed in the article. Furthermore, his tie to Emiliano Zapata shows his affinity to Mexico (perhaps to show he is sympathetic to legal Mexican immigrants?), and the revolutionary spirit that he puts into his advocacy work for the poor and homeless in Colorado, confirming that he really is a good liberal after all, but this issue has just gone too far, even for him.

To help reinforce the magnitude of the problem the *Times* pulls no punches in their metaphorical attacks, showing the full power of a linguistic deployment against immigrants. Table 25 below illustrates some of the metaphors used to describe illegal immigration and illegal immigrants from Mexico in this article. It is important to note

here that many of these elements are not unique to this story. They also help to illustrate the power of multiple metaphors within a particular narrative framework and how they can shape the tone and framing of the issue. The list shows a considerable number of negative metaphors and descriptors that correspond to what Santa Ana describes as the semantic domain of “immigration as dangerous waters,” which is used to describe the migration of large numbers of people into the country (Santa Ana 72).

Table 25: Sample of Metaphors Found in Newspaper Coverage.

Metaphors for immigration	Metaphors for immigrants
swirling story tangled questions washed over politics a sudden, jolting wave a flood wrestling with immigration's tangled complications shutting down the system “impact it has on the working poor” offended by recent waves of protests not about ethnicity at all “not a civil rights issue” “a complicated issue” a blow political thunderclap “...a revolt out there” watches with anxiety and anger being hurt by immigrants pushed him out “pandering” to not...what is good for the country	illegal immigrants tools for suppressing wages & labor unions even poorer immigrants poor people sink further into poverty source of poverty source of downward wage pressures Mexicans here illegally demanding rights “These people are not citizens” many illegal immigrants are poor people a safety valve from different places

In his analysis of this metaphor usage in the Proposition 187 debates in California, he found that the majority of metaphor usage fits under this larger category of movement and immigration as described in terms of dangerous waters. The following excerpt from Santa Ana's *Brown Tide Rising* helps to provide an important theoretical connection between our earlier discussion of nativist arguments about civilization and culture and how those same arguments, while seemingly absent in the discourse looked at so far, are in fact centrally operative and often implicitly encoded through the use of particular metaphor mapping onto the subject of immigration.

The metaphor labeled IMMIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS is a tightly structured semantic relationship. It is a coupling and mapping of the semantic ontology of DANGEROUS WATERS onto the domain of IMMIGRATION. It establishes semantic associations between two meaning domains, taking a well-developed framework of everyday knowledge of floods and tides and imposing it on an entirely human activity ... The implications of this metaphor are extensive. Treating immigration as dangerous waters conceals the individuality of the immigrants' lives and their humanity. In their place a frightening scenario of uncontrolled movement of water can be played out with *devastating floods and inundating surges* of brown faces. (Santa Ana 77)

While the exact wording *brown tide rising* was not a metaphor which I encountered in the sample, every other metaphor which Santa Ana documents did appear. When examined specifically in the context of coverage of the border it is evident that there is a positive correlation between the occurrence of these metaphors and articles discussing the border, as shown below in Table 26. The previous article included the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* in the form of words like *swirling*, *washed over*, *a sudden jolting wave*, and *a*

flood. In our sample as a whole (not just the hostile framing of immigrants), there are 57 occurrences of this *Dangerous Waters* metaphor. Within just the hostile articles there are eleven stories (38%) where this metaphorical usage has been deployed. Overall then, 20% of our sample of 107 articles uses some version of this semantic mapping of *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* to construct a narrative. Primary among these metaphors

Table 26: Correlation Between Immigrant Metaphors and Border Theme.

	Dangerous Waters or Threat Metaphors
Border Theme	.232*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.016
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).	

are the word flow or flows. Several examples of metaphors in context are offered here.

The president's speech, his first on domestic policy from the Oval Office, is to come as the Senate begins trying again to pass a bill that addresses competing demands to **stem the flow** of workers across the border from Mexico and the desire of American employers to have reliable access to a low-wage work force. (NYT 5/15/06, A1)

Looking at these numbers, politicians are falling over each other with promises to round up millions for deportation, erect massive walls along **the porous U.S.-Mexico border** and crack down yet again on employers who hire those here illegally. (USA 5/30/06, A10)

A growing number of governors, along the border and beyond, are sharpening their complaints about the **flood of immigrants pouring into their states**, pushing the Bush administration and Congress for action. (HC 2/27/06, A6)

Tighter security on the U.S.-Mexico border may do little to **reduce the surge of illegal immigration** into U.S. ... (NYT 5/22/06, A4)

The prospect of a beefed-up border is welcomed by most law enforcement officials and politicians in this beleaguered state; concentrated efforts, they say, have made a difference. But because of the **ever-shifting nature** of illegal immigration, many are not convinced that more cameras and fences will **reduce the flow**. (LAT 5/23/06, A8)

Lighted at night, it's a beacon in the desert for another **unstoppable diaspora that ebbs and flows**. The border here is so **flimsy and porous** that it defies belief. No wonder that illegal immigrants - many carrying drugs in burlap sacks as a means of paying for their passage - **stream across**. (1/22/06 HC, A3)

As these various examples from different papers show, the correlation between the border, the hostile framing of immigrants and the use of *Dangerous Waters* metaphor is no accident. The *Dangerous Waters* metaphor is in fact a key part of many hostile narrative constructions of the border as a national security issue and therefore a threat. The image of a flood or tide of people streaming across the border creates a strong visual image of a problem in the American psyche. When this frame is then linked with fear of cultural fragmentation among the Anglo public from these immigrants, as Santa Ana suggests, the frame becomes even more powerful. However, since the issue of cultural or civilizational clashes is only marginally present in our sample in an explicit form, it is very difficult to test for independently. One way in which I believe this link can be traced is through proposals to build a border security wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. Regardless of what wall proponents may claim, it is hard to imagine a reason for double

or triple-razor wire fences and a massive deployment of law enforcement and military resources to the border unless the dangers posed to the border—and by extension the rest of the country from those trying to cross it—are a high-order threat. Certainly the dynamics of 911 have played into shaping the public acceptance of homeland security as a priority, and with the inclusion of the INS under the umbrella of the Department of Homeland Security, it becomes much easier to justify border security operations under the rubric of fighting terrorism. And there is no doubt, although I have not addressed it in this study, that there is a strong correlation between notions of a “clash of civilizations” and the U.S. War on Terrorism. By extension, then, it would not seem unrealistic to suggest that the framing of the border as a homeland security threat, in part due to the fear of terrorists crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, can serve to mask assumptions about cultural clashes which are operative in those calling for tighter border controls. Several possible examples of this link appear to exist in the articles which were examined, and are provided below as evidence to support this tentative hypothesis. I have bolded the specific passages which I see as supporting this claim. The following set of examples appeared in a *New York Times* article in June which was entitled “Border Patrol Draws Increased Scrutiny as President Proposes an Expanded Role” and focused on the Border Patrol and expectations that President Bush had outlined in his May 15 address.

"The nexus between our post-Sept. 11 mission and our traditional role **is clear,**" Chief Aguilar said. **"Terrorists** and violent criminals **may exploit smuggling routes used by migrants** to enter the United States illegally and do us harm."

Devin Harshbarger, 25, is in his first two months on the job at the Casa Grande station 50 miles southeast of here, some 700 miles from his hometown, Cheyenne, Wyo. ... "After 9/11, I wanted to do my part to **help keep terrorists out**,"... (NYT 6/4/06, A34)

Two additional examples of this link between immigrant framing as a threat, concerns about protecting U.S. culture and the need to secure the border appear to be visible in the following *USA Today* article.

We need leadership that provides policies that will **secure the USA for the long term** and stop all this lip service. Both parties need to **stop catering to the vocal minority** and get back to doing what's right ... Freedom is not free, and if we do not **stand firm and protect what is good for the American people** first and foremost, then the **America that we have known will exist no more.**

This is an issue that requires the courage to do **what is right for the country as a whole**, to be fair to people who have come here legally and to **preserve our way of life**. As President Bush said, we need to **secure our borders** and enforce the law. People who come have to learn English and **adapt to our culture**. (USA 5/18/06, A11)

Each of the above samples captures some aspect of this cultural fear, mixed with the danger to the border from terrorists and illegals, which is expressed in terms of “what is good for the American people” or “the country as a whole,” but also as a need to “preserve our way of life” and “our culture” from the risk that the “America that we have known will exist no more.” This threat to the American culture comes from either “terrorists” or a “vocal minority,” but has also been expressed as the threat from outside invasion, as in the following excerpt from a *New York Times* article on May 2.

"When the rule of law is dictated by a **mob of illegal aliens** taking to the streets, especially **under a foreign flag**, then that means the nation is not governed by a rule of law -- it is a mobocracy," Jim Gilchrist, a founder of the Minutemen Project, a volunteer group that patrols the United States-Mexico border, said in an interview. (NYT 5/2/06, A1)

While the Minutemen Project is hardly representative of the average citizen, the influence of this and similar groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) in the immigration debate should not be underestimated. As seen earlier, one of their main goals, namely the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, has essentially been adopted by both houses of Congress as a legitimate proposal for dealing with the problem of illegal immigration. However, current public opinion polls suggest that this is not a view supported by the larger public, at least not at the moment, and recent data suggest that this support has actually decreased in the last several years. Public support dropped from 9 to 7% in the past year for border fence proposals, according to a recent poll by the Pew Center (Pew Research Center: Democratic Leaders Face Growing Disapproval, Criticism on Iraq; Mixed Views on Immigration Bill 6/7/06).

So far this study has primarily been focused on the framing and use of metaphors in hostile articles, but as evidenced earlier, the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor also shows up in the friendly and balanced stories on immigrants. Overall, there were five balanced and five hostile article (10%) that also used this frame. The following example comes from a May 28 story in the *Los Angeles Times*. The focus of the article is a

lunchtime debate between Latino activist Gil Navarro and San Bernardino councilwoman Wendy McCammack as narrated by the author and meeting organizer, Steve Lopez.

Lopez writes the story from his own viewpoint, but also seeks to highlight some of the tensions that he sees at play in the larger immigration issue. The headlines for the story reads: “Passing the Salsa Across a Chasm.”

If McCammack wants to send a message as an elected official, why not demand that the federal government cover the costs of its broken policy and hammer out a compromise reform plan? As I see it, the federal government can't realistically round up and deport 12 million people, so it ought to impose fines, offer naturalization, collect taxes, punish employers and **slow the flow** of additional illegals. (LAT 5/28/06, B1)

Another interesting example of this metaphor usage is seen in a March 28 story in the *New York Times*. The article focuses on the recent protests that had taken place on the 27th of March. What is particularly interesting about this article is the description of the protests and the inclusion of another view which seems to support the earlier theory about cultural fears being masked behind border security or homeland security claims.

Tens of thousands of immigrants here and in several other cities **continued a wave of angry protests** on Monday over Congressional proposals to arrest illegal immigrants and to fortify the Mexican border. The continuing demonstrations **underscored the stakes for illegal immigrants** in whatever legislation emerges from Congress. Some conservative commentators, on the other hand, have argued that the **protests reflect the kind of social disorder they fear illegal immigration brings**. (NYT 3/28/06, A12)

Compare the following story about the protests with a March 26 story, where the framing of the marchers is exactly opposite of how the *New York Times* spins it.

They were among a **festive crowd** police estimated at 500,000 that **marched through downtown** Los Angeles to City Hall on Saturday to **support** immigrants' rights and oppose a pending federal bill that would criminalize illegal immigrants. (LAT 3/26/06, A3)

Writing about the protests and legislation before the Senate, the *Houston Chronicle* describes the events as “massive protests in several cities.”

The **demonstrations**, including one in Los Angeles over the weekend that attracted half a million marchers, **vividly conveyed the passions of a large segment of the U.S. population**. However, the protesters who carried Mexican flags and shouted “Viva Mexico” **fueled many Americans' fear that uncontrolled immigration would foster wholesale, unwanted change to U.S. culture**. (HC 3/30/06, B10)

Where the *New York Times* sees a “wave of angry protests” the *Los Angeles Times* sees a “festive crowd” and the *Houston Chronicle* a demonstration which “vividly conveyed the passions” of many Americans but also “fueled many Americans' fears” of a “wholesale, unwanted change to U.S. culture.” These media narratives show how the process of using the issue of U.S. culture being under threat—a threat that only immigrants can pose, since they are not a part of the “U.S. culture”—as a way to legitimize calls for further restrictions on immigrants and control of the border to prevent the threat. It is important to also note here that the *Houston Chronicle* makes no distinction between legal and illegal immigrants in this context, simply referring to “uncontrolled immigration.” The implication of this seems clear: half a million people can march in the streets, convey the passions of a large segment of the population, and still be a threat to U.S. culture. How can this be possible, unless there is a distinct “U.S. culture” which these marchers do not

belong to, and to which immigrants pose a threat? It would seem reasonable to claim that calls for the need to defend Anglo culture and—perhaps for some also a notion of a superior western civilization—is an implicit assumption which is coded into the language of this narrative. It is a narrative of U.S. culture which the readers are assumed to be a part of, but which the protesters and immigrants are not, even if they may be citizens. Perhaps this is too strong of a proposition, but it does not strike me as one which can be wholly excluded either. As was evident in reviewing the anti-immigrant literature previously, there is no shortage of individuals who advocate this viewpoint. This may very well be another example of the power of that narrative, such that it can be openly expressed within the confines of acceptable public discourse. This would seem to also support the earlier hypothesis about the masking of cultural arguments within the language of security and immigration, in this case the threat from “uncontrolled immigration.”

Immigrant as Threat

The second metaphor of *Immigrant as Threat*, which other scholars have found in their study of immigration discourse, also showed up in the news coverage. In total, eighteen stories (16.8%) showed usage of the *Immigrant as Threat* metaphor, or about half as much as the Dangerous Waters. Several examples are provided below.

Five years ago, the busiest border-crossing route in Arizona went through Douglas, a dusty town lying on a high plain in the southeast corner. Day and night, **hordes of immigrants** jumped

the rusty fence and ran into alleys and neighborhoods. (LAT 5/23/06, A8)

Federal agents have arrested more than 2,000 illegal immigrants, many of them **convicted criminals, child predators, gang members and fugitives**, in sweeps across the country over the past three weeks, authorities said Wednesday. (USA 6/15/06, A2)

Cuellar said that generally, he hears support from his constituents for a requirement that new immigrants learn English. There is also concern, he says, about **a threat to jobs from continued illegal immigration**. (HC 6/7/06, A3)

Here one sees various aspects of previous themes at play. First is the fear of the out of control border. Next is the fear of crime, drugs and gangs as linked to immigrants. And finally is the notion of public resource burdens and language objections, as well as notions of wage and job threats. All of these are themes that have been explored, and help illustrate how the seamless fear or threat language deployed in the metaphors of *Immigrant as Threat* and *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* can be so effective in the public discourse. Further, there appears to be little contestation of these ideas. In only a few cases was there ever an oppositional position advocated which challenged the need for more borders, or that suggested an open immigration policy is in fact a good idea. Those ideas have been systematically excluded from the domain of what is acceptable debate on immigration. The media has told us that the majority of citizens want more control and security, not less. An example of the lone voice in the wilderness on this issue was found in an article in the *New York Times* from April 4, and was written by Princeton

sociologist Douglas Massey, author of *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Age of Economic Integration* (2003). His comments offer additional evidence of how the image of the Mexican immigrant as a security threat is being consciously constructed and manipulated for political purposes.

Mexican-American border is not now and never has been out of control ... What has changed are the locations and visibility of border crossings. And that shift, more than anything, has given the public undue fears about waves of Mexican workers trying to flood into America. (NYT 4/4/06, A23)

As Dr. Massey's comments suggest, and as my own data shows, there is an intentional manipulation of the immigrant for political purposes, most often to show the need for more border controls and immigration reform, while at the same time voices critical of this position are marginalized if not outright excluded. What this leads to is a very shallow debate and discourse where the idea of the immigrant as a threat becomes the dominant ideological frame through which the public views immigration.

This point becomes even more salient when one looks at the stories with friendly framing of immigrants where the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* metaphor appears. Significantly, the five stories where this frame appears are within a contested context, and rather than simply supporting the notion of immigrants as a threat, they are used to illustrate just the opposite. The following example shows the use of metaphors where they seem to support the earlier arguments about culture, but then reject them explicitly.

U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Tony Garza described **building a fence** along the U.S.-Mexico border **as un-American** in a speech to the University of Texas at Austin graduating class

Saturday night ... Garza delivered a message of tolerance for the **millions** of Latin American immigrants **who have poured into the United States** in recent years, though he did not address the issue of immigration ... Garza said the United States has left the era of "**Jim Crow**" **racism** behind but warned that **intolerance still exists**. "America didn't get where we are today off the **sweat of just one race, one religion or one culture**," Garza said. (HC 5/21/06, B5)

Here we see an explicit rejection of a single U.S. culture and Anglo ideals of what it means to be a “real American,” as well as a clear recognition that issues of race and discrimination are still very real dynamics at play in the immigration debate. This would seem to be further support for the claim that Anglo arguments about protecting U.S. culture, as defined by white nationalists, are linked to public calls for more restrictive border security. As illustrated here, a clear attack on border fence proposals as “un-American” is linked with a rejection of the U.S. as a country defined by one race or culture of people. This is exactly opposite of how nativist rhetoric frames the issue. If the nation is a mix of races and cultures, how can the “U.S. culture” be under attack from immigrants? This can only be possible by excluding immigrants from who is defined as part of the national or U.S. culture. Going back to an earlier argument, immigrants can be embraced and recognized as long as they can be kept under control and do not threaten the hegemony of the dominant Anglo culture. And as explored earlier, some saw the protests as doing exactly that—challenging Anglo notions of what is the real national culture. One example of this contestation over what defines U.S. culture or national identity can be found in the following description of the May 1 protests.

Protesters wearing white and waving U.S. flags sang the national anthem in English as traditional Mexican dancers wove through the crowd. Los Angeles police stopped giving estimates at 60,000 as the crowd kept growing. Many carried signs in Spanish that translated to "We are America" and "Today we march, tomorrow we vote." Others waved Mexican flags or wore hats and scarves from their native countries. Some chanted "USA" while others shouted slogans, such as "Si se puede!", Spanish for "Yes, it can be done!" (HC 5/2/06, A6)

To respond to the perceived culture threat that this example illustrates to nativists, the border becomes the point of contested territory where immigrants can once more be controlled and suppressed with broad public support. By hiding arguments based in Anglo notions of culture behind the language of border security, and framing the issue of border security within the larger context of Homeland Security, it becomes possible to legitimately advance arguments about culture or race premised in racist assumptions of a superior Anglo culture within mainstream discourse while also refuting charges of racism as motivating the call for a border crackdown. How else could one find the following two statements advanced together? First, Representative Tom Tancredo argues that we are committing "cultural suicide" in our drive to embrace diversity and what he sees as the cult of multiculturalism. He argues that "by the time many of us recognize it, our country may itself be so weakened by these destructive influences that the barbarians at the gate will only need to give a slight push, and the emaciated body of Western civilization will collapse in a heap" (Tancredo 51). This is clearly a racist claim based in notions of a superior Anglo culture, but when this charge is made, it is adamantly refuted. "These are not racist sentiments, they are truths. And until more Americans use the truth and face

down the raging multiculturalist who yell, “Racist!” because they can't argue with these truths, nothing will change” (Tancredo 197).

We can clearly challenge Representative Tancredo's claim that these are not racist sentiments, and a close reading of his book as well as those like Hayworth's and similar nativist will prove this assertion is in fact accurate. But it is far more difficult to find these same blatant expressions in the news coverage of immigration due to the nature of the media to shy away from this type of openly racist discourse. Therefore one has to look, as I have tried to do, at the more subtle narrative construction through language and metaphor to find these type of root assumptions at work. While clear linguistic expressions of overt racism may be harder to find, the underlying Anglo cultural assumptions are often harder to mask, precisely because they are so common-sense to their speakers that they cannot see them. This reality must be placed within the larger context of pervasive and institutionalized Anglo-dominance, which both creates and define the U.S. meta-politick. As Delgado and Stefancic suggest, white privilege “refers to the myriad of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that come with being a member of the dominant race,” but which also includes the reality that most whites “do not see themselves as having a race, but being, simply, people (Delgado and Stefancic 78; 80). This historical reality is well documented in the regional context of Mexican and Anglo interactions in the U.S. Southwest by Tomás Almaguer in *Racial Fault Line* (1994), where he traces the historical origin and patterns of white supremacy in California towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Although I have argued that nineteenth-century Mexicans occupied in “intermediate” group position in the racial hierarchy that white supremacy structured at that historical moment, this century has witnessed the reconfiguration of these racial fault lines. What is perhaps more obvious to me today is the reassignment of Mexicans—especially the undocumented, non-English-speaking population—to the bottom end of the new racial and ethnic hierarchy. They are part of the contemporary subaltern class of non-citizen Latino and Asian workers still bound by exploitative labor relations which harken back to the nineteenth century. (Almaguer 212)

These are the types of social implications from media framing I am trying to document in my discourse analysis by illustrating how the immigrant as threat logic is in fact not accidental but an intentional construction of the world by a particular racial and ideological logic. And as I have tried to show, this logic is far from a marginal discourse.

In the late twentieth century, Latinos were represented by thoroughly negative and derogatory images in contemporary American public discourse. These were not petty aggravations that could be swept away with amended media practices of political correctness. Nor were they harmless remnants of the blatantly racist public discourse prevalent in the earlier part of the century. These prejudicial representations were and continue to be indices of the operative social values of American society (Santa Ana 15).

This leads me back to notions of contested discourses and ideological struggle, which is so clear in the immigration literature and debate, about what it means to be a citizen and what role immigrants play in the story of our national identity. During the course of doing research on this topic, I found myself slowly seeing a larger meta-narrative about immigrants which was deeply troubling, beyond simple worries about negative media framing of Mexican immigrants and its implications for national identity. This realization

first began as I was sitting on an airplane en route to Hawai'i, and finally emerged in full bloom as the July 4 fireworks were sounding in the distance.

So far I have tried to show what I have described variously as nativist, anti-immigrant, or a white nationalist position, and its relationship both towards immigration in the social and policy arenas. As I have suggested and shown in the text, some of their central claims about immigrants as a threat to the nation have been adopted, sometimes nearly wholesale, within both the media discourse (*Immigrant as Threat* and *Dangerous Waters*) and proposed political solutions (H.R. 4437's border fences, militarization and criminalization plans). But this wasn't enough evidence by itself to support a roughly sketched-out theoretical link that I felt must be there somewhere, if only I looked at the issue the right way, between the public discourse on border security and arguments about protecting Anglo culture.

The theoretical link that I was trying to develop between claims about culture or civilization and the rhetoric of national security and border control in framing the immigrant as a threat was missing something. I believe that this link is the phenomenon that Carol M. Swain writes about in her book *The New White Nationalism in America* (2001), which I have alluded to previously in reference to a nativist position.

Swain's book consists of a deep analysis of the growing movement of what she describes as white nationalism, or a growing "white consciousness movement on the part of those Americans of European ancestry" (Swain 1). Building off the writings of Arthur E. Lebouthillier, Swain defines central characteristics of this new movement as follows:

Contemporary white nationalists draw upon the potent rhetoric of national self-determination and national self-assertion in an attempt to protect what they believe is their God-given natural right to their distinct cultural, political, and genetic identity as white Europeans. This identity, they believe, is gravely threatened in contemporary America by the rise of multiculturalism, affirmative action policies that favor minorities, large-scale immigration into the United States from non-white nations, racial intermarriage, and the identity politics pursued by rival racial and ethnic groups. (Swain 17)

As I read her discussion of this new movement, as well as her section on immigration, it was impossible not to see that the exact same arguments presented by people like Tom Tancredo, Patrick Buchanan and J.D. Hayworth were also being made by people like David Duke, Dan Gayman and William Pierce, all leading figures in the new white nationalism movement which Swain documents. The basis for claims about immigrants and immigration draws upon the same logic and arguments within both groups. Not only that, but the mainstream groups most often interviewed for a restrictionist border enforcement position—groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF)—are the same groups being cited and supported by the white nationalism movement.

So in effect, the discourse of white nationalism appears to have been significantly adopted into the mainstream media discourse on immigration, although these links are never made clear, and are in fact often explicitly rejected. One simple example shows the weight of this overlap. The following is a review on DavidDuke.com about the book *The Immigration Invasion* (1994) by Wayne Lutton and John Tanton Petoskey, a review

which cites both AICF and FAIR as well as including them in their list of anti-immigrant resources along with publications like *The Duke Report*.

The Third World influx offers to swamp out not just the United States but Europe as well. The challenge to the United States must be seen in the context of a massively swelling world population and of demographic shifts that place the continued existence of both European and American civilization, in anything like the form they have heretofore taken, in jeopardy. (Murphey 2)

For the purposes of this study, several elements of this dynamic are crucial to understand. First is the fact that powerful members of Congress and mainstream anti-immigrant groups involved in the immigration debate, such as Representative Tancredo or the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), are arguing from a position that seems in nearly every respect to be identical to that of the growing white nationalism movement that Swain has documented. Second, much of this discourse has moved from the margins of the white nationalism movement to the mainstream of public policy debates on immigration reform. This has been facilitated by the intentional media construction of the Mexican immigrant as a national security threat—partly through the use of metaphors that I have documented here, and additionally by linking this constructed threat with a call for border restrictions and militarization in the name of homeland security, effectively masking a growing white nationalism with their calls to secure the border and protect U.S. values and Anglo culture.

Swain refers to this critical mass of public concern over immigration as a manifestation of a “collective action frame” driven by the fear of Anglo culture losing

national hegemony—hence the call for national or “homeland” security (Swain 2). Protecting the homeland then becomes a racially encoded Anglo metaphor for protecting a socially constructed notion of the “homeland” as conceived by white nationalists. This is deeply problematic at both the public policy and social unity level. Increasing numbers of immigrants who are not Protestant, Anglo-Europeans but from the “Third World,” when combined with growing white anger and fear around issues like affirmative action and multiculturalism, is leading to further racialization of the nation. This racialization is visible in social segregation, the phenomenon of “white flights,” and most importantly, in the current state of race and ethnic relations in the United States. Swain argues very persuasively that the increasing perception of an immigration “problem” among mainstream Anglo citizens is pushing the center further towards the right, a trend which both the proposed House immigration bill as well as the media rhetoric would seem to confirm.

For whites accustomed to being in the majority, the impending changes are likely to bring uncertainty and fear, a fear that is exacerbated by the politics of racial preferences. Moreover, the white majority appears to be left with only three clear-cut alternatives for dealing with the broad demographic changes: accepting a new American melting pot, heeding the call of white nationalism and organizing and pressuring government to slow the tide of immigration, or self-segregating by moving into whiter areas of the country.⁴ (Swain 85)

This trend is deeply troubling to me, but it is clear that further research needs to be done to establish more accurately how much of the public support for stronger immigration enforcement are based in notions of white nationalism and how much is rooted

elsewhere. It would be far too broad of a generalization to suggest that white nationalism is the key factor in hostile framing of immigrants, since this reduces the debate to white vs. all and oversimplifies the subtleties that race, class, gender, geographic location, education and political ideology play in determining immigration support or opposition. But it is very clear from the analysis so far that there is a strong ideological link between mainstream rhetoric on immigration and the position of the new white nationalists as described by Swain. If this is in fact the case, this makes it all the more critical to be able to distinguish legitimate claims against immigrants, rooted in actual job loss experiences for example, and those firmly rooted in racially structured notions of what constitutes the core identity and culture of the United States. Unfortunately such an examination is beyond the scope of this current project, but that does not diminish its importance at all. These findings lead me to believe that further research needs to be done, as Swain rightly recognizes, to discern exactly how deep and widespread public support is for this new white nationalism, and their future impacts not only on immigration reform but national unity as a whole.

Overall then, I have looked at how the language of immigration coverage has constructed the border as the primary threat and focus of immigration debate, and how this construction is taking place on a linguistic level through metaphors like Immigrant as Dangerous Water or Threat. Furthermore, I have argued that the public discourse arguing for more border control and security to protect U.S. culture appears to strongly parallel the discourse within the new white nationalism movement in this country. And I have

shown how some of the mainstream anti-immigrant groups like FAIR, which is frequently cited by both white nationalists and mainstream media, should be looked at as helping to facilitate moving the views and arguments of this isolated movement of white nationalism discourse into mainstream public rhetoric on immigration. I have tried to document places in the text where I see this process occurring, as well as connect ideological and group positions between these strands, and then link them back into the discourse. While these are only tentative conclusions, they surely merit more attention.

Section VI: Conclusion

So where does all of this leave our understanding of how the media is constructing the Mexican immigrant as a national security threat? This study has looked at ten major themes which appeared in the discourse around immigration in 2006. It has shown that, contrary to what one would expect, traditional issues popular in the immigration debate such as crime, economics, education and a general drain on the public were present but never dominant themes in the coverage that was examined. Rather, what emerges is a discourse on immigrants increasingly shaped around discussions of defending and fortifying the border from external threats. This may take the form of a discourse on Homeland Security and terrorism or, more often, in a broad sense of securing the nation from all threats, terrorists and Mexicans alike. This construction of Mexican immigrants as a security threat is accomplished in several ways.

First, through the use of what I have called the Fortress of Fear. This media frame portrays immigrants as a threat to the nation because they harm the country, either physically through crime and wage suppression, or existentially, through concerns about losing a unique U.S. identity and culture. The fear of these attacks upon the state and the populace, whether actual or ideological, appear to carry similar weight in many instances. Regardless of the source of the fear that immigrants are believed to pose, the solution is often the same. If the U.S. can't control Mexican immigrants entering into the country and if no solution can be reached on the apparently broken labor system and its

associated wage problems for laborers, then the U.S. public begins to panic from the sheer level of uncertainty and lack of control that these examples personify for most people. With the loss of control comes uncertainty, and this is where the rhetoric of fear can step in to hijack the debate. The only seeming option left is to deny these immigrants access altogether, and the best way to do this is to build a wall and put more troops on the border, both which happen to coincide nicely with the agenda of the nativist and anti-immigrant movements in the U.S.

As I have tried to demonstrate, these public fears, legitimate or hyped, have created a supercharged atmosphere around the immigration issue, as the debate throughout 2006 and the first half of 2007 have shown. The failure of the immigration reform bill in Congress in 2007, and the reactions on both sides of the immigration issue, only serve to highlight this further. But what has not changed is the growing public fear, especially situated in the Anglo-white populations of the heartlands, that this country is in “mortal danger.”

Secondly, the Fortress of Fear is supported by the Borders of Control ideology, or the desire to have total protection from and control over the unknown Other, who is seen as a high-order threat. By hyping the immigration problem with the fear factors described already, and with skillful and intentional manipulation of public and media coverage, the logic and apparent necessity of building more border fencing or walls, as well as the continuing militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border appears not only possible, but necessary. The rallying effect of calls to defend of the homeland, echoing previous

historical calls of a similar nature, appear to now be leading the U.S. towards the path of a military-dominated and enforced police state which fears all things foreign. This is without doubt a trend that should worry many people, chief among them immigrants.

Third, through the use of specific linguistic constructs, especially metaphors, the narrative frames of *Immigrant as Threat* and *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* has been normalized in public rhetoric and discourse. And as this analysis has shown, there is a strong relationship between the use of these metaphors and the media framing of issues of border protection and security. This occurs in stories both hostile to and balanced in their framing of immigrants. This overarching discourse of the immigrant as a danger, regardless of how the exact nature of the threat is expressed, is the driving force behind legislation passed by the House of Representatives as embodied in the language of H.R. 4437, the legislative beginning of the most recent immigration debate.

This study has shown that the focus on border enforcement and control has always been an element of immigration policy, but it was not until late in 1994, amidst the Proposition 187 debate in California and the launching of Operation Gatekeeper by the INS, that the present move towards a militarized border began. In the aftermath of 911, and with the merging of the INS under the wings of the Department of Homeland Security, the focus on the border took on renewed significance and gained greater public salience in the media. Such was the case that by the beginning of 2006 the House of Representatives had approved a plan calling for the fencing and militarizing of the U.S.-Mexico border as well as turning an estimated twelve million undocumented immigrants

into felons virtually overnight. It is hard to imagine a country proposing such measures without the media construction of, and the public belief in, immigrants as a national security threat in the first place.

But as this study has documented, much of this thinking is exactly that, a media construction. This is not to say there are not millions of undocumented immigrants in the country, I do not dispute that. But the construction of their presence, as well as the arrival of others, need not inherently warrant concerns on the level that the media and politicians have placed them. Without the media supporting the narrative construction of the immigrant as a threat, it is hard to imagine the U.S. public accepting plans to fence off and militarize the border, much less turning twelve million people into felons simply for being in this country. And while there is not widespread support for a full-scale immigrant crackdown as some extreme anti-border advocates have called for, there is broad general support for significantly curtailing benefits and stepping up punishments for illegals and those who employ them.

I have also argued that notions of Anglo cultural superiority are operative in much of the underlying logic at work in this framing of immigrants, and have tried to document how I see this process taking place, as well as its relationship to what Carol Swain has documented as the new white nationalism. At its core, this is a debate over who defines what it means to be a U.S. citizen, and who gets to use that label. To the nativist arguing against immigrants, it is not only a matter of pride in Anglo western civilization that motivates them, but also a perceived threat to the very core of Anglo social hegemony.

To advance the cause of the Mexican immigrant as a cultural or civilizational threat as Congress members like Tom Tancredo or J.D. Hayworth have done, all one has to do is construct the immigrant as a security threat and let fears of terrorism and the language of secure borders do the real political leg work of exclusion. And as I have argued, immigration reform provides the ideal political dynamics to advance a case for border security—where the *Immigrant as Dangerous Waters* and *Immigrant as Threat* metaphors are already accepted as legitimate discourse—without having to couch an argument in the language of defending Anglo culture. This makes it even easier for those wanting fences and troops as a solution to a perceived cultural threat to then present their case in terms of national security, law and order, and immigration reform, rather than in the language of culture and civilization.

As long as the debate about immigration continues to be framed in the metaphorical language of threats and dangers to the body politic and culture of this nation, those wishing to advance Anglo-dominant notions of culture will continue exploiting public fears about safety, crime and a range of issue by linking them to perceived problems from immigration. While there appears to be some encouraging signs recently that the majority of the public is not accepting the nativist case for more troops and fences on the border, it is less clear that the project of constructing the immigrant as a threat, and then linking them to concerns about border security, has not been largely successful. The findings of this news analysis seem to suggest that, in fact, this is exactly what is happening. The debate about immigration has significantly become a debate

about border security, and this argument is in part coded with arguments about Anglo culture and maintaining its social and political dominance over the nation. While issues of guest-worker programs and paths to citizenship are also included in the immigration debate—in part due to the pressure that Latino and immigrant-rights groups have been able to exert on Congress—even these proposals are linked with wall building and National Guard deployment plans, creating a mixed message at best. They do nothing to challenge the immigrant as threat frame, or the apparent influence of white nationalism in shaping the anti-immigrant public discourse. Until the immigration debate can separate the issue of border security and the issue of immigrants as a threat, it is hard to see how a positive immigration policy will ever appear. It is to this last thought that I now want to briefly turn and offer several suggestions for ways in which anti-racist activists may challenge this media construction of Mexican immigrants as a national security threat.

Strategies of Resistance

Otto Santa Ana offers some compelling suggestions in the end of his analysis on ways in which we can challenge these types of discourse with what he calls “Insurgent Metaphors.” Similarly, Ono and Sloop discuss how we might use “Outlaw Vernacular Discourse” to challenge media frames. They describe this discourse as “those material and vernacular discourses that emerge from marginalized communities and work on the basis of *differend* rather than litigation (i.e., incommensurable logics rather than commensurable ones) (Ono and Sloop 139).

Stated simply, outlaw logics that by definition challenge dominant ways of thinking and acting create the potential for substantive social change. Challenging immigration laws and practices necessitates the crossing of social boundaries and spaces in the process of envisioning social change. It entails cultivating a care and interest in the experiences of people from radically different social and cultural backgrounds; it also entails honoring and respecting ways of thinking and acting that go beyond one's own. Paying attention to particular experiences and being willing to consider ways of thinking that might initially seem counterintuitive, ludicrous, absurd, or even threatening are necessary to the critic studying outlaw discourses. (Ono and Sloop 140)

I very much agree with their comments on this point, and have tried to be sensitive to this critical discourse in how I have approached and discussed the issue of immigration. There are several suggestions that I want to offer by way of a strategy to challenge this hegemonic discourse of immigrant as border threat, which is the dominant narrative frame found in this analysis. A successful strategy to challenge the current immigration framing might include the following approaches. The use of “we” in these comments refers not to royalty but to the community of scholars, organizers and citizens committed to the idea of racial justice who seek to challenge systematic discrimination and oppression in every form.

First, we need to separate the issue of border control or border security within the discourse and challenge the connection that places the Mexican immigrant in the same context as this threat. As long as immigrants crossing the border are viewed as a threat to the border it will be impossible to do this. One way to attempt to challenge this notion is by personalizing the experience of immigrants crossing the border. A major reason that

the border can be constructed as a threat is because, as Santa Ana points out, Dangerous Waters metaphors “do not refer to any aspect of the humanity of immigrants, except to allude to ethnicity and race” (Santa Ana 73). By personalizing the experience of the immigrants they become human and individuals, rather than a dangerous, faceless mass surging over in waves that threaten our way of life. By recognizing that immigrants’ lives have intrinsic value and by listening to their stories it becomes harder to see them as essentially a faceless threat to the nation.

Second, we need to challenge the underlying assumptions which allow notions of culture as defined by white nationalism to masquerade as arguments about security. I have tried to do this with a textual analysis and discussion of how these types of assumptions manifest so that they can be exposed and challenged. By constantly placing the discussion about immigrants and immigration under careful and critical scrutiny we can begin to expose and document this framing practice. This will serve both to challenge those who use rhetoric rooted in notions of white nationalism to publicly explain how these arguments are not based in notions of racial or cultural superiority while simultaneously seeking to isolate and challenge those who use those arguments from the larger public concerns about immigration generally. This parallel act of challenge and isolation can serve to undermine public support for their position while also exposing those border arguments which are really culture or race arguments in disguise.

Third, it would appear that coverage of immigrant-rights protests may be a space where the public image and construction of the immigrant as a threat can be more easily

contested. Much of the coverage of these marches was largely balanced to positive, and the reader was often given limited but important personalizing details about immigrant marchers, thus helping to humanize and make their experiences easier to relate to. In particular, it would also appear that this might be a space where the voice of Latina women can be most easily expressed, and might constitute what Nancy Fraser, building on Habermassian notions of the public sphere, describes as an oppositional space for discourse, or a “subaltern counterpublic.” Fraser writes that in “stratified societies, subaltern counterpublics have a dual character. On the one hand, they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment; on the other hand, they also function as bases and training groups for agitational activities directed toward wider publics” (Fraser 124). Naomi Sakr has demonstrated this impact in her studies of women-oriented programming on Al-Jazeera, finding that these programs did in fact create a subaltern counterpublic that was empowering for women (Sakr 2005).

While female speakers were only present in 20.6% of the total sample, articles about immigration protests had women quoted as sources in 26% of the stories. As these stories also tended to be more friendly and also longer in length, it often allowed more space for undocumented women's voices to be heard. It has been pointed out that the problem with this possible suggestion is that Fraser envisions a concrete physical space, whereas news coverage is a passing and unstable environment at best, and does not actually provide a place for physical contestation. I recognize this is particularly difficult when considering the additional risks of large numbers of undocumented individuals

gathering in one place, making a physical manifestation of Fraser's counterpublic far more complex, if at all possible. But the impact of Latino radio hosts like Renan Almendarez "El Cucuy" Coello, who was an important figure in generating large-scale public awareness about this issue in the Los Angeles area, would seem to suggest that discursive spaces are worth exploring to try and map out. While more research needs to be done to explore this possibility, it may be an avenue worth exploring further.

Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, immigrants and immigrant-rights advocates must be able to address the public perception of negative impacts from immigrants in the various thematic areas I have explored and develop strong and easily accessible counter-examples and supporting evidence to slowly dismantle, wherever possible, the apparent weight of evidence which the public views as existing on these issues.

My own research has shown that for every study showing a burden from immigration there is generally also one showing the positives. More research and consolidation of these materials need to be done to make the resources easier to access and use by immigrant-rights advocates and allies. This is especially important in light of comments from Carol Swain about this lack of data. "Because scholars comes to different conclusions regarding the impacts of immigration in the United States, average informed citizens may not know what to believe about immigration, a position that could make some whites prime targets for the demagoguery of the more reasoned in the white nationalist movement" (Swain 88).

It is my hope that this study has in some small way contributed to this effort of challenging such possibilities, and to the extent that it has, I will consider it a success. Too many researchers and academics today write theory and conduct research but fail to apply that very work outside of the academy where it is most needed. It is not enough to be an armchair scholar with good ideas, we must also put those ideas into practice—into praxis. I hope that this work will help myself and others to better do that.

The central fact for me is, I think, that the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public. And this role has an edge to it, and cannot place be played without a sense of being someone whose place it is publicly to raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them), to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d'être* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug.

—Edward Said, *Representations of the Intellectual*

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Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Content Analysis Coding Sheet

1. Coder ID #:	Value
2. Article Date:	
3. Article Source:	
● New York Times	1
● Los Angeles Times	2
● Houston Chronicle	3
● USA Today	4
4. Article Headline:	
5. Article Section:	
6. Article Page:	
7. Article Length (in words):	
8. Article Themes:	
a) Terrorism/Homeland Security	Y/N
b) Crime/Drugs	Y/N
c) Borders/Border Crossing	Y/N
d) Congressional Legislation	Y/N

e) Economic	Y/N
f) Culture/Identity	Y/N
g) Immigration Protests (Pro/Con)	Y/N
h) Education	Y/N
i) Government Spending	Y/N
j) Other	Y/N

Specify: keywords

k) 9/11	Y/N
---------	-----

Frequency: # _____

9. Article Depth:

● Shallow (>2 sources)	1
● Medium (3-5 sources)	2
● Deep (>6 sources)	3

10. Immigrant Framing:

● Hostile towards Immigrants	1
● Balanced towards Immigrants	2
● Friendly towards Immigrants	3

11. Sources Quoted in Article:

1) Legal Immigrants	1
2) Illegal Immigrants	2
3) US Citizen	3
4) US Politician	4
5) US Government Official other than politician	5
6) Latin American Official	6
7) Non-Governmental Organization/Think Tank	7
8) Public School Official	8
9) Academic	9
10) Labor/Union Rep.	10
11) Business	11
12) Other	12

12. Affiliation of Sources in Article:

1) Republican	1
2) Democrat	2
3) Independent	3
4) Pro-Immigrant Group	4
5) Anti-Immigrant Group	5
6) U.S. Federal Government	6

7) State/Local Government	7
8) Latin American Government	8
9) Unaffiliated	9
10) “Non-partisan” NGO	10
11) Business	11
12) Public University	12
13) Church/Religious	13
14) Labor/Union	14
15) Other	15

13. Gender of Sources Quotes in Article:

● Male	1
● Female	2
● Transgender	3
● Unknown/Unclear	4

14. Sources stance on immigration:

● Hostile towards immigrants	1
● Balanced towards immigrants	2
● Friendly towards immigrants	3

Appendix B: Coding Guide

Coding Guide

0. Article ID#:

A unique code assigned to each article starting with 1 and increasing in increments of 1.

1. Coder ID #:

A unique code assigned to each coder.

3. Article Source:

The newspaper in which the article appeared, using one of the following codes:

(1): New York Times

(2): Los Angeles Times

(3): Houston Chronicle

(4): USA Today

4. Article Headline:

The full text of the headline appears in the source article.

5. Article Section:

The name of the newspaper section in which the article appeared (i.e. A, B, Metro).

6. Article Page:

The page number of the newspaper that the article appeared on (i.e. 1 or 3).

7. Article Length in Words:

The word count of the article (i.e. 175 or 1356).

8. Article Thematic Topics:

The relevant themes which are included in a news article. Numerous topics may be covered, but the primary topics of interest for this study should be captured by the ten categories below. Each item is marked as a dummy value of yes or no. If a theme appears in a story mark Yes, if it does not mark No. Mark as many themes as are present in the article. It is possible that an article could have none or all of the themes below. Additionally, a theme not captured by these variables can be marked as Yes for the Other theme and then listed.

Terrorism and Homeland Security (a): The article deals with the link between terrorism and immigrants/immigration or with Homeland Security and the link between controlling/securing the border and the need to protect U.S. citizens from the threat of immigration or terrorism. This category may often overlap with the #c theme of borders depending on how the issue is framed.

Crime and Drugs (b): The article deals with the issue of drug trafficking, smuggling, violence, gangs or some form of criminal activity that is associated with immigrants.

Borders and Border Crossing (c): The article deals with people crossing the U.S. border, efforts by groups or individuals to either prevent or help border crossers, or the danger or risk that an “out of control” or “porous” border poses to the country. This theme focuses on the need to “secure the border” due to perceived secondary problems, such as themes #a or #b.

Congressional Legislation (d): The article deals with Congressional legislation or actions which address immigrants or immigration, such as House Bill 4437, the CLEAR Act or the Real ID Act. Only code federal legislation in an article, not state or local initiatives or bills.

Economic (e): The article deals with the economics of immigrants or immigration, including benefits, costs and impacts on the labor market, wages and

schools. Generally this theme will stress the negative social costs associated with impacts from immigrants, whereas theme #i will usually focus on money for enforcement or government plans, such as the cost of a wall or for training more Border Patrol agents.

Culture/Identity (f): The article deals with issues of culture and identity as tied to immigration, including language, national identity and threats to U.S. values or way of life. This may also be expressed in the language of a “clash of civilizations” or of cultures that don't mix. Issues such as the *Reconquista* of the Southwest by Mexicans, the *Aztlan* plot and disgust at Mexican flags at US immigrant rallies would fall under this theme. Cultural issues can be either Mexican or America.

Immigration Protests (Pro/Con) (g): The article deals with coverage or discussion of pro or anti immigrant or immigration rallies, marches or protests. This would also include boycotts and similar actions linked or framed as a protest or action of some sort by immigrant activist groups, pro and con.

Education (h): The article deals with the connection between immigrants or immigration and the impacts on schools and education and immigrant access to education. While this may also overlap with theme #e, the education focus is on the schools specifically, rather than the cost to education as a general statement, which is more the economic theme.

Government Spending (i): The article deals with the connection between immigrants or immigration and the costs or budgeting by the state or federal government. This is usually expressed in terms of the cost to do something, rather than the burden imposed from something else. So the cost of building a wall on the Southern border, of training more border patrol agents, would be a cost to do something.

Other (j): The article deals with some other issue or angle of immigration not covered in any of the previous nine categories. If a theme is clearly present but not captured mark this category and then list the theme or keywords for the theme in the space next to this theme.

9/11 (k): The article mentions either 9/11 or September 11th and the terrorist attacks. This may be in the context of needing more border security, in changed domestic priorities, or as a reason for a particular governmental action.

9. Article Depth:

The depth of the article is based on the information provided about the context and complexity of the debate over immigrants and immigration. This is operationalized by coding the number of speakers cited or quoted in an article. Use one of the following:

Shallow (>2 sources) (1): The article includes little to no background information about immigration and offers little to no information about competing opinions on immigration. Two or fewer sources are quoted or included in the story.

Medium (3-5 sources) (2): The article includes basic information about competing opinions on immigration and provides a brief overview of the larger debate on immigration. This may include how different groups are discussing immigration, how politicians are responding to public opinions, or how immigrants themselves view the issue. The article contains 3-5 sources in the story and may or may not offer competing opinions on immigration.

Deep (>6 sources) (3): The article includes detailed information about competing opinions on immigration as well as contemporary or historical details to provide context to the story. Discussion may include immigration statistics, an overview of historical patterns of immigration, past U.S. policy responses to immigration, or how varying groups, politicians or government agencies are attempting to shape the debate. The article includes 6 or more sources which may offer different or competing opinions on immigration.

10. Immigrant Framing:

The overarching narrative used in the article to discuss and relay information about immigrants or immigration policy and which give cues to the reader as to how to think about immigrants/immigration, using one of the following frames. If no clear position on immigration or immigrants can be established, code the article or source as balanced (2).

Hostile towards Immigrants (1): Immigration is framed as an urgent problem. Immigrants are described as a threat to the public, national security, economy, health, values or culture of the U.S. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a negative context and there is little to no information presented which is sympathetic or favorable towards pro-immigrant viewpoints.

Balanced towards Immigrants (2): Immigration is framed as an issue which the government (state or federal) should be addressing. Pro and con viewpoints are given equal attention or space. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a balanced manner and there is little to no clear bias in favor of either sympathetic or hostile viewpoints on immigrants or immigration.

Friendly towards Immigrants (3): Immigration is framed as a positive for the nation. Beneficial impacts from immigrants in the nation, economy or culture may be discussed. Overall, immigrants are depicted in a sympathetic context and there is little to no information presented which is sympathetic or favorable towards anti-immigrant viewpoints.

11. Source Quoted:

This descriptive label given to a speaker or person quoted in a newspaper article, such as Peruvian illegal worker Jose Mendoza or Republican Congressman James Sensenbrenner. For each sources quoted the appropriate designation should be noted. Each source should be marked with one of the 12 codes.

12. Affiliation of Sources:

This describes the affiliation that a particular speaker or source cited is linked to, such as an advocacy organization, political party or religious affiliation. Each source should be marked with one of the 15 codes.

13. Source Gender:

This describes the gender of the sources. This applies to both people and documents, such as Pew Center reports and similar documents, which would be coded as #4.

14. Source Stance:

This is the position towards immigration and immigrants that each source takes, and uses the same codes as the immigrant framing #10 category or 1-3, friendly, balanced or hostile. Each source should be coded for stance, regardless of whether it is a person or a document. If no clear position on immigration or immigrants can be established, code the article as balanced (2).

15. Metaphors:

These are descriptive terms which serve to associate two unrelated things together, in this case immigrants and some descriptive term. These might include examples such as immigrant as water, immigrant as threat, or immigrant as social burden. If an article contains any visible metaphors code the article as a Yes (1). 2 for a No.

16. Metaphor Immigrant as Dangerous Waters:

These metaphors specifically associated immigrants with some form of water or its movement. Examples include a rising tide of immigrants, stem the flow of immigration, and waves of immigrants crossing the border. If an article contains any immigrants as dangerous water metaphors code the article as a Yes (1). 2 for a No.

17. Metaphor Immigrant as Threat:

These metaphors specifically associated immigrants with some form of threat. Examples include a horde of immigrants or an immigrant invasion. If an article contains any immigrants as threat metaphors code the article as a Yes (1). 2 for a No.

18. List Metaphors:

List any metaphors found in coding #15-17 above here. If an metaphor is included in “quotes” in the articles, keep the “” when entering it here.

Appendix C: Content Analysis Coding Sheet for Coder

Content Analysis Coding Sheet for Coder

0. Article ID#: _____

1. Coder ID #: _____

2. Article Date: _____

3. Article Source: _____

New York Times (1) Los Angeles Times (2) Houston Chronicle (3) USA Today (4)

4. Article Headline: _____

5. Article Section: _____

6. Article Page: _____

7. Article Length (in words): _____

8a. Article Themes:

(a) Terrorism/Homeland Security Yes _____ No _____

(b) Crime/Drugs Yes _____ No _____

(c) Borders/Border Crossing Yes _____ No _____

(d) Congressional Legislation Yes _____ No _____

(e) Economics Yes _____ No _____

(f) Culture/Identity Yes _____ No _____

(g) Immigration Protests (Pro/Con) Yes _____ No _____

(h) Education Yes _____ No _____

(i) Government Spending Yes _____ No _____

(j) Other Yes _____ No _____ Specify: _____

8b. Article references 9/11 Yes _____ No _____ Frequency: _____

8c. Descriptive metaphors used:

9. Article Depth: _____

Shallow (1) [>2 sources] Medium (2) [3-5 sources] Deep (3) [>6 sources]

10. Immigrant Framing: _____

Hostile towards Immig. (1) Balanced towards Immig. (2) Friendly towards Immig. (3)

11. Sources Quoted in Article:

==>Please move to source coding page now for coding categories 11-14.

11c. Sources Quoted in Article:

Legal Immigrants (1) Illegal Immigrants (2) US Citizen (3) US Politician (4)
 US Government Official other than politician (5) Latin American Official (6)
 NGO/Think Tank (7) Public School Official (8) University Academic (9)
 Labor/Union Rep. (10) Business Rep. (11) Other (12)

12. Affiliation of Sources in Article:

Republican (1) Democrat (2) Independent (3) Pro-Immigrant Group (4) Anti-
 Immigrant Group (5) US Fed Gov't (6) State/Local Gov't (7) LA Gov't (8)
 Unaffiliated (9) "Non-partisan" NGO (10) Business Lobby (11) Public
 University (12) Church/Religious Group (13) Labor/Union (14) Other (15)

13. Gender of Sources Quotes in Article:

Male (1) Female (2) Transgender (3) Unknown/Unclear (4)

14. Sources stance toward immigration/immigrants:

Hostile (1) Balanced (2) Friendly (3)

15. Metaphors Yes____ No ____

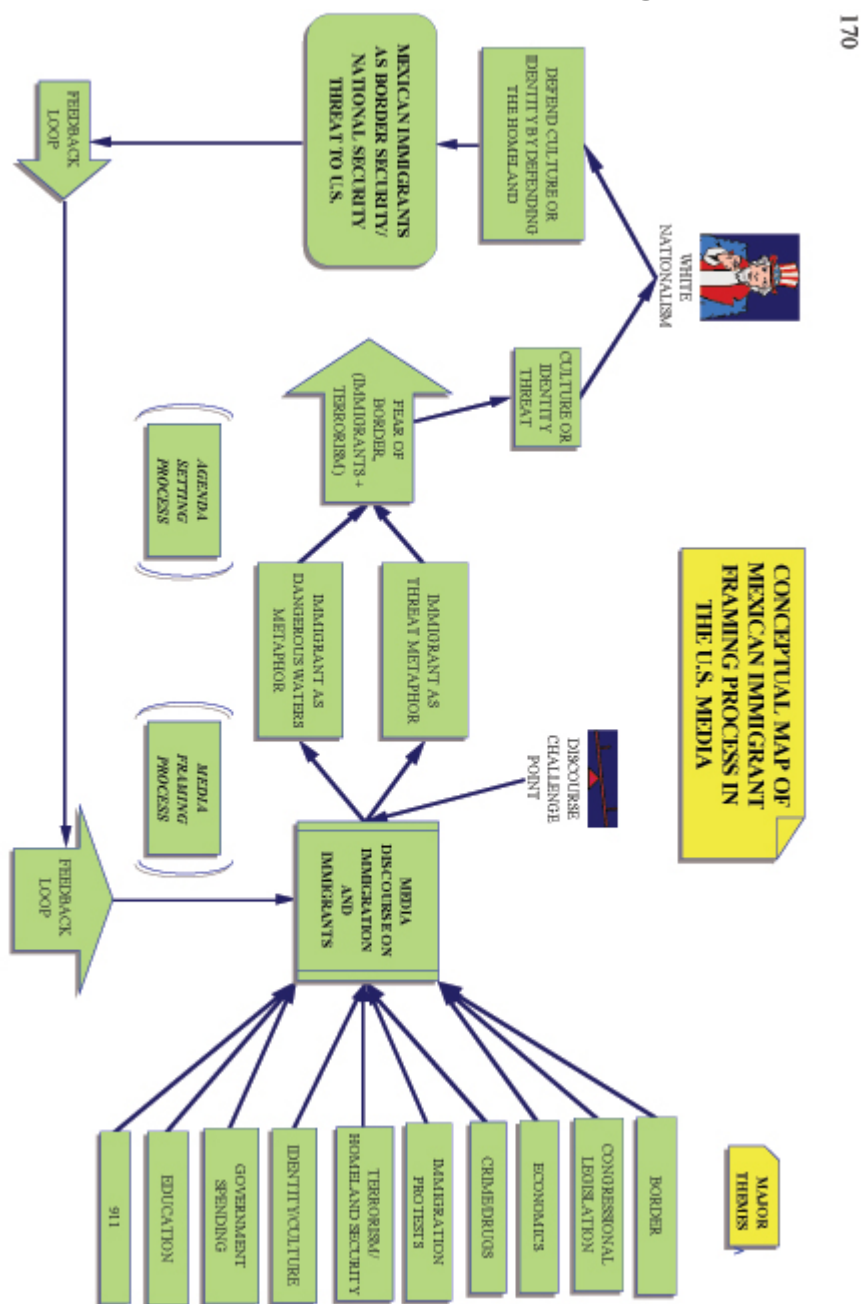
16. Metaphor Immigrant as Dangerous Water Yes____ No____

17. Metaphor Immigrant as Threat Yes____ No____

18. List metaphors: _____

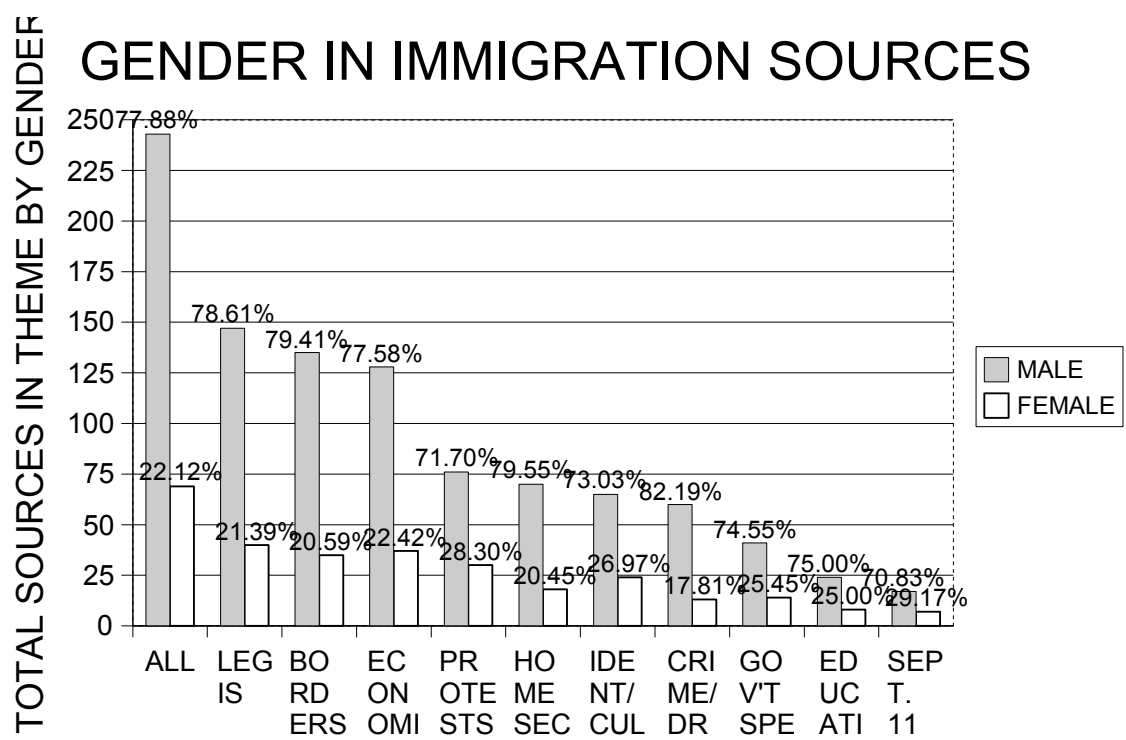
[illegible]

Appendix E: Conceptual Media Framing Map



Appendix F: Additional Data - Gender

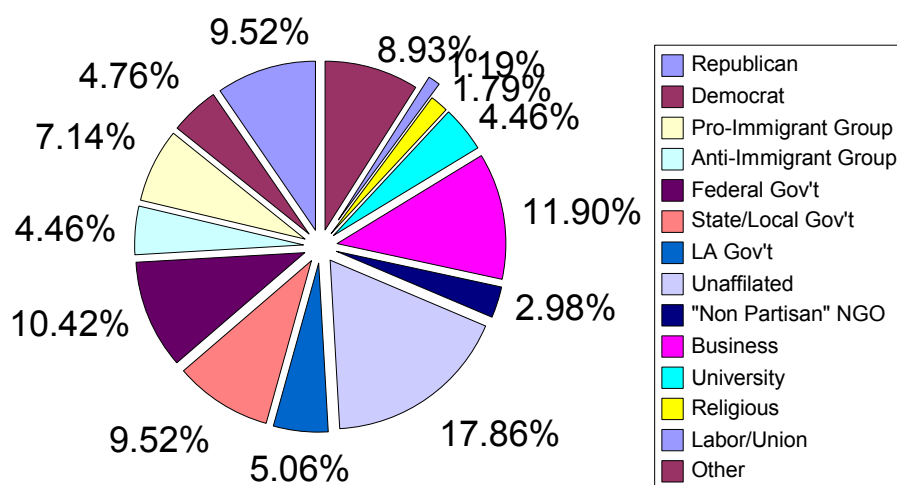
Gender in Immigration Sources



Appendix G: Additional Data – Source Affiliations

Sources by Affiliation

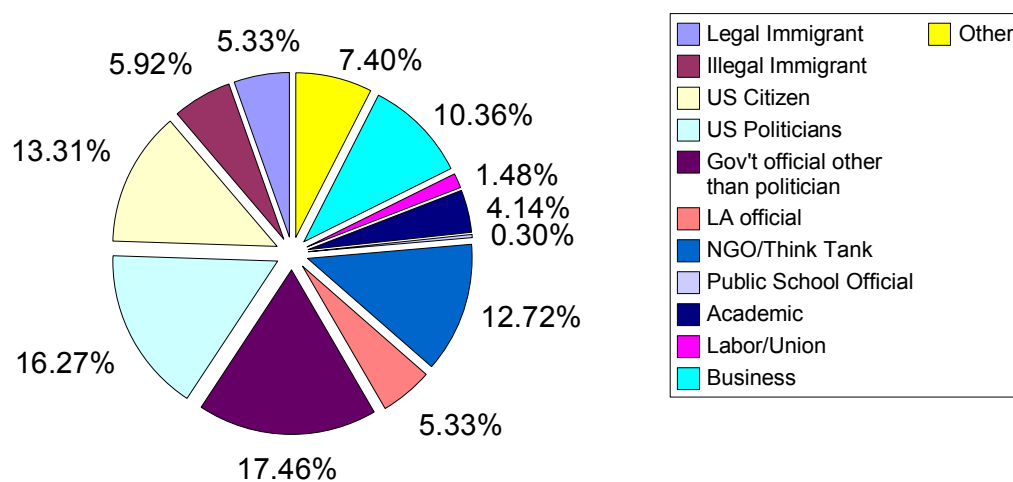
SOURCES BY AFFILIATION



Appendix H: Additional Data – Source Designations

Sources by Designation

SOURCES BY DESIGNATION



Appendix I: Statistical Data

*Summary of Major Statistically Significant Correlations from Data Analysis.**

Positive Statistical Correlations	0.01 level	Negative Statistical Correlations	0.01 level
911 + HLS/Terror	.479	Immigrant Framing + Immigration Protests	-.375
Education + Immigrant as Threat	.347	Immigrant Framing + Culture/Identity	-.270
Immigrant Framing + HLS/Terror	.330	Border + Immigration Protests	-.262
Gov.'t \$ + Immigrant as Dangerous Waters	.320		
Immigration Protest + Culture/Identity	.274	Negative Statistical Correlations	0.05 level
Immigrant Framing + Crime/Drugs	.273	Culture/Identity + Crime/Drugs	-.235
911 + Immigrant Framing	.257	HLS/Terror + Article Source	-.204
		Crime/Drugs + Congress. Legislation	-.192
Positive Statistical Correlations	0.05 level	Crime/Drugs + Economics	-.191
Immigrant Framing + Gov.'t \$.233		
HLS/Terror + Borders	.218		
Immigrant Framing + Borders	.208		
Economics + Education	.202		
Gov.'t \$ + HLS/Terror	.200		
Immigration Protests + Congress. Legislation	.195		
Immigrant Framing + Dangerous Waters	.192	*Correlations are based on Pearson (2-tailed)	