

Newspaper Discourses of Latino Labor and Latino Rights in the new U.S. South

Lisa M. Paulin

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Chapel Hill
2007

Approved by

Lucila Vargas

Jane D. Brown

Altha J. Cravey

Anne Johnston

Federico Subervi-Vélez

© 2007
Lisa M. Paulin
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Lisa M. Paulin: Newspaper Discourses of Latino Labor and Latino Rights in the new
U.S. South
(Under the direction of Lucila Vargas)

The Latino population is growing faster in the southeastern United States than anywhere else in the country and impacting communities on numerous fronts. This study sheds light on the complexity of how Latinos are represented in North Carolina's news media and ultimately deals with questions of belonging and of rights. The results show how societal forces work to marginalize groups, yet at the same time, that the marginalized have opportunities to counter the hegemonic discourses and practices.

Specifically, this project examined newspaper coverage of Latinos in the *Raleigh News & Observer*, the *Winston-Salem Journal*, *La Conexión*, and *Qué Pasa*. I used content analysis to examine five issues, then selected two, the changes to driver's license rules and the Mt. Olive boycott, for in-depth study using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The content analysis found that coverage of the Mt. Olive boycott and changes to policies for issuing driver's licenses were the least covered issues despite being the most important regarding immigrant Latino rights. Additionally, the content analysis raised questions about what constitutes a "Latino" issue. The CDA of the driver's license changes revealed two overarching discourses that operated within a post-9/11 sociopolitical context: "us" vs. "them" and criminality. Constructing Latinos as "them" and attaching criminality justified taking away their access to resources, namely a

driver's license. In the CDA of the Mt. Olive boycott, the Anglo and Latino newspapers used different discourses to talk about labor and economic justice for farmworkers. Anglo newspapers relied on the South's antiunion script to construct Mt. Olive as an innocent victim of a politically-motivated, northern labor union. In contrast, the Latino newspapers gave the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) a voice which they used to assert their struggle as a just and noble one – an example of the powerless fighting for what they rightly deserved.

I conclude by mapping the issues onto a cultural citizenship continuum and propose that future research may define Latino issues based on this framework. In addition, I suggest that Latino newspapers find examples in which they have successfully articulated alternative discourses and model future struggles on these examples.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like childbirth and painful life experiences, I think that the memory of the labor involved in completing a project of this magnitude will fade. Yet this document and the potential impact it can have would never have occurred without the help of many, many, many people. At the top of my list is my fabulous, kind, funny, and ever-patient husband, Javier Cid. His support was unwavering throughout these past four and a half years and I am so lucky to have him by my side. My beautiful, charming son, Diego Alexander, added perspective and helped provide joy and balance throughout this surreal period of life. My parents, Gerald and Phyllis Paulin provided inspiration, furniture, logistic, financial and oft-needed familial support in a thousand different ways. I also owe a big thanks to my psychologist, Tamara Share, who guided me to new ways of understanding the pieces of my life and what makes me who I am. I cannot underestimate the importance of psychological support. Doctoral candidates should be required to have an adviser, committee members, and a declared psychologist.

I also want to thank Richard Cole, Ruth Walden, and Carlos Enrique González who each played a role in helping me initiate this phase of my life. The entire faculty and staff of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have been great in a variety of ways – all of you were supportive to me in different aspects and I thank you all. I was able to forge some valuable and

hopefully lasting friendships through this experience and am grateful for my classmates who kept me going, especially Joan Cates and Charlene Simmons.

Dr. Lucila Vargas has been spectacular - a good friend, adviser, and a mentor. She humbly pushed me in directions that I did not think I could go in and I feel like I am so much more intelligent than I used to be because of it. She taught me that I don't have to know everything and I don't have to have read everything and that I will continue understanding and learning as I go along. Anne Johnston, Jane Brown, Altha Cravey and Federico Subervi-Vélez, my committee members, were all wonderfully supportive and helpful in guiding this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Defining Latinos or Hispanics.....	4
Latinos and Media.....	6
Latinos = Problems.....	7
Ethnic Minority Media.....	13
Theoretical Framework.....	16
Representation.....	19
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	20
Organization of this Study.....	26
Chapter 2: The Unforeseen Latinization of the South.....	30
The Numbers.....	31
Setting the Stage.....	34
Mexico.....	35
Immigration Reform and Control Act.....	36
California.....	38
Historical Characteristics of the South: Labor made Cheap.....	40
Drawing Latinos to the South.....	42

Economic Boom & Development.....	42
Farmworkers.....	44
Other Labor Intensive Industries.....	49
Carpet in Dalton, Georgia.....	49
Logistics in Memphis, Tennessee.....	50
The Labor of Suburbanization.....	51
Conclusion.....	53
Chapter 3: Methods.....	55
Newspapers Analyzed.....	55
Issues Examined.....	59
Content Analysis.....	62
Sample of Items for Content Analysis.....	62
Variables.....	65
Critical Discourse Analysis: Bell’s Methodology.....	68
Sample.....	69
Analysis.....	70
Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model for CDA.....	70
Reflexivity.....	72
Chapter 4: Coverage of Latinos	76
Overall Findings.....	77
Frequencies.....	77
Page number.....	80
Attribution.....	84

Article type.....	85
Length.....	87
Relevance.....	89
Particularities of the Issues.....	91
Gangs.....	91
Jesica.....	94
Fiesta.....	99
Comparing Newspapers.....	101
<i>N&O</i> and <i>WSJ</i>	101
<i>LC</i> and <i>QP</i>	102
Conclusion.....	104
Chapter 5: Driving Under the Influence of 9/11.....	108
Coverage of Driver’s License	111
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Sample.....	115
Overview of the Stories	119
Discourses.....	124
“Us” versus “Them”: Textual level.....	125
Marginalization.....	129
“Us” versus “Them”: Discursive Practices.....	133
Literal Marginalization in the Latino Press.....	134
Symbolic Marginalization of Latino Leaders in the Anglo Press.....	135
Unparallel Discourses.....	136
Crowds as the Main Event.....	137

Differences Between <i>N&O</i> and <i>WSJ</i>	138
Who is FAIR?.....	142
Criminality: Textual Level.....	143
Criminality: Discursive Practices.....	147
Anglo Press.....	147
Latino Press.....	149
Social Practices.....	152
Cultural Citizenship.....	153
Conclusion.....	156
Chapter 6: Putting Mt. Olive in a Pickle.....	157
Coverage of Mt. Olive Boycott.....	159
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Sample.....	162
Overview of the Stories.....	166
Discourses.....	169
Anglo Newspapers: “Not a Fair Fight”.....	170
Roles of the Actors.....	170
Antiunion Script.....	177
Latino Newspapers: Fighting for a Just Cause.....	180
Roles of the Actors.....	181
Purpose of the Boycott.....	185
Discursive Practices.....	188
Anglo Press: Invisibility in the <i>WSJ</i>	189
Latino Press: Reporting Style.....	192

Social Practices.....	195
North Carolina: Farming policy and Labor History.....	195
Newspapers in the United States and Labor Coverage.....	198
UPS Strike.....	200
Latino Press.....	201
Conclusion.....	203
Chapter 7: Summary and Implications.....	205
Cultural Citizenship.....	207
Overall Coverage.....	208
Discourses about Citizenship.....	211
Discourses about Labor.....	214
Implications.....	217
Anglo Media: “More” Does not Mean “Better”.....	217
Latino Newspapers in North Carolina.....	221
Negotiating a Place for Latinos.....	225
Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Sheet.....	227
Appendix B: Bell’s Tree Diagrams for Analyzing Discourse of News Stories.....	228
Appendix C: Bell’s Questioning Guide for Analyzing Discourse of News Stories.....	229
References for Primary Sources.....	234
References.....	236

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Southern States and the Increase in Latino Population between 1990 and 2000.....	31
Table 4.1	Number of Stories per Topic by Newspaper and Totals for Topic.....	78
Table 4.2	News Stories Appearing on Front Pages.....	83
Table 4.3	Attribution of Stories by Issue.....	84
Table 4.4	Type of Article by Issue.....	86
Table 4.5	Word Length of Newspaper Articles by Topic.....	88
Table 4.6	Relevance of Issues.....	90
Table 4.7	Relevance of Gang Stories by Newspaper.....	92
Table 4.8	Authorship for Jesica Santillán Stories.....	95
Table 4.9	Relevance of Stories About Jesica Santillán.....	97
Table 5.1	Article Type for Driver's License Articles in each Newspaper.....	112
Table 5.2	Relevance of Driver's License Stories by Newspaper.....	114
Table 5.3	CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories from the <i>N&O</i>	115
Table 5.4	CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories from the <i>WSJ</i>	116
Table 5.5	CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories from <i>LC</i>	117
Table 5.6	CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories from <i>QP</i>	118
Table 5.7	Events of Driver's License Issue.....	123
Table 5.8	Latino Leaders in North Carolina.....	130
Table 6.1	Story Length for Mt. Olive Articles by Newspaper.....	160
Table 6.2	CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories from the <i>N&O</i>	163
Table 6.3	CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories from the <i>WSJ</i>	163

Table 6.4	CDA sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories from <i>LC</i>	164
Table 6.5	CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories from <i>QP</i>	165

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1:	Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for Critical Discourse Analysis.....	23
Figure 3.1:	Model for Multidirectional Analysis of Sample.....	56
Figure 4.1:	<i>La Conexión</i>	82
Figure 5.1:	National Sociopolitical Context for Driver's License News Discourses.....	110
Figure 5.2:	Position of Latino Leaders before Driver's License Changes.....	131
Figure 5.3:	Position of Latino Leaders during and after Driver's License Changes.....	132
Figure 5.4:	Cultural Citizenship of the Driver's License Issue.....	154
Figure 7.1:	Depiction of Rosaldo's Concept of the Cultural Citizenship Continuum.....	207
Figure 7.2:	Gangs and <i>Fiesta</i> as Cultural Citizenship Negotiation.....	209
Figure 7.3:	Cultural Citizenship Movement Related to the Driver's License Issue.....	212
Figure 7.4:	Farmworkers' Cultural Citizenship Movement.....	216

Chapter 1: Introduction

Few would argue that the United States has a contradictory relationship with its immigrant roots – proudly claiming that the country was built by immigrants, yet responding with fear and concern by the perceived “threat” of immigration. For the first time in U.S. history, however, Latinos are the largest minority group (Armas, 2003) and immigrant Latinos are no longer living primarily in the Southwest, New York, Miami, or Chicago, but in places like Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Although the Latino population is growing across the Southeast, North Carolina is experiencing the fastest growth among southern states. From 1990 to 2004, North Carolina experienced an increase in its Latino population of over 400%, which went from approximately 76,726 inhabitants to 600,913 inhabitants (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006). It has become common to see North Carolina and other areas of the Southeast profiled in government reports, by advocacy groups, in academic studies, and in mainstream media in relation to the demographic changes that have occurred and what these changes mean for communities. While a large increase in Mexican immigration to Los Angeles might not be noticed because of the already large Mexican American population, in the Southeast, where Hispanic population did not even appear in U.S. Census data until 1990, these changes are acutely felt and reflected in governmental and societal institutions such as education, healthcare, industry, law, and the mass media.

Media discourses are particularly rich sources of data because “they can tell us a great deal about social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communication” (Garrett & Bell, 1998, p. 3). Discourses can be considered the “ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic or practice: a cluster or formation of ideas, images, and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society” (Hall, 1997, p. 6). These formations of ideas, images, and practices can be very useful because they assist people by providing the means to talk about issues in the media that they may not otherwise be aware of or be able to discuss. To take a simple example, people who have never lived near or visited the ocean can grasp the concept of a hurricane because they have been exposed to media discourses about hurricanes. They have heard them described, seen images, and are familiar with ideas such as boarding up a house, having emergency supplies, pounding rain, and damaging winds. Studies applying discourse methodologies to media go beyond a linguistic approach of simply identifying the discourse. Study of media discourses implies also studying the consequences of selecting one discourse over another. Stuart Hall (1997) explains

The *discursive* approach is more concerned with the *effects* and *consequences* of representation – its ‘politics’. It examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised, and studied. The emphasis in the *discursive* approach is always on the historical specificity of a particular form or ‘regime’ of representation. (p.6)

In this study I use a discursive approach to examine newspaper coverage of Latinos in North Carolina in both the Anglo and Latino press of the capital, Raleigh, and a smaller city, Winston-Salem, after first using a traditional quantitative content analysis to look at the

coverage of five Latino issues: increasing Latino gang activity, the death of a teenage Mexican immigrant after a heart/lung transplant, local *fiestas* of Latin culture, changes to rules for obtaining driver's licenses, and the farmworker union-led boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Company. Each of these represents different orders of discourse. An order of discourse can be thought of as all the genres and discourses used within a specific social domain, i.e. a political or a school-oriented order of discourse. Based on secondary research of Latino immigration to the South (discussed in Chapter 2) and results of the content analysis (discussed in Chapter 4) I selected orders of discourse related to citizenship (the changes to driver's license rules) and labor (the Mt. Olive boycott) for in-depth study using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). My overarching goal is to examine the complexity of how a select group of Latinos are represented in North Carolina's print news media. The Anglo newspapers used for the study were the *Raleigh News & Observer* (hereinafter *N&O*) and the *Winston-Salem Journal* (hereinafter *WSJ*). The Latino newspapers from the same cities were the weeklies *La Conexión* (hereinafter *LC*) and *Qué Pasa* (hereinafter *QP*).

Newspapers, although declining in circulation, still play a vital role in the formation of public opinion. When Habermas (1962/1991) conceptualized the public sphere as a space where public opinion is formed through the participation of all, he included newspapers as one of these spaces. The news media construct public issues by legitimizing public debate. Croteau & Hoynes (2003) explain this process:

Ideas and attitudes that are routinely included in media become part of the legitimate public debate about issues. Ideas that are excluded from the popular media or appear in the media only to be ridiculed have little legitimacy. They are outside the range of acceptable ideas. The ideological influence of media can be seen in the absences and exclusions just as much as in the content of the messages. (p. 163)

The inclusion of the local Latino press in this study allows for a more thorough examination of the absences, exclusions, or the potential opportunities for alternative discourse. By analyzing the same issues simultaneously in the Latino press of the same cities, I was able to identify counter-hegemonic discourses and, in general, the degree to which the Latino press reflected the Anglo discourse, contested the Anglo discourse, or provided alternative discourses.

Additionally, the concept of cultural citizenship provided a way to situate my findings in order to understand the dynamic of how media discourses reveal the maintenance or shifting of power differentials. Cultural citizenship originated in 1987 under the initiative of anthropologist Renato Rosaldo and the Latino Cultural Studies Working Group as an approach to studying “a range of social practices which, taken together, claim and establish a distinct social space for Latinos in this country [the United States]” (Flores, 1997, p. 1). Cultural citizenship takes into account structure and agency of Latinos as well as other disenfranchised groups by examining sites of struggle and drawing attention to the interaction of cultural practices and political action. Within my study, cultural citizenship proved to be a useful framework on which to map my analysis and see the wider implications of the second-class citizenship of immigrant Latinos in North Carolina -- particularly how this status is established, maintained, and challenged and the visibility of this within media discourses.

Defining Latinos and Hispanics

In general, defining a “Latino” or “Hispanic” is difficult and contentious even among Latinos. In this study, I generally use the term Latino but sometimes use Hispanic to refer to

population and demographic information because it is preferred by the U.S. Census Bureau. I also use Hispanic when citing other sources if that source used the term originally. Latinos are a diverse group of people who reside in the continental United States but are descended from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. They are white and black, republican and democrat, Catholic, Jewish, and many other religions or non-religiously affiliated, speak Spanish or English or other languages (Quechua, Maya, and so forth). Just as Caucasians, Asians, or African Americans in the United States, Latinos vary in socioeconomic background and educational level. In North Carolina, there are concerns about literacy rates among some Latinos (see Villenas, 2001), while at the same time, many professors at prestigious universities such as Duke University or the University of North Carolina are Latinos and form part of North Carolina's Latino community. In addition, there are Latinos with various levels of education occupying professional positions in the Research Triangle Park (RTP), located between Durham and Raleigh and home to over 40 national and international corporations, nonprofit organizations, and governmental agencies. A presence of successful, educated Latino leaders is further evidenced in North Carolina by the existence of organizations such as El Pueblo, Inc., an advocacy group for Latinos in North Carolina; the North Carolina Society for Hispanic Professionals (NCSHP), which supports Latino educational attainment; the North Carolina Hispanic Chamber of Commerce (NCHCC); and various grassroots, nonprofit community centers devoted to serving Latinos such as El Centro Hispano of Durham and El Centro Latino of Chapel Hill-Carrboro. The locally founded Latino Community Credit Union has expanded to Greensboro, Charlotte, and Fayetteville, further attesting to the vibrancy and spirit of leadership that exists among the Latino community.

When a person arrives to North Carolina, they would probably see what is historically shown to be common of immigrant enclave communities: the establishment of social and economic institutions that cater to the community. These include general and specialized grocery stores, churches, schools (such as Casa Esperanza Spanish Immersion Montessori School in Raleigh), a native-language press, radio, and TV stations. These institutions all point to a group that is involved and that values entrepreneurship. This diversity is important to keep in mind. However, a 2005 Pew Hispanic report notes that 63% of the Hispanics in the South are men with a median age of 27, that 62% do not have a high school diploma, and that 57% do not speak English well or at all (Kochhar, Suro & Tafoya, 2005, p. iii). Additionally, most research on Latinos in the South has focused on working class Latinos occupying low-skill labor and service sector jobs in North Carolina (Cravey, 1997; Johnson, Johnson-Webb & Farrell, 1999; Suro, 2005; Vargas, 2005; Villenas, 2001). Nonetheless, a January 2006 report on the economic impact of Latinos on North Carolina estimated that 41.4% of North Carolina's Latinos are U.S. citizens while 45% are undocumented residents (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006, p. iii). Regardless of the specific demographic makeup of North Carolina's Latinos, studies on representations of "what Americans look like" still routinely find that white people are considered the "norm" (Acosta-Alzuru & Kreshel, 2002; Entman & Rojecki, 2000).

Latinos and Media

Social scientific research in psychology and mass communication has supported the hypothesis that when a person has had limited or no contact with members of another group, they often rely on what they have seen and heard through the media to form opinions

(Entman & Rojecki, 2000). Furthermore, psychologists have found that people remember negative information most readily (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Iyengar & McGuire, 1993) and tend to respond negatively to group differences (Tajfel, 1982). Entman & Rojecki (2000) offer a succinct summary, “By what they both do and do not convey, the media can stimulate Whites’ tendencies to imagine, exaggerate, and misunderstand group differences” (p. 6). This would certainly imply both entertainment and news media comprising film, television shows, television news, and newspapers. Examining what the research tells us about Latino portrayals in the Anglo media can therefore begin to provide some notion of the preconceived ideas that some non-Latino North Carolinians might have about the increasing numbers of Latinos in their midst.

Latinos = Problems

If we assume that the average North Carolinian has not grown up with Latino classmates, neighbors, doctors, public officials, or owners of local businesses, and that the main source of information that they have about Latinos comes from television, movies, and some news reports from Texas or California, what impressions would they have of Latinos? If the portrayals of Latinos in popular culture and in the news were accurate, the average North Carolinian would have good reason to be concerned – because Latinos overwhelmingly mean problems. As early as 1911, Mexicans were being portrayed in films such as *Tony the Greaser* as “the vilest of characters, who indulged in banditry, pillage, plundering, rape, and murder” (Berg, 1997, p. 74). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, other widely-recognized stereotypical roles emerged for Latinos. For men, these included the Latin lover, the male buffoon, and *El Bandido*, a version of the previous greaser who was

consistently the villain (Berg, 1997). The characteristics that defined them included a short temper, an inability to maintain stable romantic relationships, and involvement in morally questionable careers. These stereotypical characters also prevailed in early television with shows such as *The Cisco Kid* and *I Love Lucy* (Berg, 1997; Wilson, Gutiérrez & Chao, 2002). Berg (1997) identified three female stereotypes: the harlot, the female clown, and the dark lady. The most notable role for women, however, was as the sensuous, stormy beauty (Wilson et al., 2002).

While much of the research on Latino portrayals has focused on entertainment media, a few published studies on news media portrayals can be found. The civil rights movement contributed to improving the situation of reporting on Latinos as well as blacks. In 1968, the Kerner Commission on civil disorders condemned news coverage as being “filled with racial epithets” and lambasted the press saying that it “has too long basked in a White world, looking out of it, if at all, with White men’s eyes and a White perspective” (Wilson et al., 2002, p. 119). Studies of television news have shown that Hispanics and blacks are portrayed as both victims and perpetrators of crimes more often than whites (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman & Rojecki, 2000). The National Association of Hispanic Journalist’s (NAHJ) Annual Network Brownout report analyzes news coverage of Latinos in relation to total news broadcasts rather than comparing Latinos with other groups. As in previous years, the 2006 report (analyzing 2005) found that less than 1% of the 12,600 nightly news stories were about Latinos or Latino issues (Montalvo & Torres, 2006, p. 4). This is, of course, despite the fact that Latinos account for 14% of the U.S. population. The report also found that the focus on immigration decreased from the previous year, yet crime coverage experienced a sharp increase from 7.8% in 2004 to 18.1% in 2005 (p. 4). Other disappointing findings included a

lack of diversity of opinion with a third of the stories not citing a single source and a third of those using sources only citing one perspective (p. 4). Moreover, only five Latino stories featured Latino reporters (p. 4). Researchers noted that although immigration did not dominate the news stories as it had in the past, the major theme of immigration stories in 2005 was how immigrants are changing communities. Unfortunately, the researchers note, “These stories were often told from the perspective of longtime community residents and not from the perspective of immigrants” (Montalvo & Torres, 2006, p. 5). The report concludes:

The booming growth of the Latino population (in numbers and in economic and political power) should serve as a wake-up call for the news networks. But each year very little changes and this report continues to yield the same dismal results. (Montalvo & Torres, 2006, p. 5)

Under the current context of increasing media convergence in which television newsrooms and newspapers are routinely forming partnerships to share information and images across platforms including online news, the NAHJ inventory of network news may also tell us something about the scope of newspaper coverage today. The invisibility of Latinos in the context of overall news in newspapers probably resembles that of network news.

The more widely-cited studies of Latinos in newspaper stories were conducted in the 1980s in the Southwest. One study focused on coverage of Mexican Americans in six southwestern U.S. cities with substantial Hispanic populations (Greenberg, Heeter, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Korzenny, 1983). The researchers found that the proportion of overall Hispanic news to total news coverage was similar to the Hispanic population proportions and that there was no support for the often made claim of an overemphasis on crime news; they concluded that this might be partly due to the fact that the number of sports stories that included Latinos balanced the lack of news stories. A later study focused only on Albuquerque, New Mexico

and San Antonio, Texas newspapers (Turk, Richstad, Bryson, & Johnson, 1989). In both of these cities, Hispanic-Americans were the largest minority group and the states' human rights commissions had investigated complaints about media coverage. The researchers found similar results as the earlier study in terms of the proportion of coverage being equal to the proportion of the population. Moreover, a significantly higher proportion of the "bad news" stories were about Anglos, not Hispanics. Yet, they did find support for the notion of Hispanics as a "problem people," causing or beset by problems. One quarter of the Hispanic stories fit into judicial and crime news, news of riots and demonstrations, or accident and disaster news, while only 16.7% of the Anglo coverage fit into these categories (Turk, Richstad, Bryson, & Johnson, 1989, p. 113).

These studies are noteworthy for two reasons: they were conducted approximately 20 years ago¹ or more, and they were limited by their methodology and definitions. Both studies were content analyses and showed good intercoder reliability; however, I would argue that the very precise definitions and categories required to conduct a reliable content analysis run the risk of leaving out precisely the subtleties of language and the more nuanced ways that stories can be constructed to reflect negatively on certain actors or actions. This might explain why the Turk et al. (1989) study had somewhat conflicting findings. More bad news stories involved Anglos than Latinos, but more of the Hispanic stories concerned categories reflecting problems than the Anglo stories.

While the literature on media portrayals of Latinos is certainly relevant to this study, the historical differences between the Southwest and the Southeast are great enough that previous research may be of only limited value to describe the current trends. Sofía Villenas

¹ Although the study was published in 1989, it was conducted by looking at news stories from 1982, 1984, and 1986.

(2001) conducted two years of ethnographic fieldwork in a small town between Raleigh and Winston-Salem and found that while there was an outright xenophobic racism discourse in which Latinos are “blamed for all of society’s ills” (p. 9), this discourse was unacceptable among professionals in the community who instead employed a “benevolent racism” discourse. Villenas describes the benevolent racism discourse as a publicly welcoming response attached to genuine concern for the “Latino plight” (p. 9). While Villenas’s study was not a media study, she does cite local newspaper headlines to illustrate how both discourses were operating. An example of xenophobic racism appeared in the headline, “I want to know if my tax money is going to illegal aliens,” while benevolent racism is illustrated in, “Literacy void a big issue” and “Program enables Hispanic women to become better mothers” (Villenas, 2001, p. 7).

Lucila Vargas’s (2000) research conducted in North Carolina examined the *N&O*’s reporting on Latinos from 1992 to 1995 and found that Hispanic issues centered on seven categories: immigration, affirmative action, crime, drugs, welfare, “uneducated immigrants unable or unwilling to help or speak for themselves,” and criminals or victims. Her overall findings revealed that Hispanics were largely invisible in the news in respect to their increasing numbers in the population of the community served by the paper. In terms of criminalization and victimization, they were not necessarily portrayed more often as criminals, but the stories covering a criminal who was Hispanic were longer stories, more detailed, and often included visuals. Her findings therefore mirror the findings from other studies on Latino representation in the Anglo press.

Newspaper coverage of Latino immigrants in North Carolina was newsworthy in and of itself because of an incident involving the *N&O*. In March 1998, an *N&O* reporter profiled

a Mexican man who was an undocumented worker. The story gave the full name and workplace of the man, who was deported by Immigration and Naturalization Services² two weeks later (Cunningham, 2002; Vargas 2000). The repercussions of the event required the paper to undertake crisis management measures to mollify both the Latino and the non-Latino community. The event also stimulated conversation in journalistic circles. Trade publications for journalism professionals used the incident as a case study, opening the doors to self-reflexivity and discussion of how Hispanics should be covered in areas of significant demographic shifts (Garriga, 2001; Noack, 1998; Wizda, 1998). These examples further confirm North Carolina as a relevant site for further study.

Several years after the *N&O*'s fiasco, the Triangle area of North Carolina was featured in an article in the *Columbia Journalism Review* about the challenges of covering Latinos (Cunningham, 2002). The article focused on the *N&O*, the Durham *Herald-Sun*, the Chapel Hill *News*, the Spanish-language weekly *LC*, and broadcast media, analyzing each medium and their strategies for covering the Latino community. A lack of Latino or even Spanish-speaking reporters, concern over how to deal with sensitive issues such as immigration status, and measuring readership (all during times of severe budgetary constraints) were among the principal concerns cited (Cunningham, 2002).

This review of the literature shows that when studies of entertainment media are examined along with those of news media, Latinos are either invisible or stereotyped. According to Wilson et al. (2002), this has been true since the 1960s and serves two purposes for the dominant group: to reassure the general audience that the minority is in its place and to inform them that those who have left their place are no longer a threat because they have adopted the values of the dominant culture (p. 122). Wilson et al. (2002) assert that the

² Immigration and Naturalization Services has since been subsumed by the Department of Homeland Security.

overarching representation of Latinos is as “problem people who either have problems or cause problems for society” and that they are therefore a social burden (p. 124). This has led researchers to claim that Spanish-language, Latino-produced media can be the only source for positive portrayals of immigrants: as courageous, strong, and proud of their ethnic group (Downing, 1992; Rodríguez, A., 1997).

Ethnic Minority Media

Ethnic minority media have generally been examined in relation to their function in society following a historical approach of U.S. trends. For example, with the first waves of immigrants, ethnic media were considered to play a great role in promoting assimilation and aiding immigrants (Park 1922/1970). Melissa Johnson (2000) outlines three research phases of the role of mass media for immigrants. The first phase was *assimilation* in which immigrants gave up one culture to adopt another. This was considered the ideal in the early 20th century. The second major phase was that of *acculturation* which came out of anthropology and posited that in order to adapt to the United States, immigrants would increasingly participate in the host culture while maintaining aspects of their own culture. The third phase is that of *pluralism*. Pluralism is defined as “an internal view of one’s group membership but not a required cultural identity. One can display group membership as one sees fit in a context or situation” (p. 232). Other researchers have also described the pluralistic role of ethnic media: assisting immigrants in adapting to majority society while encouraging their ethnic identity (Riggins, 1992; Rodríguez, A., 1997; Subervi-Vélez, 1986).

Authors such as Félix Gutiérrez (1977) and Carlos Cortés (1987) have focused on Chicano³ newspapers. Cortés considers the papers to be the “preservers and transmitters of history and culture, maintainers and reinforcers of language, and strengtheners of Chicano pride” (p. 254). Gutiérrez (1977) hypothesized that Chicano newspapers have played three major roles – as instruments of social control, as instruments of social activism, and as reflections of Chicano life. Kasisomayajula Viswanath & Pamela Arora (2000) expand on the previous analyses by describing more functions of ethnic minority media. These include being responsible for cultural transmission, being a community booster or a sentinel, performing an assimilatory function, and performing an informational function. More recently, Federico Subervi-Vélez (in publication) has suggested that ethnic minority media serve dual functions of adaptation and pluralism and that these often occur simultaneously and in complex ways.

Although much of the research on ethnic minority media has focused on their functions, Riggins (1992) argues that the media also provide agency. He states, “Minority group members are likely to be depicted in assertive postures as agents of change rather than simply victims of change initiated by others. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that ethnic minority media – despite their dual nature – make their greatest contribution in the direction of resisting assimilation” (Riggins, 1992, p. 283). Few studies have focused specifically on ethnic minority media and empowerment. Downing’s (1992) study on the Spanish-language media of New York City analyzed radio ownership, rather than media content, and concluded that while the existence of the media contributes to a sense of community and cultural identity, the opportunity for empowerment is largely wasted (p. 272). Vargas and dePyssler (1999) studied Latino newspapers to evaluate how well they serve as health communication

³ Chicano generally refers to a Mexican American cultural identification associated with the Southwest.

resources and found that while the media were publishing health stories, they were rarely directly relevant to the Latino experience. They concluded, “Despite their great potential, we found that Latino newspapers serve Latino organizations poorly” (p. 202).

The most recent approach, responding to processes of globalization and the diasporic communities it fosters, argues for a new conceptualization of what has traditionally been ethnic minority media. This focus on transnationalism, or the ways in which people are living with attachments in multiple countries, has only recently been taken up by researchers in journalism and mass communication. Much of the research has been conducted in the field of communication studies, particularly for the study of popular culture. Arlene Dávila (2000) examined Spanish-language television in the United States. She describes the current context of programming as consisting mainly of imported shows from Latin America, yet discusses Univisión and Telemundo’s efforts to create U.S.-based shows that may appeal to younger Latino audiences. Some of these shows include bilingual programs or programs in English but with Latino “flavor.” She concludes that most of the proposed programs “have fallen short of addressing the multiplicity of Latino experience in the States in ways that reflect, rather than mock or deride, these expressions...” (Dávila, 2000, p. 88). Vicki Mayer (2004) addresses the complexity of Latino identity and suggests that we need further research into Latinization (the process by which immigrants from distinct countries become Latinos when they arrive to the United States), representation in the context of transnational media consumption, and citizenship, which has generally been approached from the field of Latino studies (p. 120-121). As journalism and mass communication scholars begin to draw from this perspective, we may find that the ethnic minority media models no longer adequately describe the ways that immigrants are living transnational lives and the ways that commercial

media are responding to this with communication flows in multiple directions (Karim, 1998). While much of the research on transnational media focuses on entertainment media, Vargas & Paulin (in press) propose the category of “transnational news” to replace what has traditionally been referred to as “foreign” or “international” news.

Theoretical Framework

This project assumes a constructivist perspective, and its overall theoretical and methodological premises are grounded in critical cultural studies. Cultural studies as a multidisciplinary field began in Europe in the 1960s in response to dramatic changes in media forms and society. It contributed to the dismantling of the concept of “high” and “low” culture. Fornäs (1998) provides one explanation for attaching the term critical to cultural studies:

Cultural studies are intrinsically *critical*, from the Frankfurt school of ‘critical theory’ to the later French, British and American variants. They show how power and resistance interplay in culture, striving to take part in attacking and deconstructing all illegitimate forms of domination, whether related to state, market or the life-world, and whether connected to gender, sexuality, age, generation, class, race, ethnicity, nationality or religion. (p. 29)

A critical cultural approach implies certain epistemological and ontological assumptions, a principal one being that there is not an objective truth that can be found and measured. In contrast, critical cultural studies consider that truth (or reality) is socially constructed and varies among individuals based on their experiences and perceptions. Although cultural studies comprise a very complex set of approaches, currents and traditions, shifting from decade to decade and from country to country, a critical cultural approach usually does not argue that no reality exists, but rather that one’s understanding of the reality

will be shaped by a tension between structure and agency and that the meaning of realities will always be open for debate (Fornäs, 1998). Because of this fundamental premise of the social construction of reality, other considerations for critical cultural studies include: the importance of context, the recognition of the polysemic nature of texts, and relationships of power. Empirical studies conducted using a critical cultural approach are frequently concerned with processes of marginalization and obviating the taken-for-granted, obscured hegemony of modern social institutions. In other words, “cultural studies...aims to make people sensitive to how relations of power and domination are encoded, or embodied, in cultural texts” (Kellner, 1995, p. 8). Cultural studies as a field is also interested in how groups resist dominant forms of culture and identity. Implicit in critical cultural studies is analysis with the goal of promoting empowerment and political or social change.

Within a critical cultural foundation, CDA is one theoretical framework and methodology that is explicitly concerned with relationships of power. It frequently draws from the ideas of Althusser, Gramsci, and Foucault regarding how ideology⁴ and hegemony⁵ operate in a society. Namely, the ideological system operates by creating consent through societal institutions such as the educational system, religious institutions, and the mass media. The system creates this consent in part by employing a variety of discourses to frame potential conflictive issues, often establishing the two acceptable extreme positions and thereby limiting alternative discussions. Gramsci’s (1971) articulation of hegemony, however, does not assume that the consent is static. Counter-hegemonic forces such as social movements may be successful in establishing an alternative position and eventually changing

⁴ By ideology I mean, “the system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgments about that world” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003, p. 159).

⁵ Hegemony is understood as the social reproduction of ideology through processes of consent (Gramsci, 1971).

ideology. In this counter-hegemony, voices of dissent try to gather other proponents to their cause and bring about social change. Nonetheless, these counter-hegemonic discourses are frequently marginalized and inhibited from establishing themselves as a viable alternative to the “permitted” discourses. In a democracy that values freedom of speech, consent is a key element to the functioning of the system. This consent allows the ideological system to operate naturally, meaning that the participants do not question the discourses or seriously consider other potential discourses.

CDA as a theory and methodology holds great potential for research in media. The purpose is to call attention to and question the obvious and natural as being unnatural or, if not unnatural, as only one option among possibilities. Furthermore, CDA draws attention to the context in which discourse is constructed. Expressly, it examines, among other things, whose voices are privileged and whose are stifled and who benefits economically, politically, or socially from the discourse in place. In this study, I used a combination of discourse analysis methodologies (see Chapter 3) that allowed me to systematically study the text of news stories (Bell, 1998) and to connect the discourses with their broader social, political, and economic implications (Fairclough, 1998). Norman Fairclough proposes a three-dimensional model of CDA, of which textual analysis is only one part. The analysis of newspaper texts using CDA enabled me to explore how the social construction of identity leads to an assumed, unquestioned reality that advantages some participants at the expense of others (in the Anglo media), and how Latino media differ.

Representation

Cultural studies research connects power relations and cultural politics. A principal concern of cultural studies is therefore “the exploration of representations of and ‘for’ marginalized social groups and the need for cultural change” (Barker, 2003, p. 5). Meaning is produced and exchanged through language, and culture is formed through shared meanings. While people have diverse thoughts and feelings, the basic shared meanings that we attach to items carry value for us and become entwined with our cultural practices. Personal interaction, social interaction, and the mass media all serve to produce or reproduce meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 3). According to Hall (1997), languages are *systems of representation* in that “they all use some element to stand for or represent what we want to say, to express or communicate a thought, concept, idea, or feeling” (p. 4). Thus, our identities are also generally derived through representation. For example, the concept of *mother* is derived through all the culturally shared linguistic terms and symbols that represent mother. A member of our group (or culture) understands what being a mother is through the way people talk about it and the way the meaning of it is encoded in art, popular culture, and the news media – in short, the way it is represented. Another culture, for example, could understand mother in simply biological terms or in terms that could be represented not by an individual, but by a group that contributes equally to caring for a child. For those for whom the meaning of mother is one of the above, the other possibilities are potentially out of their realm of comprehension.

To tie these theoretical concepts to this study, I draw on Hall’s (1997) definition of a discursive approach as being one concerned with the effects and consequences of representation. While this approach will be discussed more in the next section, the

representation of Latinos in both Anglo and Latino media in North Carolina can be understood as being bundled up in the construction of identity, as a way to differentiate or segregate, or potentially as a mechanism for inclusion or for minimizing difference. For Hall, the media play a key role by not reflecting reality, but rather by literally re-presenting it: “Representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of *making things mean*” (Hall, 1982, p. 64 cited in Croteau & Hoynes, 2003, p. 168; italics original).

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA differs from other ways of studying texts in that it constitutes a theoretical and methodological “package” that consists of four parts: philosophical premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of reality, theoretical models, methodological guidelines, and specific techniques for analysis (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 4). While the theoretical models and methodological guidelines may vary among researchers, any discourse analysis accepts the following epistemological and ontological premises:

- That knowledge is not an objective truth, but rather a product of the way we categorize the world through our discourses.
- That our way of understanding the world is historically and culturally situated. This means that we are shaped by where we are standing both historically and culturally and that there could be other possibilities.

- That our understanding is shaped by social processes or social interaction. These social interactions become the sites where we negotiate the meanings of things in our lives.
- That what we come to understand to be true or false, right or wrong will then shape our actions. The activities that we do or do not do, that make some activities acceptable and others unthinkable, come from this social construction and negotiation of knowledge (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 5).

Using these general premises regarding knowledge and being leads to other, specific premises regarding language. Again, language is understood to be the vehicle through which we have access to reality. Stated succinctly

With language, we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality. That does not mean that reality itself does not exist. Meanings and representations are real. Physical objects also exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 8).

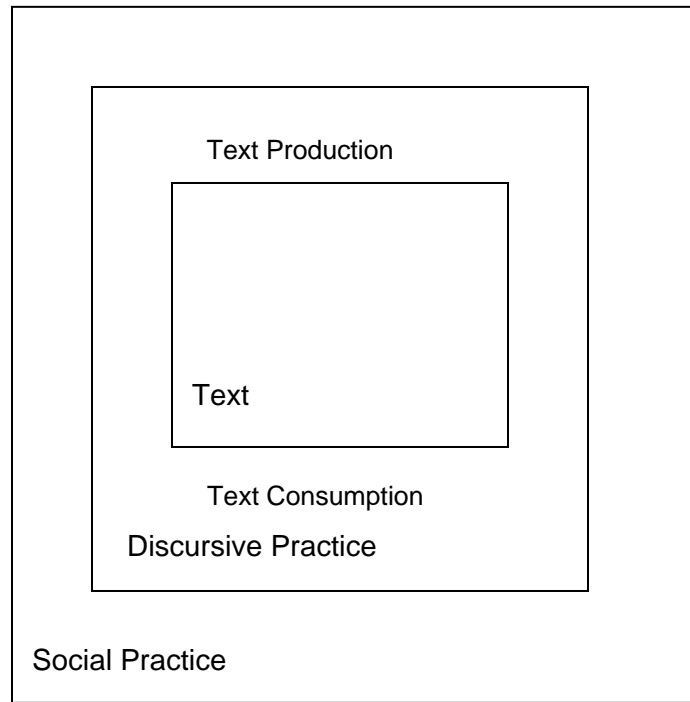
Accepting these premises means that “our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations, but play an active role in creating and changing them” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 1). Despite the different ways that researchers understand and practice CDA, Phillips & Jørgensen (2002) identify five common presuppositions of all CDA approaches. The most basic of these is an assertion that discourse matters. The production and consumption of texts (discursive practices) contribute to the construction of social identities and social relations, and CDA examines that process (p. 61). The second premise asserts a dialectical nature of discourse: “Discourse is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices” (p. 61). The third

principle emphasizes the importance of analyzing language within its social context (p.62).

The fourth premise recognizes that discourse has ideological effects essentially reinforcing power differentials (p. 63). This last premise is what generates the label *critical* in CDA. The purpose of analysis is to “reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world” (p. 63), which leads naturally to the fifth premise, a political commitment to social change inherent in CDA (p. 64). As Phillips & Jørgensen say, “In the name of emancipation, critical discourse analytical approaches take the side of oppressed social groups” (2002, p. 64).

Fairclough (1995) explains that CDA, “seeks to investigate often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” (p.132). Broadly speaking Fairclough is interested in trying to detect processes of social change as they may be manifested through changes in discursive practices. Fairclough (1998) makes the explicit connections between discourse and power in society through a framework that includes three levels of analysis. A complete analysis takes into account these three levels and the connections between the levels. Fairclough’s framework is depicted in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis.



From *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (p. 68), by L. Phillips and M.W. Jørgensen, 2002, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Copyright 1992 by Norman Fairclough.

The first level, depicted as the square labeled *text* in Figure 1.1, comprises the close, linguistic reading of texts. In this study, the textual examination will be accomplished through the specific methodology of Bell (1998) (see Chapter 3). However, given the central place of language as a means of creating discourses, this textual level is an essential part of the analysis. The principle of analyzing text in context is accomplished by linking this level with the second level of the framework. The second level of analysis consists of *discursive practices* that are concerned with the production and consumption of texts. In this case, that means considering aspects of production such as the fact that the Anglo newspapers in my sample are subscription-based dailies while the Latino newspapers are free weeklies. This alone impacts the prominence that a certain news item is given as well as how it is handled in subsequent stories. Equally important in discursive practices is the consideration of

consumption. The Anglo and Latino newspapers are written for different readerships, which complicates the analysis because it makes the newspapers difficult to compare. Nevertheless, studying both media contributes greatly to the richness and uniqueness of this project. The third dimension of the framework, *social practices*, helps to explain the value of examining media that have inherent differences. Considering that the newspapers and their divergent readers live in the same state, they compete for and share the same resources in the form of social, political, and economic institutions that operate, often in a limited capacity, in a community. The negotiation of power and the ways in which power and access operate discursively will be reflected in the analysis of social practices, the third dimension of Fairclough's framework. The examination of discourse in relation to social practices is how Fairclough links the analysis to the political project of CDA. Specifically, this part of the analysis considers "whether the discursive practice reproduces or, instead, restructures the existing *order of discourse* and what consequences this has for the broader social practice" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 69; italics original). An order of discourse can be understood as the "sum of all the genres and discourses which are in use within a specific social domain" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 72).

The overarching goal of this project is to examine the complexity of how Latinos are represented in North Carolina's news media. To accomplish this, I decided to analyze issues that represented a variety of orders of discourse. Furthermore, the examination of texts that employ different discursive practices (production and consumption)⁶ will allow for a contextualized examination of instances of borrowing or appropriation, competition, shifting of discourses, and orders of discourse.

⁶ Here I refer to Anglo and Spanish-language newspapers.

CDA has been used to study media and other cultural texts in Europe. Teun van Dijk (1991) has been the most prolific researcher of media and ethnic minority groups. In a study of Dutch and British newspapers of 1985 and 1989, he found that news reports focused on a limited number of topics for minorities. These included the stereotypical topics of immigration problems, crime, violence, and ethnic relations. In the case of politics or social affairs, the reporting was mainly within the context of problems and conflicts (p. 245). Similarly to this study, van Dijk's discussion differentiates between types of newspapers, but rather than studying mainstream and ethnic media, he found stark differences between "right-wing, tabloid" newspapers and "conservative quality" newspapers (van Dijk, 1991, pp. 246-247). Throughout Europe and many other parts of the world, newspapers are more transparent in their political leanings than U.S. newspapers. The right-wing tabloid newspapers were much more overt in their racist discourse than the quality newspapers, but van Dijk (1991) points out that the quality newspapers are often read by less than 20% of readers and are "dwarfed by the mass circulation tabloids" (p. 247). van Dijk (1991) found that the views of white authorities and institutions dominated the discussions of ethnic affairs while the everyday lives of minorities were only covered in times of crisis (p. 248).

The comparison of discourses in Anglo and Latino texts about the five topics identified in this study reveals orders of discourse within social and cultural practices as well as which social and cultural practices are featured in the texts. The specific issues used in the CDA are changes to rules for getting a driver's license and the Mt. Olive boycott.

Organization of this study

This study of discourses in both Anglo and Latino newspapers in North Carolina can provide a starting point for understanding the representation of Latinos in the state, a state where Latino culture is a relatively new influence. My review of Latino representation in entertainment and news media has shown two main characteristics: invisibility and stereotypical portrayal. The detailed, side-by-side examination of orders of discourse in different media demonstrates how processes of subordination occur and whether, under the theoretical framework of CDA, Latino media provide a vehicle to counter these processes.

Chapter 2 provides an explanation of the myriad factors – international, national, southern, both governmental and economic – that contributed to the expansion of Latino migration to the South. I begin the chapter with a review of the push and pull variables tied to Mexican immigration to the United States. Structural changes in Mexico have historically pushed migrants northward while government programs such as the Bracero program have acted to pull them towards the United States. The rather predictable, circular movement was thrown off-kilter by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which simultaneously expanded and restricted immigration by both providing amnesty for over two million Mexican workers, and by militarizing the border and restricting visas to inhibit further immigration. After reviewing the implications of these movements, I then shift to focus on the economic boom and development of the South and to changes occurring within key industries such as agriculture. I also present data from surveys published in 2005 by Pew Hispanic (Kochhar et al., 2005) and 2006 by the Kenan Institute of the University of North Carolina (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006) regarding Latino migration to the South and the economic impact of Latino labor on North Carolina.

The methods and data used to examine the content and discourses of the four newspapers is the focus of Chapter 3. This chapter provides background information on the newspapers that were selected for the study and the five issues that were analyzed. Using quantitative content analysis, I studied coverage of the five issues and narrowed the sample for the CDA. In Chapter 3, I describe the variables and coding procedure of the content analysis then explain the method for selecting the CDA sample and the framework for conducting a CDA using news stories, following Bell's (1998) methodology.

In Chapter 4, I present the results of the content analysis and a discussion of some of the particular characteristics of the issues studied. While the content analysis found higher overall coverage of gangs, Jessica Santillán (a Mexican immigrant who died after a heart and lung transplant), and *fiestas*, the analysis of relevance, length, and authorship of the articles revealed the ambiguities embedded in these issues. The content analysis raises questions about what constitutes a Latino issue and about the roles of agenda setting and public relations subsidies in the press. I also include a discussion of observations made of the four newspapers during the course of the content analysis. The *N&O* and the *WSJ* showed major differences in their coverage, with the *N&O* having more articles, more articles with named authors, longer articles, and greater variety in types of articles. The two Latino papers, while fairly similar in their coverage, are very different in their use of editorials. Specifically, *LC* appears to heavily use editorial comment, congruent with their strong philosophy of advocacy, while *QP* includes no in-house editorials. The editorial page is made up of reprints from other newspapers with no *QP* editorial, no local guest columnists or space for letters to the editor.

The review of context provided in Chapter 2 shows that much of North Carolina's Latino population is filling a demand for agricultural workers and non-skilled labor or service-sector work. The content analysis results in Chapter 4, however, determined that the two Latino issues that are most relevant to this population, changes to driver's license rules and the Mt. Olive boycott on behalf of farmworkers, received the lowest coverage overall. Chapter 5, therefore, turns to the CDA of the news stories about changes to driver's license rules. This chapter explains the role of an overarching, national, post-9/11 discourse that appears to have strongly influenced the real loss of rights for a large portion of North Carolina's Latino population. Under this context, the population was divided into stark "us" and "them" categories, and Latinos as a group were discursively constructed as criminals. This addition of the criminality discourse served as an alternate to a potential terrorism discourse, because there was no real link between Latinos and terrorism. The newspaper discourses reveal that the local Latino leaders were symbolically marginalized, which facilitated the stripping away of the right to a driver's license and a higher degree of recognition and resources in society. Unfortunately, with the Latino leaders literally removed from the official, state discussion of driver's licenses, the Latino press was left with few sources on which to rely for articulating a separate discourse. They were forced to echo and attempt to respond to the "us" vs. "them" and criminality discourses used by the Anglo press.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the CDA of the Mt. Olive boycott, in which the Anglo press relied on a powerful, historic, anti-union script to position Mt. Olive Pickle Company as the victim of a politically-motivated northern invader in the form of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). This was accomplished in part by minimizing the economic importance of the company and by erasing both the nature of farmwork and the farmworkers. The Latino

press, on the other hand, provided a voice to FLOC, allowing for the articulation of an alternative discourse in which the farmworkers were visible and readers could understand that this struggle was for a just cause. While FLOC was unable to assert its discourse in the Anglo press, Mt. Olive had its point of view published in *LC*, albeit with an editorial disclaimer saying that the paper did not agree with the position.

I offer a summary of the results and a discussion of the implications in Chapter 7. Content analysis generally provides a neatly categorical method for studying media texts. In this case, it did that, but also helped to unveil the difficulty in analyzing newspaper coverage of Latino issues. Some issues that originally looked like Latino issues were not concrete (in the case of gangs), were issues because of other newsworthy characteristics (Jesica Santillán as a medical malpractice scandal), or were the products of good public relations (*fiesta*). Therefore, in Chapter 7, I propose cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1999) as a tool for identifying Latino issues. The differences between the two Anglo newspapers and between the Anglo and Latino newspapers show the value of studies of ownership and news production processes. The content analysis also proved an extremely useful tool for narrowing the CDA sample. The CDAs raise concerns about how well these Anglo newspapers, particularly the *N&O*, are adhering to journalistic principles that have been codified by the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Society of Professional Journalists. For the Latino papers, the CDA shows the potential for establishing an alternative discourse. This study gives Latino media two examples, a failure and a success story, and provides the Latino media a way to model future discourses to allow Latinos to move forward or to not be pushed backward on the recognition and resources continua of cultural citizenship.

Chapter 2: The Unforeseen Latinization of the South

The South has generally been viewed as a place of exodus. Characteristic of his time, Taeuber (1973) wrote, “The South has long been a place people leave; young and middle-aged adults, both black and white, have migrated from the South in heavy streams” (p. 8). By the 1980s, however, demographers were beginning to discuss the 1970s retrospectively as the beginning of large population increases in the South (Estall, 1989). Concerning Latinos, economic geographer Robert Estall (1989) commented:

The South is now not avoided so noticeably by migrants. In part this will be due to the changing sources of large scale migration to the USA. This now includes many Mexicans, Cubans and other Latin American groups who find southern conditions, especially in Texas and Florida, attractive. (p. 22)

These quotes illustrate the stark contrast between how the South looked just three or four decades ago and how it looks today with its overall growth, development, and growing Latino population. Even in 1989, the discussions of Latinos in the South were limited to what some call the “rim South” – the states of Texas and Florida. The conditions were ripe for large numbers of Latino workers to move to the South, yet few researchers in the 1980s predicted the demographic change that began in the 1990s. This chapter reviews the international, national, and local circumstances that led to the profound demographic changes in the South and then profiles how specific industries have changed, generating a demand for labor.

The Numbers

The Latino population is growing faster in the South than anywhere else in the United States, even though there are comparatively more Latinos in traditional migration settlement sites such as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles (Kochhar et al., 2005). Since the number of Latinos in the South was previously low, for example 1.1% of the population of North Carolina (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006), the rapid and marked increase in the past decade has had a noticeable impact on communities. Table 2.1 shows the increase in Latino population in southern states from 1990 to 2000.

Table 2.1

Southern states and the increase in Latino population between 1990 and 2000

State	Latino population 1990	Latino population 2000	% Increase of Latino population
North Carolina	76,726	378,963	394
Arkansas	19,876	86,866	337
Georgia	108,922	435,227	300
Tennessee	32,741	123,838	278
South Carolina	30,551	95,076	211
Alabama	24,629	75,830	208

This trend in population increase has continued since 2000 and does not show signs of abating (Donnelly, 2005; Kasarda & Johnson, 2006; Kochhar et al., 2005). While the percentage increase at the state level is informative, the percentages from certain counties are actually much higher. Counties across the South that are home to labor-intensive industries

experienced 500% to 1000% increases in their Latino populations (Kochhar et al., 2005). In addition, the increases in population occurred across a wide range of locations, including small rural counties, non-metropolitan manufacturing counties, second-tier cities,⁷ and large metropolitan areas such as Atlanta and Nashville (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006; Kochhar et al., 2005).

Latino migration in the South is a fascinating story of transnational, national, and southern circumstances that came together with precise timing and led to these culturally significant demographic changes. Literature on Latino migration to the South is consistent on several points. First, the South is experiencing a period of intense economic growth that creates a demand for workers in many industries including agribusiness, food processing, construction, and service-related industries. Second, as Latinos have moved into the South to work, employers benefit both because the low wages paid to Latinos keep companies competitive and because employers appreciate Latinos' work ethic. In fact, once employers have hired Latinos, they are often known to actively recruit more Latinos (Engstrom, 2001; Johnson et al, 1999). Third, migration to the South is distinct from migration to traditional immigrant receiving sites for two reasons. Migrants to the Southwest, New York, and Chicago have added to large and well-established Latino populations. In contrast, the South had a very low Latino population until the early 1990s. In addition, Latino migration, especially to the Southwest, was characterized for decades by its circular nature. In studies conducted between 1965 and 1986, researchers found that although 28 million Mexicans entered the United States, this number was offset by the departure of 23.4 million yielding a net increase of only 4.6 million (Massey & Singer, 1995, p. 45). As a result of changes in U.S. immigration laws and the geographic distance between Mexico and the Southeast,

⁷ Second-tier cities are frequently defined as cities of over 300,000 but less than one million inhabitants.

Latino migration to the South is characterized by its permanence (Guthey, 2001; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002; Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001).

Within the Southeast, North Carolina is the state with the highest percentage increase in its Latino population. Kasarda & Johnson (2006) report that in 2004, the Latino population in North Carolina totaled 600,913, or 7% of the state's population. Between 1995 and 2004, 38.2% of Latinos migrated from abroad, 40.2% migrated from another part of the United States, and 21.6% were born in North Carolina. Of those who migrated from abroad, 73% came from Mexico. Furthermore, 41.4% of North Carolina's Latinos are U.S. citizens while 45% are undocumented residents.

Typical of traditional migrant labor streams, or people who migrate to follow economic opportunities, researchers in both North Carolina and more generally in the South find that the migrants from abroad are younger than the national average age of Latinos, less educated, and that there are higher gender imbalances⁸ than in the national Latino population (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006; Kochhar et al., 2005). The gender imbalance, however, decreased from 1995 to 2004, indicating that more women and children are joining male migrants who have established themselves in the workforce (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006). Dramatically increased birth rates and public school enrollment rates among Latinos are further indicators that the policy issues brought up by this demographic change will continue to impact communities for many years to come (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006).

⁸ Gender imbalance is defined as an unequal ratio of men to women. Among the general U.S. population, there are 102 women per 100 men because women tend to live longer. Among Latinos in the South, researchers found an average of 173 men per 100 women (Kochhar et al., 2005).

Setting the Stage

A confluence of factors contributed to the Latinization of the South. These factors include push variables such as structural changes in Mexico over the past century, changes in U.S. laws and immigration policies, and social and economic changes in traditional immigrant receiving sites like California in recent decades. Push variables will be explored in this section while pull variables particular to the South will be discussed in the following section.

Undoubtedly, the neoliberal economic philosophy commonly known as “Reaganomics” which became prominent through the policies of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher led to the conditions that made a hospitable environment for immigrant labor in the U.S. South beginning in the late 1980s. In the 1930s and 1940s, southern farmers wanted local workers and the region was vehemently antiunion. Many states, such as North Carolina, passed right-to-work laws in the 1940s that stifled the ability of labor unions to organize the many textile mills that dotted the region.

The policies of the late 1980s, however, that favored the free operation of the market with little government intervention and led to global economic agreements such as NAFTA. NAFTA undercut corn and bean prices in Mexico and many people found themselves unable to make a living. At the same time the H-2A program which imported farm workers to the U.S. and IRCA opened new economic sectors in new places and new regions and created opportunities for Latinos in the U.S.

Mexico

The sustained movement of Mexicans to the United States can partially be attributed to periods of political and/or economic instability in Mexico. The political situation in Mexico has contributed to immigration as Mexican presidents throughout the decades, have varied the strategies that they felt would best lead the country to development. As policies have shifted from relying on foreign investment to privatizing industries to taking state control of industries to seeking aid from international lending institutions, upheavals on socio-economic levels have deeply affected the people who feel the effects of an ever-increasing gap between the wealthy and the poor (Massey et al., 2002).

One of the recent Mexican crises that contributed to the current wave of migration was the economic collapse of 1982. At that time, the banks were nationalized, inflation rose over 100%, real wages dropped, and the GDP fell 9% (Massey et al., 2002, p. 76). According to geographer Greig Guthey, who studied Georgia's poultry-processing industry, the first Mexicans arrived to Georgia in the 1970s, but the mid-1980s, coinciding with the height of Mexico's economic crisis, showed the first significant changes in the composition of the population. He states, "census figures for that period indicate dramatic increases in the Hispanic population of towns where [poultry] processing plants were located" (Guthey, 2001, p. 61).

While the Mexican economy did improve in the early 1990s, the peso lost half its value in December 1993, from 3.13 pesos/dollar to a little over 7 pesos/dollar, which prompted new flows of migrants to the United States (Durand, Massey, & Chavret, 2000; Guthey, 2001). In a newly forming credit market, interest rates skyrocketed, and many Mexicans were unable to make house or credit card payments that nearly tripled. Working

class Mexicans who were already struggling increasing took advantage of opportunities created by NAFTA and moved north to work in the maquiladora factories opening in the north of Mexico and often into the United States where they could do similar work for much higher salaries.

Immigration Reform and Control Act

While Mexico was suffering its jarring economic collapse, the United States made a sweeping reform of immigration policy with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. The IRCA implemented highly restrictive policies, but also allowed approximately 2.3 million undocumented Mexican immigrants to obtain permanent resident status. Among the restrictive aspects of IRCA were the provisions that increased the budget of the border patrol by 50% and made it a crime for employers to hire undocumented immigrants for the first time in U.S. history. The amnesty provision was a move to placate farmers who were worried about the impact that the restrictions would have on their ability to find farmworkers (Massey et al., 2002, p. 136). Immigrant workers under this law had to show that they had been employed in agriculture during the previous growing season in order to obtain permanent resident status. As soon as they had documents that would allow them to find a more stable and higher paying job, however, most immigrants left agricultural work (Massey et al., 2002; Thompson, 2002a). Legislators who passed IRCA believed that militarizing the border and requiring employers to verify documents would reduce the number of Mexicans coming to the United States. Border crossing has instead become more dangerous and more expensive, and it has fostered the shady and often criminal industry of coyotes, people who specialize in getting groups or individuals across the border. In addition,

falsified documents has become a growing industry as a result of IRCA (Massey et al., 2002, p. 119). Mexican farmworkers who gained legal status were not only free to pursue better paying jobs but also to move to cities and towns where there was increased job availability and less competition from other members of their ethnic group (Durand et al., 2000; Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001). Having a permanent resident alien card (green card) also began the citizenship process for many Mexican immigrants. After five years of holding a permanent resident alien card, an immigrant can apply for citizenship.

Any U.S. citizen can sponsor a foreign-born spouse or children so that they can obtain permanent resident alien cards and later citizenship. Even those family members who were not officially sponsored, however, were more likely to migrate. As Massey and Espinosa (1997) explain, “...the 2.3 million Mexicans who had been legalized under IRCA all had relatives in Mexico, and legalization would dramatically increase the odds that these relations would themselves migrate to the United States without documents” (p. 91). In practical terms, having legal documents puts one in a position to more easily support other relatives who migrate. For example, in the mid-1990s, 42% of Latino residents in North Carolina were legal residents who had moved from California, Texas, and other parts of the United States (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006). It seems likely, therefore, that the freedom to move afforded by IRCA contributed to Latino migration to the South. Massey et al. (2002) are unabashed in their criticism of IRCA and the outcomes of it:

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) ushered in a new era of restrictive immigration policies and repressive border controls that transformed what had been a well-functioning, predictable system into a noisy, clunking, dysfunctional machine that generated a host of unanticipated outcomes that were in neither country's interests (p. 2).

Among the negative outcomes cited by these scholars are the repercussions of a highly militarized border. While border crossing has become less visible because it no longer takes place around the cities of San Diego, California, and El Paso, Texas, the numbers have not diminished. Migrants cross in more dangerous areas such as the desert and the mountains. These areas are more difficult to patrol and may in fact mean that while the number of immigrants has not decreased, the apprehension of immigrants has. Once migrants successfully make the treacherous crossing, they are less likely to return to Mexico to be faced with the possibility of having to cross again, changing the trend from seasonal, circular migration toward permanent settlement (Massey et al., 2002). Other negative outcomes include the creation of a black market for Mexican labor that has lowered the wages of other working U.S. residents, the wasting of taxpayer money on a “sham” of border control, and the rise of subcontracting that has changed the hiring practices of the industries in which immigrants most commonly work. Massey et al. (2002) conclude by emphasizing that in addition to these negative outcomes, IRCA, “ensured that such consequences will befall the largest number of people in the widest variety of U.S. regions” (p. 126).

California

Although Texas shares the longest border with Mexico and is close to many of Mexico’s population centers, the Bracero program redirected most Mexican migration from Texas to California beginning in the 1940s (Massey et al., 2002). Between 1965 and 1985, the percentage of immigrants to California hovered around 70%. Texas, the next highest receiving state, only got 15% of the migrants (Massey et al., 2002, p. 59). During the 1980s, as is typical in times of U.S. economic downturns, “immigrants increasingly were cast in the

role of scapegoats for the nation's ills" (Massey et al., 2002, p. 86). President Ronald Reagan, in a series of speeches to the nation, was instrumental in framing border control as a national security issue. Although migration practices were relatively static since the 1960s, politicians and the media created a border crisis that led to IRCA, the building of militarized fencing for "Operation Hold-the-Line" in El Paso, Texas and "Operation Gatekeeper" in San Diego, California, and strong anti-immigrant sentiment among Americans.

California was plagued by a recession in the 1990s that drove many newly legalized migrants out of the state in search of better work opportunities. The growing anti-immigrant sentiment manifested itself in a number of legislative initiatives such as Proposition 187, passed in 1994, which denied social services to undocumented immigrants. California passed a ballot proposition declaring English the official language in 1986. Attacks on affirmative action programs in California further chipped away at immigrants' well-being. Scholars characterize this period of California history as one of "anti-immigrant hysteria" (Massey et al., 2002, p. 127). After the passage of IRCA, between 1990 and 1996, the Mexican immigrant population dropped 11% in California (Durand et al., 2000), indicating that migrants were quickly moving out of the state.

Structural uncertainty in Mexico, changing U.S. policy, fierce nativist sentiment, and repressive public policy decisions in the largest receiving state of migrants contributed to pushing migrants away from decades-old migration patterns and into new ones. Would newly legalized migrants have moved out of California if the state had been experiencing an economic boom and higher levels of tolerance or even appreciation for migrant labor? It is impossible to know if these patterns would have changed had only one or two factors been at play. Clearly, these four factors working together pushed migrants away from traditional

receiving sites. At the same time, forces such as a strong overall economy and a period of increased development and economic growth pulled migrants into nontraditional sites like the southern United States. The subsequent sections describe the historical context of the South, reasons for its economic and population growth, and the main industries that needed workers.

Historical Characteristics of the South: Labor made Cheap

The South is well-known for its history of slavery, Jim Crow laws, Civil Rights struggles, and general racial tension between blacks and whites. This history means that the region, whose population was one-third farmers until the 1930s, has a long tradition of finding ways to maintain a cheap labor supply (Thompson, 2002b). In addition to agriculture, the region was able to attract manufacturing away from the North with the promise of cheap labor and cheap land. Unlike the North's industrialized cities and well-established labor unions, the South's manufacturing industry was characterized by small (around 300 employee) textile mills built in small communities across a wide geographic area from Virginia to Arkansas. Because these mills were frequently the only employer in town and because the owners facilitated the establishment and improvement of community services, southerners frequently regarded the wealthy owners as protectors, which made union organizing particularly difficult in the region (Minchin, 2005). Further, workers did not see the mill owners as exploiting them but rather were grateful and proud to work for such companies (Minchin, 2005). A slightly different explanation for the exploitation of southern workers is the fact that mill owners had ties to local political or law enforcement, which kept low-skilled whites in the manufacturing plants powerless (Friedman, 2000). Regardless of

the reason, the result was that the South remained a region vehemently opposed to labor unions and thereby maintained the ability to rely on cheap labor and attract industry to the area.

Many Latinos in the South work in agriculture. In the South and elsewhere, agriculture has been transformed from traditional family-owned farming to widespread corporate-owned farming, also known as agribusiness. Rather than presenting a romanticized version of family-owned agriculture, Charles Thompson (2002b) notes that

While the Southeast has had large numbers of small farmers, it is also the region once dominated by slavery and subsequently by sharecroppers and tenants. In other words, the South has a long history of two-tiered farming, with an owner class and a class of slaves and later of renters. ...It is a complex region with various layers of attempts at ownership and a long history of inequity and great losses. (p. 57)

Current trends in Latino employment in the South must necessarily be situated in this complex economic and cultural history of oppression and poverty. Political characteristics of the South also come into play when discussing current Latino labor and life in the South.

Duchon & Murphy (2001) examined Georgia's refugee and immigration policy within state politics, commenting:

Despite the growth and modernization in the New South in the past 30 years, things in Georgia, as in other states in the region, are still done much as they always have been. A good-ole-boy system prevails, an informal network driven by unequal and reciprocal personal relationships. (p. 4)

In Georgia, immigrants who hold influential positions regarding immigrant and refugee services in the state typically have resided in the United States for more than 20 years and come from elite families in their home countries (Duchon & Murphy 2001). Although most of the immigrants in the state are unskilled Mexican workers, the Latinos in charge of creating policy and programs for immigrants, as well as directing funding for these programs,

are frequently highly educated Argentinians, Puerto Ricans, or Cubans who have little in common, besides the Spanish language, with the population they reportedly represent. These historical characteristics of the South may be important to keep in mind as qualities that make the region distinct from other parts of the United States, particularly traditional receiving sites. The unique qualities of the South constitute a good justification for further research into aspects of Latino migration to the South, where migration patterns are fundamentally different from past Latino migration to the United States.

Drawing Latinos to the South

The factors that have drawn or pulled Latinos to the South are largely economic. Peacock and colleagues (2005, p. 2) note that, “calculated development campaigns have brought new firms and industries to the region,” and even simple comforts such as air conditioning have made the area attractive for people from the North. This overall development has generated a demand for unskilled or low-skilled labor in industry, agriculture, and service sector jobs. While agriculture is not new to the South, fundamental shifts away from family farming to large-scale agribusiness and from seasonal crop farming to year-round poultry processing have also created a demand for workers.

Economic Boom & Development

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, it became apparent that southern cities were no longer black and white, but rather had large numbers of Southeast Asian, European, African, and Latin American immigrants (Duchon & Murphy, 2001). Between 1977 and 1992, the economy of the South outperformed all other regions of the country, as well as the aggregate

national economy (Duchon & Murphy, 2001; Kochhar et al., 2005). Furthermore, since the 1990s, the South has had the lowest unemployment rates in the country (Duchon & Murphy, 2001; Johnson-Webb, 2002) and had a level of overall population growth that was higher than the national average (Kochhar et al., 2005). Metropolitan areas that have received the most Latinos since the 1990s have consistently recorded unemployment rates below their state averages (Kochhar et al., 2005, p. 20).

The early trend of the South being a place people leave seems to have reversed itself completely. The Latino population growth has occurred within an overall context of population growth; the black population has grown 21% compared to a national average of 16%, and the white population has grown 11% compared to a national average of 3% (Kochhar et al., 2005). Many blacks and their descendants who had left the area have begun a return migration to the South and many retirees are choosing the region to settle in (Johnson-Webb, 2002). Accompanying this population growth is job growth in the form of 410,000 new jobs for Latino workers and 1.9 million jobs for non-Latinos in the 1990s (Kochhar et al., 2005). In contrast, traditional immigrant receiving states such as California, New York, and Illinois experienced lower than the national average growth in income and employment between 1990 and 2000 (Kochhar et al., 2005). The Pew Hispanic report about Latino immigration to the South notes that the Hispanic population explosion is multifactoral:

No single form of economic development explains the rapid influx of Hispanic workers to the new South. In fact, the job growth took place in a variety of economic settings across the new settlement counties. The Latino workforce increased at a rapid rate just as much in small towns where poultry-packing plants were major employers and in big cities where bank headquarters dominated the skyline. (Kochhar et al., 2005, p. 27)

Latino immigrants frequently move to the South as farmworkers and then move into other industries such as poultry-processing or other factory work, construction, and service work (Smith-Nonini, 2005; Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001). Although many areas of the country lost manufacturing jobs in the 1990s, parts of the South actually added manufacturing, which helped draw Latinos to the area (Kochhar et al., 2005). The Latino population also increased through social networks operating in the labor market. Employers in many industries report that when they mention their need for more workers to their trusted Latino employees, the next day relatives and friends arrive from other states applying for jobs (Guthey, 2001; Thompson, 2002b). Some employers pay workers a bonus for each additional worker they can bring, and some offer to pick up workers in another state (Guthey, 2001). Changes in agriculture, manufacturing, and service industries have all contributed to the economic growth of the South, and all of these industries owe much of their economic health to Latino workers. Some specific industry-related changes and the roles of Latinos in them are discussed in subsequent sections.

Farmworkers

Farmworkers deserve special attention for several reasons. One is that the current literature on farmworkers has paid little attention to the Southeast, in spite of the nearly 1.5 million farmworkers in the region (Thompson, 2002a). In addition, agriculture is one of the South's most important industries. For example, North Carolina generally ranks eighth in total farming income among U.S. states, first in tobacco production, second in Christmas trees, and third in the raising of poultry (Dale, Andreatta, & Freeman, 2001, p. 93). Nationwide, approximately 81% of farmworkers are foreign-born (mainly Mexican) men

under the age of 35 (Thompson, 2002a). This demographic makeup is largely due to the well-established, yet growing trend of importing workers through the H-2A visa program instead of increasing wages and benefits for domestic workers.

The H-2A guestworker program has grown significantly since its beginnings in 1952 (Geffert, 2002). “Almost every year since the mid-1990s, the agricultural industry has lobbied Congress to ease the restrictions on bringing in more foreign workers” (Thompson, 2002a, p. 4). In 2001, more than 10,000 H-2A workers came to North Carolina to work in poultry, pork processing, farming, or Christmas tree harvesting (Cravey, 2003). This Latinization of farmwork is also occurring in the peach industries of Georgia and South Carolina (Holt & Mattern, 2002) as well as in other important agricultural sectors of Georgia such as pecans, peanuts, tomatoes, and Vidalia onions. The high ratio of Mexicans to other immigrant groups tilts even higher during the harvest of Vidalia onions and other high-value crops (Duchon & Murphy, 2001, p. 8; Rees, 2001; Studstill & Nieto-Studstill, 2001). The Latinization of the South is therefore predicated on a large number of farmworkers.

Because of the current trend of importing temporary farmworkers under the H-2A program, these Latino workers are often not counted in demographic research on the South. The fact that many, but not all, of these workers fall into a guestworker category of temporary residents who live in isolated camps means that they are among the most invisible Latinos. It is extremely difficult to pin down the actual numbers, but farmworker advocates report that nearly 40% of migrants move between two primary locations such as Mexico and the Carolinas (Thompson, 2002a). The other 60% likely do not hold H-2A visas. Federal estimates report that 22% of farmworkers are U.S. citizens, while 52% are undocumented. The complexity in sorting out how many Latino farmworkers are in the South is further

complicated when one must decide if animal-food processing counts as farmwork⁹ and when one considers that workers often enter and leave farmwork as well as frequently move between states. When researchers John Studstill and Laura Nieto-Studstill (2001) wanted to narrow their research to migrants in South Georgia who had left migrant farming (or “settled-out”), they found an unexpected degree of difficulty in classifying migrants. They report:

The settled-out do not, however, constitute a homogeneous group. Most of them have left farmwork only recently, although others have never done farmwork at all. Some have moved from the Southwest to new industries in South Georgia; others, often with a military background, have come to the area to retire with their southern spouses. The true migrant farmworkers may or may not be citizens; they may have their home bases for the winter months in Georgia, Florida, or Mexico, and may be either legal or undocumented. Finally, there are those who return to the migrant stream if their new jobs do not work out. (Studstill & Nieto-Studstill, 2001, p. 69)

Latino farmworkers obviously constitute a large portion of the labor force in the agricultural economy of the South, and it is for this reason that it is important to include Latino farmworkers in research on the South. Farmworkers are one of the most powerless and easily exploited groups in society, with 61% of them living in poverty and earning significantly less than the national average wage (Wiggins, 2002, p. 283). Although these farmworkers have an intense work ethic, in the agricultural system, they still “represent the lowest-paid, least protected, and most endangered workers. Farmworkers symbolize the antithesis of the ‘American Dream’: they work hard and remain poor” (Wiggins, 2002, p. 284).

In addition to the unstable, temporary nature of work that does not carry a living wage and lacks benefits, the increased use of guestworkers inhibits the ability of advocates to fight for better conditions. To begin with, the use of guestworkers lowers the wages of workers

⁹ Because several of the studies cited in this research include poultry-processing as a type of farmwork, I am including it. There are, however, important differences between the tasks of farmwork and poultry-processing.

already residing in the United States as well as obliging them to accept poor working conditions (Thompson, 2002a). Because guestworkers are isolated and reside here for relatively short periods of time, they are unlikely to complain or participate in campaigns that might harm the industry that gave them their visa and their contract. They know that complaining about working conditions will likely result in the instant termination of their contract, deportation, and being blacklisted from future hiring (Smith-Nonini, 2005; Wiggins, 2002).

Examining Latino farmworkers, however, is important for two further reasons. One is that researchers predict that the number of farmworkers in general and H-2A farmworkers will continue to increase (Thompson, 2002a). The other is that the impact of Latino labor on North Carolina agriculture (including both fieldwork and animal-processing) creates a wage advantage of \$147 million for the state (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006, p. 29). Latinos benefit the state by making its agricultural industry more competitive (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006, p. 29).

The struggles of farmers in the United States have been highly visible in U.S. popular culture. Films, television shows, news reports, popular music, and grassroots efforts such as FarmAid have raised awareness among the general population of how difficult, if not impossible, it has become for a family to make a living by farming. In light of this, it would be logical to question how we could expect farmers to raise the wages of farmworkers. The majority of the general public is not aware of the fundamental shift in the way the agricultural industry operates. Most family farms have either been sold or have rented their land to large-scale corporate farms or agribusinesses. Corporate farms often “refer to themselves as growers, farm cooperatives, or farmers, thereby masking their resemblance to factory owners rather than yeoman farmers” (Thompson, 2002a, p. 13).

Several vivid examples illustrate how corporate agriculture works. At the Mt. Olive Pickle Company in North Carolina, farmers buy their seeds from the company and are guaranteed a certain payment on delivery of their product. Mt. Olive Pickle Company employs more than 1,200 farmers to grow their cucumbers on more than 28,000 acres (Wiggins, 2002, p. 279). Charles Thompson (2002b) describes a common experience of farmers throughout the South who attempted to increase their economic standing by raising poultry:

... Farm families in our county and elsewhere went bankrupt. Previously semi-independent beef, dairy, and tobacco producers... turned to contract poultry production. Farmers throughout the Southeast signed their farms over to banks to build entirely new poultry houses the size of football fields in exchange for one-sided contracts to huge poultry integrators, large corporate entities responsible for chickens and turkeys, from eggs to market. In their search for growers, Perdue farms and other poultry integrators were flocking to rural counties in poorer rural areas of Arkansas, North Carolina, and Mississippi to take advantage of the remaining small farmers' frantic search for ways to survive. ...The promise of regular paychecks from poultry operations, even though the huge poultry houses required... more than full-time work, enticed farmers into borrowing money and entering into a new business. (p. 69)

Thompson further asserts that it is often less expensive for growers to hire guestworkers than it is to run expensive farm equipment or to pay the slightly higher wages of domestic farmworkers. He describes the truckloads of Mexican and Central American workers who arrived throughout the 1990s to fill jobs as poultry plant workers (2002b, p. 70).

While family-run farms can probably not shoulder higher wages, the U.S. agricultural industry, food corporations, and grocery chains that operate most of the industry can afford to pay workers a fair wage, provide safer working conditions, and provide benefits. Yet farmworkers continue to remain the most invisible workers in a society where consumers rarely consider how their food gets to the table and where farmwork is ranked as the least desirable profession (Geffert, 2001).

Other Labor Intensive Industries

Two other labor intensive sites in which Latinos are working in the South include carpet manufacturing and logistics, which have been studied by researchers interested in Latino migration. Although there are other industries such as furniture manufacturing and hosiery production, the above two industries illustrate the scope of migration to the South.

Carpet in Dalton, Georgia

Latinos work in three main industries in Georgia: agriculture, poultry processing, and carpet manufacturing (Rees, 2001). Dalton, Georgia is a small manufacturing city in the northern part of the state that produces over half of the carpet in the United States and has experienced a dramatic increase in its Latino population (Engstrom, 2001). As suburbanization spread in the post-World War II United States, so did the demand for durable goods such as carpet. By the mid-1960s, carpet manufacturers were complaining publicly about labor shortages because they did not have the workforce to keep up with demand. Even as other manufacturing jobs left the United States in the 1990s, Dalton provides an example of an “industrial district.” Similar industries are also required by the carpet industry, “including a specialized labor force and the growth of subsidiary industries providing raw materials, machinery, and product distribution” (Engstrom, 2001, p. 45). Since the mid-1980s, the county’s unemployment rate has remained consistently below state and national levels and fell to its lowest, 2.9% in 1998 (Engstrom, 2001, p. 47). The carpet industry is the most important employer of immigrant labor in Dalton (Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001, p. 132), and the employment rate of Latino males is 94.6%.

Dalton provides a good example of the impact of Latino immigration on a community. Researchers note that, “in such smaller places, the arrival of 30,000 Latinos in a community with 100,000 inhabitants amounts to a true social and demographic revolution” (Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001, p. 134). Dalton also constitutes an example of labor stratification. In addition to carpet manufacturing, Dalton is also home to a large poultry-processing plant. Many Latinos working in carpet factories originally gained employment in poultry-processing plants (Engstrom, 2001; Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2001), and many of the Latino small-business owners in the community moved through both factories before saving enough money to start their businesses (Guthey, 2001).

Logistics in Memphis, Tennessee

Latino employment in Memphis, Tennessee, can be seen as an example of the multiple impacts of globalization. Smith, Mendoza & Ciscel (2005) point out that Memphis played an important role throughout U.S. history in global commerce of goods from the South, being the site from which most cotton from the Mississippi Delta left the South on barges to other destinations. It was, however, the establishment of the FedEx headquarters in Memphis that cemented its modern importance as a site for the worldwide movement of goods. The Memphis International Airport actually moves more cargo than any other airport in the world (Smith et al., 2005, p. 25).

Because of globalization, the ability to purchase goods over the Internet and the need to move those goods rapidly has created an entire sector of work called logistics. This term refers to the work of warehousing, sorting, customizing, repackaging, labeling, and sending goods throughout the world. Logistics is the physical labor behind online sales transactions

(Smith et al., 2005, p. 24). On the heels of FedEx, Memphis has become the site of extensive warehousing and logistics operations. Some of these operations are tied to companies that produce goods such as Cummins Engine. Others, such as Barnes & Noble, are exclusively distributors. In addition, there are subcontractors who assist in the logistics for smaller vendors. The labor is variable rather than steady and involves operating forklifts, packaging, labeling, and shipping. The timing depends on the irregular flows of consumer patterns (Smith et al., 2005, p. 27).

High demand for a specific product can accelerate both work and the demand for workers, yet when demand wanes, workers face job instability. To give a more concrete example, when Sony releases its latest PlayStation or the newest Harry Potter book is published, warehouses experience a temporary flood of activity. After several days or weeks, the work may die down significantly. Although FedEx has a relatively good reputation for employment practices, many other employers in the logistics sector rely on temporary agencies to provide them with employees. Since temporary, unstable work with no benefits is generally not desirable for those who have other work options, the demand for workers in the warehouses has largely been met by Latinos. By using temporary agencies, employers also absolve themselves of the responsibility for verifying the visa status of Latino workers (Smith et al., 2005).

The Labor of Suburbanization

Agriculture and industries are largely tied to specific sites, but general economic growth and development across the South has created a demand for labor in growing suburban and metropolitan areas. Latinos across the South are highly visible in construction

and in service sector jobs such as restaurants, retail, repairs, cleaning, and landscaping. The Pew Hispanic survey found that approximately 70% of the Mexican immigrants in North Carolina are working in construction (Kochhar et al, 2005). Kasarda & Johnson's (2006) report on the economic impact of Latinos in North Carolina found that the state's construction industry output would "be considerably lower and the state's total private-sector wage bill would be as much as \$1.9 billion higher" without Latino workers (p. ix).

Cities like Charlotte, Durham, and Raleigh in North Carolina, Knoxville and Nashville in Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia are regarded as attractive places to live. They offer a mix of city-life, suburban shopping, nice restaurants, universities, and green spaces. Latino immigrants are contributing to this suburbanization in a highly visible way. Latino workers are building the neighborhoods where the white-collar professionals live; they are building the schools, grocery stores, coffee shops, and the restaurants that are deemed necessary for comfortable suburban living. Latinos are also building the highways to shuttle white-collar professionals more quickly from their neighborhoods to their jobs and widening the existing roads to accommodate more traffic. Furthermore, they are often working as cooks in the restaurants, mechanics in the car dealerships, stocking the shelves in the grocery stores, and cleaning the office buildings, schools, and churches. Latinos also show a heavy presence in lawn care and landscaping for which there is also a demand in the common areas of the neighborhoods, schools, churches, and companies (Rees, 2001). This increasing presence of Latinos in service jobs is consistent with the demographic studies that show high Latino settlement in urban and metropolitan areas (Johnson et al., 1999; Kasarda & Johnson, 2006; Kochhar et al., 2005). For example, in the metropolitan Atlanta area, the Latino

population grew 260% between 1982 and 1992 and another 110% between 1992 and 1996 (Rees, 2001, p. 39).

Latinos interviewed by researchers at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro reported that they preferred to find employment in construction, plumbing, landscaping, manufacturing, warehousing, or retailing over agricultural work because of better wages and working conditions as well as the promise of year-round employment (Dale et al., 2001, p. 99). The number of Latinos in white-collar occupations is increasing in the South, but these levels remain below the national levels of Latinos in white-collar professions (Kochhar et al., 2005).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a synthesis of current research into the reasons for Latino migration to the South and the types of employment that Latinos find when they arrive. A great deal of research delves into the processes of adaptation of Latinos, receiving communities, and industries. The story of migration is complex, occupying many layers and levels. Employers are largely happy with their pliable, compliant, workforce and with saving money in wages and often benefits. Human rights workers, many academics, social workers, and other community advocates, however, express a great deal of concern over the exploitation of workers who are frequently powerless to speak for themselves or demand more. Yet some research has found that workers describe their situation as one of upward mobility and do not feel exploited. Many Latinos express nostalgia and longing for their home country and describe experiences of adjustment and adaptation in their new context.

Communities seem to be both adapting and resisting the demographic changes in their midst, sometimes with the help of industry leaders and sometimes in spite of them.

Within this complexity, one can question the role of the press. One of the classic roles of the press in the United States is to be vigilant about government or corporate abuses of the people. In the 1960s, the media played an important role in exposing the inhumanity of migrant farmwork in Edward R. Murrow's documentary *Harvest of Shame*. In an era of corporate ownership of the press similar to corporate ownership of agriculture, does the press still provide that function? The overarching goal of this study is to examine the different roles played by both the mainstream, Anglo press as well as the local Latino press. By examining how a variety of issues were covered and then closely scrutinizing two key issues, I hope to contribute to the scholarship on Latinos in the South.

Chapter 3: Methods

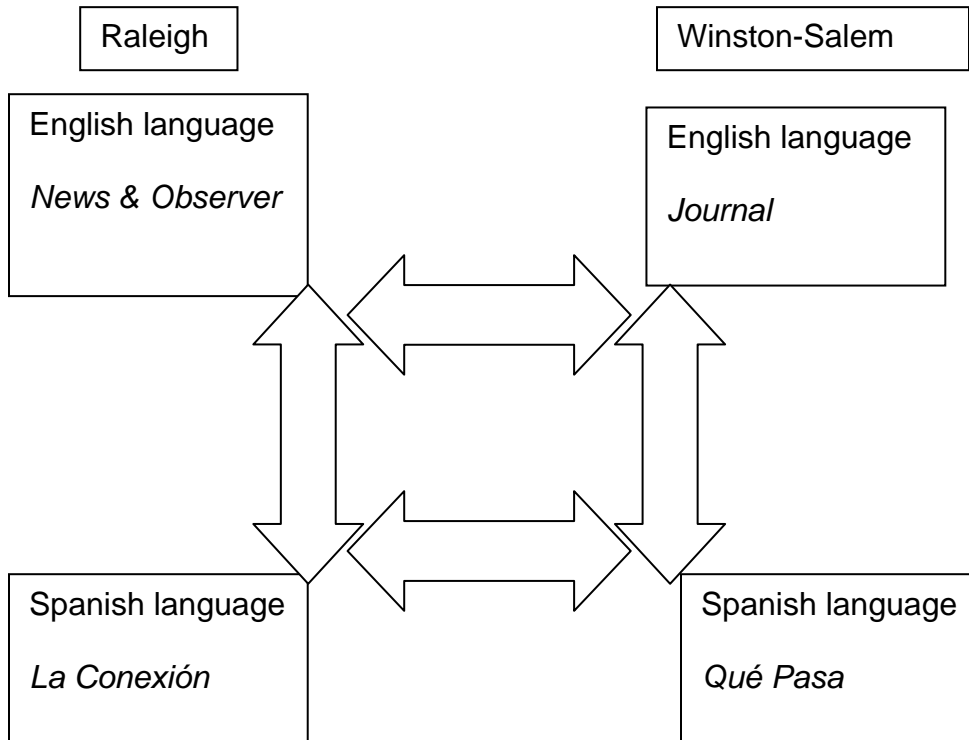
This study examined coverage of Latino issues in two Anglo and two Latino newspapers in North Carolina using content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). The content analysis included five issues and allowed me to see general patterns and characteristics of the coverage, the complexities surrounding the issues, and differences between the newspapers. The content analysis also provided for the systematic selection of the smaller sample of news stories for the CDA. The CDA provided depth because I was able to unravel the complexity by breaking down the stories and then reconnecting them within their broader social, political, and economic contexts. This chapter describes the sample and the procedures I followed for the content analysis and the CDA.

Newspapers Analyzed

The four newspapers used in this study consisted of a purposive sample that allowed for comparison in multiple dimensions (see Figure 3.1). Raleigh and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, are the only cities in which there are an English-language and a Spanish-language newspaper that are members of the North Carolina Press Association (NCPA). Although other major cities in North Carolina such as Charlotte and Greensboro have had similar increases in their Hispanic populations, they were not included. As

Figure 3.1 shows, the sample allowed me to compare sites and to compare language samples.

Figure 3.1: Model for multidirectional analysis of sample



The *News & Observer* (*N&O*), founded in 1865, is a McClatchy Co. paper and according to The North Carolina Press Association has a daily circulation of 169,928 (updated April 2006). According to the 2005 American Community Survey of the U.S. Census, Raleigh's population was 315,249 with a Hispanic population of 30,600 (9.7%). For this study, the full text of the stories, op-eds, and letters to the editor from the *N&O* were accessed through America's Newspapers, a sub-category of the Global Newsbank database available in the Park Library at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of North Carolina. Accessing the articles electronically

permitted searching by using key terms that were identified for each issue (see Sample section of this chapter).

The Winston-Salem *Journal* (*WSJ*), established in 1887, is owned by Media General Incorporated and has a daily circulation of 86,699. According to the 2005 American Community Survey of the U.S. Census, Winston-Salem's population was 183,467 with a Hispanic population of 26,265 (14.3%). The *WSJ* was also consulted via America's Newspapers in the Newsbank database.

La Conexión (*LC*), a Latino newspaper published in Spanish, was founded in 1995 and is published by Mike Leary and his wife Lupita Leary. The paper has a weekly print run of 20,000 copies and according to an audit by the Circulation Verification Council, reaches an estimated 80,000 readers. The circulation audit report also noted that the content was 50% advertising, 50% editorial. According to a profile of North Carolina media that appeared in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Leary states that *LC* is "absolutely an advocate for the community" (Cunningham, 2002). The paper lists 15 employees on its website and is a community paper that needs advertising in order to continue to function, but envisions itself as a community advocate. The paper is privately owned and would be considered a small business. Their website shows evidence of their community orientation in their sponsorship of the *Impulso a la Comunidad Hispana Awards* (Promoting the Hispanic Community Awards) which "recognize individuals and organizations who have worked to make a difference in the life and integration of Hispanics into society in North Carolina" (La Conexión, 2006). The awards are given in the categories of human rights, education, health, public safety, business achievement, and volunteerism. Bound copies of *LC* have been archived in the North Carolina

Collection of the University of North Carolina library from 1997 to the present, so the articles were found by carefully screening each edition of the newspaper from 1997 to 2004.

Qué Pasa (*QP*) was founded in 1994 in Winston-Salem and is actually part of the larger media group Qué Pasa Media Network. The company has three divisions: advertising, radio, and newspaper. The newspaper publishes three editions: a Triad edition serving Greensboro and Winston-Salem, a Triangle edition serving the Raleigh/Durham/Chapel Hill area, and a Charlotte edition. Like *LC*, the newspaper is distributed by controlled bulk delivery at local businesses and organizations frequented by Latinos. While *QP*'s mission is "to inform, educate, and entertain the Hispanic communities in our geographical areas" and its vision is "to be the voice of, and the link to the Hispanic communities in our geographical area" (Qué Pasa, 2000-2004), the newspaper has an obvious market orientation rather than an advocacy orientation. The banner of the website, for example, says, "Your link to the Hispanic market." The website also explains, "*Qué Pasa* knows the market because we are the market. ...We offer our clients not only our newspaper and radio products, but also a thorough understanding of the North Carolina Hispanic consumer to help them make sound marketing decisions." With this information, *Qué Pasa* Media Network is defining their clients as businesses or service providers who want to reach the Hispanic market, rather than their clients being Hispanic newspaper readers. The website also mentions that they have a staff of more than 60 Hispanic communications professionals. A small sample of the Triad edition of *QP* was available in the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina libraries, from 2003 to the present. To review the issues from 2000 to

2003, I visited the Winston-Salem office in the summer of 2005 to meet the editor, review their archived editions, and photocopy the sample articles.

Issues Examined

The five specific issues that were analyzed for the content analysis occurred between 2000 and 2004 and were newsworthy for all four newspapers. They represent a variety of orders of discourse. The first issue I investigated involved policy changes in obtaining North Carolina driver's licenses. In the beginning of 2004, the North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles changed the policy regarding which documents it would accept as proof of identity to obtain a North Carolina driver's license. The announcement, however, was preceded by legislative attempts in mid-2003, all of which failed, to change the documents. Prior to the policy change, North Carolina was one of only about eleven states that accepted the *matrícula consular*, a document issued by Mexican consulates in the United States as a form of official identification. The Mexican government established this form of identification solely for immigrants living in the United States who do not have a passport or visa. Mexican citizens must show the consulate proof of identity in order to obtain their *matrícula consular* (Suro, 2005). The law was changed as of February 2, 2004. The policy change regarding the *matrícula consular* affected mainly undocumented Mexicans. The Latino community was outraged about this policy change because they saw these measures, enacted in the name of "homeland security," as specifically targeted at the immigrant population. A lawsuit was filed by two Hispanic advocacy organizations to block the changes, but it was dismissed. This news issue occupies a public policy order of discourse.

The second is the death of Jessica Santillán. Her death was not originally a Latino issue but rather a medical malpractice issue. This story was about a 17-year-old Mexican immigrant who had been living in Louisburg, North Carolina, and was being treated for a genetic heart and lung defect. Jessica was on the list for a heart and lung transplant, which she received in December 2003. A tragic mistake occurred when the surgeon at Duke University Medical Center did not verify that the donor's blood type matched Jessica's. Jessica survived after her transplant for several weeks and eventually received a second transplant, but she died shortly after the second operation. This malpractice story made national news as well as international news, especially in Latin America. With these stories, I wanted to identify whether or not Jessica's death and the malpractice suit could really be considered a Latino issue. The news coverage occupied several orders of discourse, including medical and legal, and was perhaps more newsworthy because of current criticism of the U.S. healthcare system. Nonetheless, as Villenas (2001) argues, "racial ideologies serve to construct Latina/os as an invisible/visible Other – invisible as 'ghost' workers, yet highly visible as families needing education and health care" (p. 5). For that reason, I wanted to see if her undocumented immigration status played a role in the newsworthiness of the issue. If so, Jessica's story could be considered a Latino issue.

The third story I analyzed was the Mt. Olive pickle boycott on behalf of seasonal agricultural workers and the resulting negotiations and contract. The boycott of Mt. Olive pickles was organized in 1999 by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) of the AFL-CIO, and an agreement allowing migrant farm workers to form a union was reached in September 2004. Labor unions are recognized as a diminishing force in U.S. political/social life and are virtually invisible in the Anglo media (Croteau & Hoynes,

2003). Drawing again from the Villenas (2001) quotation in the subsection on Jessica Santillán, I believed that this issue might show the invisibility of Latinos as workers in Anglo media but high visibility as a “social justice” order of discourse in Spanish-language media. Croteau & Hoynes (2003, p. 171) note that economic news in Anglo newspapers focuses almost exclusively on investors and that almost every Anglo newspaper has a business section, but none has a labor section. This lack of coverage is an indication that the news serves the interests of only a few and demonstrates that in regard to labor unions, “the already minimal representation becomes practically invisible” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003, p. 221).

The fourth issue I investigated was increasing Latino gang activity. This crime order of discourse is interesting in part because *QP* and the *N&O* collaborated to report on this in both newspapers. Wilson et al. (2002) explain that “coverage of minority issues often focused inordinate attention on the more bizarre or unusual elements of minority communities, such as youth gangs [and] illegal immigration...” (p. 29). A cursory review of the four newspapers indicated that increasing gang activity was of growing concern in North Carolina. This issue, like the Mt. Olive boycott, was not centered on a specific date or event, but rather was a building news story.

La Fiesta del Pueblo in Raleigh and *Fiesta* in Winston-Salem were the fifth issue. Although Latinos in general receive little news coverage, colorful cultural festivals frequently do receive coverage (Wilson et al., 2002, p. 122). I assumed that the culture order of discourse inclusion would be largely positive coverage of Latinos and would therefore provide juxtaposition to some of the other issues. I was also interested in differences in the amount of coverage between the Anglo and Latino newspapers.

Content Analysis

One of my goals in conducting the content analysis was to have a general overview of coverage of Latino issues in both the Anglo and Latino press. Content analysis is a research method commonly used to capture this view. Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico (1998) define content analysis this way:

Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (p. 20)

In addition to providing a descriptive analysis of the coverage, I also discuss some tentative observations in Chapter 4. However, since this content analysis is part of a larger work that includes a CDA, the more detailed observations can be found in Chapters 5 and 6.

Sample of Items for Content Analysis

The total sample encompassed news coverage from 2000 through 2004 and consisted of 363 articles. I reviewed the Raleigh-based Latino paper *LC* from January 2000 to December 2004 in the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina (UNC) library and photocopied all articles that referred to *DMV*, *licencias* [licenses], *Jesica Santillán*, *pandillas* [gangs] or *pandilleros* [gang members], *boicot* [boycott], *pepinero* [pickle maker/manufacturer], *Mt. Olive*, *FLOC* (Farm Labor Organizing Committee), and *fiesta*. For the Winston-Salem based newspaper *QP*, I was able to review one year of the paper, 2003, in the North Carolina Collection of UNC. For

the rest of the sample, I went to the newspaper office in Winston-Salem in July of 2005 to review their archive and photocopy the articles. I used the same terms when looking for articles in *QP*.

For the Anglo papers, I used the America's Newspapers of the Global Newsbank electronic database, to which the Park Library of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of UNC subscribes. I searched from January 1, 2000, to December 31, 2004, in the *N&O* and *WSJ* for the terms *driver's licenses* or *licenses* and *immigrants*; *Santillan*¹⁰ and *transplant*; *Mt. Olive* and *boycott* or *FLOC*; and *gang* and *Hispanic* or *immigrant* and *fiesta*. I then printed all of the articles.

In most cases, it was not difficult to identify the relevant articles because many of them were time-specific events. For example, the changes to rules for obtaining driver's licenses happened in January 2004. Most of the reporting about this issue occurred in the later months of 2003, and there was nothing more about it after February 2004, when a lawsuit by Latino advocacy groups was dismissed. Likewise, the failed transplant and subsequent death of Jessica Santillán did not receive coverage until right before she received the transplant in December of 2003 and stopped in mid-2004 after her parents settled their lawsuit against Duke University Medical Center. Only *LC* carried a follow-up story one year after her death. This story noted how her family was dealing with her death and reported on the state of the nonprofit organization Jessica's Hope Chest, which was established by the family's benefactor, Mack Mahoney.

The only issue for which it was difficult to gather a complete sample was the *Mt. Olive* boycott. The boycott began in March 1999, but no issues of *QP* were available before 2000. Therefore, I decided to begin sampling for all papers in 2000. The boycott

¹⁰ Jessica's last name was not accented in the Anglo papers, so I searched for it without the accent.

received the most coverage when it was resolved in September 2004. From 2000 until the resolution, Mt. Olive seemed to make the news only when there was an event or announcement tied to the boycott: new organizations supporting the boycott, marches or meetings related to the boycott, and a visit by the head of FLOC, Baldemar Velásquez.

The increase in Latino gang activity was the only issue that was not time specific. It was similar to the Mt. Olive boycott in that the coverage lasted over the years of the sample period. Mt. Olive coverage ceased when a settlement was negotiated, whereas the issue of gang activity was more nebulous in that it tended to be tied to speculation rather than certainty. Some articles speculated on whether Latino gangs from California had made their way to North Carolina, some were related to a specific crime yet still discussed whether the crime was gang-related, and others simply acknowledged that experts are unsure how to measure the assumed increase in gang activity. Because I was specifically concerned with increasing Latino gang activity in North Carolina, I excluded articles about gangs that did not refer to Latino or Hispanic gangs as well as articles only about increasing gang activity in California and in Central America.

The coverage of the annual Latino festivals in Winston-Salem and Raleigh also spanned the years, but these articles were tied to certain times of the year. Generally, the coverage began each year in mid-July when the organizers began seeking volunteers and making announcements regarding entertainment or other publicity and then ended in September immediately after the conclusion of the festivals.

Variables

I developed a coding sheet of eight variables, which allowed me to accomplish two things. First, I was able to discover the basic information in the stories in order to describe the coverage. Second, I combined categories into a scale for identifying the most salient articles for each topic, which enabled me to determine the sample for the CDA. The coding sheet can be found in Appendix A. The eight variables included *date*, *newspaper*, *topic*, *byline*, *page number*, *approximate number of words*, *relevance to the topic*, and *story type*.

By looking at the date, I could see if there were any patterns such as one newspaper responding to the coverage of another. Studying the date also allowed me to examine patterns of episodic coverage, especially for the topics that were not bounded by the reporting of a specific event. For example, the Mt. Olive boycott lasted from 2000 to 2004, but was generally only covered when a specific event related to the boycott occurred. Identifying the newspaper and the topic were essential variables for this project. The newspaper variable provided a choice among the four newspapers while the topic variable provided the choice among the five topics being studied. The byline variable noted information about authorship, which in turn may reveal other things. A story by a reporter indicates greater proximity to the topic than a story that the newspaper acquired through a wire report or news service. A news story with no byline may indicate the use of an unaltered press release by another organization.

I coded for page number and approximate number of words which other researchers have frequently used to indicate prominence of an article. A story that appears on the front page of the newspaper or the front page of a section is considered

more prominent than a story on inner pages. Approximate number of words is also an indication of prominence. This variable allowed me to quickly identify news briefs and distinguish them from longer stories.

With the relevance variable, I coded for how relevant the article was to the topic. For this I used a holistic lexical scale in which I chose among “completely relevant” (100% of the article was about the issue), “very much” (80% of the story was about the issue), “kind of” (approximately 60% was about the issue), “part of it” (around 30%) and “not really” (less than 20%).

The eighth variable was article type and used the following typical newspaper article types: “news story,” “editorial,” “column,” “letter to editor,” “announcement/request/brief/summary,” “editorial/opinion by outside individual,” or “other.” I did not differentiate between news stories and feature stories for two main reasons: the electronic database I used for searching the Anglo papers labeled both as news rather than distinguishing between them. Secondly, for the purpose of evaluating news coverage of Latino issues, I decided that the distinction between the two kinds of stories would not affect prominence or relevance. In other words, I did not see that distinction as germane to this study.

To select the CDA sample, I created a *salience* scale by combining the length of the article with how much the article was really related to the topic as reported through the variable *relevance*. Ideally, I would have included the page number where the article appeared in the salience variable; however, I was unable to do that because of the differences in the format of the Latino and Anglo papers and because of the frequency with which the format of the Spanish-language papers changed throughout the years. For

both of the Latino papers, the front page is reserved for national or even international news while the local coverage generally begins on page four of each paper. The two Anglo papers have separate City/State sections with the most newsworthy stories appearing on the front page of this section. In 2004, *Qué Pasa* changed its format and began a separate section called “Local.”

The stories that were both the longest and had the highest relevance were included in the sample. I categorized the stories into a *salience* scale with the following categories: “high salience” (stories that were both the longest and the most relevant), “medium salience” (stories that were either shorter or had lower relevance), “low salience” (stories that were the shortest and had the lowest levels of relevance. Stories in the low salience category ideally should not be in the sample unless they were the only stories available. Since CDA requires very detailed, line-by-line analysis of the language, a small sample size is desirable. For the CDA, I analyzed three articles per paper for the issues that I selected, a total of 15 articles.

I coded the sample myself, but a native English speaker who is Ph.D. candidate in Spanish coded 10% of the sample in order to calculate intercoder reliability. Intercoder reliability for the “relevance” variable was 83% using Scott’s Pi. The scores for the other variables ranged from .70 to 1.00. The variable “type of article” received the lowest score at .70. The overall score for all variables was .94. Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) software was then used to analyze the data. Because the goal of the content analysis was descriptive, I conducted only descriptive analyses on the data: frequencies and crosstabs.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Bell's Methodology

In this study I used Bell's (1998) discourse analysis methodology for studying news stories. Bell (1998) notes that, "Journalists do not write articles, they write stories – with structure, order, viewpoint and values. So the daily happenings of our societies are expressed in the stories we are told in the media" (p. 64). Bell's methodology involves the intricate deconstruction of the story by noting aspects of attribution, abstract, and story, as well as analysis of the sources, actors, action, setting, follow-up, commentary, and background to reveal the complexity and ambiguity of most news stories. This analysis allows one to answer the question, "What does this story say happened?" (p. 65) and to make the invisible visible.

Bell represents his framework graphically as tree diagrams (see Appendix B) that are drawn after following a specific guide for finding the elements of the traditional journalistic questions of *what*, *who*, *where*, and *when* (see Appendix C). Bell's framework allows the researcher to see the actual event structure and analyze why the event may be structured differently in the story. Appendix C contains Bell's methodological guide, which I adopted for the CDA of the news stories. Bell's (1998) guideline provides an explicit step-by-step process. By systematically listing the events of the story, the sources that were attributed, the news actors and their affiliations, the background that is provided, commentary by the reporter, and the other information that is listed in Appendix C, the ideological structure beneath the news story becomes visible. For example, after viewing the structure and how actors or sources are referred to, I could also see actors and sources who might have had something to say but were not included. News stories frequently report events out of sequence and compress or suppress other

elements in the interest of newsworthiness and other journalistic considerations (Garrett & Bell, 1998, p. 9). Bell's model provided a way to "unclutter" and lay out the news story, facilitating the subsequent linking of the discourses to issues of power relations as proposed in CDA. This model represents the first level of analysis in Fairclough's three-dimensional framework.

Sample

Because CDA as a theoretical framework is particularly interested in issues of power relations and as a methodology is labor intensive, I decided to conduct the CDA on only two of the five issues that I studied in the content analysis. In Chapter 2, I explained that the main reasons for the dramatic increase in the Latino population of the Southeast, including North Carolina, are economic boom and development and changes in agricultural practices. Both have created a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and that demand has largely been met by Latinos. Latino labor in North Carolina agriculture resulted in a wage advantage of \$147 million dollars for the state: without Latino labor in construction and other service industries, the private-sector wage bill would have been approximately \$1.9 billion higher (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006, p. 29). Within this context, the driver's license changes and the Mt. Olive boycott are the issues that are the most serious for non-Latino as well as immigrant Latino residents of the state.

These two issues have the most potential to impact large numbers of Latinos – the very Latinos that the state is relying on for the building and maintaining of the new, global South. Latinos are moving to the South to fill jobs, so their ability to move about

and arrive to work should not be jeopardized. The changes to the rules for obtaining a driver's license, however, did just that. Examining the discourse(s) surrounding that issue can help explain how it happened and what the Latino community and Latino press did to try to prevent it. Similarly, the Mt. Olive boycott directly addressed rights of Latino workers in agriculture. Although the boycott was focused on one particular sector of agriculture and one company, the repercussions were much broader. It would be difficult to argue that any of the other issues had as much of an impact or potential impact on Latinos and public policy.

Analysis

As determined by the salience scale from the content analysis, the three longest and most prominent articles for the driver's license and Mt. Olive boycott issues from each newspaper were analyzed according to Bell's guidelines (Appendix C) and mapped onto tree diagrams (Appendix B). The discourses were identified by issue for each newspaper and then compared with the other paper from the same city and the other paper that it shares a language with (see Figure 3.1).

Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for CDA

As I described in the theoretical framework section of Chapter 1, the CDA findings for this project are discussed within Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for CDA (see Figure 1.1). The very close linguistic analysis, which I did following Bell's methodology, represents the analysis at the textual level of Fairclough's model. Using Bell's methodology for this level allowed me to systematically interrogate the headline,

lead, and story (the events in each as well as the relationships between them); sources; actors; place structure; time structure; background; follow-up; and commentary. Through the analysis of these, I could see ambiguities, cohesiveness, and confusions in how these stories were constructed and told.

The second level of Fairclough's framework examines discursive practices. This level takes into account the context by analyzing factors related to the production and consumption of texts. For this study, the level of discursive practices was rich and nuanced because of the very different characteristics of the Anglo and Latino press. For example, the fact that they have different readership appears to influence the sources they use as well as other discursive aspects of the text level. The level of social practices draws the previous two levels into the larger societal context. In a sense, it allows one to answer the question, "So what?" The social practices level considers the impact of the text and discursive practices on political, economic and social practices. In a sense, it takes us from the linguistic and discursive level to see "how people's lives are determined and limited by the social formations we are blessed or cursed with... and the possibilities for changing them" (Fairclough, 1998, p. 144). According to Louise Phillips and Marianne Jørgensen (2002), this part of the analysis considers "whether the discursive practice reproduces, or instead restructures the existing order of discourse and potential consequences this has for broader social practice" (p. 69). At this level, some of the specific things that I considered included whose voices are privileged and whose are stifled, and who benefits economically, politically, or socially from the discourse in place. The results of the CDA are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Reflexivity

Inherent to qualitative research is the acknowledgement and recognition of the researcher's position. I view my position in this research as being complex and nuanced. I am simultaneously outsider, informed outsider, and insider.¹¹ Literally, I speak Spanish fluently, but with a strong stereotypical "American" accent that I will never lose. Similarly, in a metaphorical sense, I participate in Mexican cultural practices and attitudes, but through my American cultural lens. Through my time in and ties with Mexico, I am no longer capable of being exactly an insider to my own American cultural practices and attitudes. By this I mean that I question and ponder the cultural assumptions that many Americans take for granted and make conscious decisions concerning which practices I will perform and which I will reject.

In the context of this research, I identify with the various discrete dimensions in different ways. In the aspect related to mainstream English-language newspapers, I find my roots. I am a white female from a middle-class, "mainstream" American background. I was raised in a Midwestern suburb where there were no Latinos in the 1970s and 1980s when I was in school. While my particular context changed, I can draw on how I would have perhaps felt if my life had not moved me to Mexico, how my high school classmates and my relatives may feel, and identify with the mainstream readers of the English-language newspapers in my sample.

In addition, I was raised reading the local daily newspaper. Newspaper reading is ritualistic in my family. I have strong memories of newspaper rules and procedures of my paternal and maternal grandparents as well as my parents and siblings. It would not have

¹¹ These terms have been used by other researchers such as Villenas (2001) to describe positionality within research.

ever occurred to me to not have a daily subscription to my local newspaper. Until I came to graduate school in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication and heard that newspaper readership has been steadily declining in the United States, I thought that everyone read the newspaper the way my family does.

At the same time, I feel that I share some things with Latino immigrants (not necessarily with U.S. born Latinos). Namely, we share the experiences of being a minority lacking linguistic and cultural competence. I did the same thing as many (not all) Latino immigrants in the United States – but in the opposite direction. In 1994, with only a *Sesame Street* level of Spanish, I moved to Mexico to work. Many Americans are not aware of how they are perceived in other countries simply for being from the United States. Just as some Mexicans in the United States may feel that they have to prove that they as individuals do not fit the stereotypes about them, I had to do the same in Mexico. Furthermore, it is not something who is the Other has to do only once; it is a constant activity every time you meet someone new.

While this is one thing that connects me with many Latinos in North Carolina, I must also acknowledge that my whiteness, education level, and work in a professional field afforded me privileges that many working-class immigrants to North Carolina do not have. This is why I use the term, *informed outsider*. I feel I share some aspects of their experience, yet I am completely outside, without the possibility of knowing, other aspects of their experience. I believe that just as many immigrant Latinos may feel a warm welcome at times in North Carolina, I also felt that many times while living in Mexico. But, when you are in the context of being different, there is unpredictability in each encounter. Overall, having been the somewhat stigmatized Other allows me a degree

of empathy for the Other in North Carolina and influences my analysis of both the Anglo and Latino newspapers.

Moreover, simply being the Other does not imply that a person is going to gain insight and ability to question one's own cultural assumptions and embrace others. In many cases, being the Other creates a barrier that prevents one from being included in cultural practices. In my case, this access to Mexican assumptions and practices (culture) came only after time and more importantly establishing strong ties to a Mexican family and their familial and social networks. In short, I married a Mexican and have become very close to his family and his friends. This daily examination of assumptions and persistent negotiation has been the key to my transformation into someone who embraces some and rejects other aspects of either my American or Mexican culture depending on the particular situation I find myself in. For me, it is not a jarring movement like a pinball machine, but fluid, like a lava lamp. In my lava lamp existence, Mexico and the United States are at the two ends of the lamp, bounding the contents inside. I float as a blob between the two, connecting and separating with other blobs that I envision as being my white, middle-class, mainstream identity, my *familia mexicana*, Latinos in North Carolina, and other entities that sometimes take pieces from me and from whom I sometimes take pieces. In addition to being a fluid movement, it is a warm environment.

Related to my connections with Mexican family, the final dimension that shapes my position in this research project is intimate familiarity with the lives of several of my husband's family members and friends who live similarly to many working-class Latinos in North Carolina. They work in construction, landscaping, factories, and a school kitchen, but in other states. It is my conversations with and observations of them, in a

sense, my informed outsider position, that has led me to feel most strongly that what I have casually read in the Anglo newspapers about Latinos in North Carolina misrepresents the lives of many Latinos. This has driven my interest in studying Latino issues in newspapers. This is also a dangerous position because I must guard against doing the same thing that I observe in the newspapers but in the opposite direction. For example, I observe that the papers generalize Latinos to be criminals by making moral judgments linking living in the United States without a visa to criminality without touching on how the demand for workers and actual recruitment of Mexican workers by American industries plays a role in what draws many to the United States. Because of my biases, I risk drawing attention to the normality and happiness of many immigrants' lives and ignoring the sometimes very serious problems and challenges that some of them face. It is a complex phenomenon and I risk simplifying it, just in a different way than the press does, because of my biases toward Mexicans.

Chapter 4: Coverage of Latinos

This chapter reports on the results of the content analysis conducted to select the sample of news stories for the CDA and to situate the coverage of a labor issue (Mt. Olive boycott) and a public policy issue (driver's licenses) within the context of coverage of other Latino issues, including Jessica Santillán's death, increasing Latino gang activity, and local *fiestas* celebrating Latino culture. While these issues do not encompass all newsworthy Latino issues between 2000 and 2004, a review of the newspapers indicated that they were among the most prominent. They also represent a variety of orders of discourse: healthcare/medical, legal, cultural, social, criminal, public policy, and labor. The results of the content analysis help to justify selecting driver's license changes and the Mt. Olive boycott and provide a systematic method for selecting the CDA sample. Content analysis revealed noteworthy aspects of how Latino issues are covered and the differences among the newspapers. In this chapter, I provide the overall results from my eight coded variables, which leads into a discussion of the complexity of coverage and the differences among newspapers. To situate them in context, I discuss the content analysis results for the changes to driver's license rules and the Mt. Olive boycott in their respective chapters. The broad research questions that guided this analysis were:

1. What were the characteristics of Latino coverage in North Carolina newspapers?

2. What were the differences in the issues that may explain differences in the coverage?
3. What were the differences among the newspapers in their coverage of these Latino issues?

Overall Findings

To describe the general characteristics of how Latino issues were covered, I looked at standard variables of newspapers stories (see Chapter 3 for discussion of variables).

Frequencies

Looking at the frequencies in SPSS told me how many news items for each issue were published in each newspaper. I then determined which issue was covered the most, which was covered the least, and what the distribution of stories was in the different newspapers.

Table 4.1

Total Number of Stories per Topic by Newspaper

	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
Gangs	29 (19%)	13 (27%)	30 (36%)	37 (47%)	109 (30%)
Jesica Santillán	51 (34%)	10 (20%)	9 (11%)	15 (19%)	85 (23%)
Fiesta	35 (23%)	18 (37%)	16 (19%)	10 (13%)	79 (22%)
License	18 (12%)	5 (10%)	12 (14%)	12 (15%)	47 (13%)
Mt. Olive	18 (12%)	3 (6%)	17 (20%)	5 (6%)	43 (12%)
Total	151 (100%)	49 (100%)	84 (100%)	79 (100%)	363 (100%)

Note on abbreviations: *N&O* = *News & Observer*, *WSJ* = *Winston-Salem Journal*, *LC* = *La Conexión* and *QP* = *Qué Pasa*

Table 4.1 shows a total of 363 articles identified using content analysis. The last column indicates more articles about gangs (109) than any other topic, representing 30% of the stories. That was followed by articles about Jesica Santillán (85 or 23%) and then by *Fiesta* (79 or 22%) coverage. The two topics that received the least coverage were precisely the two that I consider to be the most important when taking into account the demographic changes to North Carolina discussed in Chapter 2: the contribution of Latino labor and farmwork. The changes to driver's license rules impacted the ability of Latinos to drive and thus get to work, and the Mt. Olive boycott had a direct impact on farmworkers. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, I cannot attribute the amount of coverage to the time frame of the events. Both the gang activity and the Mt. Olive boycott spanned the years that this study encompassed, while the articles on the Jesica Santillán tragedy and the driver's license

changes appeared within a span of about six months each. The *fiesta* coverage was annual beginning in July or August of each year and ending the second week of September.

Almost half of the articles (41%) were from the *N&O*, while only 13% came from the other daily newspaper, *WSJ*. *LC* accounted for 23% of the articles, while *QP* carried 21%. I expected to see a higher total number of articles in the dailies as the differences between the *N&O* and the two Latino papers shows. I was surprised, however, by the much lower total number of articles from the *WSJ* (n=49), even considering that Winston-Salem is smaller than Raleigh and the paper has a smaller circulation size. I would not have considered these issues to be so much less newsworthy in Winston-Salem. Nonetheless, some of the difference between the coverage by the *N&O* and the *WSJ* may be attributed to geographic proximity. Raleigh is the capital of North Carolina, so the decisions made regarding driver's licenses occurred there. El Pueblo, Inc., the largest statewide Latino advocacy group and organizer of *La Fiesta del Pueblo*, is based there. In addition, Jesica Santillán's death happened in nearby Durham, and the Mt. Olive boycott took place in a town about 70 miles southeast of Raleigh: Winston-Salem, however, is in the central part of the state. Raleigh is certainly the power center of the state: home of the capital and therefore the state government officials.

From the outset, however, I do find it alarming that the *WSJ* published only three articles about the Mt. Olive boycott. According to the 2005 population estimates of the U.S. Census, Winston-Salem's Hispanic population is 26,265, which represents a higher percentage of the population than Raleigh's. Hispanics make up 14.3% of Winston-Salem's population, but only 9.7% of Raleigh's. Additionally, the North Carolina Department of Agriculture reports that there were 72 farms in Forsyth County that employed migrant

farmworkers and 178 farms with more than 150 workers.¹² There may also be farms employing undocumented workers.

The two Latino papers had similar total numbers of articles yet differed in which issues they covered the most. Additionally, *QP*'s main offices are located in Winston-Salem, but they also have a Triangle edition of the newspaper, so reporters based in Raleigh may be filing stories that are then used in the Triad¹³ (Winston-Salem) edition. *LC* and *QP* both had 12 stories about driver's licenses. *QP* had more stories about Jesica Santillán (15) despite the geographical distance, while *LC* had more stories about the Mt. Olive boycott (17). Part of this is likely due to *LC* visualizing itself as a tool for advocacy journalism.

Page Number

Although I did code for the page number, this turned out to be a variable that was not very informative because of the different formats of the newspapers and the variety of article placement. Since another variable was article type, the page number obviously varies somewhat just by the article type. For example, editorials and letters to the editor are generally placed on page 14 or higher in the *N&O* and the *WSJ*. They are on page 2 of *LC* and as I will discuss later when comparing the newspapers, *QP* does not write editorials or have a space for letters to the editor.

Another factor that complicated the analysis of page number was the changing format of the Latino newspapers. Unlike the Anglo papers, the Latino ones are relatively new, with a readership that is not subscription-based. The publishers therefore have more flexibility to

¹² Available at http://www.nass.usda.gov/census/census02/volume1/nc/st37_2_007_007.pdf. Consulted on Oct. 14, 2006.

¹³ The Triad region of North Carolina refers to the cities of Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and High Point.

change the format. Because the Latino newspapers are weeklies, their front pages often contained U.S. or world news. For instance, the period of the most intense coverage of the driver's license changes was in January 2004. This coincided with reporting on the lead-up to the U.S.-led attacks on Iraq that ousted Saddam Hussein. Additionally, *LC* often has only two or three stories on the front page. Figure 4.1 shows an image of the newspaper.

As Figure 4.1 shows, each issue of the tabloid-format paper has sidebars and boxes across top and bottom, but only one main story in the center, always accompanied by a large photo. Therefore, the front page affords the editor or publisher space only for the most important news story of the week. Although the edition shown in Figure 4.1 has three stories, in some editions the sidebars include headlines of stories that are found inside, weather reports, or even advertisements. The local news typically begins on page 4 in a section titled "*Locales*." In *QP*, local news also generally began on page 4 until 2004 when they initiated a separate section of local news. Nonetheless, Table 4.2 shows the number of articles that appeared on the front pages (1 or A1) of the papers; page B1, which would have been the front page of the City/State section for the Anglo papers; and page 4 which was generally the first page of local news for the Latino newspapers.

Figure 4.1: La Conexión



10 AÑOS

La Conexión®

LA VOZ DE LA COMUNIDAD

Spanish Language Newspaper

VOLUMEN 12 • EDICIÓN 42
MARTES, 17 DE OCTUBRE DEL 2006
SIEMPRE GRATIS

SUR AMERICA



Rafael Correa, candidato a la presidencia

Ecuador a va a segunda vuelta

Alvaro Noboa y Rafael Correa se enfrentarán por presidencia

Escrutado el 61,4% de las mesas, el magnate bananero Noboa logra el 26,8% de los votos y aventaja en 4,3 puntos al izquierdista Correa, que suma 22,4%. Ninguno alcanza la victoria en primera vuelta. El conteo del Tribunal Supremo Electoral señalaba hasta el momento que el socialista moderado León Roldós registraba 525.105 votos (15,9%), el populista Gilmar Gutiérrez 520.511 (15,7%) y la derechista Cynthia Viteri 340.428 (10,3%).

VER PAGINA 26

LOCALES

FBI descubre abuso contra latino

Un patrullero de la población de Washington ubicada al este de Carolina del Norte fue acusado por abusar de su poder con indocumentados. La detención del oficial fue posible gracias a una investigación que había comenzado ocho meses atrás. La operación fue realizada hace unas semanas entre la oficina del alguacil del Condado de Beaufort y agentes del FBI.

VER PAGINA 12



¡Continúa con tu Educación!

Campaña contra la deserción escolar de niños y jóvenes hispanos

En Carolina del Norte 4 de cada 10 estudiantes hispanos no terminan la preparatoria.

Según cifras del año escolar 2005-2006, el número total de estudiantes hispanos en Carolina del Norte fue de 1116,976. Esta cifra representa aproximadamente un 50% de crecimiento en sólo cuatro años. En ese año escolar, el número total de estudiantes hispanos en primaria, escuela intermedia ("middle school") y preparatoria ("high school") fue de 68,610; 24,983 y 23,383, respectivamente. A pesar de dicho incremento, lamentablemente muchos estudiantes hispanos en Carolina del Norte, no están

acabando con la preparatoria o "high school" (4 de cada 10 no terminan). En el año escolar 2004-2005, 2,855 jóvenes hispanos terminaron la preparatoria, sin embargo, ese mismo año aproximadamente más de 1,700 no terminaron la escuela, y en su mayoría fueron aquellos que apenas cursaban el 9º grado. Por estas razones la Sociedad de Profesionales Hispanos de Carolina del Norte, y **La Conexión** con el patrocinio de Nationwide Foundation y Nationwide Insurance, abren una campaña para

disminuir la deserción escolar de los niños y jóvenes hispanos en Carolina del Norte. La campaña se titula ¡Continúa con tu Educación! y busca educar a padres e hijos sobre el impacto negativo en la vida y futuro de una persona, cuando abandona su educación. A partir de la fecha **La Conexión** publicará una serie de informes realizados por La Sociedad de Profesionales de Carolina del Norte, como parte de la campaña, el primero de los cuales aparece en la presente edición.

VER PAGINAS 8 & 9

WWW.LACONEXIONUSA.COM • LLAME GRATIS: 1.888.739.4911

Table 4.2

News Stories Appearing on Front Pages (or Page 4 for Spanish-language)

Issue / page	Page A1 or 1	Page 4	Page B1	Total
Gangs	15 (26%)	6 (24%)	14 (31%)	35 (28%)
Jesica	26 (46%)	3 (12%)	5 (11%)	34 (27%)
Fiesta	5 (9%)	2 (8%)	17 (38%)	24 (19%)
License	6 (11%)	11 (44%)	7 (16%)	24 (19%)
Mt. Olive	5 (9%)	3 (12%)	2 (4%)	10 (8%)
Total	57 (100%)	25 (100%)	45 (100%)	127 (100%)

Looking at the numbers in Table 4.2 does not allow me to generalize directly about the prominence of reporting on Latino issues because it does not include editorials that appeared on other pages. However, subtracting editorials and letters to the editor (n=50) from the total sample (363) yields 313. The total in Table 4.2 (127) divided by this reduced sample (313) would mean that approximately 41% of the news items about these issues were prominently placed in the newspapers.

The Mt. Olive boycott, however, was much less prominent than the other issues with only 8% of the stories appearing on the front pages of the papers. The remaining issues were split quite evenly in the range of 20%, but the gang stories had the highest percentage (28%) of prominent stories. Additionally, the stories about Jesica appeared more than the other issues on the front page of the paper, pointing to its power as an issue that highly represented the news values of proximity, conflict, and timeliness. In fact, Jesica's story may not be seen as a Latino issue. In terms of page ranking, the driver's license changes represented the

highest percentage of stories that appeared on page 4 (44%), which illustrates the prominence of the issue for the Latino newspapers.

Attribution

By looking at attribution, I was interested in whether stories were written by reporters or whether they were wire stories. A story authored by a reporter for the paper would indicate more involvement with the issue versus the publishing of a story that has come across the wire.

Table 4.3

Attribution of Stories by Issue

	Gangs	Jesica	Fiesta	License	Mt. Olive	Total
Named author	72 (66%)	58 (68%)	36 (46%)	37 (79%)	23 (53%)	226 (62%)
Staff	13 (12%)	6 (7%)	10 (13%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	32 (9%)
Wire	14 (13%)	14 (16%)	1 (1%)	2 (4%)	7 (16%)	38 (10%)
No byline	9 (8%)	7 (8%)	32 (41%)	6 (13%)	10 (23%)	64 (18%)
Other	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	3 (1%)
Total	109 (100%)	85 (100%)	79 (100%)	47 (100%)	43 (100%)	363 (100%)

Table 4.3 shows that most of the stories were attributed to a named author (62%). This finding was somewhat expected since the issues are all local (North Carolina) events or issues. Nonetheless, a high percentage (41%) of the *fiesta* stories did not have a byline. Many of these were briefs or announcements (most likely press releases) and concerned the

Raleigh-based *La Fiesta del Pueblo* rather than the Winston-Salem festival. *La Fiesta del Pueblo* is organized by El Pueblo, Inc., a main statewide Latino advocacy group. For the category of “other” authorship, the gangs article was from *LC* and was attributed to The Boys & Girls Clubs of North Carolina, and the articles about Mt. Olive were both reprinted from *N.C. Catholic* magazine. One appeared in the *N&O* and the same article was translated into Spanish and appeared in *LC*.

Article Type

In addition to being able to describe the overall coverage, the article type variable made it easier to isolate the CDA sample. Since my CDA methodology (Bell’s framework, see Appendix C) was for news stories, I wanted to separate them from editorials, guest editorials, and letters to the editor which are also important, but which, because of their different characteristics, would require a different framework for analysis.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I did not differentiate between news stories and feature stories because the electronic database I used for searching in the Anglo papers labeled both as news rather than distinguishing between them. Secondly, I decided that the distinction between the two would not affect prominence or relevance. In the coding sheet, the features would only stand out as being longer than the news stories.

Table 4.4

Type of Article by Issue

	Gangs	Jesica	Fiesta	License	Mt. Olive	Total
News / feature	92 (84%)	60 (71%)	44 (56%)	31 (66%)	29 (67%)	256 (71%)
Editorial	3 (3%)	7 (8%)	0 (0%)	4 (9%)	1 (2%)	15 (4%)
Letter to editor	4 (4%)	9 (11%)	1 (1%)	6 (13%)	0 (0%)	20 (6%)
Guest editorial	5 (5%)	2 (2%)	2 (3%)	2 (4%)	4 (9%)	15 (4%)
Brief	1 (1%)	6 (7%)	26 (33%)	3 (6%)	7 (16%)	43 (12%)
Other	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	6 (8%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	14 (4%)
Total	109 (100%)	85 (100%)	79 (100%)	47 (100%)	43 (100%)	363 (100%)

Although Table 4.4 shows that there were a variety of article types for each issue, Mt. Olive was the only issue that had no letters to the editor in any of the papers. As I discuss in the Comparing Newspapers section, one of the starkest differences between the Anglo and Latino newspapers regarded editorials and letters to the editor. Namely, the *WSJ* had very few compared to the *N&O*. This also explained the differences between the *LC* and *QP*. Pepe Caudillo, the editor of *LC* during the time period of my sample, was also the bylined reporter for many stories. Perhaps for that reason, there appeared to be a blurring between news stories and editorials. Page 2 of *LC* was titled “*Opiniones*,” yet despite several requests for readers to write to the paper, there were rarely letters to the editor. *QP* was completely different in that the paper did not publish op/ed pieces at all. The editorial page for *QP*

typically contained syndicated editorials from Andrés Oppenheimer (Miami Herald) or editorials printed from Mexican or other Latin American newspapers. *QP* neither encouraged nor provided a space for readers' letters to the editor.

Another noteworthy finding in Table 4.4 is that despite the similar percentages in article types across issues, only the *fiesta* coverage stands out for having just over half of its articles (56%) as news stories and having the highest percentage among the issues of briefs (33%). The driver's license issue provoked a relatively high number of letters to the editor (13), accounting for 13% of the articles about this issue, a higher percentage than any other issue. The category "Other" included columns by regular columnists, informational graphics (such as tables and graphs that were not accompanied by a story), photojournalism spreads, and full-page advertisements (both more common in the Latino newspapers). In the case of the *fiesta* coverage, there were several full-page advertisements for *La Fiesta del Pueblo* in both *LC* and *QP*, yet no other item about the *fiesta* in those editions of the newspaper. On another occasion, immediately following *La Fiesta del Pueblo*, *LC* published a two-page photojournalism piece about the event. It contained only a paragraph of text and then captions with the photos. Although I was not coding for advertisements or photos, I felt the need to include both of these because they were the only coverage that the event received in those years in the Latino newspapers.

Length

According to the State of the News Media annual report on journalism, the average word length of news stories at medium-sized newspapers is just over 800. In my sample the average word length was 521.

Table 4.5

Word Length of Newspaper Articles by Topic

	Gangs	Jesica	Fiesta	License	Mt. Olive	Total
800+	16 (25%)	23 (37%)	11 (17%)	6 (10%)	7 (11%)	63 (100%)
400-799	53 (37%)	33 (23%)	18 (12%)	27 (19%)	14 (10%)	145(100%)
150-399	37 (34%)	22 (20%)	22 (20%)	13 (12%)	16 (15%)	110(100%)
100-149	2 (13%)	5 (33%)	5 (33%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
<99	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	23 (77%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	30 (100%)
Total	109 (30%)	85 (23%)	79 (22%)	47 (13%)	43 (12%)	363(100%)

In addition to having fewer stories, the driver's license changes and the Mt. Olive boycott also had fewer long stories than any of the other issues with just six (10%) and seven (11%) stories that were 800 words or more (see Table 4.5). On the contrary, 37% of the longest stories were about Jesica. The plurality of the driver's license stories (27) fell into the category of 400 to 799 word stories, the category that represented 40% of all the stories. Nevertheless, the highest number of Mt. Olive stories, 16, were 150 to 399 words. There were also a high number of *fiesta* stories that were fewer than 99 words (23). These stories represented 77% of the stories in that category and were announcements and calls for volunteers that occurred in both of the Anglo newspapers as well as in the advertisements or photojournalism spreads in the Latino newspapers. Consequently, although the *fiestas* had a relatively high amount of overall coverage at 79 total articles, 23 of these (29%) were briefs and most likely press releases from El Pueblo.

Relevance

The sampling method used for the Anglo papers made relevance an important variable to code for. Because I used an electronic database with a keyword search, it was possible to include long, prominently placed articles in the sample that were really about another topic. For example, a lengthy profile of a person who helped with the organization of *La Fiesta del Pueblo* might mention the fiesta in only one paragraph but will end up in the sample because it contained the key words. Therefore, the coding protocol asked to what degree the article was really about the topic. Although I originally considered this variable necessary as a way of weeding out articles that were not really relevant to the topic, the relevance variable actually assisted in showing some of the complexity related to certain issues. As I explain in the Particularities of the Issues section, this was particularly true for the issue that ended up being nebulous rather than concrete: the increasing Latino gang presence. Relevance and length were variables that I used to create the salience scale for narrowing the CDA sample.

Table 4.6

Relevance of Issues

	Gangs	Jesica	Fiesta	License	Mt. Olive	Total
Completely	34 (31%)	41 (48%)	36 (46%)	29 (62%)	26 (60%)	166 (46%)
Very much	21 (19%)	9 (11%)	4 (5%)	3 (6%)	2 (5%)	39 (11%)
Kind of	23 (21%)	10 (12%)	4 (5%)	2 (4%)	2 (5%)	41 (11%)
Part of it	11 (10%)	10 (12%)	23 (29%)	5 (11%)	6 (14%)	55 (15%)
Not really	20 (18%)	15 (18%)	12 (15%)	8 (17%)	7 (16%)	62 (17%)
Total	109 (100%)	85 (100%)	79 (100%)	47 (100%)	43 (100%)	363 (100%)

Note: Completely=100% relevant, very much=80%, kind of=60%, part of it=40% and not really=<20.

While the driver's license changes and Mt. Olive boycott received the least coverage, the analysis of the relevance variable, presented in Table 4.6, shows that they were the only issues in which two thirds of the articles were completely about the issue (62% for driver's license and 60% for Mt. Olive). In the case of the articles about gangs, only one-third of the stories were completely about the topic while 21% were kind of about gangs and 18% were not really about the topic. While nearly half (48%) of the articles about Jesica Santillán were completely about Jesica, there was also a fairly even distribution of stories across relevance categories.

Additionally, almost half (46%) of the *fiesta* coverage was completely about the *fiesta*, but another 29% of the articles were only partly about the *fiesta*. Once again, this is due to the high number of calls for volunteers and announcements. One characteristic of the electronic searching of newspaper articles was that the news briefs column of a particular day

appeared as a single article in which each paragraph was about a different topic. I coded these as only being “partly relevant” because only literally a part of the article was relevant to the topic. The article type variable, shown in Table 4.4 indicated that 26 (33%) of the *fiesta* stories were briefs. The articles that were not really about the topic (15%) sometimes mentioned the *fiesta* among other Latino events or were profiles of Latino community members that mentioned their involvement with the organization of the *fiesta*.

Particularities of the Issues

Also important to this research project was whether the differences in the issues could explain differences in the coverage. In the preceding results section, I compared coverage of the issues by variable. In this section, I discuss in more detail the newspaper coverage of each issue and make observations that are supported by the previous tables. Each of the five issues has inherent differences that make them difficult to compare.

Gangs

As shown in Table 4.6, gangs had the lowest percentage of its articles fall into the complete relevance category. In the Anglo newspapers, this was mainly because many of the articles about gangs were hesitant or questioning regarding the issue of gangs. In the *WSJ*, one article about a fight between a black and a Hispanic student at a high school questioned whether the fight was gang-related. Follow-up articles detailed a dispute between school officials and police concerning whether the students were gang members. The school claimed that the students were not known gang members, yet the police officer who arrived on the scene had included in his police report that the involved students were gang members.

Eventually, this debate was an important one because the judge was planning to determine punishment based on the police report, but concerned family members felt that the police report was erroneous and should have been based on information from the school officials. In some of the stories, student witnesses insisted that it was just a fight between two students over a girl.

Articles from the *N&O* were similarly hesitant. In one example, there were several articles about graffiti in one area of Raleigh and questions about whether it indicated an increasing gang presence in the city. Other articles were about the difficulty law enforcement and school officials have in detecting gang activity and whether these officials are just seeing emulations of gang dress, colors, and symbols. In other cases, the articles were not specifically about Latino gangs but rather gangs in general, and only mentioned Latino gangs tangentially along with black gangs and even Asian gangs.

Table 4.7

Relevance of Gang Stories by Newspaper

	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
Completely	7 (24%)	3 (23%)	10 (33%)	14 (38%)	34 (31%)
Very much	4 (14%)	0 (0%)	6 (20%)	11 (30%)	21 (19%)
Kind of	2 (7%)	1 (8%)	11 (37%)	9 (24%)	23 (21%)
Part of it	4 (14%)	4 (31%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	11 (10%)
Not really	12 (41%)	5 (39%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	20 (18%)
Total	29 (100%)	13 (100%)	30 (100%)	37 (100%)	109 (100%)

Table 4.7 shows that the two Latino newspapers each had more articles about gangs than the Anglo papers even though they are weeklies rather than dailies. There are six times fewer Latino newspapers than there are Anglo newspapers, which indicates the importance of the issue in the Latino newspapers. The papers assume a largely Latino readership. It is likely that if there is a perception in the larger community of a potential Latino gang problem, the Latino papers are going to address the issue more pointedly. That is precisely what appears to have happened. While many of the articles in the Anglo newspapers were questioning and hesitant, I did not see this in the Latino papers. Forty-one percent of the *N&O*'s and 39% of the *WSJ*'s articles about Latino gangs were not really relevant to Latino gangs while only 3-5% were not really relevant in the Latino papers. Yet 33% of *LC*'s and 37% of *QP*'s articles about Latino gangs were completely about the topic.

In fact, many of the articles in the Latino newspapers did not reflect the news values of conflict that might be typical of gang coverage: rather, they reflected human interest or helpfulness. They were articles about how to tell if your child is in a gang, a guest editorial from the director of the Boys & Girls Clubs promoting a new Hispanic liaison, and in *LC*, a two-part letter to the editor from an incarcerated gang member warning readers away from a gang lifestyle. This issue certainly merits further study. It might be particularly interesting to study from an agenda-setting perspective to see if the Anglo papers are sounding an alarm and setting the agenda for the Latino papers, particularly on issues that might indicate a threat or problem within the community.

Both the Anglo and Latino newspapers had articles that seemed to be following a national news story about a violent Latino gang, MS-13 or *Mara Salvatrucha*, that originated in California and whose members have been caught and deported to other countries where

they wreak gang violence. The *N&O* carried a multi-part feature about MS-13. I did not include articles about this issue in my sample because I defined my sample as including articles about increasing Latino gang activity specifically in North Carolina. Nevertheless, it is probable that some readers might read an alarming article such as this one that detailed gruesome crimes and associate it with local Latino men, some of whom have dropped out of school and may appear to be good candidates for gang membership.

Although there are many articles about gangs in the newspapers examined, it is not really a Latino issue in North Carolina. There are no clear-cut Latino gang-related incidents, and while gangs may be increasing in the state, they are not necessarily any more Latino than black or Asian. For these reasons, I decided not to include this issue in the CDA.

Jesica

Like the gang issue, the content analysis showed that Jessica Santillán's death did not represent a Latino issue per se but rather a breaking local news story. The articles from the *N&O* reflected the news values of timeliness, proximity, and conflict. The *N&O* carried 51 stories about Jessica, more than for any of the other topics. *QP* carried 15 stories, the *WSJ* had 10, and *LC* had nine. Therefore, this imbalance in coverage could be considered an anomaly, which might also make it an interesting case study in and of itself. Jessica was one of the issues that received the most coverage, but only because of the *N&O*'s high coverage. In fact, the *N&O* might have made an editorial decision to take this on as a big story to follow and dedicated more resources to it, similar to issues they have covered in the past. For example, in 1996 the paper won a Pulitzer Prize for a series of articles published in February 1995 on hog farm waste polluting groundwater. In this case, Jessica would not really be considered a

Latino issue but a medical malpractice scandal. The relatively low number of stories in the Latino papers supports this idea.

Table 4.8

Authorship for Jesica Santillán Stories

	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
Named author	45 (88%)	5 (50%)	3 (33%)	5 (33%)	58 (68%)
Staff	2 (4%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	6 (7%)
Wire	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	5 (56%)	6 (40%)	14 (17%)
No byline	4 (8%)	1 (10%)	1 (11%)	1 (7%)	7 (8%)
Total	51 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (100%)	15 (100%)	85 (100%)

As Table 4.8 shows, the *N&O* was also the only paper that did not use wire reports or news services but rather did all of its own reporting on this issue. The four articles that were coded as having no byline were newspaper editorials. While the *WSJ* also attributed over half (60%) of its stories to a named author or staff reports, 30% of the stories came from wire reports or news services and there were only 10 stories, one fifth of what the *N&O* published. The other 10% that did not have a byline came from the one editorial the paper wrote on the topic. The two Latino papers relied more on wire reports or news services than the Anglo papers did. *QP* was split with 53% of its stories by either named authors or staff reports, and 40% by wire reports or news services. Only one item (7%) was an editorial written by the publisher of the paper. In the case of *LC*, 56% of the stories were from wire reports or news services while only 33% were by named authors. As in the other papers, one item (11%) was an editorial by the paper.

Jesica Santillán's tragedy originally seemed like a natural issue for the Latino newspapers to cover. The Anglo papers reported that the mother spoke little English, and there seemed to be strong ties between the family and the Spanish-speaking community in the form of fund-raising efforts to cover Jesica's medical expenses. I assumed that these seemingly natural ties would give the Latino press closer if not exclusive, access to this issue. Though the scope of this research cannot determine why her issue was not more heavily covered by the Latino papers, the analysis of news texts does give some clues as to reasons they did not cover it more. One actor and source who was prominent in the news stories was Mack Mahoney. He was described in the stories as the family's benefactor; a builder from the small town where Jesica lived, who had heard about her case and apparently decided to help the family both personally and financially. He became very involved in fund-raising efforts on Jesica's behalf, and when the mistake occurred with Jesica's transplant operation, he became the family's unofficial spokesman, dealing with both doctors and the media. His style, as described by the news stories, was brusque and outspoken as he accused Duke Hospital officials of trying to keep him quiet and trying to cover up the medical mistake. I suspect that his style, though offensive to some, was effective in gaining media attention to Jesica's tragedy. When the story earned local and national media attention, the Latino press might have been squeezed out and unable to gain access to the issue. Alternate explanations might be that the Latino press made an ethical decision not to intrude on the family's personal tragedy or that they simply did not see it as a Latino issue.

The *N&O's* coverage of Jesica's issue contained the news values of a breaking or building local story: specifically timeliness, proximity, and conflict. The relevance scores of the articles reflect the myriad foci that the *N&O's* articles took.

Table 4.9

Relevance of Stories About Jesica Santillán

	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
Completely	24 (47%)	3 (30%)	7 (78%)	7 (47%)	41 (48%)
Very much	5 (10%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	9 (11%)
Kind of	5 (10%)	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	4 (27%)	10 (12%)
Part of it	9 (18%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (12%)
Not really	8 (16%)	5 (50%)	1 (11%)	1 (7%)	15 (18%)
Total	51 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (100%)	15 (100%)	85 (100%)

Of the 51 stories about Jesica Santillán in the *N&O*, 29 (57%) were classified as either completely or very much relevant (Table 4.9). This percentage was higher for the two Latino newspapers, with 78% of the stories having complete relevance in *LC* and 67% having complete or very much relevance in *QP*. Only four of the 10 stories in the *WSJ* were found to be completely or very much relevant (40%).

For the stories about Jesica Santillán to be categorized as completely relevant, the focus had to primarily tell the girl's story. Generally, the stories gave some background information about her medical condition and the fact that her family had come to the United States in order to obtain better medical care for her, and then they reported on her current medical situation which depended on the date and the most recent event in the drama. If the stories did the above but also dedicated space to talking about the involvement of her benefactor and spokesman, Mack Mahoney, the role of the doctors and hospital in the

transplant error, or the importance of organ donation, they were coded as very much about the topic.

Articles that were coded as kind of relevant focused mainly on the surrounding topics mentioned above while Jessica became mainly background information. Articles were coded as having only part of the story relevant if they mentioned Jessica tangentially but were really about another topic. For example, one story was a lengthy profile of the surgeon who was blamed and took responsibility for the error. This article talked about his actions in relation to Jessica but focused on his education and training, his record as a surgeon at Duke University hospital, his community service, and the possible consequences of this mistake.

Another topic that in some cases became the story was the controversial actions of the family's benefactor. Most of the stories that focused on Mack Mahoney talked about who he was, why and how he was supporting the family, and whether or not he was actually helping or hurting the cause. Some stories reported on his strong accusations against Duke University Medical Center, his largely successful attempts to bring national media attention to the situation, and his general actions and controversial communication style.

Several articles talked about organ donation more generally, including descriptions of how the process of matching donors to recipients works and others providing statistics on organ donation in the U.S. and policies regarding organs for undocumented immigrants. The articles that were coded as being not really relevant were about organ donation and only mentioned Jessica basically as a justification for writing about the topic of organ donation.

The coverage of Jessica Santillán's heart and lung transplant, error in donor blood type, and subsequent death was newsworthy because it happened at the prestigious Duke University hospital: if it happened at such a reputable hospital, it could happen anywhere.

Jesica's story also involved medical mistakes, how often or how easily they can occur, and questions about a current hot political topic – medical malpractice and problems in the U.S. healthcare system. In addition, there were some allusions to Jesica's family being in the United States without visas and questions about whether or not undocumented immigrants should be allowed to receive transplants when the number of "real Americans" waiting for transplants is so long. The immigration question, however, was not the focus of the issue and reflected only a small number of articles and few letters to the editor. The story was presented in terms of the impact on middle- to upper-middle-class readers rather than on Latinos. Because this was not a Latino issue but rather more of a medical malpractice story and because the coverage was heavy in only one newspaper, I decided not to include it in the CDA.

Fiesta

Originally, I hypothesized that the CDA of the *fiestas* would reveal the difference between how Latinos are covered in an issue where their rights are questioned (such as the driver's license) and how a non-threatening event such as a local cultural celebration was covered. However, as mentioned, in addition to being a non-threatening Latino issue, the *fiesta* items in the newspapers might constitute an interesting public relations study. Because *fiestas* are held in both Raleigh and Winston-Salem, I assumed that *La Fiesta del Pueblo* would feature more prominently in the *N&O* and *LC* and that *Fiesta* would be covered more heavily in the *WSJ* and *QP*. In fact, *Fiesta* was covered very little, and *La Fiesta del Pueblo* received heavier coverage in all four newspapers. Moreover, the high number of announcements/requests/briefs/summaries reflects the well-organized public relations of the

organizers of *La Fiesta del Pueblo*, the nonprofit El Pueblo, Inc. These assertions are supported in various ways by the data that I have already presented. In Table 4.2, of the stories that appeared on page 1 or A1 of the newspapers, only 5 (9%) were *fiesta* stories. Table 4.3 showed that 41% of the stories did not have a byline, and Table 4.4 indicated that 33% were briefs while another 8% (from the Latino newspapers) were photojournalism features or full-page advertisements. Furthermore, Table 4.5 revealed that of the news stories that were fewer than 99 words long, 77% were about the *fiesta*. Another interesting characteristic of the news stories about the *fiesta* in the Latino papers is that many of them, although more lengthy, were unattributed and appeared to be press releases from El Pueblo. This was apparent when the articles began with, “El Pueblo announces the entertainment lineup for this year’s *La Fiesta del Pueblo*.”

For the news stories that were not briefs in the Anglo newspapers, generally two types of stories appeared annually. One was in the Friday tabloid supplement of the *N&O* called “What’s Up,” usually featured the *fiesta* the Friday before as a good entertainment option for local residents. Each year after the *fiesta*, the *N&O* included a story covering the *fiesta*. These stories fell into the completely relevant category. Articles that scored lower in relevance only mentioned the *fiesta* tangentially. Some of these were profiles about Latino leaders such as Andrea Bazán, the Executive Director of El Pueblo (at that time) who was intimately involved with the organization of the *fiesta*. The profile about Bazán was highly personalized and is an example of what Wilson et al. (2002) characterize as exemplars or stories that show minorities who have overcome difficulty to find success in American society. Among her many accomplishments covered in the article was the successful organization of the *fiesta*. Because of the very specific nature of the coverage of the *fiesta* as being either news briefs or

announcements and not reflecting a serious Latino issue, I decided not to include this issue in the CDA.

Comparing Newspapers

Finally, my third research question involved the differences between the newspapers in their coverage of these Latino issues. Because of the many differences between the Anglo and Latino newspapers (circulation, readership, distribution, weekly vs. daily), it is difficult to compare them directly. It makes more sense to compare the two weekly Latino newspapers and the two Anglo newspapers with each other. In both cases, there were noteworthy differences.

N&O and WSJ

One of the most apparent differences in this content analysis was the clear prominence of the *N&O*. The *N&O* generally had more articles, longer articles, more news stories as well as a greater variety of article types, and more stories written by reporters. For example, the highest percentage of stories from the *N&O* (33%) were in the word length range of 400-799, whereas the highest percentage of the *WSJ*'s stories on these Latino issues fell into the 150-399 word length range. The *WSJ* had the fewest stories (n=49) but also had a higher percentage of stories that were categorized as briefs: 31% compared to the *N&O*'s 12%. In addition, a review of the dates showed that the *N&O* began reporting on issues earlier than the other newspapers.

Further research into the prominence of the *N&O* and whether or not it sets the agenda for smaller papers or minority media might be interesting. The fact that the coverage

of all of the issues was so reduced in the *WSJ* might indicate that geographical distance is an important factor in how issues are covered. Yet, at the same time, most of the issues could be said to have an equal impact in Winston-Salem as they would in Raleigh and were covered to a greater extent by the Winston-Salem-based *QP*. Nonetheless, the lack of coverage that these topics received in the *WSJ* was surprising. Winston-Salem and the Triangle areas both have a large and growing Latino immigrant population. If Latino issues are not discussed in the newspaper, they are less likely to be part of public debate and may contribute to the well-documented invisibility of minority issues in public discussion.

Considering the overall dominance of the *N&O* brings up some questions just within its coverage of the issues. Namely, I find it somewhat troubling yet perhaps not surprising that the death of Jesica Santillán received the most coverage of all the issues in the *N&O*. There were 51 news items about Jesica Santillán and 18 about the Mt. Olive boycott. The resolution of the Mt. Olive boycott resulted in the nation's first migrant farmworker union; not the first in North Carolina, but the first in the country. It also affected around 9,000 farmworkers. In terms of events, the boycott had a tremendous impact. This imbalance of coverage seems indicative of current trends of emphasizing scandal and conflict over substantive public policy issues in the corporate-ownership context.

LC and QP

Unlike the *N&O* and the *WSJ*, the Latino papers did not show stark differences in their coverage of the issues. For both newspapers, the highest percentages of stories fell into the range of 400-799 words. There were some differences in attribution, but this was likely due to limited resources and editorial policies. In *LC*, 40% (n=34) of the stories were

attributed to an author, while in *QP*, the percent was higher at 53% (n=42). At the same time, the fact that the editor was also the principal reporter at *LC*, might explain why there was also a high percentage of stories with no byline (37%). *LC* considers itself to be “absolutely an advocate for the community” (Cunningham, 2002). In addition to the lack of reporters, it appeared that the paper used many information subsidies such as press releases and reports from community organizations.

This is consistent with research on Latino newspapers conducted by Vargas & DePyssler (1999) and manifested itself differently for different issues. For example, for the gang stories, there were press releases from the Boys & Girls Clubs while for the *fiesta* there were press releases from El Pueblo. Even the Mt. Olive boycott, which was covered more heavily than other issues, contained press releases from the FLOC, Mt. Olive Pickle Company, and the North Carolina Council of Churches. In many respects, *LC* appears to be largely a grassroots effort, but perhaps one that recognizes the competition as being bigger and richer. At the time of this research, *LC* may have been going through an identity crisis in the sense that their advocacy is obscured. Besides the heavy use of information subsidies, there was a blurring between editorial content and news stories because Pepe Caudillo was serving a dual role as the main reporter and editor. Caudillo left the paper in October 2004, so a current sample might look different. At times, however, it was difficult to decide whether to classify a piece as an editorial or as a news story. The fact that *LC* had a higher number of stories on the Mt. Olive boycott (n=17) versus *QP* (n=5) demonstrates their mission of being an advocate for the community.

In contrast, during the time that this sample was taken, *QP* did not write editorials or allow a place for letters to the editor. The only editorials they carried were from national or

international Spanish-language columnists such as Andres Oppenheimer from the *Miami Herald*, and occasionally academics who write for Mexican newspapers such as *El Universal* or *Reforma*. In the entire sample of *QP*, only one editorial appeared as a letter from the publisher to Jessica Santillán's family expressing his sorrow over her death and their situation. While *QP* also claims to be the "voice of and the voice for the Hispanic community in North Carolina" their press kits and website reflect a much slicker, business-like appearance than *LC*. For instance, *QP* boasts about the amount of market research they have conducted on the community and how their knowledge will help advertisers better reach the Hispanic market. *QP* also used a different attribution strategy, one that I did not see at all in *LC*. Although 53% of *QP*'s stories were attributed to an author, another 27% were attributed to "staff reports."

Considering the overt differences in the two Latino newspapers' foci (*LC* is more advocacy/grassroots journalism and *QP* is more traditional, U.S. corporate journalism), the similarities in *LC* and *QP*'s coverage are worth noting. Both newspapers had approximately the same number of stories on the topics, and the stories were of similar lengths. They also had similar patterns for relevance, 52% of *LC*'s stories were completely relevant to 56% of *QP*'s, (see Table 4.3) and story type (Table 4.4). The papers' different styles of journalism were most apparent in the authorship patterns, although in both cases, the majority of stories were attributed to an author.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have answered three broad research questions: what does the coverage of Latino issues look like in these newspapers; what were the observable characteristics of each issue that contributed to these differences; and what were the

differences between the newspapers? The issues that were covered the most were related to gangs and the death of Jessica Santillán, and the issues that were covered the least were the changes to driver's license laws and the Mt. Olive boycott. However, there were anomalies in the coverage that confounded these assertions. Although gangs received the most coverage, the articles in the Anglo press had a lower relevancy score because there is no clear evidence in the community of an increasing Latino gang presence, but rather a perception and a concern. While I think that the issue of increasing gang activity could have represented a very worthy issue for the CDA, the fact that it was so nebulous in this context renders it less of a real issue. At this time in North Carolina, Latino gangs seem to be mainly the subject of speculation and fear.

The heavy coverage of Jessica Santillán's death was reflected only in one newspaper, the *N&O*, and much of the coverage surrounded aspects of the case that were not directly related to Latinos. Because of the way the issue was covered, it may not really be a Latino issue per se. Additionally, the relatively high number of items about the *fiestas* is complicated by the fact that many of the items were news briefs of fewer than 99 words. In fact, the coverage of the *fiestas* looks like the result of a well-organized public relations effort of the *fiesta* organizer, El Pueblo, Inc. In the Latino press, which publishes fewer briefs, many items about the *fiesta* appeared to be complete and unedited press releases.

The two issues that received the least coverage, the driver's license changes and the Mt. Olive boycott, had higher percentages of stories that were completely relevant to the issue than any of the other issues. Taking into account the contribution of Latinos to the state and the economic benefits the state is receiving because of Latino labor, (see Chapter 2) the issues of excluding Latino laborers from being able to obtain a driver's license and the rights

of migrant farmworkers seem especially relevant at this time. Indeed, these very real restrictions and limitations are likely the concrete expressions of more general issues of citizenship and rights. Since these issues are important to the Latino community but were not covered as extensively, I selected them for the CDA in order to examine a smaller sample of news stories in detail. This depth allows for an understanding that takes into account both the production and distribution differences of the local Anglo and Latino presses and also allows for an examination of the larger political, social, and economic implications of the coverage or lack of coverage. The other goal of this content analysis was to provide a systematic way to select the sample for the CDA. To do this, I combined the length variable with the relevance variable in order to create a salience scale. The three articles that were the longest and most relevant for the driver's licenses and the Mt. Olive boycott were selected from each newspaper.

The content analysis additionally uncovered some fascinating differences among the newspapers. The two Anglo newspapers differed markedly in the amount of coverage of Latino issues, the attribution patterns, and the length of articles. The *N&O* had more articles, longer articles, and more authored articles. The *WSJ*, which had only 49 articles to begin with, had a higher percentage of briefs, fewer editorials, and fewer letters to the editor. Overall, the items from the *WSJ* fell into a range of shorter story length than the *N&O*.

The Latino papers, while similar in the amount of coverage and story length for each issue, were different in their attribution of articles. *LC*, whose mission is clearly to serve as an advocate for the Latino community, blurred news stories with editorial content and appeared to show widespread use of information subsidies. *QP*, which appears to follow the business model of most mainstream U.S. newspapers, did not include editorials or letters to

the editor. In fact, there is no information about where readers could write to if they did feel inspired to do so. While many articles were attributed to reporters, *QP* also attributes many items to staff reports; something that *LC* never did.

Chapter 5: Driving Under the Influence of 9/11

On December 30, 2003, the North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV) announced that effective February 2, 2004, certain forms of identification would no longer be valid for obtaining a driver's license or identification card. According to the North Carolina General Statutes, a person must show two forms of identification and proof of residency in the state to obtain a driver's license through the DMV. The Mexican *matrícula consular*, an identification card issued by the Mexican government through its consulates to Mexican citizens living abroad, was one of the forms of identification that would no longer be accepted. The *matrícula* is commonly associated with undocumented immigrants because a Mexican citizen who has a passport and some type of U.S. visa or resident alien card (green card) would probably not need one. Some even claim that the Mexican government created this identification for undocumented immigrants in response to tragic deaths that have befallen some immigrants in the United States. Without some form of identification, victims cannot be identified and their family members cannot be notified. Mexican citizens have to show various forms of identification in order to obtain this card.

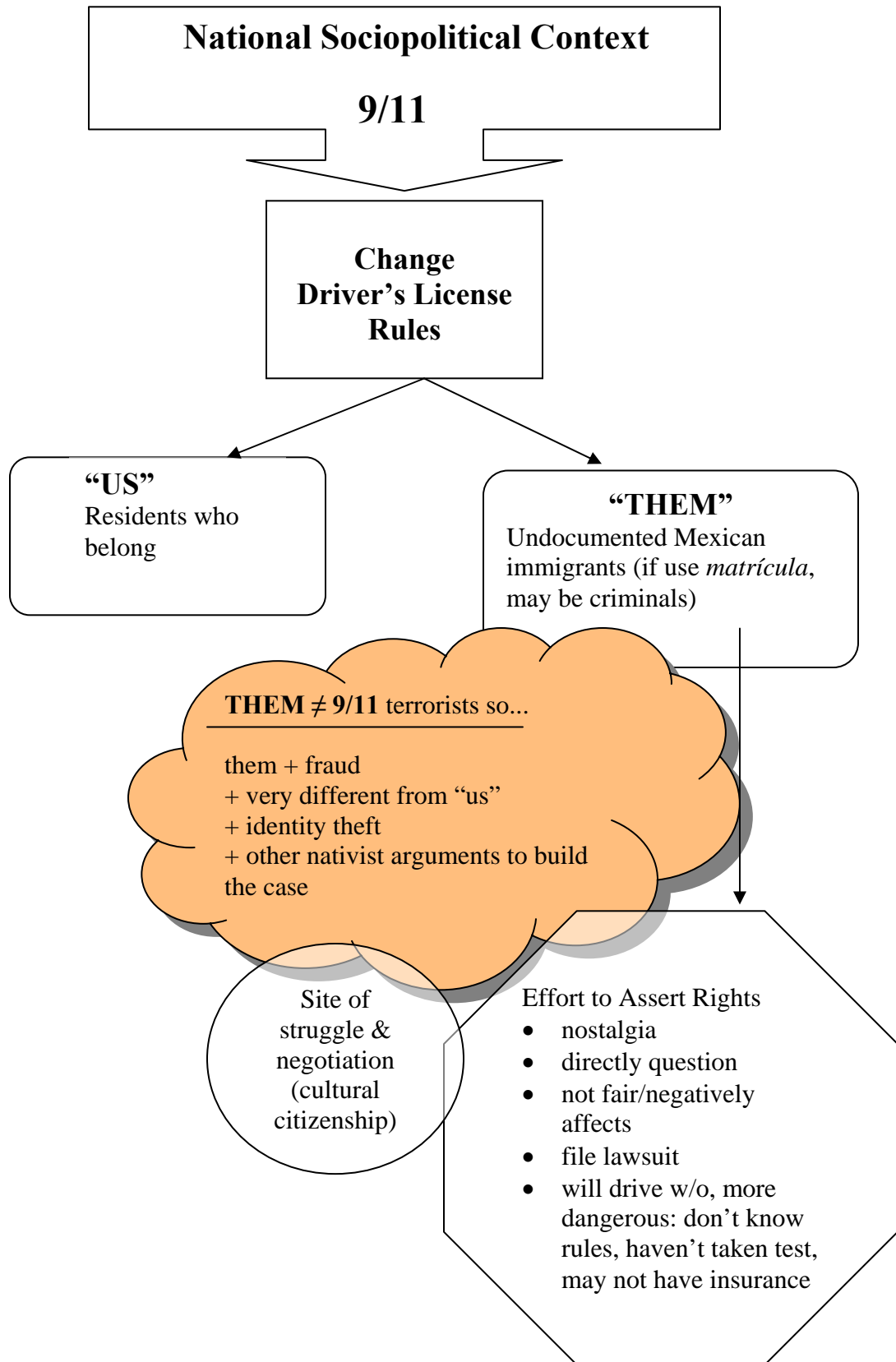
The results of the content analysis of news stories about the driver's license change showed that this issue was the second least covered with only 49 articles (see Table 4.5). The *N&O* had the highest number of stories, more variety in story type, and the most stories with high relevance. Similar to the other issues studied, the *WSJ* had the fewest articles with only

five. The CDA of the driver's license rules revealed two overlapping discourses: an "us" versus "them" discourse and a criminality discourse. These discourses operated under a larger post-9/11 national context, as shown in Figure 5.1, that facilitated these particular discourses and prevented other discourses from emerging. Because of the overlapping textual, discursive, and social complexity that appeared simultaneously throughout the driver's license stories, I designed Figure 5.1, to visually map the national sociopolitical context that permitted certain discourses while inhibiting others.

The events of 9/11 had international and national political repercussions as well as social repercussions. In the case of this state issue, the political and social impact of 9/11 established the context under which many North Carolina Latinos were marginalized and subsequently criminalized. As I show in Figure 5.1, the 9/11 context created the perceived necessity to change the driver's license laws. The change in driver's license rules generated the division of the community into "us" and "them." A large cloudy area, however, obscures the picture because there is no actual link between "them" and terrorism or 9/11. In order to justify denying a driver's license, other reasons, often linked to criminality, were created. The criminality link was constructed in the news discourses by claiming the *matrícula* was fraudulent, by highlighting Latinos in unruly crowds, and by using traditional nativist arguments.

This situation represented a struggle in cultural citizenship as Latinos tried to assert their rights. The site of struggle was made more difficult because of its location beneath the nebulous area (of Figure 5.1) which is confused and obscured, causing it to lose resonance. While the Latino community did question the validity of the measure, their "fairness" argument was no match for the national context of 9/11 and the nativist

Figure 5.1: National sociopolitical context for driver's license news discourses



arguments that became attached to 9/11. The Latino press echoed the discourse established by the Anglo press and either did not attempt or were unsuccessful at asserting an alternative discourse. This was partly because the local Latino leaders whom the press relied on as sources for information were marginalized and did not formulate a coherent message. The event ended with the change in the driver's license policy and the diminution of the rights of Latino laborers in the state.

Coverage of Driver's License

The content analysis found a total of 47 articles for this issue, making it the second least covered after the Mt. Olive boycott (43 articles). The *N&O* carried the most items about changes to driver's license laws with a total of 18 (38%). In addition, the *N&O* had the greatest variety of story type and the most articles with high relevance. Both *LC* and *QP* had 12 items (26% each) and the paper that covered the issue the least was the *WSJ* with only five items (11%). The majority of the stories for each paper had named authors in their bylines ranging from 94% (*N&O*) to 58% (*LC*). Another 33% of *LC*'s stories had no byline, possibly indicating editorial involvement in the issue.

There were four items in both the *N&O* and *LC* before the date of the announcement, while *QP* carried two items and the *WSJ* only one, indicating that this was a news event that was foreseen and considered more newsworthy by some newspapers than others. The geographical proximity to the capital of Raleigh might have played a role in the higher coverage by the two Raleigh-based newspapers. Even after the announcement on December 30, the *WSJ* did not carry anything about it until January 22. At this point, it probably became newsworthy because of the crowds at DMV offices and the inconvenience to city residents.

The length of news stories supports this assertion. Over half of the stories fell into the 400-799 word category, while a little over a quarter of the stories were between 150 and 399 words. Only 13% of the stories were longer, in the over 800 word category. Most of the stories in the Anglo newspapers focused on the crowds and long lines at the DMV offices caused by confused immigrants who were trying to renew their license before the deadline. In the Latino newspapers, the stories were largely informational, written to explain whom the changes would affect and what readers should do. A long feature might have delved into the underlying issue - the rights of immigrants - but in this case, most of the coverage was event-driven rather than issue-driven.

Table 5.1

Article Type for Driver's License Articles in each Newspaper

Article Type	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
News story	11 (61%)	3 (60%)	6 (50%)	12 (100%)	32 (68%)
Editorial	1 (6%)	1 (20%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)	4 (9%)
Columnist	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Letter to ed.	4 (22%)	1 (20%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	6 (13%)
Brief	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)	3 (6%)
Guest ed.	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	2 (4%)
Total	18 (100%)	5 (100%)	12 (100%)	12 (100%)	47 (100%)

As Table 5.1 illustrates, the majority of the items were categorized as news stories for all of the papers. In the case of *QP*, 100% of the items were news stories while the other papers carried at least one editorial (two in the case of *LC*) and all of the others had at least

one letter to the editor about the issue. Both the *N&O* and *LC* also had one guest editorial about the issue. Table 5.1 would also seem to support the assertion that publishing a greater variety of types of articles generates more variety. For example, a newspaper editorial may invite guest editorials by local academics or an interest group which may then stimulate letters to the editor. The difference between the two Latino newspapers is striking in this regard: both newspapers carried 12 items, yet *LC*'s variety of articles resembled the *N&O* while *QP*'s had only news stories. As I discussed in Chapter 4, *QP* does not write editorials or provide a space for letters to the editor.

For the relevance variable, I coded a story as very much (80%) about the issue if the article discussed the issue but focused on a resulting event. For the driver's licenses, this included stories about people waiting in line at the DMV for hours or driving to DMV offices hours away from their homes to avoid a long line caused by Latinos who needed to get or renew their licenses. Stories about the response to the changes by two Latino advocacy groups, the Latino Community Credit Union and the Latino Community Development Center, who filed a lawsuit to try to stop the changes were also included in this category. Articles fell into the kind of (60%) relevance category when they discussed North Carolina's issue but focused on national trends or trends in other states. If the article only mentioned North Carolina's changes to the law but was really about something else – in some cases homeland security or terrorism – I coded it as either partly relevant or not really relevant, depending on the degree to which attention was paid to the local situation.

Table 5.2

Relevance of Driver's License Stories by Newspaper

Relevance	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
Complete	12 (67%)	2 (40%)	6 (50%)	9 (75%)	29 (61%)
Very much	1 (6%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	3 (6%)
Kind of	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	2 (4%)
Part of it	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	5 (11%)
Not really	3 (17%)	2 (40%)	3 (25%)	0 (0%)	8 (17%)
Total	18 (100%)	5 (100%)	12 (100%)	12 (100%)	47 (100%)

The stories about the driver's license issue were generally either completely or very much relevant to the issue (Table 5.2). Three-quarters of *QP*'s stories were completely relevant. This was followed by two-thirds for the *N&O*'s and half of the stories for *LC*. The *WSJ* had the fewest stories that were completely relevant, as well as the fewest overall stories.

My content analysis found that while this issue was not as heavily covered as the gangs, Jessica, or the *fiesta* (discussed in Chapter 4) and while the majority of the stories fell into the 400-799 word length category, the stories were generally relevant to the issue and were attributed to named reporters. The content analysis also showed a greater variety of article type for the two Raleigh-based newspapers and showed that *QP* had only news stories rather than a variety of article types. In this case, the CDA is enlightening regarding the subtle differences in news coverage and the implications of this coverage.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Sample

Through the content analysis, I identified the 12 longest and most relevant news stories concerning driver's licenses. I did this through the salience scale that gave the stories a score for length and relevance. The sample for the CDA included the three stories from each newspaper that had the highest salience scores. Tables 5.3-5.6 show the final sample organized by newspaper and date. In the CDA discussion, the articles are referenced by the label in the first column.

Table 5.3

CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories from the N&O

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
N1	April 25, 2003	Bill Would Tighten Licensing Rules	Lynn Bonner	B1	793
N2	Jan. 17, 2004	A New Border to Cross	Michael Easterbrook	A1	949
N3	Jan. 24, 2004	Crowds Crush DMV Offices	Michael Easterbrook	A1	858

Table 5.4

CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories From the WSJ

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
J1	Jan. 22, 2004	Area Residents also Encountering Long DMV Waits; Examiner Shortage, Rush to Beat ID Rules Are Causing Delays	Jim Sparks	B1	481
J2	Jan. 30, 2004	DMV Is Sued over ID Rules; 2 Hispanic Groups Say Procedure Not Followed in New Requirements	Lisa Hoppenjans	B1	663
J3	Jan. 31, 2004	Limiting ID Types for Licenses OK, Judge Rules in Suit Against DMV	Lisa Hoppenjans	B1	533

Table 5.5

CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories From LC

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
LC1	Jan. 6, 2004	Driver's Licenses to be Restricted in NC. New Measures Take Effect in February*	Pepe Caudillo	4	483
LC2	Jan. 13, 2004	Details about Changes to Requirements for NC Driver's Licenses*	Pepe Caudillo	1 & 4	378
LC3	Feb. 17, 2004	208 Arrested for Presenting Fake Documents to Obtain License*	Rafael Prieto Zartha & EFE	4	644

*Headline translated to English, see next section for original Spanish headline.

Table 5.6

CDA Sample of Driver's License Stories From QP

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
QP1	May 8-14, 2003	Driver's Licenses to Be Restricted in NC. New Measures Take Effect in February*	QP staff	4A	952
QP2	Jan. 8-14, 2004	Complicating License Procedure. Will Stop Accepting Mexican Matrícula*	Alejandra González	4A	805
QP3	Feb. 5-11, 2004	New Rules Take Effect*	Audy Rodas	4A	812

*Headline translated to English, see next section for original Spanish headline.

Eight of the salient news stories occurred between the time the changes were announced (Dec. 30, 2003) and the time they took effect (Feb. 2, 2004). Nevertheless, the second column of Tables 5.3 and 5.6 shows that there was some preliminary activity about six months before the changes were announced that was newsworthy enough for the *N&O* and *QP* to report on. Furthermore, the two Spanish-language papers carried follow-up stories to the Feb. 2 rule changes: one immediately after (on Feb. 5) and the other on Feb. 17. The Anglo papers placed the stories prominently on the front page of the City/State section and, in two cases, on the front page of the newspaper (5th column). By contrast, one story appeared on the front page and was continued on the first Local page in the Latino papers.

The other stories all appeared on page 4, which for both Latino papers at that time was the first page of the Local section. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, determining prominence by page number was difficult for the Latino newspapers because they changed their structure throughout the years that this study encompassed (2000-2005). For example, *QP* consisted of three sections: News, Sports, and Entertainment, with local news being covered on pages four to seven (with some variation) until 2004, when they added a separate section for local news. According to Federico VanGelderén, who was the publisher until August 2005, there was very little local news coverage in the early years of the paper because they viewed their readers as temporary and thought that readers would be more interested in news from Mexico and other Latin American countries than in local news (personal communication, January 9, 2005).

Overview of the Stories

In this section, I review the gist of the newspaper stories as they occurred by newspaper and date. This will help situate and clarify the stages of the issue as events unfolded.

1. “Bill Would Tighten Licensing Rules,” *N&O*, April 25, 2003. Based on the headline, this story appears to be about legislation. There was a bill before the North Carolina House of Representatives that would restrict the documents allowed for getting a driver’s license. The bill brought representatives of the anti-immigration group FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform) to the capitol where they conducted a news conference. The Raleigh-based Latino advocacy group, El Pueblo, held a news conference on the same day to comment on the legislation.

2. "A New Border to Cross," *N&O*, Jan. 17, 2004. This news story gives a comprehensive overview of the issue. It begins by talking about crowds of immigrants at DMV offices, then explains the changes announced by the DMV, what the Mexican *matrícula* card is, and the debate about it nationwide.
3. "Crowds Crush DMV Offices," *N&O*, Jan. 24, 2004. This article is about the long lines and delays at the DMV offices. The story talks about the lines being caused by immigrants, the DMV's new rules, the quality of service being provided by the DMV, and DMV measures to improve the situation. The story includes quotes from a number of sources including immigrants, nonimmigrants, DMV officials, and Latino advocates.
4. "Area Residents also Encountering Long DMV Waits; Examiner Shortage, Rush to Beat New ID Rules Are Causing Delays," *WSJ*, Jan. 22, 2004. This story is based on the reporter's visit to a crowded DMV office and the comments of one man she interviewed. He criticizes the DMV for the eight-hour wait he incurred trying to upgrade his driver's license. The rest of the article presents a DMV spokesperson's responses.
5. "DMV Is Sued over ID Rules; 2 Hispanic Groups Say Procedure Not Followed in New Requirements," *WSJ*, Jan. 30, 2004. This story reports on a lawsuit filed days before the rule changes were to take effect by two Latino advocacy groups. This story reports on the claims of the lawsuit, the details of the rule changes, and the long lines of immigrants at DMV offices.
6. "Limiting ID Types for Licenses OK, Judge Rules in Suit Against DMV," *WSJ*, Jan. 31, 2004. This news story reports the outcome of the lawsuit as well as how the two

sides argued. The story also talks about the crowds at DMV offices and how the message was spread to the Latino community.

7. “*Restringirán Requisitos de Licencias de Manejo en C.N. Las Nuevas Medidas Entrarán en Vigor en Febrero*” [Driver’s Licenses to be Restricted in NC. New Measures will Take Effect in February], *LC*, Jan. 6, 2004. This story announces the DMV’s changes to the driver’s license requirements, including what will no longer be allowed and when it will happen. It cites the DMV’s announcement and a press conference by Nolo Martínez. It also tells us that more information will be forthcoming.
8. “*Precisiones en los Cambios de Requisitos para Obtener Licencias de Conducir en Carolina del Norte*” [Details About Changes to Requirements for NC Driver’s Licenses], *LC*, Jan. 13, 2004. This article follows up on which documents will or will not be accepted as identification and explains what those who are affected should do.
9. “*Arrestan a 208 al Presenter Documentos Falsos para Sacar Licencia*” [208 Arrested for Presenting Fake Documents to Obtain License], *LC*, Feb. 17, 2004. This article reports that 208 people were arrested during the time between the announcement and rule changes. It details the ways that the DMV will now be detecting fraudulent documents and identifying criminals, and emphasizes that these crimes are serious.
10. “*Licencias, en el Ojo del Huracán*” [Licenses, in the Eye of the Hurricane], *QP*, May 8-14, 2003. This article is about the issue of allowing undocumented immigrants to obtain a driver’s license, focusing on North Carolina. It mentions that there are four

proposals being studied by the North Carolina General Assembly. The story presents the arguments of those who are for allowing them and those who oppose it.

11. “*Complican Trámite de Licencias. Dejarán de Aceptar la Matrícula Consular*”

[Complicating License Procedure. Will Stop Accepting Mexican Identification Card], *QP*, Jan. 8-14, 2004. This article announces that there will be new rules about getting a driver’s license. It explains what will and will not be allowed, when it was announced, and who will be affected. It cites the DMV and a radio address given by Nolo Martínez, the Director of the North Carolina Governor’s Office of Hispanic Affairs.

12. “*Entran en Vigor Nuevas Reglas*” [New Rules Take Effect], *QP*, Feb. 5-11, 2004.

This story reports on the outcome of the lawsuit, citing one of the plaintiffs, John Herrera, of the Latin Community Credit Union. The story discusses the crowded DMV offices.

This brief review shows that there were eight events tied to this issue. Table 5.7 shows the events in order of occurrence.

Table 5.7

Events of Driver's License Issue

	Event	Approximate Date
1.	Legislative attempts to change laws	April-May 2003
2.	DMV announces changes	Dec. 30, 2003
3.	Information disseminated to Latino community	Jan. 6-14, 2004
4.	Crowds at DMV offices	Jan. 17-24, 2004
5.	Lawsuit filed to stop changes	Jan. 29, 2004
6.	Lawsuit dismissed	Jan. 30, 2004
7.	Changes take effect	Feb. 2, 2004
8.	Warning – arrests made and will continue	Feb. 17, 2004

To begin, legislative attempts were made to change the driver's license rules. All of these failed. During this time, newspaper stories presented the positions of those who were for or against allowing undocumented immigrants to have licenses. The second event was the announcement of the changes. In response to the announcement, a number of stories appeared in the Latino press (event 3). The fourth event, the newsworthy crowding at DMV offices, was reported mainly by the Anglo press. The next event was the lawsuit that was filed and subsequently dismissed. A follow-up event of large-scale arrests made during the time period of the crowded offices also occurred. Coverage of events rather than underlying issues is common and is frequently referred to as "episodic" versus "thematic" coverage (Iyengar, 1991). Shanto Iyengar (1991) found that when news focused on events rather than

issues, viewers of television news were more likely to place blame for the problem on individuals rather than on society.

Discourses

Two main discourses operated throughout the stories regardless of geographic location or language. Every story created an “us” versus “them” discourse that would make nonoppositional discourse look out of place. The second discourse of criminality was closely linked to the “us” versus “them” discourse. Outright discussion of crime, criminal activity, law enforcement, and a broader national discourse of terrorism as related to 9/11 and homeland security constituted the criminality discourse. Through both of these discourses, Latinos were marginalized and rights they had previously enjoyed were taken away. Researchers who study marginalized groups and their struggles to gain rights propose thinking of citizenship as a continuum rather than as a binary concept. Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1999) explains:

Citizenship is often understood as a universal concept. In this view, all citizens of a particular nation state are equal before the law. A background assumption of our work, by contrast, is that one needs to distinguish the formal level of theoretical universality from the substantive level of exclusionary and marginalizing practices. (p. 253)

Cultural citizenship is commonly referred to as second-class citizenship. Rosaldo (1999) further suggests that, “...cultural citizenship research seeks out cases that have become sites of contestation, negotiation, and struggle over cultural meaning and social violence” (p. 259). This new policy made it difficult or impossible for some Latino residents to get driver’s licenses and therefore presents a case of exclusionary and marginalizing

practices. The news discourses reflected the numerous mechanisms used to exclude Latino members of the community.

“Us” versus “Them”: Textual level

The textual level of analysis looks for patterns across the newspaper stories. In this case, the “us” versus “them” discourse defined who was and who was not allowed to have a driver’s license and, in a sense, participate as legitimate members of society. The most elementary way that the division occurred was by the declaration, in all of the news stories, of which documents would be considered valid identification for getting a driver’s license. Symbolically, therefore, the community members who had those documents became part of “us” while those who did not were “them.” The marginalization of local Latino leaders further marked “us” and “them.”

Specifically, the newspaper stories listed which documents would be acceptable and which would no longer be valid. This information provided both background and context. The Anglo newspapers said that the Mexican identification cards will “stop being valid” (N2) and “will no longer be considered valid” (J1) while the Latino papers said, “*Dejarán de aceptar*” [They will stop accepting] (QP2), that “*se presentó la eliminación de algunos documentos*” [some documents are being eliminated] (LC1), and “*la medida invalida como identificación...documentos como la matrícula consular mexicana y pasaportes internacionales que no tengan un sello de inmigración*” [that the measure invalidates the Mexican *matrícula consular* and international passports that do not have an immigration stamp] (QP2). The Latino newspapers likewise told readers that “*solamente aceptarán documentos emitidos por autoridades estatales o federales*” [only documents from state or

federal authorities will be accepted] (QP2), and that “*las actas de nacimiento aceptadas son solamente aquellas expedidas por Estados Unidos o Canadá*”¹⁴ [a birth certificate will be accepted only if it is from the United States or Canada] (QP2). Lexical terms such as *invalidate*, *elimination*, and *stop accepting* carry strong symbolic discursive power and are likely to be the terms that subsequently will be associated with undocumented immigrants. This information was also generally provided at the beginning of each story, making it prominent. Therefore, the direct defining of membership established the two sides of “us” and “them.”

Additionally, each story explained that on Feb. 2, 2004, the change from valid to invalid would take place, which emphasized the power of the dominant state government structure. Not only did the state DMV have the ability to decide who can belong, they could change it from one day to the next. The changes were naturalized by mentioning that other states or federal government institutions were doing the same thing. Readers were told that “Colorado Gov. Bill Owens signed a law to bar state and local government offices from accepting the *matrícula*” (N2); that the “policies are in line with others adopted in states along the eastern seaboard” (J2); and that the changes “reflect recommendations from the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security” (N2, LC2, QP2, J1, J2, J3). Listing which documents would no longer be allowed was essential information, particularly for the Latino press that was informing its readers. While the clear presentation of this information adheres to the tenets of good journalistic practice, it nonetheless demonstrates a practice of exclusion and a site in which some Latinos were losing ground on the citizenship continuum.

¹⁴ When citing the Latino newspapers, I have transcribed the quotes directly as they were written. Any grammatical or spelling errors appeared in the original stories.

The literal exclusion and division led to the questioning and contemplation of belonging by some Latinos and was reflected in the news stories. A Mexican man waiting at a driver's license office said, "Before, it seemed like North Carolina was opening its doors for us...With this new rule, they're kicking us in the behind" (N2). Nolo Martínez, Director of the Governor's Office of Hispanic Affairs said, "*Tradicionalmente, Carolina del Norte ha sido un estado que brinda oportunidades de integración a los inmigrantes, incluyendo aquellos indocumentados*" (North Carolina has traditionally been a state that provides integration opportunities to immigrants, including undocumented immigrants) (QP2). The reporter also added that Martínez "...recordó que desde que se creó en 1998, la Oficina de Asuntos Hispanos ha tenido una relación franca y abierta con el DMV" (recalled that since they created the Office of Hispanic Affairs in 1998, he has had an open and direct relationship with the DMV) (QP2).

These comments reflect on a nostalgic, albeit recent, past in North Carolina when the state was trying to find ways to facilitate the participation of immigrants in society. Martínez's office was created in 1998 under former North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt and before 9/11. Coe, Domke, Graham, John, & Pickard (2004) note, "September 11 served as a discursive foundation upon which a number of policy goals were justified – including the U.S.A. Patriot Act, establishment of the Department of Homeland Security, and two military campaigns" (p. 246). National policy changes likely influenced state policy changes such as this one and reflect an increase in nativism, or the "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. "un-American") connections" (Perea, 1997, p. 1). Furthermore, Richard Delgado (1997) comments:

History teaches that nativist movements tend to flourish when the country's social and economic situation is unsettled and then take one of two broad forms. Society enacts restrictive immigration laws and policies to keep foreigners – usually ones of darker coloration – out. And it enacts measures aimed at making things difficult for those who are already here. (p. 318)

Consequently, 9/11, as a national crisis, served as the catalyst and excuse for restrictive policies that were similar to others in U.S. history. The news stories reflected the policies and their inherent “us” versus “them” distinctions, yet at the same time provided some space to show how deeply the separation was felt and questioned by excluded Latinos.

Some articles included quotes reflecting both fear and hope, addressing the way that a driver's license affords legitimacy and access to greater participation in society. One story quoted a researcher who said, “I think a lot of the controversy over the *matrícula* has been generated by people who see the card as a way for immigrants to get privileges and access to services that they're not entitled to” (N2). A *QP* story asserted:

Organizaciones que promueven un mayor control de la inmigración se oponen a la medida al sostener que el emitir licencias de conducir a indocumentados les concede de manera implícita un estatus de residencia en el país. Los opositores señalan que una licencia de conducir es casi como un pasaporte” [Organizations that promote better control over immigration oppose the measure claiming that giving driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants gives them implicit residency status in the country. Those opposed point out that a driver's license is almost equivalent to a passport]. (QP1)

These deeper issues of exclusion or inclusion were never elaborated on, supplemented by additional quotes, or the main topic of a news story. Hence, where there were windows of opportunity to debate the underlying issues, neither the Anglo nor Latino news stories did it. In addition, John Herrera, Chairman of the Latino Community Credit Union, elected official of Carrboro, and a plaintiff in the lawsuit against the DMV, addressed the issue of belonging. The lawsuit claimed that the DMV did not follow proper procedure by not allowing for

public debate before changing a policy that would affect the public. After the lawsuit was dismissed, Herrera said, “*Queremos entender las reglas de casa, queremos ser miembros activos de la comunidad*” [We want to understand the rules of the house; we want to be active members of the community] (QP3). His sentiments convey the longing for fuller participation in society that Latinos saw disappearing before their eyes.

Marginalization

The marginalization of local Latino leaders solidified the division between “us” and “them” because those who had been close to state policy making and lobbying efforts were removed from the decision. The Latino press explained the literal marginalization of Latino leaders while the Anglo news stories contributed to a symbolic marginalization by focusing on crowded DMV offices as the main news story and leaving little room for the voices of Latino leaders.

In order to provide context for this marginalization, I introduce the Latino leaders, their roles in this ongoing news story, and affiliations in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8

Latino Leaders in North Carolina

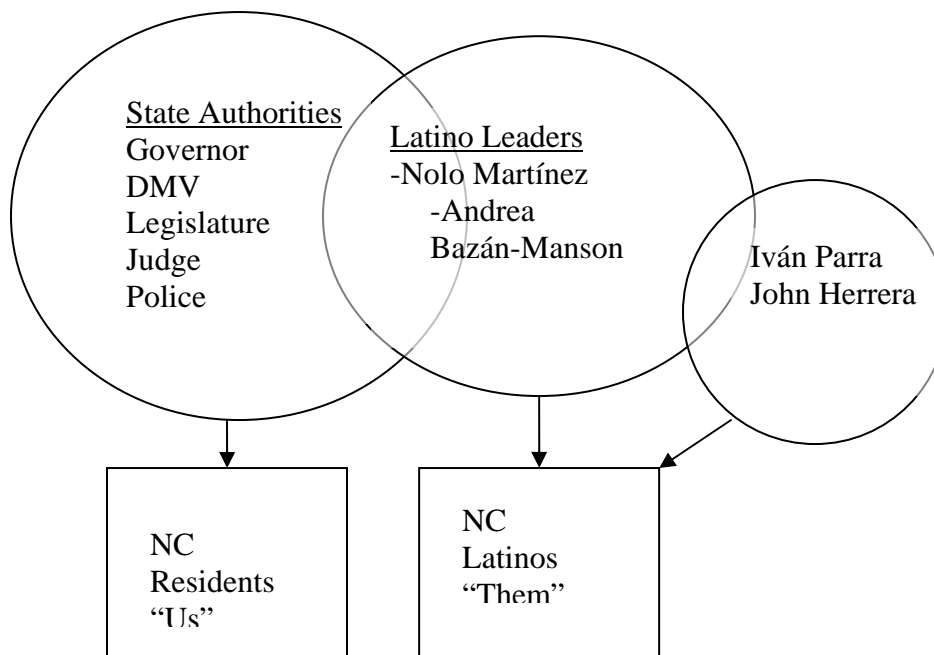
Name	Official Affiliation	Role in This Issue
Nolo Martínez	Director, Office of Hispanic Affairs, state government	Communicated changes to Spanish-language press
Andrea Bazán-Manson	Executive Director of nonprofit El Pueblo, Inc.	Communicated with Anglo press on behalf of Latino community
Iván Parra	Director, Latino Community Development Center	Filed lawsuit to stop changes, monitored activity at DMV offices
John Herrera	Chair, Latino Community Credit Union	Filed lawsuit to stop changes

The Latino leaders listed in Table 5.8 served as sources and actors in the news stories. Nolo Martínez was directly connected to state government through the Office of Hispanic Affairs where he had been the director since the office's establishment in 1998. This office is listed on the governor's website under Community Affairs. He was a source for the Latino newspapers, but not the Anglo stories. Closely linked to state government is El Pueblo, Inc. which describes itself as "a North Carolina non-profit statewide advocacy and policy organization dedicated to strengthening the Latino community" (El Pueblo, 2006). El Pueblo's main activities include working with policy makers and lobbying the legislature. Each year they present the North Carolina legislature with a suggested agenda of Latino concerns. During this issue, the Executive Director at the time of this study, Andrea Bazán-Manson, was quoted mainly in the Anglo press.

Iván Parra and John Herrera were also quoted in the news stories. Neither of them was closely associated with state government, but Herrera was tied to local government and the financial institution system, and Parra’s organization worked with state and non-profit agencies to serve the Latino community. Their organizations filed the lawsuit to stop the changes. In these news stories, Parra was quoted once in the *N&O* while Herrera was quoted in both Anglo and Latino newspapers.

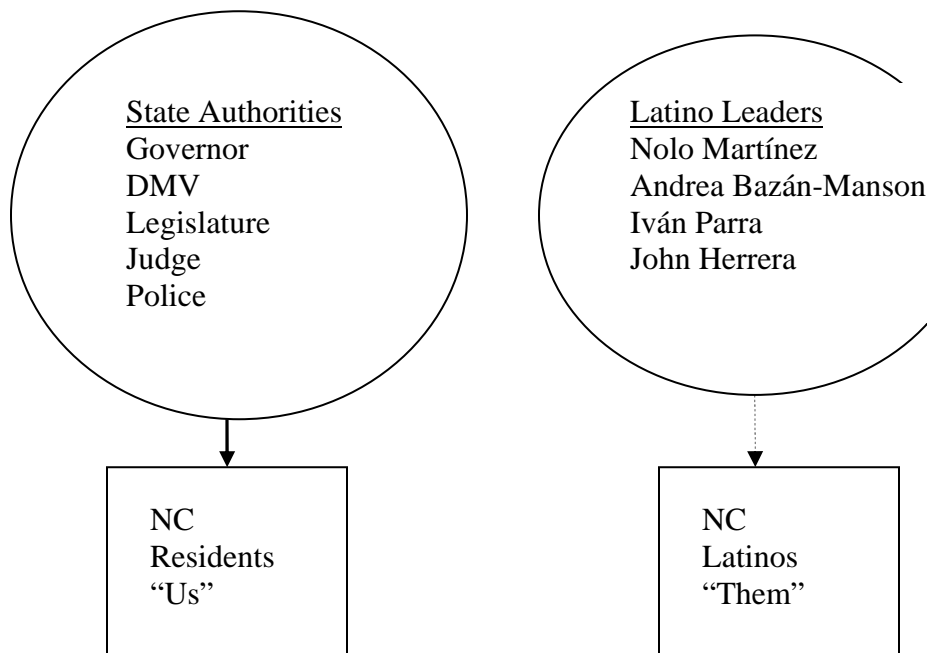
In my early analysis of these news stories, I viewed these sources and actors as authorities. As I moved deeper into the analysis, however, it became apparent that they were being both literally and figuratively distanced from the “legitimate” state authorities and pushed closer to the “them” category of the group they represented. These Latino leaders were probably always in a liminal status, which I depict graphically in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Position of Latino leaders before driver’s license changes



In Figure 5.2, the state authorities are above all North Carolina residents. Two Latino leaders, Martínez and Bazán-Manson, intersect the state authorities' circle, although Martínez is more in the state circle than Bazán-Manson. They represent North Carolina's Latinos but not other North Carolina residents, although one could argue that they may also represent non-Latinos who are involved with or concerned about the Latino community. As shown in Figure 5.2, the local Latino leaders probably bridged the two groups, providing some symbolic legitimacy to the Latino community. In another circle, further removed from state authorities yet still representing North Carolina's Latinos, are the authorities with financial and civic affiliations, Herrera and Parra. They were involved in the issue through the lawsuit they filed; however, since they are well known, they serve as spokesmen and opinion leaders for the community. The analysis of discursive practices revealed how the Latino authorities were excluded from the state authorities' circle resulting in a graphic representation that looks more like Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Position of Latino leaders during and after driver's license changes



In Figure 5.3, there is a complete separation of the Latino leaders from state authorities, but perhaps leading to a stronger unification with other Latino leaders. There is no bridge between Latinos and other North Carolina residents and in fact, there is a complete separation. The other difference is that the line between the Latino leaders and North Carolina Latinos becomes a broken line as the authorities lose credibility and symbolic authority due to their separation from the official power structure. The differences between the Anglo and Latino presses showed the actual and discursive marginalization of Latino leaders, which I discuss in the next section.

“Us” versus “Them”: Discursive Practices

At the level of discursive practices, the analysis of news stories takes into account the differences between Anglo and Latino newspapers. In this case, these differences are visible in the news value of the issue. For the *N&O*'s and *WSJ*'s readers, this issue was newsworthy because of the crowds at the DMV offices. The crowds created an inconvenience to other residents who needed to get or renew licenses during this time period. For *LC* and *QP*, the changes themselves were newsworthy because they affected a segment of readers who needed to be informed. Therefore, the topics of the stories were different and reflected the marginalization of Latino leaders in different ways. The Latino press explained the literal marginalization of Latino leaders, while the Anglo press showed their symbolic marginalization by highlighting the crowds at the DMV offices, thereby leaving less room to hear Latinos' points of view.

Literal marginalization in the Latino press

The narration of how the driver's license changes occurred exposed the literal marginalization of Latino leaders. The Latino newspapers featured comments of Nolo Martínez, who spoke through news conferences and radio addresses. In one news story Martínez said, "*El gobernador le autorizó al Comisionado de la DMV, George Tatum, que tomara la decisión sobre los requisitos necesarios para obtener una licencia*" [The governor authorized the DMV Commissioner, George Tatum to make the decision about requirements to obtain a driver's license] (LC1). On another occasion, John Herrera mentioned Martínez's exclusion from the decision-making process:

...aunque la Comisión de Asuntos Hispanos ha venido trabajando por años con el gobierno del Estado para la ampliación de la lista de documentos aceptables en la tramitación de licencias de conducir, en esta ocasión la Comisión no fue consultada para hacer el cambio que ahora perjudica a miles de inmigrantes hispanos."

[...although the Hispanic Affairs Commission has been working with the state government for years to expand the list of acceptable documents for getting a driver's license, on this occasion, the Commission was not consulted about making a change that now negatively impacts thousands of Hispanic immigrants.] (QP3)

The Latino leader closest to official sources of power was removed from the decision-making process, resulting in the real marginalization of Latinos. Furthermore, the stories show us that at that point, Martínez had not been fully informed about the changes. In *LC*, the story announcing the changes concludes:

Por último el Dr. Martínez hizo referencia al hecho de que las personas deben considerar que cualesquiera que sean los documentos que aparezcan en la lista definitiva, las medidas entrarán en vigor el 2 de febrero de 2004 y que "esperamos tener esa lista para el 15 de enero". [Finally, Dr. Martínez mentioned the fact that people should remember that whichever documents appear on the final list, the measures will take effect on February 2, 2004, and that we hope to have this list by January 15.] (LC1)

Likewise, in *QP*, readers were told, “*Martínez explicó que a mediados de mes proporcionará una lista de documentos que los inmigrantes necesitarán para poder obtener una licencia de conducir*” [Martínez explained that by mid-month he will have a list of documents that immigrants will need to be able to get a driver’s license] (QP2). Martínez’s exclusion from the decision-making process as well as from communication about the final decision is visible in this admission. Table 5.7 shows that the DMV announcement came on December 30. Almost a week later, Martínez could not clarify the changes with state authorities, forcing him to send a message to the Latino community that he would give complete information when he had it. An alternative interpretation is that by not including Martínez in the decision-making process, the DMV Commissioner did not consider the wide variety of documents that an immigrant might use as identification, resulting in a delay in generating the complete list of acceptable documents. Regardless of the interpretation, the result of this issue is still marginalization of Latino leaders. Martínez’s exclusion was made visible along with his inability to give clear information to the media, which may have cost him credibility in the Latino community and contributed to the later crowding at the DMV offices.

Symbolic Marginalization of Latino Leaders in the Anglo Press

The news stories in the Anglo press did not report on the DMV’s decision-making process. Rather, in the Anglo press, local arguments of Latino leaders were positioned against a national-level discourse that diluted their message. Secondly, the stories made the crowds at the DMV the central event, leaving little space for commentary on the issue. The reporting was event-driven, not issue-driven.

Unparallel discourses. The Anglo news stories employed a binary 9/11 discourse drawing on national concerns that symbolically marginalized Latino leaders who used a local-level discourse. Anglo news stories juxtaposed the statements of Latino leaders with the statements of people or groups in favor of restricting driver's licenses. These groups proposed restricting licenses "based on recommendations from the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security" (N2, J1, J2, J3), "to protect North Carolinians from criminals or potential terrorists" (N3), and "based on input from a number of people that were interested in protecting the identities of North Carolinians" (J2). This broader discourse of safety and national security set the parameters of the argument. Logically, if one side was for protecting us, keeping us safe from criminals, and following federal guidelines, then what was the other side for? Under argumentation logic, the other side must have been in favor of exposing us to criminals and potential terrorists and rebelling against higher, federal authorities.

Arguments by Latino leaders became irrelevant and almost out of place in the face of this safety argument. For instance, in one story, Andrea Bazán-Manson said, "This legislation will affect my community, our community, negatively" (N1), and "this motion seems to be specifically targeting Latinos" (N1). Iván Parra argued that the decision, "was made over Christmas with little or no input from the community" (J2). Another story from the *WSJ* said, "The groups that filed the suit say the state's growing Hispanic population will be harmed by the new rules" (J3). These quotes all reflect an argument of fairness, for the just treatment of people in society. If the opposing arguments had been blatantly nativist, which would have appeared more discriminatory, this fairness argument might have been more effective. In this

case, however, the underlying nativist argument was disguised in a 9/11 safety argument, so decrying the measure as unfair did not work.

Crowds as the main event. Making Latino leaders' comments secondary to the dramatic "crushing" (N3) crowds at the DMV offices symbolically marginalized them. Even when the headlines and leads of news stories did not indicate that the crowds were the main event of the story, somehow they became the main topic. The story "Limiting ID Types for Licenses OK, Judge Rules in Suit Against DMV" (J3) gave the impression that the lawsuit was the main story; however, there were only nine sentences discussing the lawsuit while 14 discussed the crowds. Similarly, in the story, "DMV is Sued Over ID Rules; 2 Hispanic Groups Say Procedure not Followed in New Requirements" (J2), there were 6 lines about the lawsuit and 23 about the crowds.

Another strategy for emphasizing crowds used in both the *N&O* and the *WSJ* quoted Latinos and non-Latinos affected by the situation at the DMV offices. The key point is that these quotes were about the crowded situation and poor service at the DMV and not about the issue of restricting licenses. With so much space devoted to the crowds, there was little space for Latino leaders' comments on the issue. Furthermore, when their comments did appear, they lost resonance compared to the drama of the crowds.

The qualitative description of crowds also showed "them" as being very different from "us." Several stories talked about how immigrants "were showing up at the DMV at three o'clock in the morning" to wait throughout the next day for a driver's license (N3, J2, J3). The visual imagery associated with the spectacle of the crowds was powerful and polarizing. Stories said that "an examiner came outside to scold a group of people for

blocking the entrance” (N3); “long lines of Hispanic immigrants, many of whom had been waiting all night, stood in the cold outside driver’s license offices across the state” (J2); “Yadkinville police were called to break up three fights yesterday morning when more than 100 people, some of whom had been waiting all night, rushed to enter the driver’s license office...” (J2); and “a DMV inspector on hand to help with crowd control said that people were sleeping outside the office in cardboard boxes covered with blankets when she arrived at 7 a.m.” (J3). These visual images served two purposes: to strengthen the “us” versus “them” by highlighting “their” unflattering actions. “They” were engaging in behavior that Anglo readers do not have to engage in and which would most likely appear strange and extreme. Teun van Dijk (1998) refers to this as “the ideological square” and has found that media reports highlight “our” good actions, and downplay “our” bad actions while highlighting “their” bad actions and downplaying “their” good actions (p. 33). Moreover, by focusing on the crowded conditions, the long-term impact of having a segment of the population driving without licenses was never discussed. Although this question was raised on occasion in random comments, there was never the elaboration or follow-up that was seen with the short-term impact of the crowds. The impact of highlighting the crowds in the news stories was twofold: the difference between “us” and “them” was strengthened, and there was less room for the comments of Latino leaders – symbolically excluding them.

Differences between the N&O and the WSJ

The Anglo newspapers marginalized Latino leaders by emphasizing the crowds over discussion of the issue and by positioning the arguments of Latino leaders against a broader national security discourse. The *N&O* showed heavier editorializing than the *WSJ* and used

additional semantic devices to marginalize Latino leaders and solidify the “us” versus “them” discourse. The best way to show this is by examining one story.

The story from April 25, 2003, “Bill Would Tighten Licensing Rules,” appeared to be about legislation. In fact, the first lines tell us, “Legislation moving through the House and Senate would require driver’s license applicants to have a Social Security number or a U.S. Department of Homeland Security ‘alien registration number’” (N1). The fourth line, however, begins the real topic of the story. It says, “The debate, played out in dueling news conferences Thursday, is part of an ongoing battle over driver’s license requirements in North Carolina and across the country, a debate that has intensified since the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001” (N1). This statement does not tell the reader clearly if there was actually a debate or if there were two separate news conferences that presented opposite views of the same issue. The two groups that were pitted against each other were representatives of FAIR, the anti-immigrant lobbying group based in Washington, DC, and the local group, El Pueblo. FAIR drew on the national 9/11 discourse while El Pueblo used the less powerful, local discourse of fairness discussed earlier. It is unclear if the two sides were aware that they were being put into a debate situation, but from the comments provided, the two sides do not seem to be responding to each other the way they would if it were truly a debate. The story continues:

Peter Gadiel, whose 23-year-old son, James, died in the World Trade Center attack, traveled from Connecticut with the message to legislators in North Carolina that states need to know the background of people entering the country. Allowing illegal aliens to obtain driver’s licenses undermines that effort, he said. (N1)

Four lines later, Gadiel is identified as an advisory board member of FAIR. Readers are told nothing else about any kind of expertise that Gadiel might have or anything that

might make him an authority on immigration. He is a symbolic authority as a victim of tragedy, but the story provides none of the information that typically gives a source credibility such as profession or educational background. The next eight lines present his opinions about immigrants in which he says, “They have no identity....They could be coming here to take a job from an American, they could be coming here to gang rape a woman, as happened in Queens, they could be coming here to be a terrorist” (N1). Through this quote and other comments, he mixed traditional nativist arguments with a terrorism argument. Following his opinions, at the halfway point in the story, is the sub-heading “Latinos object.” This sub-heading sets up the expectation that we are going to hear Latinos’ objections to the previous statements by the FAIR representatives. The story states:

Andrea Bazán Manson, executive director of El Pueblo and a lobbyist on Latino issues, said the nation’s immigration policies need repair but changing driver’s license policies isn’t the way to do it. “This legislation will affect my community, our community, negatively,” Manson said. Pointing to the elimination of the Mexican consular card and some other documents, Manson said the bill seemed to be “specifically targeting Latinos.” (N1)

This was the extent of Bazán-Manson’s participation in this story. From this quotation, it appears that she was commenting on the legislation and had not been informed that her comments would appear as though they were in response to the comments of FAIR. In order for this news story to be fair and balanced, the reporter should have either asked Bazán-Manson to respond to Gadiel’s comments or found a national-level representative for a Latino viewpoint. Unlike the extensive comments of FAIR representatives, comprising 12 sentences, El Pueblo’s comments occurred in three sentences after nine of the FAIR sentences. The other three statements made by a FAIR representative countered El Pueblo’s assertion that the bill was targeting Latinos. Additionally, only three sentences actually

mentioned the legislation that was the headline and lead of the story. The *N&O*, which has been described by some as being liberal (Minchin, 2005), allowed Gadiel's comments to be printed without questioning them. The fact that he used the term *illegal alien*, which is largely shunned in newspaper usage, should have been the first clue that his viewpoint deserved questioning. Moreover, there was no one to point out that denying a driver's license contributes to taking away someone's identity and that all of the 9/11 hijackers had valid immigration documents and would not have needed a driver's license to board a plane. The positioning of Bazán-Manson's local-level comments against Gadiel's unquestioned terrorism and nativism-based comments marginalized and delegitimized El Pueblo and Bazán-Manson.

The story continues with comments of other sources who opposed changing the driver's license laws. The DMV's director of driver's license certification, Wayne Hurder, was against the measure because, "the DMV has no way of verifying the 'alien registration number' that would be required of noncitizens" (N1). The other quote was from Jack Pinnix, a Raleigh lawyer and head of the American Immigration Lawyers Association. Pinnix said, "it would be unfair to ask DMV employees to interpret immigration laws and make determinations about immigration status" (N1). While these statements appear to provide extra support for the positions of Latino advocates, the lack of a cohesive argument for this side was no match for FAIR's clear message. Three people who opposed changing the law were quoted, but they were unrelated to one another and were not all present at El Pueblo's news conference. Rather, Bazán-Manson, Hurder, and Pinnix each presented arguments based on their areas of interest and knowledge, resulting in the appearance that local Latino leaders lacked a coherent argument.

Who is FAIR?

Although the *N&O* and *WSJ* both emphasized crowds and marginalized Latino leaders, the *N&O* used FAIR as a source, provided them with more space for their arguments, and fronted their comments. This creative semantic construction of stories likely resulted in greater polarization of the two sides as well as the stifling of other potential discourses. Since the *N&O* used this non-local, national organization as a source for an initiative affecting the state, it is relevant to explore FAIR with more depth. Jean Stefancic (1997) discusses the development of the new nativist movements in the United States by untangling the complex financial ties among major conservative action committees, think tanks, voluntary associations, and foundations. She also describes the *modus operandi* of these groups, “all of which have been manipulating national consciousness in a highly effective manner” (p. 119). She focuses on a number of groups but claims, “Although FAIR may not have been a major player from the beginning, it quickly became one. As one staffer put it, ‘These guys at FAIR have come out of nowhere to damn near shape the whole immigration debate’” (p. 130). Others have described FAIR as “a white-collar version of old-style nativists, spewing hate” (Daniels, 2004, p. 219) and “perhaps the most aggressive among groups that sponsor conferences and meetings and produce reports to promote the view essentially that the country is being overrun by immigrants” (Rodríguez, N., 1997, p. 229).

FAIR was used as a source in another *N&O* story. Commenting on the use of the Mexican *matrícula* card, the article said:

“It’s an example of one of those loopholes that allow illegal aliens to set up shop in the United States,” said David Ray, a spokesman for the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a group in Washington calling for a crackdown on immigration. “But it’s the same loophole that can be exploited by terrorists.” (N2)

Considering that my sample included three *N&O* stories, and two of those cited FAIR as a source, it is quite possible that they were used in many other stories. Jean Stefancic (1997) offers a concise explanation of FAIR and similar groups' strategies:

Most Americans are swayed, not so much by emotional appeals, as by facts. In order to change once cherished beliefs, they need to be convinced that immigrants hurt their job chances, that American culture is under attack, that immigrants consume huge quantities of social services, and that new immigrants do not wish to learn English, whether these are true or not. Most university researchers will not make such bald statements; they know reality is more complex than that. The conservative think tank leaps nimbly into the breach. Unlike a university, the think tank need not compete for funds. Its research is not subject to peer review. Its work may be unabashedly ideological. The conservative think tank, then, supplies the veneer of respectability for the new nativism, making anti-immigrant measures seem sensible, humane, and ethically and economically sound. In the face of the right-wing juggernaut, liberals have marshaled nothing comparable. (p. 132)

This veneer of respectability and the visibility of FAIR's positions in the *N&O* served to mask the nativist foundations, allowing them instead to use the national crisis of 9/11 as a smoke screen. The use of FAIR as a source raises questions about the news production process. Is the *N&O* aware of FAIR's history and stances or have the reporters and editors, like many U.S. residents, blindly accepted the "veneer of respectability" of FAIR? If they are aware of FAIR's background and positions, does the *N&O* have any responsibility to be more transparent about who its major sources are? While these questions remain outside the scope of this project, they deserve investigation at some point.

Criminality: Textual Level

The other discourse, of criminality, was exemplified broadly in the frequent references to law enforcement, criminals, crime, and terrorism. It was easier in practice to deny immigrants rights by discursively connecting this initiative and undocumented

immigrants with criminality. Criminals in society typically lose rights such as the right to vote. This criminal construction had two functions: to cement Latinos' lowered position on the citizenship continuum and to actually force them even lower than the construction of "them" allowed. The stories employed a variety of strategies to link undocumented immigrants to criminality, just as the "us" versus "them" discourse did.

The terminology used by the DMV to describe the changes to the rules transformed Latinos into criminals in a similar way that the changes in the rules inherently required the newspaper stories to define documents as "legitimate" or "valid." "Operation Stop Fraud" was the DMV's name for the rule change. This direct association between fraud and Mexican immigration attached criminal activity to immigration. In addition, the militaristic tone, similar to named operations in the Persian Gulf, equates immigrants with terrorists. In Spanish, the press used direct translations of the term calling it "Operación Alto al Fraude" (QP2), "Operación para detener fraudes" (LC1), and "Operación Parar el Fraude" (LC3). The lack of agreement over the name in Spanish indicates that the translations were not provided by the DMV and that the name was probably created to resonate with an Anglo population.

The continual citation of the change as "reflecting recommendations by the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security" (LC2, N2, QP2, J1, J3) implies that it would stop terrorists, but none of the stories focused on terrorism. Rather, they were all about Mexican immigrants. Moreover, the FBI and Department of Homeland Security represent imposing, national law enforcement agencies. Despite public debate about their real authority and efficiency in the wake of 9/11, there is likely still a strong association of the FBI as a crime-fighting authority. In addition, 9/11 was cited in every story as the motivation for the changes, making it accepted background knowledge to be taken for granted by readers. There

was never any questioning of this false link between terrorism and undocumented Mexican immigrants.

Even the arguments of the side representing “them” used a criminality discourse. Frequently, in both Anglo and Latino press, the reasons Latino advocates gave for why undocumented immigrants should have licenses reflected being better able to control immigrants. In *QP*, one story did not cite a source, but said, “*Quienes favorecen la emission de licencias a los inmigrantes ven en ello una mayor forma de control y seguridad*” [Those who favor emitting licenses to immigrants see it as a form of better control and security] (QP1); and “*Grupos hispanos que promueven la medida argumentan que esto es necesario para mejorar la seguridad al permitir a las diversas entidades tener identificado con nombre, huellas digitales y fotografía, a un mayor número de personas*” [Hispanic groups that promote the measure argue that this is necessary for better security because it allow diverse entities to identify more people by name, fingerprint, and photograph] (QP1). Moreover, an article in the *N&O* mentioned that “The cards [Mexican *matrícula consular*] are accepted as identification by at least 70 major U.S. banks, 800 police departments and scores of local governments” (N2) and that “it’s easier to police immigrants who have IDs” (N2). These quotes all imply the need to have control over a group, making it an exclusionary practice. “Normal” citizens do not need to be controlled the same way that criminals, who pose a threat, need to be controlled. Besides advocating licenses as a way to control immigrants, the contrary threat of what would happen if immigrants were denied a license linked “them” to criminality by making immigrants a threat to public safety. Immigration lawyer Jack Pinnix commented, “Deprivation of the license is not going to keep the unlicensed off the highways. It’s a fact. I, as a private citizen, feel much safer knowing the

people sharing the road with me have insurance and know the traffic laws” (N1). Similarly, another article from the *N&O* said:

When the new rule in North Carolina takes effect, many immigrants say those who can’t get licenses will find a way to get to work. “They’ll still drive,” said Bernardo Duque, 21, of Durham, who entered the country illegally from Mexico seven years ago. “People aren’t going to stay home and starve.” (N2)

John Herrera also mentioned in a *WSJ* story, “...more people will drive without licenses, threatening public safety” (J3). Since it is illegal to drive without a license, immigrants were connected to criminal behavior through these quotes attesting that they would continue to drive without a license. The description of immigrants as a threat served to reinforce a link to criminality in readers’ minds whether it was made through the construction of immigrants needing to be controlled or the prospect of them driving without a license. The stories affirmed that if immigrants had a license, it was probably through committing fraud. Obtaining a fraudulent license, however, could be good because law enforcement agencies could watch these individuals and, if they did not have a license, they would engage in a different sort of criminal behavior – driving without a license. Furthermore, we were told that by some of the Latino leaders. Unfortunately, this discourse constructed Latinos as criminals whether they did or did not have driver’s licenses. More importantly, this discourse inhibited any alternative discourse such as a discussion of the possible consequences of exclusionary practices or a real debate about the rights of law-abiding adults in a community.

Anglo Press

The *N&O* linked immigrants to criminality with greater variety and frequency than the other newspapers. One *N&O* article had 48 sentences, yet included 12 references to criminality. In the story “A New Border to Cross” (N2), the reporter used the term *illegal immigrants* twice and printed a quote that used *illegal aliens*. These terms are generally shunned by newspaper editors including the *WSJ*, which never used them. The same *N&O* article said that the measure “...reflected security recommendations from the FBI and U.S. Department of Homeland Security,” that the initiative is named “Operation Stop Fraud,” that it will “...diminish the opportunity for fraud and ID theft,” that the *matrícula* can “be exploited by terrorists,” but that “it’s easier for authorities to police immigrants;” this article also cites a man who the reporter says, “entered the country illegally” (N2). This one example shows the variety of ways that criminality was connected to the issue and how the news discourse reinforced it.

The striking difference between the *N&O* and the *WSJ* can best be understood by comparing the introductions of two stories that sought to describe the changes to the rules.

The *N&O* reported:

An initiative meant to stop criminals and possibly terrorists from obtaining driver’s licenses is creating congestion, confusion and frayed nerves at the state’s Division of Motor Vehicle offices. ...The initiative, dubbed Operation Stop Fraud, is designed to prevent people from using bogus ID cards to obtain driver licenses and state-issued identification cards....When the initiative takes effect Feb. 2, Mexican immigrants will no longer be able to use several ID cards that they’ve relied on to get driver licenses. They include military and voting cards issued by Mexico and the popular *matrícula* cards issued by Mexican consulates in the United States and commonly used by illegal immigrants. (N3)

By contrast, the *WSJ* described the issue in the following way:

The state can limit the types of identification it will accept from people applying for driver's licenses, a judge ruled yesterday in response to a lawsuit filed by two Hispanic groups attempting to block new restrictions....The plan, set to take effect on Monday, will limit the forms of accepted identification to such documents as valid driver's licenses from other states or Canada, Social Security cards, valid immigration papers, and state vehicle-registration or title certificates....Expired licenses and other identification issued by foreign governments – including the popular *matrícula consular* issued by the Mexican government through its consulates – will no longer be accepted under the DMV's plan. Tatum said the changes are in line with security recommendations from the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security, as well as with policies in other states along the Eastern seaboard. (J3)

The differences between these two examples are quite noticeable but are nonetheless typical of the differences between the *N&O* and the *WSJ* stories that I analyzed. In the *N&O*, the reporter began with the emotionally-laden terms *criminals*, *terrorists*, *congestion*, *confusion*, and *frayed nerves* and then jumped quite swiftly to *Mexican immigrants*. Some readers might make that same jump especially when the news story has set it up that way. According to the *WSJ*, however, the state rules affect “people.” When the *N&O* referenced people, they modified it with the phrase “using bogus ID cards.” Overall, the *N&O* linked the issue to criminality more forcefully than the *WSJ*. Furthermore, the *N&O*'s statement that Mexican immigrants have relied on the *matrícula* is not only misleading but also inaccurate in that it conflates all Mexican immigrants regardless of their immigration status. This is an example of a phenomenon that Renato Rosaldo (1999) describes in which

By a psychological and cultural mechanism of association all Latinos are thus declared to have a blemish that brands us with the stigma of being outside the law. We always live with that mark indicating that whether or not we belong in this country is always in question. (p. 255)

The reporter also used the term *illegal immigrant*. On the other hand, the *WSJ* used much more neutral language and referred to the *matrícula* only as being “popular.” When comparing these stories, as well as others, it appears that the *N&O* took every opportunity to use loaded terms to enhance readers’ emotional responses to the events or issues while the *WSJ* purposely avoided it, opting instead for words that might soften emotionally-charged issues.

Besides the repeated references to criminality, the strong focus on the crowds at the DMV offices in the Anglo press created a natural link to law enforcement. Crowds create confusion and sometimes problems, and logically, the police are called upon when there are problems created by crowds. One *N&O* story reported that, “...an examiner who declined to give his name threatened to call the police on a customer who he assumed was in the United States illegally” (N3). Similarly, the *WSJ* reported, “Yadkinville police were called to break up three fights yesterday morning when more than 100 people, some of whom had been waiting all night, rushed to enter the driver’s license office...” (J2) and in several stories police were asked to comment on the situation in terms of crowd control (J2, J3). The link between immigrants and the need for police to monitor and control their actions was reinforced through the reporting in the Anglo press which focused on crowds at the DMV offices.

Latino Press

The main way that the Latino press articulated criminality was discussed in the section on the textual level of criminality: through references to the FBI and Homeland Security, criminality-based terminology, and in the discussion of why immigrants should still

be allowed a license. Nonetheless, the very different assumed readership of the Latino newspapers resulted in criminality manifesting itself differently in this press. Most of the articles in the Latino press served as a warning or alert to their readers. The stories that appeared after the DMV announcement clarified the changes to the rules. The link to criminality that appeared in these stories came in the context of the warning: readers were told which activities and documents would be considered illegal, what the potential consequences were, and what they should or should not do. This is somewhat problematic because the newspapers are serving an important informational/warning function, yet at the same time contributing to the construction of a segment of their readership as potential criminals.

For example, *LC* told readers, “*Los examinadores tendrán una mayor oportunidad de encontrar documentos falsos...y no se pondrán en el lugar de agents de INS*” [the DMV examiners will more easily be able to detect falsified documents, and they will not be able to act as INS agents] (LC1). In a later article, they told readers, “*...pueden presentar su número de identificación para pagar impuestos, si es que son personas sin derecho a tener un número de seguro social*” [...they can use their identification number for paying taxes if they do not have a right to a social security number] (LC2). Likewise, in *Qué Pasa Nolo* Martínez was quoted as saying, “*Quienes tramitaron su licencia con un número de seguro social equivocado deberán solicitar un ITIN y dar ese número al examinador*” [Those who got their license with an incorrect social security number should get an ITIN and give that number to the examiner] (QP2). Furthermore, they warned readers:

Los DMV comenzarán a verificar con la Administración del Seguro Social los números existentes en su base de datos, por lo que se espera surjan irregularidades y que muchos inmigrantes que tramitaron su licencia con un número inválido comiencen a recibir cartas indicándoles el problema.” [The DMV offices will begin verifying the social security numbers in their database with the Social Security Administration and they expect to find irregularities and that many immigrants who used an invalid number will begin receiving letters indicating this problem]. (QP2)

Through these quotes, criminality is expressed differently than in the Anglo stories. Stories warn readers very explicitly which activities will be considered criminal and how to avoid problems. Martínez told them which documents they should or should not use and what the consequences would be. It was a later article, however, that issued the strongest warning about the implications of fraud by using falsified documents. The article titled “*Arrestan a 208 al Presentar Documentos Falsos para Sacar Licencia*” [208 Arrested for Presenting Fake Documents to Obtain License] appeared after the rule changed, on February 17, 2004. In addition to reporting the arrests mentioned in the title, the article detailed the highly technological ways that the DMV would be able to catch people who were trying to break the law.

“...las oficinas del DMV están conectadas desde esa fecha con el Sistema Nacional de Telecomunicaciones de Organismos de la Ley, que facilita la identificación de individuos buscados por las entidades policiales del país. Las agencias del DMV cuentan ahora con programas que verifican la autenticidad de las licencias de conducir de otros estados, Puerto Rico y Canadá, así como las tarjetas de seguro social y los números de identificación tributaria del Servicio de Rentas Internas, conocido como “itin” o W-7. Igualmente, tienen la información conectada con las agencias que registran los seguros de los automóviles y aparatos que prueban la validez de los pasaportes y los sellos de los visados. Además, el DMV está planeando implementar un sistema de reconocimiento facial, que podría identificar los rostros de criminales que figuran en los archivos policiales. [... the DMV offices are connected since that date to the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System that facilitates the identification of individuals wanted by police throughout the country. DMV agencies also have programs that verify the authenticity of driver’s licenses from other states, Puerto Rico, and Canada, as well as social security cards and identification numbers from the Internal Revenue Service, known as “itin” or W-7. Likewise, they have the information connected to the agencies that register car

insurance and machines that check validity of passports and visa stamps. Furthermore, the DMV is planning to implement a facial recognition system that would be able to identify the faces of criminals registered in police databases]. (LC3)

The article also carried the message, “*Es un crimen presentar documentos falsos para sacar la licencia de manejar, y continuaremos arrestando y siendo implacables con los que violen la ley*” [It is a crime to present false documents to get a driver’s license, and we will continue arresting and being relentless with those who violate the law] (LC3). This article created a direct link between undocumented immigrants trying to get their license and criminality, and it detailed the high-tech ways that criminality would be detected. This article reinforced the marginalization of Latino leaders by raising the question of why they did not issue stronger warnings about the consequences of trying to sidestep the rules.

Both the Anglo and Latino presses situated undocumented immigrants as criminals, but in different ways. In the Anglo press, criminality worked in tandem with the polarizing “us” versus “them” discourse to solidify the dichotomy. The Latino press echoed the Anglo press by not offering an alternative discourse, but this might be related to the confusion caused by the sudden marginalization of previously recognized leaders. The context of warning community members about which documents to use and potential consequences for violating the rules naturally connected some Latinos to criminality in the Latino press.

Social Practices

The level of social practices considers the larger picture, taking into account political, economic, and social context to see who is served by the discourse and to detect potential for social change. The discourses operating in the news stories about changes to driver’s license

rules in North Carolina illustrate a site of cultural citizenship situated in a post 9/11 context of fear.

Cultural Citizenship

The events related to changing the driver's license rules in North Carolina and their reflection in the news media show a distinct example of exclusionary practices or how rights are taken away from a group, illustrating a cultural citizenship struggle at work.

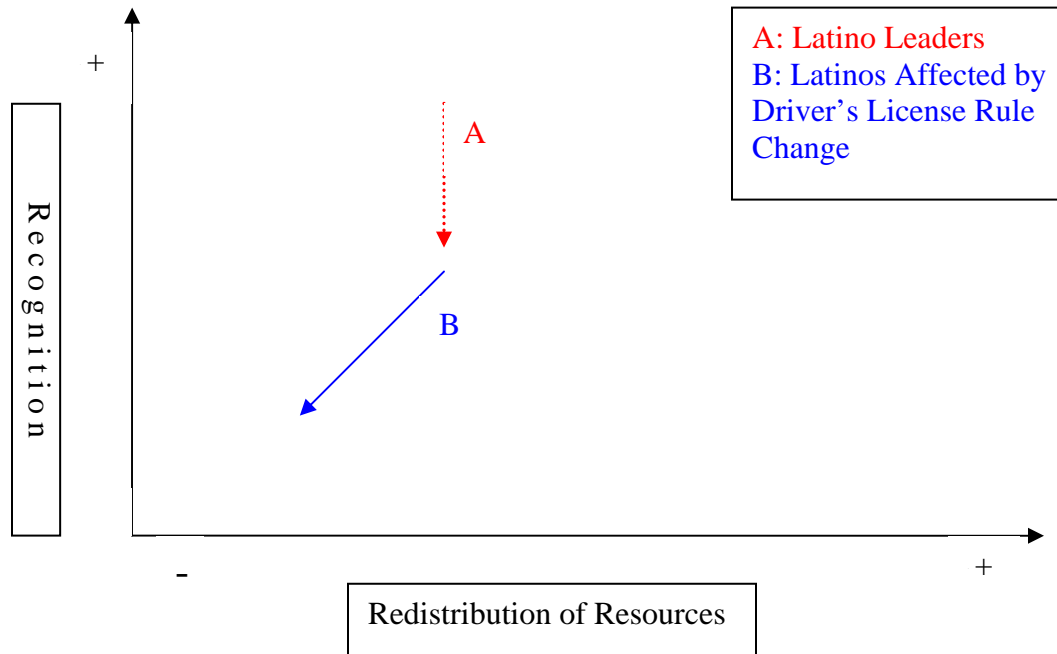
Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1994) succinctly explains cultural citizenship and its study:

The concept of cultural citizenship includes and also goes beyond the dichotomous categories of legal documents, which one either has or does not have, to encompass a range of gradations in the qualities of citizenship. Ordinary language distinguishes full from second-class citizens and tacitly recognizes that citizenship can be a matter of degree. (p. 57)

In this specific case, the Latino community is quite diverse and includes Latinos who are U.S. citizens in the constitutional sense, Latinos who are immigrants with documents that give them legitimacy and bring other rights, and Latinos who work, reside, spend their money, and participate in some aspects of society, yet may not have the same official documents that others have and that would afford them more legitimacy. While Rosaldo suggests that researchers study the sites of contestation and how groups struggle to gain rights, this case showed an example of how rights are taken away and a group is excluded.

Rosaldo describes two dimensions of the continuum of rights. I have depicted my understanding of the continuum of rights, as it is related to the driver's license issue, in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Cultural citizenship of the driver's license issue



In Figure 5.4, the two dimensions to the continuum of cultural citizenship are: recognition and responsiveness (shown as recognition) and redistribution of resources. In discussing these two aspects, Rosaldo (1999) uses the example of the struggle for gay and lesbian rights. Workplace laws allowing for partner benefits would be an example of a positive movement on the resources continuum, yet he explains that without positive movement on the recognition continuum, perhaps in the form of unbiased treatment in the workplace, there is still going to be a struggle for enfranchisement.

In the case of Latinos in North Carolina, the local leaders of the community have the requisite documents to allow them to be further along on the resources side of the continuum. Prior to this issue, I would argue that they also had high recognition. As leaders of the community, they were in the perfect position to try to lead the struggle for more resources

and recognition for other Latinos who were lower on both dimensions. However, the literal and symbolic exclusion of the Latino leadership pushed them down towards the negative end of the recognition dimension of the continuum and into a position in which they could not effectively help others to gain positive ground on the resource continuum – represented in this case by the possession of a driver’s license (see A in Figure 5.4). As some of the quotes in the stories showed, the state had previously given licenses, representing a positive move on the resources continuum which symbolically may have led to a positive move on the recognition continuum. The first loss for undocumented Latinos in this case was the loss of a driver’s license, which would be considered a valuable resource to have. Secondly, however, the discursive construction of Latinos as criminals and as a distinct “them” very different from “us” forced them to lose along the recognition continuum (see B on Figure 5.4).

A local struggle of cultural citizenship, however, is not the factor in this case. As the news stories themselves explained, the 9/11 context played a vital role in the unfolding and development of this issue. In the 1997 book *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States*, editor Juan Perea introduces the book as a response to restrictive political movements in the 1990s in California. The nativism arguments used in the restriction of driver’s licenses in North Carolina closely resemble previous ones but are newly inspired by 9/11. Furthermore, David Domke (2004) studied the powerful combination of 9/11 as a national crisis, a religiously conservative political leadership (the George W. Bush administration), strategic political communications, and an echoing press that contributes to the current trend of binary discourse in the United States. As several sources in the news stories reported, Latinos felt welcomed in North Carolina and governmental/societal institutions were previously facilitating their participation. After 9/11,

national entities such as the FBI and Department of Homeland Security took new precautions. Nativist groups like FAIR figuratively jumped on the wave of fear created by 9/11 and hijacked terrorism fears for their own cause. It is impossible to know if North Carolina would have enacted these restrictive measures without 9/11 as a catalyst.

Conclusion

Recognizing citizenship as a continuum in which one can be closer or further from being considered a full citizen, the newspaper stories concerning changes to the driver's license rules served to mark the lack of legitimacy of Latino immigrants. This was done by clearly demarcating an oppositional stance between "us" and "them." Both the announcement and subsequent news stories managed to marginalize local Latino leaders and put them into a reactionary, defensive position by drawing heavily on a fear ideology of 9/11 and reinforcing this through connections to law enforcement and crime. The Latino newspapers relied heavily on Latino leaders and their connection to legitimate authorities, yet in this case, the marginalization both moved them to identify more with their community (the "them" position) and probably cost them credibility as they openly admitted that they had been shut out. The discourses of legitimacy, fear, criminality, and marginalization operated in overlapping and simultaneous ways. It is the way that they operated together that made them stronger and resulted in a real and acute loss for thousands of Mexican immigrants. The Latino press, which could have been an advocate and source of an alternative discourse, mimicked the discourses of the Anglo press. The loss of many Latino immigrants' ability to obtain a driver's license represents both a real and symbolic defeat in the struggle out of second-class citizenship.

Chapter 6: Putting Mt. Olive in a Pickle

Beginning in the 1990s, North Carolina has employed more migrant farmworkers each year than any other state. The federal H-2A visa program allows agricultural workers to come to the United States during the growing season of designated crops and work for four to six months. According to LegalAid of North Carolina, the state employs between 8,000 and 10,000 workers each year (Farmworker Unit, n.d.). In 1997, members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), a farmworker union headed by Baldemar Velásquez and based in Toledo, Ohio, began visiting the fields of farmers who supplied cucumbers to Mount Olive Pickle Company (hereinafter Mt. Olive). Based on concerns regarding pay, housing, and treatment of workers, the union approached Mt. Olive. When this failed, they called for a boycott of the company's products. The boycott began on March 17, 1999 and lasted until September 16, 2004 when a contract was signed by Mt. Olive, FLOC, and the North Carolina Growers Association (NCGA).

NCGA is the official employer of the workers because it arranges the H-2A visas through the federal government and places workers on member farms. Throughout the five-year boycott, Mt. Olive maintained that the company was not the appropriate target for this protest. The company is not, in fact, the direct employer of any migrant farmworkers, but rather buys from certain farms that act as suppliers. Mt. Olive is a pickle processing plant. FLOC argued that since the company had been created to provide a place for local farms to

sell their produce, they were the *raison d'être* for the farms' employing migrant farmworkers and hence the only appropriate place to effect change.

The content analysis revealed that the Mt. Olive boycott received the least amount of total newspaper coverage with only 43 articles. One thing that stood out was that the *WSJ* had only three articles about the Mt. Olive boycott and that all three were news briefs. Besides this anomaly, the coverage by the other newspapers showed similar patterns of attribution, length, article type, and relevance. This chapter discusses the Mt. Olive boycott news coverage. The CDA of the Mt. Olive boycott issue revealed different discourses in the Anglo and Latino newspapers.

The discourse in the Anglo papers can be summed up by the phrase “not a fair fight,” while in the Latino papers, the discourse was a “fight for a just cause.” These discourses were articulated through the roles that were assigned to, or adopted by, the actors and the way that the boycott was discussed. In the Anglo press, Mt. Olive was characterized as the victim of an unfairly targeted boycott and FLOC as an outsider who was invading the South. In this discourse, the boycott and FLOC's goals were explained by drawing on an antiunion script that has permeated North Carolina's history of labor-management relations.

In contrast, the Latino press provided an outlet for FLOC, and their discourse constructed them as a well-supported organization facing an almost insurmountable struggle to force a powerful and influential company to change an unjust system. The boycott's purpose was shown by discussing working conditions and the tangible outcomes of a union contract. As I discuss in this chapter, the historical context of migrant farmwork and labor in North Carolina coupled with nationwide trends in newspaper coverage of labor contributed to the discourses and discursive practices of both the Anglo and Latino press.

Coverage of Mt. Olive

In order to understand the nature of discourse about the Mt. Olive issue, I undertook a content analysis of four newspapers in the area. One English-language and one Spanish-language paper were selected from the Triangle and the Triad. The boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Company by FLOC was the topic that received the least amount of coverage, with a total of 43 articles in all four newspapers (see Table 4.5). The two Raleigh-based papers, the *N&O* and *LC*, covered the boycott the most with 18 and 17 stories respectively. The *WSJ* carried three stories, all news briefs, and *QP* carried five. The *N&O* and *LC* were also similar in other aspects of their coverage. About half of the stories were attributed to reporters, 67% for the *N&O* and 47% for *LC*. Both newspapers had five stories without a byline, accounting for approximately a quarter (28%) of their stories. The *N&O* carried one story by a wire report, while *LC* carried three as well as one that was attributed to wire reports and a reporter. In addition, both the *N&O* and *LC* carried the only instances of stories attributed to another North Carolina newspaper. In this case, the story in both papers was reprinted from *NC Catholic*, a publication from the Diocese of Raleigh, which was one of the church-based supporters of the boycott throughout its duration. The three stories from the *WSJ* were all attributed to wire and staff reports, and although *QP* only had five stories, four were attributed to specific reporters, and one had a staff reports byline.

Table 6.1

Story Length for Mt. Olive Articles by Newspaper

Words	<i>N&O</i>	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>LC</i>	<i>QP</i>	Total
800+	3 (18%)	0 (0%)	3 (18%)	2 (40%)	8 (19%)
400-799	6 (35%)	0 (0%)	4 (24%)	3 (60%)	13 (31%)
150-399	5 (27%)	0 (0%)	9 (53%)	0 (0%)	16 (38%)
100-149	1 (6%)	3 (100%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)
0-99	3 (18%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (7%)
Total	18 (100%)	3 (100%)	17 (100%)	5 (100%)	43 (100%)

Because all of the *WSJ*'s stories were briefs, this paper had the highest percentage of stories between 100 and 149 words. These stories appeared in a column with many news items on the second or third page of the City/State section or the Business section, in sections labeled News Briefs and Business News. The *N&O* and *LC* were quite similar in both the amount of coverage and the length of stories, even though *LC* had more stories in the 150-399 range than the 400-799 range (see Table 6.1). While *QP* had a higher percentage of longer stories than any paper (40%), the importance of that is offset by the fact that there were only a total of five stories. For the entire sample of stories about the Mt. Olive boycott, the plurality of the stories was between 150 and 399 words (38% of the sample), perhaps indicating a lack of depth to the coverage. Nonetheless, in all of the newspapers except the *WSJ*, the majority of the sample was classified as news stories: 67% of the *N&O*'s stories and higher percentages for the two Latino papers, 71% for *LC* and 100% for *QP*.

With the exception of the longer feature stories in the newspapers, most of the stories reported on some event that occurred along the timeline of the boycott. Although the boycott lasted from 1999 to 2004, the sample size was small: 43 articles. The boycott was therefore not an issue that the newspapers were reporting on regularly. In the *N&O* and *LC*, news reports generally included some background information to orient or reorient readers as well as report on the latest event. Some of these events included meetings that were held by the two sides, information announcing that certain organizations (e.g., Duke University or The United Methodist Church) had decided to support the boycott, reports of stores (e.g., Kroger) deciding to pull Mt. Olive products from their shelves, and announcements of meetings, rallies, or marches. Given this context, it is perhaps not surprising that for the three newspapers that actually covered this issue, the stories scored fairly high in relevance. Sixty-seven percent of the *N&O*'s stories had either complete or very much relevance, 59% of *LC*'s stories scored complete relevance, and 100% of *QP*'s stories had complete relevance.

Overall, it stood out that *QP* carried only five articles about the boycott, yet they were all written by the paper's reporters, classified as news stories, and scored as having complete relevance to the topic. This appears to indicate that although *QP* devoted less of their news coverage to this issue, when they did report on it, they assigned a reporter who wrote a story focused on the boycott rather than on tangential issues surrounding it. Besides geographic proximity, the differences in the amount of coverage afforded by the two Latino newspapers illustrates their different orientations. *LC* (17 stories) has a much stronger mission of advocacy while *QP* (5 stories) is more interested in Latinos as a market. The rights of farmworkers, while perhaps newsworthy, reflects the struggles of the powerless in society, not the upwardly-mobile Latino with increasing buying power.

My content analysis found that although the Mt. Olive boycott received the least amount of overall coverage, the articles from the *N&O* and the two Latino papers shared the characteristics of relatively high percentages of authored stories, similar lengths, and high relevance stories. Nonetheless, there were stark differences in the amount of coverage this issue received from the newspapers based in Raleigh versus those based in Winston-Salem. The *WSJ* stood out as being very different from the other three papers. In addition to having the fewest articles, the *WSJ* articles were either wire and staff reported news or business briefs of fewer than 150 words, which most likely rendered the issue completely invisible to readers.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Sample

Through content analysis, I identified the 12 longest and most relevant news stories concerning the Mt. Olive boycott by using a salience scale that gave the stories a score based on length and relevance. For the CDA sample selection, both the *N&O* and *LC* had three stories that were completely salient. *QP* had one with complete salience and four with excellent salience. None of the stories from the *WSJ* was long enough or categorized high enough in relevance to fall into the salience categories for sampling; however, all three of them were analyzed using CDA because they were the only samples available for the paper. Tables 6.2-6.5 show the final samples organized by newspaper and date. In the CDA discussion, the articles are referenced by the label in the first column.

Table 6.2

CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories from the N&O

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
N1	March 20, 2000	Peace amid the pickles	Anne Saker	A1	1482
N2	October 16, 2000	Pickle boycott debated	Steve Myers & Bob Williams	A3	533
N3	September 15, 2001	Death of migrant worker cited in push for better conditions	Lynn Bonner	A3	533

Table 6.3

CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories From the WSJ

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
J1	May 25, 2000	Mt. Olive Pickle Co., boycotting union meet	Journal Staff & Wire Report	D1	169
J2	September 16, 2004	Groups reach deal allowing workers union	Journal Staff & Wire Report	B2	195
J3	September 17, 2004	Designated migrant workers to get union representation	Journal Staff & Wire Report	D1	208

Table 6.4

CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories From LC

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
LC1	March 17, 2000	*Unite to support farmworkers in the boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Co.	No author	5	917
LC2	March 31, 2003	*Mt. Olive Pickle Co. presents facts about the boycott against them	Lynn Williams (spokeswoman for Mt. Olive)	4	1155
LC3	September 21, 2004	*FLOC signs agreement with pickle company; ends boycott of more than 5 years; benefits more than 8,000 farmworkers	Pepe Caudillo	1 & 2	1232

*Headline translated to English, see next section for original Spanish headline.

Table 6.5

CDA Sample of Mt. Olive Boycott Stories From QP

Label	Date	Headline	Author	Page	Words
QP1	November 6-12, 2003	*Protest over relationship between Duke & Mt. Olive	Audy Rodas	1 & 6	826
QP2	September 16-22, 2004	*Victory for farmworker unions	Hernando Piñeros	4A	539
QP3	September 23-29, 2004	*Pro farmworker bi- national action	Hernando Piñeros	6A	588

*Headline translated to English, see next section for original Spanish headline.

All of the newspapers except the *N&O* ran a story that was classified among the most salient, covering the agreement to end the boycott, on or around September 16, 2004. Both the *N&O* and *LC* ran stories around the one-year anniversary of the boycott. The *WSJ*'s stories all had much lower word counts, none were by a named author, and two of them were published in the Business section (D) while the other was in the Local section (B). The most salient news stories for the *N&O*, however, all appeared in the front News section of the paper, with the longest story on the front page. Both *LC* and *QP* also ran front page stories, although most of their stories were printed in the Local pages.

Overview of the Stories

To help situate the analysis, in this section I review the gist of the newspaper stories as they occurred by newspaper and date.

1. “Peace amid the pickles,” *N&O*, March 20, 2000. This story focuses on the community of Mount Olive and the role of Mt. Olive Pickle Company in the town. It begins by discussing how civility exists in the small town despite the “Pickle War.” The article is a feature that appeared in the Sunday paper. It includes an interview with the President of Mt. Olive, Bill Bryan; the comments of a farmer; and an interview with Ramiro Sarabia, the FLOC organizer based in a town close to Mount Olive. The story also provides a brief history of boycotts in the United States and background information on FLOC.
2. “Pickle boycott debated,” *N&O*, October 16, 2000. This story describes an event: a debate that was held in a church in Raleigh. The story presents the arguments of Bill Bryan and Baldemar Velásquez. The story also includes information about a successful boycott that FLOC organized against Campbell’s Soup Company in the 1980s.
3. “Death of migrant worker cited in push for better conditions,” *N&O*, September 15, 2001. This story reports on a press conference held in Raleigh by FLOC in which they told the story of Urbano Ramírez, a farmworker who had recently died on a North Carolina farm and was not found until ten days after his death. The article mainly focuses on Ramírez’s story, but it also talks about the goals of FLOC and includes comments from Mt. Olive representatives.

4. "Mt. Olive Pickle Co., boycotting union meet," *WSJ*, May 25, 2000. This is a seven-sentence news brief reporting that a mediation session was held between Mt. Olive and FLOC. It also reports on the company's market share and sales.
5. "Groups reach deal allowing workers union," *WSJ*, September 16, 2004. This story announces that the parties have reached an agreement and that 8,000 farmworkers will have union representation. It reports that the agreement will be signed by FLOC, Mt. Olive, and NCGA.
6. "Designated migrant workers to get union representation," *WSJ*, September 17, 2004. This news brief is very similar to the one from the previous day, but it appeared in the Business section. It reports on the actual signing that took place in the social hall of a church in Raleigh. The story vaguely describes the terms of the agreement.
7. "*Únase para apoyar a los trabajadores agrícolas en el boicoteo de la compañía pepinera de Mt. Olive*," [Unite to support farmworkers in the boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Company], *LC*, March 17, 2000. This article announces and provides details about a dinner that was going to be held for the one-year anniversary of the boycott. The story actually contains more lines about a supporting letter that FLOC had received from the Archbishop of Cincinnati. The story includes comments from Baldemar Velásquez.
8. "*La compañía de pepinillos Mt. Olive da a conocer algunos hechos sobre el boicot en su contra*," [Mt. Olive provides some facts about the boycott against it.] *LC*, March 31, 2003. This article begins with five sentences from the editor explaining that following a published interview with Baldemar Velásquez, Mt. Olive had sent a sheet presenting the company's viewpoint about the boycott. The editor says that the sheet

- provided by Mt. Olive is transcribed in the rest of the article. The article is then divided into sections about who will be affected by the boycott, the economic impact Mt. Olive has on North Carolina agriculture, and why Mt. Olive was chosen for the boycott, among others.
9. “*FLOC firma acuerdo con pepinera; pone fin a boicot de más de 5 años; Beneficia a más de 8,000 trabajadores del campo,*” [FLOC signs agreement with pickle company; ends boycott of more than 5 years; Benefits more than 8,000 farmworkers], *LC*, September 21, 2004. This story reports on the press conference held at the signing of the agreement by FLOC, Mt. Olive, and NCGA. The story includes comments that various representatives made during the event. It also includes comments from one of the farmworkers who was on the negotiating committee and details how the agreement will benefit workers.
 10. “*Protestan relación entre Duke y Mt. Olive,*” [Protesting relationship between Duke & Mt. Olive], *QP*, November 6-12, 2003. This story reports on a protest held by FLOC at Duke University. Duke had previously supported the boycott by withdrawing Mt. Olive products from its stores, but Mt. Olive officials met with them and Duke discontinued the boycott. The story consists of comments by Baldemar Velásquez and a woman who had been a farmworker in North Carolina. Both sources talk about the poor conditions that workers face and the motive for the boycott.
 11. “*Victoria para sindicato de trabajadores agrícolas,*” [Victory for farmworker union], *QP*, September 16-22, 2004. This article claims to be presenting exclusive information received by *QP* that the parties had reached an agreement that would be signed the following day. It explains the background of the boycott and what FLOC

will achieve by the agreement. All of the information is provided by one source, Leticia Závala, Organizing Director and official spokesperson for FLOC.

12. “*Acción binacional pro trabajadores agrícolas*,” [Binational pro farmworker action], *QP*, September 23-29, 2004. This article reports on the agreement signed by FLOC, Mt. Olive, and NCGA. The story provides details about the changes the agreement will bring for farmworkers. Since there are no sources cited, I assume that the information was obtained from a copy of the agreement.

This overview of the stories shows that most, but not all, of the stories were reporting on events that occurred in the context of the boycott rather than the underlying issues that prompted the boycott. The events included press conferences, an anniversary dinner, a protest at Duke University, a debate, and the signing of the agreement between the parties. One *N&O* article, “Peace Amid the Pickles,” was a feature that did not focus on any single event. Article 8, including Mt. Olive’s questions and answers about the boycott that appeared in *LC*, was not an event although it was provoked by a reporting event: the interview with FLOC’s president that had been published in a previous issue. The overview also shows that a variety of events were deemed newsworthy for the newspapers. Different events appeared in different newspapers as longer and more relevant articles.

Discourses

Opposing discourses were used in the Latino and Anglo newspapers in regard to the Mt. Olive boycott particularly in the way that readers were presented information on the purpose of the boycott. For the Anglo media, the main discourse was “this is not a fair fight,”

while for the Latino media it was “fighting for a just cause.” These discourses were established through one-sided presentation, the roles the actors from that side assumed, and the explanations of what *union* meant or the purpose of the boycott. At the level of discursive practices, the *N&O* and the *WSJ* differed markedly. The two Latino newspapers did not differ noticeably from each other, but they were different from the Anglo papers in their journalistic practices.

Anglo Newspapers: “Not a Fair Fight”

The main differences between the way the *N&O* and the *WSJ* presented the boycott and its resolution was in the amount of coverage. However, both Anglo newspapers privileged the position of Mt. Olive and obscured the motives of the boycott as well as the process of picking, packing, and processing cucumbers. The farmworkers were invisible in the Anglo newspapers. Naturally, the mode of production tends to disappear if the workers are made invisible. In the *WSJ*, the boycott issue was reduced to near invisibility. Since the *N&O* did choose to cover the issue, it had to employ creative tactics to tell readers that this was not a fair fight. This was accomplished by allowing Mt. Olive to assume the role of the victim, by making FLOC an outsider with dubious motives, and by relying on the historical context of labor in North Carolina to convey the meaning of terms like *unionization*.

Roles of the Actors

In the *N&O*, Mt. Olive became the victim of a politically motivated outsider in the form of the Ohio-based FLOC. The position of victim was adopted by Mt. Olive and was visible in the comments of Mt. Olive’s President, Bill Bryan, as he was quoted in news

stories. In one story he says, “Mt. Olive was targeted because it’s a familiar brand and is based in North Carolina;” “Mt. Olive has done nothing to deserve a boycott;” and “We didn’t pick this battle” (N1). In a later article covering a public debate between the sides, Bryan says, “Mt. Olive has been unfairly targeted and unfairly represented in this boycott” (N2). The repetition of comments like these not only makes it sound like Mt. Olive is the victim but also makes it sound as though the president of the company does not understand why there is a boycott, possibly leading the readers to wonder the same thing.

To reinforce claims that Mt. Olive was being unfairly targeted in the boycott, Bryan presents information from a business or corporate order of discourse to diminish the size and economic import of his company. This tactic probably comes across as natural to most readers who have become accustomed to mainstream media’s orientation to report workplace or labor news as business news (Kumar, 2004; Martin, 2004a). In two different stories, Bryan says that “about 35 percent of its [Mt. Olive’s] cucumbers come from North Carolina growers, but the rest come from Michigan, Ohio, Georgia, Honduras and India” (N1, N2). He also says that “Mt. Olive is the country’s fourth-largest pickle company, with 12 percent of the grocery store market” (N2). With these arguments, Bryan appears to be suggesting that there are bigger companies that could be targeted and that this fight in North Carolina would have little impact when placed on a world-wide scale.

Another interesting tactic visible in these quotes is Bryan’s misleading use of percentages that imply a small amount. Bryan says that the company has 12% of the grocery store market but omits the percentage of the market they have in selling to restaurants, ballparks, schools, or other food vendors. An article that appeared in the *National Catholic Reporter* stated that Mt. Olive “receives 45 million pounds of cucumbers from acreage in

North Carolina” (O’Neill, 1997, p. 12). According to Hoover’s Company Capsules & Profiles, Mt. Olive’s sales are estimated at \$72.2 million, and it is the leading seller of pickles in the Southeast (Murray, 2006). Mount Olive also contracts more than 1,200 growers to raise its cucumbers (Wiggins, 2002). Although Bryan says that Mt. Olive is the fourth-largest pickle company, other sources say that Mt. Olive is the second-highest selling brand in the United States (Greenhouse, 2004). It is unclear if Bryan is referring to number of employees or some other information for this claim.

Standard journalistic practice means news stories include Bryan’s comments, since he is a credible source and a key actor. Bryan restricted his comments to his own company and did not openly discredit FLOC. Therefore, FLOC’s role was assigned through editorializing by the reporters. Rather than explaining why unionization might be undesirable or unnecessary, the stories were more subtle and constructed FLOC’s actions as purely political. The story “Peace Amid the Pickles” says

As migrant laborers found work in North Carolina in the 1990s, the union followed. The union leadership concluded that to gain ground in the South, it had to go after the corporate bottom line. The union needed a target. It found one, right in the heart of Mount Olive (N1).

This comment suggests that neither working conditions nor Mt. Olive’s practices were important in the decision to establish a union, but that the selection of Mt. Olive amounted to a calculated choice to serve a larger political purpose.

Another article explains the origin of the boycott this way: “In 1997, the organizing committee decided it needed to target a North Carolina company to help unionize the thousands of migrant workers who came to the state each year to work in the fields” (N2). While the *N&O* does not explain clearly why the union would need a target in North

Carolina, studies of labor history have attempted to explain labor movements' political ventures into the South. Indeed, many labor historians attribute the failure of unions to become established in the South as a reason the United States did not develop a stronger national labor system like much of Europe (Friedman, 2000; Minchin, 2005). In a recently published book, Timothy Minchin (2005) describes organized labor's efforts in the South:

Since World War II, organized labor has made repeated efforts to organize the South, where the proportion of unionized workers has consistently been lower than in the rest of the country. From the "Operation Dixie" of the 1940s through the "Operation Sunbelt" of the 1970s, labor leaders launched major drives to try and recruit southerners to their cause. All of these efforts ended in failure, and historians have spent a great deal of time exploring why the South remained stubbornly nonunion. (p. 2)

Within the past two or three generations, the South has become a specific target of labor and unionizing. Minchin's book focuses on the South as a region, but he highlights the Carolinas as being consistently "the least unionized states in the country" (2005, p. 6). Furthermore, he notes that North Carolina was able to attract both textiles and furniture manufacturers to the state by advertising itself as a nonunion state (p. 184). Against this historical backdrop of antipathy toward unions, it is likely that North Carolina newspaper readers would see a negative connotation in the word *union* and therefore not question the *N&O*'s explanation of the union as being politically motivated.

The Latino press had a starkly different explanation for why FLOC came to North Carolina. A story in *LC* reports, "*FLOC pidió el boicoteo después de que la compañía se rehusó a negociar con el sindicato a pesar del hecho de que 2,500 trabajadores agrícolas trabajando en la industria del pepino se inscribieron con el sindicato para obtener representación*" [FLOC asked for the boycott after the company refused to negotiate with the union despite the fact that 2,500 farmworkers in the cucumber industry had registered with

the union to obtain representation] (LC1). According to this article, farmworkers supported the union, and the boycott came only after the company refused to negotiate. One story from *QP* describes the background motives with more detail, “*El proceso empezó en 1997 cuando el sindicato vino a Carolina del Norte para investigar las condiciones de vida y trabajo de los campesinos. Encontró muchos abusos y empezó entonces su labor educativa*” [The process began in 1997 when the union came to North Carolina to investigate living and work conditions of the farmworkers. It found many abuses and so began its educational efforts] (QP 2). In this article, the motives are based exclusively on poor working conditions.

Nevertheless, the politicization of FLOC’s motives in the Anglo press likely solidifies Mt. Olive’s victim position. This strategy allows the reporters and the newspaper to avoid being labeled as biased against the union because it does not sound like overt discrediting. Unfortunately for labor and for the public, there is never any overt discussion of the pros or cons of union membership. In both the Anglo and Latino presses, Mt. Olive’s role as victim is explained by the fact that the company does not have any farms and does not employ any farmworkers directly; it is only a pickle processor. Bryan and other Mt. Olive spokespeople argue that the company does business with farms that employ farmworkers but that the company itself does not have any authority over the way farmers do business. Thus, Bryan says that the boycott is unfairly directed at Mt. Olive. It is only by reading the Latino press that the link between Mt. Olive, the farmers, and the farmworkers becomes clear. A further discussion of this link in the Latino press can be found below.

One story from the *N&O* deserves special consideration for the way its narrative construction helped to establish Mt. Olive as the victim. The story was a Sunday feature that began on the front page of the newspaper. The story was more than 1,400 words in a mid-

sized newspaper whose average story length is more than 800 words (State of the News Media, 2004). The story “Peace Amid the Pickles” reported on the town of Mount Olive and how this small town setting dictates that adversaries act courteously to each other when they meet in town. The article continues by building a Civil War metaphor, aligning FLOC, which has come from the north, with the Union and Mt. Olive with the Confederacy. The article states, “Courtesy lives in Mount Olive, even on the first anniversary of the Pickle War. Today, the Wayne County town of about 5,000 people is ground zero for a major Southern offensive by organized labor” (N1). Besides actually naming the issue the “Pickle War” as a proper noun, the expressions “major Southern offensive” and “ground zero” draw on the language of war. Using Civil War metaphors has been a common tactic when companies in the South were faced with the possibility of unionization. This metaphor has most often been used in an effort to show that union organizers, who were trying to protect their northern membership, did not have southern workers’ interests at heart (Minchin, 2005, p. 41).

The rest of the article establishes an idyllic setting, or what Herbert Gans (1979/2004) describes as the enduring news value of small-town pastoralism. The idyllic community of Mount Olive has been disrupted by the “war.” We are told, “In Mount Olive, there is outrage and sorrow for a company long seen as a good corporate citizen” (N1). Curiously though, no one from the town is ever quoted to express either outrage or sorrow. The reporter also creates an impression of Mt. Olive as a caring parent saying, “...the company has nourished and sustained its namesake hometown”; “Thousands of Mt. Olive dollars flowed every year to community projects”; and “Generations of families worked at the plant.” This idyllic scenario, however, is contradicted once the reporter begins talking with Bill Bryan, whose strategy involves minimizing the importance of his company. The article quotes Bryan:

Years ago, he said, the company bought a large portion of its cucumber and other vegetables from local family farms. But as the economy went global, so did Mt. Olive. The company buys about 35 percent of its cucumbers from North Carolina growers, but the rest come from Michigan, Ohio, Georgia, Honduras, and India. (N1)

The idyllic image of a stable company that has taken care of its community contrasts with the victimization strategy employed by the company, which involves diminishing the company's importance in both North Carolina and the pickle industry. Once again Bryan uses percentages rather than actual numbers that would be more informative. The tactic of diminishing the economic weight of the company is also evident in the following quote, "Bryan said the union thinks Mt. Olive has more power over growers than it does. The company can't force the farmers to the table, he said" (N1). We are told that Mt. Olive has little power or influence. The *N&O* provides readers with additional cues that Mt. Olive is a good company when Bryan says, "We plan to stick to our principles" and "...he has responded to letters, phone calls and e-mail messages about the boycott" (N1). Bryan's responsiveness makes him appear responsible, concerned, and more principled against the politically-motivated union. Nonetheless, the closest he ever comes to expressing concern for the farmworkers is through the following impersonal comment, "the company pushed growers to comply with government regulations for migrant housing" (N1).

In the 79th sentence, the story begins to present FLOC's side of the issue. The reporter makes a semantic move similar to the example telling us that there is sorrow and outrage but never showing either. In this case, the reporter transitions to FLOC's side by saying, "Mt. Olive sees the boycott as unfair, but the union sees the plight of migrant workers as unjust" (N1). Two sentences later, the reporter writes, "Organizers Ramiro Sarabia and Ascencion Falkner talked about the long days, low pay and squalor that migrant workers endure while

reaping North Carolina's harvest" (N1). These sentences set up the expectation that readers will now be told more about the working conditions; however, that never happens. Instead, the story recounts personal information about Sarabia and includes some general comments about how he does not understand why North Carolina has no unions. In total, the article includes 28 sentences that appear to convey FLOC's side of the story, which would seem sufficient for the paper to claim fair and balanced reporting. Nevertheless, an examination of the information provided reveals nothing about why FLOC is in North Carolina, why farmworkers might need union protection, how FLOC can help workers, or why Mt. Olive is the appropriate target of the boycott. The reporter tells us that she and the FLOC representatives discussed it but does not share any of the information. Through this news story and others in the *N&O*, readers are told repeatedly that Mt. Olive is the victim of an unfair campaign and that they are neither responsible for nor even have much of a relationship with the farmworkers. At the same time, the actual justification for a boycott and the workers in question remain invisible. The role that FLOC occupies was largely assigned indirectly, the role of a politically motivated outsider, congruent with historical treatment of unions in the South.

Antiunion Script

Besides establishing roles for the main actors, the Anglo papers relied on a deeply embedded antiunion script rather than actually explaining the purpose of the boycott or the concrete results that unionization would bring. The following quotation summarizes the power of the antiunion script that exists in the South:

...the South has been consistently more antiunion than other parts of the United States. Like racism and poverty, both often linked to the region, antiunionism was

hardly unique to the South. At the same time, however, southern antiunionism did not abate over the postwar [World War II] period, and if anything, it actually became more intense. While the region certainly made progress in eliminating racism and poverty, throwing off the Jim Crow system of legal racial segregation and experiencing a faster rate of economic growth than other parts of the country, its resistance to the labor movement remained as unchanging as its fierce summers. “By the end of the 1970s,” declares economic historian Bruce Schulman, “anti-unionism had practically replaced racism as the South’s signature prejudice.” (Minchin, 2005, p. 182)

In this context, it is easy for a reader to understand that the goal of the boycott is “to unionize thousands of migrant workers” and that unions use boycotts to gain “collective bargaining rights” (N1), and there is no need to clarify what those phrases actually mean. In addition to an automatic resistance, there may even be connotations of illegal activity associated with unions. According to Minchin, “Departing from national trends, most southern states kept laws on their books that prohibited collective bargaining among public employees” (2005, p. 4). Although it is not part of my sample, when conducting background research, I found an article from the *N&O* in July 1999 that reprinted North Carolina’s “Right to work” law that was passed in 1947 and remains in effect today. This law basically states that the right to work should not be impeded on account of membership or nonmembership in a labor union (Jones, 1999). One story in my sample, however, does give a little more information about the purpose of the boycott:

The union, which is sponsoring a boycott against Mt. Olive’s products, is trying to get the company to negotiate a labor contract. The union wants a contract with the company that would, in turn, force growers to increase wages and improve living conditions for workers. (N3)

This story does explain that the contract would bring increased wages and better living conditions but does not describe current wages or living conditions. These conditions were described in a report titled “Uprooting Injustice: A Report on Working Conditions for

North Carolina Farmworkers and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's Mt. Olive Initiative" (Smith-Nonini, 1999). Smith-Nonini's report was widely used by other groups, such as church-based supporters of the boycott. The Anglo press, however, ignored this information, instead choosing to base its reporting on the antiunion script entrenched in North Carolina and allowing readers to rely on established negative connotations of terms like *union* and *labor contract*.

The *WSJ* used similarly charged language with no alternative explanation in sentences like, "The union, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO, has been boycotting the sale of Mt. Olive pickles for the past year in an effort to pressure the company into requiring farmers to unionize their operations," and "...the boycott will continue until farmers sign union contracts" (J1). The two briefs that appeared in the *WSJ* at the conclusion of the boycott rely on the same script to convey meaning. One says that the workers will have "representation" and that workers will be able to "unionize" (J2). The other says that "FLOC may now sign up legal migrant workers" (J3). Again, there is no additional explanation of exactly what union contracts would mean for employers or workers.

Interestingly, the *N&O* does take measures to ensure that readers remember how to interpret unions "properly." The *N&O* published an approximately 2000-word Sunday feature in the Business Work & Money section titled "State of the Unions" (Jones, 1999). The article explains that "the state is ranked last in the country when it comes to union membership," and that "Anti-union sentiment has long been strong in the state" (Jones, 1999, p. E4). The article also cites a University of North Carolina management professor who argues that "the ability of employers to abuse employees nowadays is really almost nonexistent" and that "there is no longer as great a need for unions" (Jones, 1999, p. E4). The

article talks about several union efforts in the state, including among airline employees and textile workers, but Mt. Olive is mentioned in only one sentence despite the fact that the boycott had begun just four months earlier. The strong management orientation of the article is evident in its placement in the Business section as well as the fact that it quotes a management professor. The article serves to alert and remind readers that unions have never been welcome in North Carolina and that they remain irrelevant today.

Good journalism often involves good storytelling, and a good story paints a picture using visual concepts to help the reader understand the issue. The *N&O* has created a picturesque visual image of the small town of Mount Olive in the story “Peace Amid the Pickles.” Readers, however, were not provided with a picture of migrant farmwork and thus are ill-equipped to understand this issue and make a decision about their stance on the issue. Such pictures were used in reports that religious organizations provided to their members when they declared their support for the boycott, yet they were invisible in the *N&O*, one of the most influential newspapers in the state. Instead, readers were reminded that unions are not part of the South.

Latino Newspapers: Fighting for a Just Cause

In contrast to Anglo reports, Latino newspapers employed a discourse that unabashedly supported FLOC. This support was clear in a discourse that claimed that FLOC’s side was a fight for a just cause. FLOC was given a voice, but rather than assuming a specific role as Mt. Olive did in its victim role, it drew in other players to show a strong network of support. FLOC described Mt. Olive as an influential company that could effect

change but was choosing not to do so. The boycott and union were discussed using vivid language and examples to show readers that it was a just fight.

Roles of the Actors

In order to construct and maintain the just cause discourse, different roles were required for the major players than the ones found in the *N&O*. FLOC positioned itself as a well-supported group that could fight for those who have no voice. Mt. Olive was positioned as a powerful, prestigious, and influential company. The stories also invited the reader to be part of the cause, often including the reader in the story. The Latino press never mentioned that FLOC was from Ohio, even when they were talking about the organization's background, but rather emphasized the struggle and the victories along the way. The headline of one story from *LC* illustrates this well: “*Únase para apoyar a los trabajadores agrícolas en el boicoteo de la compañía pepinera de Mt. Olive*” [Unite to support the farmworkers in the boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Co.]. Readers are invited to attend a dinner party to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the boycott and to “*celebrar los triunfos de la campaña*” [celebrate the triumphs of the campaign] (LC1). The article continues, “*Estos triunfos incluyen los endosos de más de 200 grupos comunitarios, religiosos y laborales que apoyan el boicoteo*” [These triumphs include the endorsement of more than 200 community, religious, and labor groups that support the boycott] (LC1). Strong emphasis is placed on including the reader, who is drawn into the story and invited to an event, and on explaining how strong support for the boycott is a triumph.

Part of the construction of the boycott as a fight for a just cause is also apparent in comments from the head of FLOC, Baldemar Velásquez:

Por simplemente boicotear la Compañía Pepinera Mt. Olive, familias pueden ayudar a gentes ganarse una vida mejor, gentes que trabajan desesperadamente pero nunca logran salirse de la pobreza, que soportan el sol ardiente durante el día y regresan de noche a casas que ponen en vergüenza a nuestra conciencia nacional. Estos que ponen la comida en nuestras mesas merecen una vida de dignidad y eso es lo que intentamos ganar aquí en Carolina del Norte.

[Simply by boycotting Mt. Olive Pickle Company, families can help people earn a better living, people who work hard but never manage to pull themselves out of poverty, who put up with the burning sun during the day and return to houses at night that put our national conscience to shame. Those who put the food on our tables deserve a dignified life, and that is what we are trying to gain here in North Carolina.] (LC1).

This quote also draws the reader in by talking about what families can do and by using the first-person pronoun *we* rather than using the third-person *FLOC*. The use of phrases like “our national conscience” and “deserve a dignified life” call on patriotic and humanistic values that imply a noble cause. Through these comments, readers can imagine the working conditions and are drawn in as families who can help. In an article after the agreement was signed in 2004, readers of *QP* are told that, “*Eso significa que FLOC obtuvo los frutos de una lucha desigual y sostenida*” [This means that FLOC obtained the fruits of an unequal and sustained struggle] (QP2). The same story cites the FLOC spokeswoman, Leticia Zavala, saying, “*Pasaron muchos años largos y difíciles. Muchos no aguantaron y se salieron de la lucha pensando que nunca se ganaría pero, igualmente, muchos se mantuvieron fuertes y FLOC continuó la lucha*” [We spent many long and difficult years. Many couldn’t take it and abandoned the struggle thinking that it couldn’t be won, but likewise, many stayed strong, and FLOC continued the struggle] (QP2). The use of *we* signals that the reader is also part of the fight and is one technique used to emphasize the struggle. The reader is also drawn in by the “many” who gave up and is encouraged by her language to align him or herself with the many who stayed strong.

Throughout the stories in the Latino press, FLOC talked about the struggle and expressed concern for the workers' conditions while making a clear link between migrant farmworkers and other North Carolina residents who are benefiting from their work. The impression that this is a just cause is also strengthened by the Latino news stories highlighting the support the boycott is receiving. One story focuses on a protest at Duke University in which "around 200 people" participated (QP1). Another story prints verbatim a letter of support from the Catholic Archbishop of Cincinnati (LC1). Having the support of Duke University and the Archbishop of Cincinnati adds prestige, and the Archbishop's support shows that the cause is gaining national, not just local, attention.

Unlike the *N&O*, which allows Mt. Olive to repeat that the company was not responsible for the workers and that it had no control over the farmers, the Latino press provides space for FLOC to firmly establish the link between Mt. Olive and the farmworkers, effectively allowing for an alternative discourse. Velásquez says, "*Nosotros decimos que todo el sistema – desde la recolección del pepino hasta su embotellamiento – fue inventado por Mt. Olive y no importa quien es el empleador directo*" [We say that the whole system – from the picking of the cucumbers to the canning – was invented by Mt. Olive and it doesn't matter who the direct employer is] (QP1). Other sources back up this assertion, describing how Mt. Olive signs contracts with farmers at the beginning of the growing season promising to buy their produce and how the company also supplies seeds at a subsidized cost (Smith-Nonini, 2005; Wiggins, 2002). FLOC's philosophy is presented as background information in one story:

FLOC enfila su lucha contra la compañía pepinera de Mt. Olive, siendo fiel a su filosofía de que solamente las compañías procesadoras tienen el poder de hacer cambios en la industria agrícola, mientras que los rancheros en ocasiones se

encuentran entre dos espadas al tratar de sobrevivir y a la vez mantener a sus empleados en trabajos justos y seguros.

[FLOC directed its struggle against Mt. Olive Pickle Company, being faithful to its philosophy that only the processing companies have the power to make changes in the agricultural industry, while the farmers occasionally have their backs up against the walls trying to survive and at the same time keep their employees in safe and fair jobs] (QP2).

Another example shows the role that Velásquez envisions for Mt. Olive:

...en realidad lo más importante será la posición que Mt. Olive adopte en las negociaciones, por el prestigio y liderazgo de la empresa procesadora de alimentos en Carolina del Norte. Lo que ellos hagan también será hecho por otros procesadores de pepino, recolectores de tabaco, camote y otros productos agrícolas. En otras palabras, estaríamos hablando del bienestar de unos nueve mil trabajadores...

[...in reality the most important will be the position that Mt. Olive adopts in the negotiations, for the prestige and leadership of the food processing company in North Carolina. What they do will also be followed by other cucumber processors, gatherers of tobacco, sweet potatoes, and other agricultural products. In other words, we will be talking about the well-being of about 9,000 workers] (QP1).

These excerpts all convey a very different scenario to the reader than the one created in the *N&O*. The message of FLOC is clear: to effect change, a movement must be directed at those in the system who are powerful enough to force a change. Furthermore, FLOC claims that the impact will be much larger than the pickle industry alone. Both are typical characteristics of a noble cause: it changes fundamental aspects of a system and has a far-reaching impact. The stories in the Latino press establish Mt. Olive not as a victim, but as a leader within a system that exploits and mistreats farmworkers.

Mt. Olive apparently found these arguments compelling too. At the very least, they were attentive to the story in the Latino press. On March 31, 2003, *LC* printed a lengthy article titled “*La compañía de pepinillos Mt. Olive da a conocer algunos hechos sobre el*

boicot en su contra” [Mt. Olive Pickle Company reveals some facts about the boycott against it]. The first five sentences contain editorial comments indicating that in light of an interview that *LC* had published, the newspaper had received a letter from Mt. Olive’s public communications office. The letter presented the company’s viewpoint about the causes and consequences of the boycott and was transcribed in the rest of the article. The following is the quote as it was printed in *LC*:

Sobre las aservaciones del Sr. Velásquez en torno a la pepinera Mt. Olive, La Conexión ha recibido reacciones de la empresa aludida. Mt. Olive, a través de su oficina de comunicación pública ha aportado una hoja de hechos donde se presentan sus particulares puntos de vista sobre las causas y consecuencias del boicot. A continuación la transcripción de la hoja de hechos redactada por Mt. Olive.

[In response to the assertions of Mr. Velásquez about Mt. Olive Pickle Co., *La Conexión* has received a response from the company in question. Mt. Olive, through its public communication office, has offered a factsheet where they present their particular point of view about the causes and consequences of the boycott. The following is the transcription of the factsheet written by Mt. Olive.] (LC2)

With this introductory commentary, *LC* is disassociating itself from the viewpoints expressed in the rest of the article. The actual content of the article echoes the comments made in the Anglo press by the company and its president, Bill Bryan. Interestingly, the submission of a position statement on behalf of Mt. Olive to *LC* indicates that the company was monitoring the Latino press, was not pleased with the alternative discourse being created, and found a way to have its discourse asserted in Spanish. This opportunity was not afforded to FLOC in the Anglo press.

Purpose of the Boycott

Besides constructing different roles for FLOC and Mt. Olive than those in the Anglo press, the Latino press provided radically different explanations for the purpose of the

boycott and what organizers hoped it would achieve, which strengthened FLOC's just cause discourse. The descriptions of the working conditions that had motivated the boycott were also more concrete, and articles appearing after the agreement was signed detailed what the parties would get from the agreement. Unfortunately, just as in the Anglo press, the Latino news stories generally do not include farmworkers as sources. Readers regularly received information from only official sources such as Baldemar Velásquez, who says in one article that more farmworkers die each year in North Carolina than in any other state (QP1). He also reports that a Department of Labor inspection found a lack of running water and electricity in camps. He continues, "*En lugar de agua les vendían cerveza y a precios muy altos, por lo que al final de la semana los trabajadores ya tenían completamente endeudado su sueldo*" [Instead of water, they sold them beer at very high prices, so that at the end of the week the workers owed their entire week's salary] (QP1). This is a very vivid and telling example of the subtlety of abuses. The availability of beer could be interpreted as a luxury, but the additional information about it being sold in lieu of water and at prices that left the workers indebted, shifts the perspective. This particular story does include a FLOC supporter, a former farmworker, who attests that:

Cuando llegué a Carolina del Norte en 1990, los primeros tres meses trabajé turnos de 12 horas por 20 dólares a la semana. Nos daban un plato de comida y una soda, una vivienda sin energía eléctrica, sin agua, sin baños y sin lugar donde dormir.
[When I arrived to North Carolina in 1990, the first three months I worked 12-hour shifts for 20 dollars a week. They gave us one plate of food and a soda, a dorm with no electricity, water, bathrooms, or place to sleep.] (QP1)

These examples do help to create a visual image of the working conditions that a reader can understand and contemplate, images of abuses that were completely absent from the Anglo press. After an agreement was reached, the Latino press celebrated the historic

nature of the agreement and the significance of having a union contract. The agreement was historic because it was “*la primera vez que un trabajador huésped de Estados Unidos toma parte en un sindicato*” [the first time a guest worker in the United States takes part in a union] (QP2), and “*el contrato sindical más grande en la historia del estado*” [the largest union contract in the history of the state] (QP3). As part of the agreement, Mount Olive agreed to help increase workers’ salaries by 10% in three years. This was reported in both Anglo and Latino newspapers, but *LC* also included that the minimum wage would be \$8.06 an hour or the equivalent of 44% of the value of what the workers picked, whichever was higher (LC3).

The article in *LC* that reported on the signing ceremony was the only one to include the comments of a current farmworker. Adrián Briones, a member of the negotiating committee, stated that “*ahora con nuestro sindicato tenemos la voz para resolver en tres fases cualquier tipo de problema*” [now with our union we have a voice to resolve any kind of problem in three phases] (LC3). Velásquez elaborated on Briones’ comments by explaining that workers will no longer have to worry about revenge for speaking out. After reading the Anglo newspapers that only talked about getting a “union contract,” I learned from this article that a previous concern of workers was the fear of revenge and that with the contract they had a voice and a process to resolve problems. There was nothing in the Anglo press that would have allowed readers to understand this.

The article that appeared in *QP* after the signing ceremony did not cite any sources but included such detailed information about the terms of the agreement that I assume the paper reprinted information from a copy of the agreement. That article says that the agreement contains a nondiscrimination clause stipulating that no worker can be

discriminated against based on his or her sex, religion, age, national origin, color, race, or membership in the union. It also explains that FLOC will have representatives in Mexico to observe the hiring practices and to ensure that workers are no longer blacklisted because of having complained about conditions in a past growing season. It also states that, “*Sobresale que, en adelante, ningún trabajador podrá ser despedido sin haber informado con 24 horas de anterioridad al sindicato, para que este averigüe las razones del patrón y las posibilidades de defensa del trabajador*” [Above all, from now on, no worker can be fired without the employer having informed the union 24 hours in advance, so that they have time to investigate the reasons and consider possibilities for defense] (QP3). Providing this information contributed to the discourse of fighting for a just cause because readers learn about the real problems of workers. All of the news stories from the Latino newspapers, with the exception of the one written by Mt. Olive’s public communications office, contained vivid information regarding the working conditions or how the workers would benefit from the agreement. There were tremendous differences in both the information and the discourse between the Anglo and Latino newspapers.

Discursive Practices

Besides the textual-level differences, the discourse practices show that the two Anglo papers covered this issue in different ways. In addition, reporting patterns in the Latino press that I began to notice when analyzing the driver’s license issue (see Chapter 5) were more visible with the analysis of the Mt. Olive boycott.

Anglo Press: Invisibility in the WSJ

The section on discourses showed how the *N&O* highlighted the assumed victim role of Mt. Olive while making FLOC the outsider. While the stories in the *WSJ* showed some similarities to the *N&O*, the most noticeable aspect of the *WSJ* was the lack of coverage this issue received. The stories in the *WSJ*, in both their form and content, made this issue irrelevant if not completely invisible for readers. The *WSJ* included only three items about the boycott, and all three were categorized as “announcement/request/brief or summary” in the content analysis. Two of the briefs were seven sentences, and the third was eight sentences. Additionally, two of the briefs appeared in the Business section while the other appeared in the Local section. All three listed *WSJ* staff and wire reports as the authors. In this way, one could say that the lack of personalization in the *WSJ* even extended to the authorship of the articles.

The first brief, from 2000, reported that the two sides had met in a mediation session. The brief is impersonal to such a degree that it does not even mention the names of the officials who met or FLOC directly. Readers are told that, “After a year of accusations and rhetoric, Mt. Olive Pickle Co. officials and the Ohio labor union boycotting the company’s product sat down in a mediation session, but came to no conclusion” (J1). The article does, however, conclude with the following specific information:

The boycott has not hurt the pickle company, said John McMillan, a senior food analyst with Prudential Securities in New York. The company’s market share has gone up 0.9 percent, from 7.8 to 8.7 percent, and sales went up 16 percent from January of 1999 to February this year [2000]. (J1)

In this paragraph, both a name and an affiliation are given as well as specific market figures. The brief appears in the Business section, and the discourse conveys that it is an

issue that would only be of interest to stockholders or business analysts. This is a perfect example of what scholar Deepa Kumar (2004) describes as a trend that has been developing over the past fifty years: “Today most labor news is covered in the business pages and few reporters are assigned exclusively to cover working-class issues” (p. 16). Effectively, the *WSJ* business brief is not a story about workers, and it is not a labor story. There is not enough information provided to establish Mt. Olive as the victim in the way the *N&O* did. The brief format indicates to the reader that the issue is probably not important enough to worry about or to put onto his or her news agenda. Nonetheless, the stock analyst cited is the only person listed by name and, like the *N&O*, the *WSJ* informs us that the union is from Ohio.

Two other briefs appeared in the *WSJ* four years later on consecutive days, September 16 and 17, 2004. One, in the Local section, announced that the groups had reached an agreement, and the other, in the Business section, announced that a contract had been signed. Just as in the previous brief, there is no personalization. The articles refer only to the parties involved by the organizations’ names. The articles say, “the union said yesterday,” “a Mt. Olive spokeswoman said,” and “AFL-CIO officials say,” rather than giving the names of Baldemar Velásquez or Bill Bryan. Both briefs give vague yet factual information about agreed-upon specifics of both parties. Readers are told that “the boycott will end,” “workers will get union representation,” and “Mt. Olive will increase wages to workers.”

Despite the limited space (seven and eight sentences each), it is noteworthy that there is an emphasis on the farmworkers’ status as legal immigrants. The brief in the Local section refers to this on three different occasions in the following ways, “farmworkers brought to this country under a federal visa program,” “...will allow the legal migrant workers,” and “The

migrant workers, about 8,500 of whom come to North Carolina each year under federal visas” (J2). The other brief, from the Business section, uses one of the same phrases, “More than 8,000 farmworkers brought to this country under a federal visa program.” That brief later says, “The N.C. Growers Association uses a federal program to supply foreign labor to about 1,000 farms...” and “...FLOC may now sign up legal migrant workers who come to North Carolina under the federal H-2A visa program” (J3). This emphasis is remarkable considering the brevity of the articles. They are only about seven sentences long, yet they mention three times that they are referring to documented migrant workers.

I interpret this emphasis on migratory status two ways, both of which are likely operating simultaneously. One possible reason for this emphasis is to assuage readers who might think in terms of a nativist argument and who would be upset to hear that undocumented workers were receiving any kind of assistance or benefits. It is somewhat surprising to me, however, that there was no emphasis on the immigrant status of the workers in the *N&O*. The other purpose of the emphasis might be to create a stronger signal to readers that this issue is not one that they need to worry about. There has been a decline in coverage of labor issues in the news media. According to scholar Christopher Martin (2004b), “...newspapers have replaced traditional labor beats with more general workplace beats. By 2002, there were fewer than five labor beats left at U.S. daily newspapers” (p. 13). Coupling a labor issue with migrant farmworkers – temporary workers who only come for the growing season – may magnify the unimportance of the issue for news producers. By emphasizing that these are the “legal workers brought here each year,” the *WSJ* is addressing a concern its readers might have with undocumented immigrants and seem to be clarifying that these are

not the undocumented workers living in the community, but rather the temporary ones who are not competing for social resources.

To summarize, the *N&O* and the *WSJ* used different discursive practices. Both rendered invisible the working conditions, the practices involved in labor union membership, and the connections between Mt. Olive and the boycott. The *N&O* did this through the construction of a victim vs. outsider dichotomy, while the *WSJ* did it through lack of coverage which prevented meaningful visibility for its readers. When the boycott was covered by the *WSJ*, readers were provided with other cues to let them know that it was an issue, but one that would be mainly of interest to investors.

Latino Press: Reporting style

The Latino papers were similar to each other covering this issue, but issues arose during this analysis that paralleled those in the driver's license analysis (see Chapter 5). The most noticeable is a heavy reliance on information subsidies. A more traditional notion of journalism involves reporters following a lead to go after a story. This traditional notion of journalism requires time and money, something small Latino papers probably do not have compared to their Anglo counterparts. In fact, analysts of mainstream newspapers frequently lament the current trend of corporate ownership because of its interest in increasing profits while decreasing costs. Newspapers have been firing reporters in alarming numbers over the past decade (State of the News Media, 2006). With fewer reporters, newspapers rely more heavily on cheap, reliable sources of information such as press releases and news conferences. According to Alex Carey (1996), "an estimated 40-70 percent of the news is

based on press releases and PR-generated information” (quoted in Kumar, 2004, p. 18). That figure is likely to be even higher for newspapers with fewer reporters and fewer resources.

For both the driver’s license problem and the Mt. Olive boycott issue, I found an absence of the voices of those involved most deeply. In both cases, I analyzed the Anglo papers first and found myself anxious to begin analyzing the Latino papers. I wanted to read first-hand accounts of being unable to get a license or working as a migrant farmhand, and I wanted to know what they said about the issues. In both cases, I was equally disappointed when I found a lack of depth to the reporting, and was left wondering why the reporter did not speak directly to the people.

The article “*La compañía de pepinillos Mt. Olive da a conocer algunos hechos sobre el boicot en su contra*” from LC has editorial comments at the beginning to tell the reader that the rest of the article is a transcription of company information. In fact, that same document is still available in both Spanish and English from Mt. Olive’s website. Another article from LC, “*Únase para apoyar a los trabajadores agrícolas en el boicoteo de la compañía pepinera de Mt. Olive*” appears to be a pastiche of two different documents probably provided by FLOC. To begin with, the article has no attribution. Moreover, one part of the article talks about the dinner party that will be held to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the boycott. Within the announcement of the details of the event is the following sentence, “*Para una cita de entrevista con Baldemar Velásquez para el jueves, 23 de marzo, viernes 24 de marzo, o una entrevista telefónica antes de estas dos fechas, por favor llame al 688-7034*” [For an interview with Baldemar Velásquez on Thursday, March 23, Friday, March 24, or a telephone interview before these two dates, please call 688-7034]. I found it odd that Mr. Velásquez would be making himself available for interviews with

readers of the newspaper or the general public, but this information was not intended to be printed. It was provided by FLOC as part of a press release to inform the media that *reporters* could schedule interviews with the president of FLOC for news reporting purposes. *LC* seems to have just reprinted the press release exactly as it arrived to them.

The second half of the same article appears to be a reprint of the support letter from the Archbishop of Cincinnati. This secondary focus of the news story was not mentioned in the lead, and the transition from the dinner party to the letter is swift and abrupt. The article reads:

Únase con nosotros a este evento para ayudar a los trabajadores agrícolas a ganarse el primer contrato del sindicato en la agricultura de Carolina del Norte.

Recientemente, en las noticias del boicoteo, el Arzobispo Daniel E. Pilarczyk de Cincinnati anunció su apoyo por el boicoteo nacional de FLOC de los productos de la Compañía Pepinera Mt. Olive. En una carta endoso el 27 de enero del 2000, al anunciar su decisión, el Arzobispo Pilarczyk declaró:...

[Join us for this event to help farmworkers win the first union contract in North Carolina agriculture. Recently, in news from the boycott, Archbishop Daniel E. Pilarczyk of Cincinnati announced his support for FLOC's national boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Company's products. In a letter dated January 27, 2000, on announcing his decision, Archbishop Pilarczyk declared:...] (LC1).

The next eight lines are the reprint of the letter. Upon close analysis of this story, I wondered if "in news from the boycott" might have been taken verbatim from the title of a newsletter by FLOC or from a section on FLOC's website by a reporter who downloaded the story for inclusion in the newspaper.

The textual analysis methodology of this project limits my ability to answer these questions. A research project that includes interviews with journalists would be more insightful into the story-writing process especially in the case of smaller Latino newspapers that operate not only in North Carolina, but in more and more communities across the United States. This reliance on printed, provided materials is a result of few reporters and a lower

budget, but might also be influenced by a common journalistic practice in Mexico of publishing press releases as news stories (Salwen & Garrison, 1991). Likewise, in *QP*, the article published after the agreement was reached seems to gather all of its information directly from a printed copy of the agreement. It references information from the “nondiscrimination clause,” making it clear that the information is from a written document. *LC*’s article on the signing of the agreement was based on the press conference that was held in conjunction with the signing ceremony. The practice of using information subsidies was prevalent in both Latino newspapers.

Social Practices

The level of social practices moves beyond the analysis of texts and discourse practices, taking into account broader political, economic, and social context. In the Mt. Olive boycott, several social practices are relevant to this issue. One is the local political, social, and economic context of farmworkers and labor unions, which has been alluded to throughout the chapter but which receives more attention in this section. The other concerns trends in news coverage of labor and class in U.S. newspapers.

North Carolina: Farming Policy and Labor History

This section does not pretend to give a complete history of North Carolina’s farming policy and labor history, but it will help to situate the findings of this chapter within broader social practices. After the abolition of slavery, a system of sharecropping dominated agricultural practice in North Carolina. Under this system, former slaves worked for farmers and were paid with a portion of the crops that they harvested. Eventually, many African

Americans turned to migrant farming as farming practices in the Southeast changed.

Historian Cindy Hahamovich (1997) explains:

East coast farmers struggled out from under a deluge of cheap western grain by turning to “truck farming,” the growing of vegetables and berries for “truck” – or trade – in urban markets. Truck farmers sold their produce to the denizens of the nation’s largest cities. They did not just grow a small patch of vegetables to feed themselves and perhaps sell the remainder; they cultivated the land intensely, making a business of enlivening the diets of urban dwellers... Truck farming spread southward down the Atlantic Coast as refrigerated railway cars made it possible for farmers to grow fruits and vegetables at greater distances from urban markets. (p. 5)

Truck farming was thus the beginning of today’s large-scale agribusiness.

Hahamovich provides a thorough history of migrant farm labor in the Southeast, focusing particularly on moments when the federal, state, and local government intervened on behalf of farmers, often to the detriment of workers. Hahamovich’s detailed history shows how government intervention contributed to neverending poverty for farmworkers and work conditions that rarely improved. One of the first examples was farmworkers being excluded from the labor and relief measures of the New Deal legislation in the 1930s. The federal government began importing workers in the 1940s, a move that “shaped the course of farm labor history over the next fifty years” (Hahamovich, 1997, p. 200). African Americans, Haitians, and later Mexicans were pitted against each other, and when one group went on strike, others were called in to work, effectively ensuring that poor conditions and poor pay never changed (Hahamovich, 1997, p. 201).

While Hahamovich focuses on the history up to 1945, other scholars detail the current conditions of farmworkers and the role of government intervention. Sandy Smith-Nonini (2005) explores the ways that farmworkers’ invisibility is increased when federal and state governments step out of the picture and “brokers” or “middlemen” such as the North

Carolina Growers Association (NCGA) step in. Essentially, a myriad of abuses takes place because the government allows the NCGA to hire and oversee all workers and only provides the means, in the form of H-2A visas, for the NCGA to bring workers. In over 85 interviews and visits to more than 16 different migrant farmworker camps from 1998 to 2002, Smith-Nonini (2005) found that one of the factors that leads to continued abuses is the way that NCGA acts as both employer and INS agent (p. 67). Workers are dissuaded from talking to visitors or complaining by the threat of deportation or being blacklisted for the next year's growing season. Workers are also told that Legal Services and labor groups' goals are to put the NCGA program out of business and that they should not talk to these representatives (p. 72). The importation of migrant farmworkers and the fact that they are moved into and out of the country for seasonal work has made organization of workers difficult. Furthermore, "guestworkers, whose work contracts only allow them to stay in an area on a temporary basis, are unlikely to participate in campaigns that challenge the industry that applied for their visas and pays their wages" (Wiggins, 2002, p. 287).

Coupled with the political condition of farmworkers, the context of the South is complicated by its contentious labor history. Much of North Carolina's struggle against unions has been in the textile industry rather than in farmwork (Minchin, 2005). Perhaps it is even because of this history that the state has found that mechanisms such as the NCGA and the importation of farm labor diminish the possibility of farm labor organizing. The state was able to defeat the unionization of textile workers by a number of means. Textile mills were scattered throughout the state and were often small, making it difficult for organizers to have an impact (Friedman, 2000, Minchin, 2005). Mills were frequently the only employer in a town, so workers knew that their possibilities of finding work elsewhere in the area were

limited. Furthermore, the mill owners had strong influence over town government and law enforcement (Friedman, 2000). While unions tried to use this control to their advantage, many workers actually valued this sense of protection and regarded it as familial (Friedman, 2000). The right-to-work laws and laws prohibiting collective bargaining formed the state government's contribution to ensuring that labor was left with little ability to organize workers. Race issues also complicated organizing in the South. With segregation laws in place until almost the 1970s, employers often used race as a way to divide the workforce by breaking strikes with African American workers (Minchin, 2005). It is quite remarkable that FLOC was able to succeed in North Carolina with this history. The combination of the social, political, and economic factors surrounding migrant farmwork with the history of labor in the South led to a complex set of issues behind the Mt. Olive boycott.

Newspapers in the United States and Labor Coverage

The coverage of the Mt. Olive boycott is representative of what happens in a for-profit media system. Most metropolitan daily newspapers in the United States are owned by a few large corporations, whose goal is to generate profit for shareholders while minimizing costs. Newspapers make 75% of their profits through advertising space that is sold to other companies. Christopher Martin (2004b) worded it nicely by saying that instead of a *public sphere* as envisioned by Jürgen Habermas, the news media provide a *consumer sphere*. In this consumer sphere, "...public discourse and action is defined in terms of appropriate consumer behavior" (Martin, 2004b, p. 5). Martin found that much news coverage of labor operates from a consumerist frame in which readers are informed of strikes, boycotts, or protests in terms of how it will affect them as consumers, not from workers' viewpoints.

In the case of Mt. Olive, there was no strike, and pickles would be considered a luxury good rather than a necessity. These facts might account in part for the low coverage in the *WSJ* and the fact that the *N&O* did not adopt this typical consumerist frame. On the other hand, the newspapers did still use a probusiness stance favoring Mt. Olive's position over FLOC. This probusiness slant can be considered the lens through which reporters operate. It may or may not be the case that the reporters are particularly antilabor, but they are ill-equipped to see the issues in another way due to the structural constraints of the system. The losers under this type of reporting in the broader scenario are the working class. George Lipsitz's (1994) comments summarize this quite well:

For almost twenty years, working people and their interests have been absent from most public discussions about our national political and cultural life. As deindustrialization and economic restructuring have radically transformed U.S. society, the people and communities most immediately affected by these changes have been virtually erased. Business initiatives dominate the economic, political, and social agenda of the nation, while labor's perspectives and needs remain almost invisible within most of the country's mainstream media and economic institutions (p. 1).

This naturally probusiness slant is then coupled with another powerful aspect of U.S. society to reinforce the mainstream media's inability to address labor issues: the myth of a classless society. Deepa Kumar (2004) describes the impact this myth has on labor news:

In the United States there is a powerful myth that most people belong to the middle class. Unlike older European societies with long feudal histories, the United States, we are told, is a classless society. ...Most newspapers have a business section but not a corresponding labor section. This gives the impression that news written from the point of view of business is of value to all Americans, and there are no conflicts based on different and competing class interests (p. 6).

Kumar argues that *working class* should be defined as those who have little or no control over their work conditions and that when defined this way, the vast majority of

people in the United States fit into this category. She raises serious concerns about the lack of discussion of class in the media under the corporate model. Researchers have studied the coverage of other recent labor movements, particularly the strike of UPS workers in the late 1990s. The UPS example provides a good contrast to the Mt. Olive boycott.

UPS Strike

Studies of the strike of UPS workers in the late 1990s found that there are possibilities for labor to reverse the discourse and make it work in their favor. In the case of UPS workers, however, that was possible because the workers were highly visible (Martin, 2004a). Many people in the United States knew their UPS delivery person, even by name. Another reason researchers cited was that one week into the strike, a USA Today/Gallup poll found that Americans were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the workers' position. The media, which had been using a strong consumerist discourse during the first week of the strike, suddenly found themselves in a quandary by these poll results (Kumar, 2001; Martin, 2004b). These two factors boded well for UPS workers and can be instructive when considered in the context of FLOC and the Mt. Olive boycott.

First of all, it is impossible to know what would have happened in the UPS case had there not been a poll. Would the visibility of the workers alone have been enough to shift the media discourse? How influential were the poll results in shifting the discourse? In contemplating those questions, I would argue that it was partly because of the prominence of UPS and the disruption for consumers nationwide that USA Today and Gallup found the issue compelling enough to conduct a poll. The limited visibility of Mt. Olive as a company, the fact that it was a boycott and not a disruptive strike, the fact that the workers were foreign

migrant farmworkers, and the more limited geographic scope of the issue all made it one that would not have been high enough on the news agenda for it to earn the attention of pollsters. FLOC was at a major disadvantage in terms of its ability to influence Anglo media discourse.

Secondly, the UPS strike's success in the media was partly due to the visibility of the workers. The labor union did not need to personalize the workers because thousands of Americans interact daily with UPS workers. In the case of Mt. Olive, the workers represent those most invisible in American society. Officially, they are not even part of American society. As we were told by the *WSJ*, they are foreign workers here on temporary work visas. They live in camps near the farms and are so isolated that it is unlikely most U.S. residents would even see them. In my cursory Web search for this issue, my impression is that perhaps the only U.S. residents who would have contact with farmworkers are the actual farmers or people who are active in a church-affiliated migrant ministry program. I would argue that the implications of corporate news media ownership, the pervasive myth of a classless society, and the fact that these are migrant workers all worked together to make labor in general and FLOC specifically disappear from the Anglo news stories. Because the Latino press did feature the perspective of FLOC and a different discourse, I address the social practices for the Latino press separately.

Latino press

On several occasions, producers of Latino newspapers in North Carolina have expressed to me a desire to conduct a readership study. Because of their distribution practices, they simply do not know exactly who their readers are. They assume that many readers are native Spanish-speaking immigrants of varying education levels from day

laborers to unskilled and skilled workers to white-collar professionals. Through their own experience or through the experience of family members or acquaintances, many have probably either been the “underdog” or sympathized with the underdog and his or her fight against the system. Some scholars even consider this trait to be common among people from Latin America and attribute it to a psyche that is a by-product of Spanish colonial rule (Fox, 1996). Geoffrey Fox (1996) believes that this psyche operates in a more complex way for U.S. Latinos than for Latin Americans because they draw on it for Latin American unity but link it with a U.S. market concept and a “concept of personal liberty combined with solidarity for the other ‘little guys’” (p. 11). For readers sympathetic with a resistance position, the Mt. Olive boycott may have served as an issue that they could “rally around,” and the newspapers called on them to do just that.

The use of Latino media by FLOC is not surprising when considered within the history of labor unions. At the beginning of the twentieth century, “the U. S. Labor movement published hundreds of newspapers in dozens of languages...” (Bekken, 1993, p. 57). After studying five labor movements in the 1990s, Christopher Martin (2004b) makes five recommendations for how labor should get the news media “to go beyond their typical consumer-oriented frames and tell fair and compelling stories about people’s lives at work” (p. 198). His fourth recommendation is that labor unions should utilize nonmainstream media. FLOC’s strategy of using the Latino newspapers is consistent with a history of using other language press (when the workers speak another language) as well as with Martin’s recommendation considering the Latino newspapers a form of alternative media.

Although we do not know to what degree readers of mainstream media are also reading Latino media, the alternative discourse in *LC* was apparently strong enough to

warrant the attention of Mt. Olive and motivate them to get their message into the newspaper. One national survey by the Pew Hispanic Center notes that “nearly half of the adult Hispanic population crisscrosses between ... [English and Spanish-language news], getting some of its news in both languages” (Suro, 2004). Based on this information, we might assume that Latinos who have lived here longer and exercise more fluid ethnicity would have been attentive to both Anglo and Latino media. For non-Spanish speaking Anglos, however, there were other sources of alternative media, such as independent media, church-based communications, and the Web.

Conclusion

Unlike the driver’s license issue in which the decision-making was sudden and secretive and purposely seemed to exclude both Latino leaders and the public, the Mt. Olive boycott issue lasted longer. It came to light through the efforts of FLOC, in a sense, making it a bottom-up rather than a top-down issue. By that I mean that the boycott was generated by those on the lower rungs of the social stratification ladder rather than the driver’s license changes which were instituted from the top levels. In the Mt. Olive case, those at the top levels (business rather than government) were put in a defensive position. Even though Mt. Olive had the corporate-focused media and a strong antiunion history on their side to represent their position, FLOC had its own outlet in the form of the Latino media and grassroots support on the Web.

The fact that Mt. Olive was compelled to insert its message into the Latino media attests to the important role these media may have been playing. While we cannot be completely sure about the degree of prestige or influence of North Carolina’s Latino

newspapers, we can say that their influence should not be dismissed. The reporting in the Anglo newspapers did not make it possible for the average citizen to grasp the reality of migrant farmworkers. The Anglo newspapers' ability to define the actors of this issue gave them an opportunity to disseminate and promote a particular perspective, the perspective of Mt. Olive as a victim. The alternative discourse in the Latino newspapers provided more balance and an opposing viewpoint to this issue: a viewpoint that made the workers visible and laid bare where the power in the system resided. Situated within the historical context of both migrant farmwork and labor in North Carolina and a resistant Anglo press, it is remarkable that FLOC was able to accomplish its goals.

Chapter 7: Implications and Conclusion

This study contributes to research on Latinos and media in the Southeast and newspaper coverage of Latinos. To begin, most research on Latinos and media has focused on the Southwest or other traditional immigrant receiving spots. However, the current context of immigration shows changing patterns in these sites. Latino immigrants are arriving and transforming the demographic makeup of both large- and medium-sized cities as well as small towns in the Midwest, Northeast, and Southeast. The Southeast, which has a tumultuous history of black-white race relations, is now faced with an historic shift in this racial dynamic, precisely at the time that the region is experiencing faster growth and development than the rest of the United States. Hence, the site of this research, North Carolina, can shed light on this new context and contribute to a geographic actualization of studies on Latinos and media.

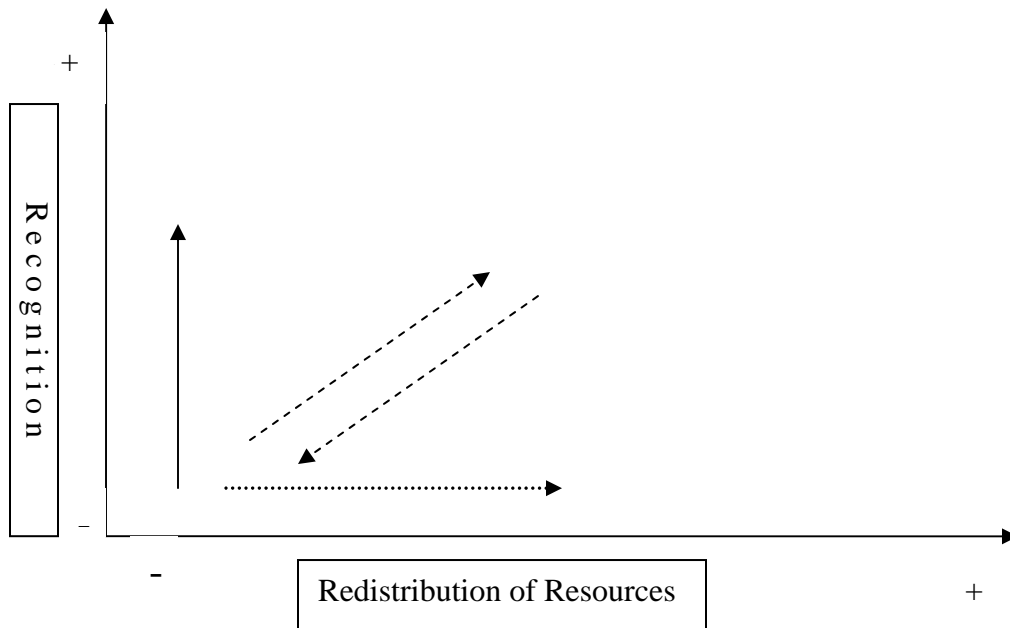
Moreover, this research expands our understanding of news media representations of Latinos by focusing on newspapers, which have been understudied among other types of media. Much of the previous research has been on entertainment portrayals of Latinos in film and television. Studies of Latinos or Latino issues in the news have mostly examined broadcast television news. Yet, newspapers are still considered vital sources of information for readers who want a more in-depth understanding of issues for decision making and public policy debate. This research also studied Latino-oriented media in an attempt to explore both

the power and limitations that these media face when trying to assert an alternative discourse – a discourse that serves the Latino community. Much of the research on Latino-oriented media has focused on the functions they serve for the community, typically as vehicles of assimilation, acculturation, or adaptation. This study moves away from that tradition and provides an in-depth analysis of *how* the processes of advocating for a community occur or can be subverted through the media. By using CDA, this study expands on the methodological approach, which has mainly been a European tradition, by applying this framework to a study of U.S. media. More generally, however, the combination of a content analysis with a CDA demonstrates the potential of CDA to expand the insight gained through a content analysis. This study combines three separate studies because of its multimethod approach, variety of issues studied, and the diversity of media. Together the parts yield powerful insight about the struggle for rights among groups of Latinos in North Carolina. This study deals with questions of membership in a community and the results show how societal forces work to marginalize groups, yet at the same time, that the marginalized have opportunities to counter the hegemonic discourses and practices. Van Dijk, in his 1999 study of British and Dutch newspapers, noted the differences between conservative, tabloid newspapers and quality newspapers. My study further supports the value of side-by-side examination of media that engage in different discursive practices. This chapter reviews the concept of cultural citizenship, discusses the findings using a cultural citizenship framework, and then focuses on the implications for the Anglo newspapers and the Latino newspapers.

Cultural Citizenship

The overall findings of this project can be interpreted within a framework of cultural citizenship. While the social practices discussion in the driver's license chapter (Chapter 5) centered on cultural citizenship, I now broaden it to cover the entire project. Cultural citizenship moves away from an essentialist conceptualization of citizenship by recognizing the nuanced degrees of citizenship in society. Renato Rosaldo (1999) suggests studying the spaces where disenfranchised groups negotiate and struggle for more recognition and resources. As I discussed in Chapter 1, Latinos in North Carolina, just as Latinos all over the United States, are diverse in background and socioeconomic status. This diversity means that some Latinos have more recognition and greater access to resources than others from the outset. Figure 7.1 illustrates graphically my understanding of Rosaldo's ideas.

Figure 7.1: Depiction of Rosaldo's Concept of the Cultural Citizenship Continuum



In Figure 7.1, the point where the axes meet represents little to no recognition or resources, and any move away from that point would represent cultural citizenship gains. A

vertical movement would mean an increase in recognition not accompanied by an increase in resources while a horizontal movement would represent a group gaining resources, but not recognition. A diagonal arrow, up or down, would indicate a gain or loss in both recognition and resources. The diversity within the Latino community means that different segments of the population would start out at different spots on the chart with more or less recognition and resources.

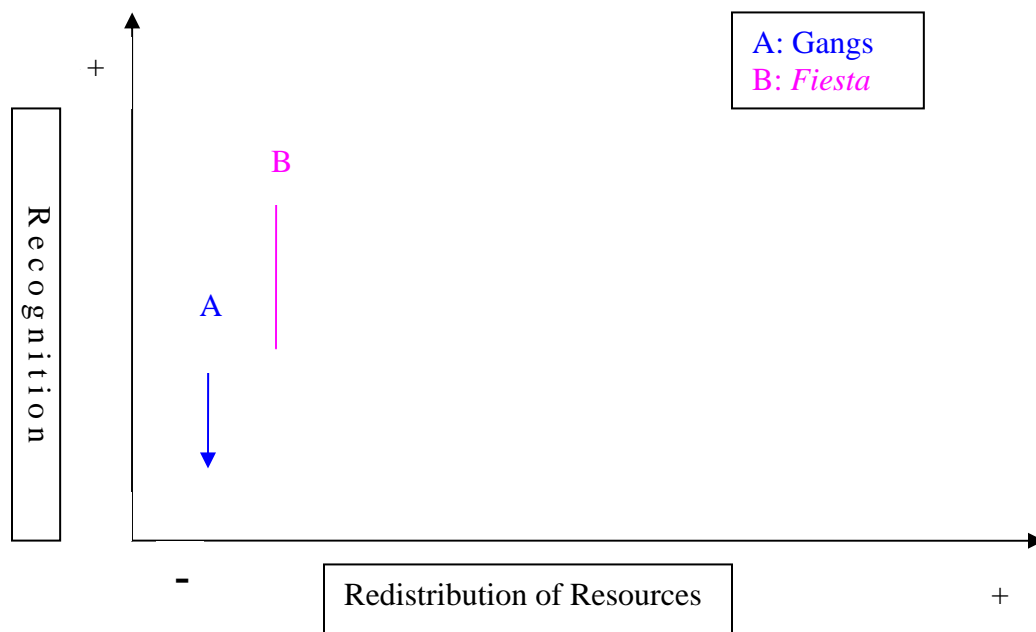
Cultural citizenship can also be helpful for defining a Latino issue. Under a cultural citizenship definition, a Latino issue could be one that represents a negotiation of rights. I apply this definition in the next section where I begin reviewing the findings of my study and mapping the issues on the cultural citizenship continuum. Overall, studying the orders of discourse allowed me to see the ways that the media contributed to the processes of marginalization or empowerment of Latinos within the struggle for the recognition and redistribution of resources. The Mt. Olive boycott represented a transparent case of a struggle for resources for migrant Mexican farmworkers, who were arguably among the most marginalized to begin with. In contrast, the driver's license issue demonstrated the loss of rights for the undocumented resident segment of the Latino population.

Overall Coverage

The content analysis of the five Latino issues yielded a total sample of 363 articles. The issues that were covered, from most to least, were increasing gang activity (n=109), Jessica Santillán's death (n=85), the *fiestas* (n=79), the driver's license changes (n=49), and the Mt. Olive boycott (n=43). Examination of the variables including length, relevance, authorship, and article type revealed ambiguities in the issues that influenced the coverage.

These results raised questions about what constitutes a Latino issue. Although gangs were covered the most, the articles in the Anglo newspapers had low relevance scores because of the questioning nature and hesitation regarding the Latino gang presence. The Latino press had higher relevance because the articles were of a warning or advising nature. The questioning (Anglo press) or warning (Latino press) about gangs occupies a criminal order of discourse, but at this point in North Carolina the discussion is not centered on actions to combat gangs, or discussions of punishment or imprisonment; this is not, therefore, a loss of resources. I would argue, however, that the implications of questioning increasing Latino gang presence may represent the beginning of a negative movement in recognition (see Figure 7.2). The gang issue is difficult to place on the cultural citizenship graph at this point.

Figure 7.2: Gangs and *fiesta* as cultural citizenship negotiation



The differences in gang coverage between the Anglo and Latino newspapers also raise questions that could be addressed by an agenda-setting study. Specifically, are there

cases of Latino media setting the agenda for the Latino issues that the Anglo news media cover? In this study, the Anglo newspapers were tentative about gangs, yet the Latino papers had more articles about gangs, and the articles were more relevant. Specifically, the articles appeared to be providing an alert to the Latino community with guidelines on how to deal with the possibility of gangs. An agenda-setting study might find a connection in terms of whether the Anglo papers sounded the alarm that led to heavier coverage by the Latino papers.

The annual *fiestas*, also mapped in Figure 7.2, contribute to Latino recognition yet are not threatening to most non-Latino residents because they are not accompanied by a demand for resources and do not represent a site of negotiation. If we use cultural citizenship to define a Latino issue, the *fiesta* would not fit. For the *fiestas*, three-quarters of the articles in the Anglo papers were briefs or calls for volunteers from El Pueblo, Inc. In the Latino papers, many of the articles about the *fiesta* were unedited press releases from the organization. Therefore, research on the role of public relations information subsidies for Latino journalism might be insightful.

The *N&O*'s high coverage of Jessica Santillán's tragedy and the nature of the stories indicated that although she was a Latina, her death was not a Latino issue. Rather, it was a newsworthy scandal, a medical malpractice issue. Jessica's case does not represent negotiation of recognition or resources for Latinos, so I have not added it to the cultural citizenship continuum in Figure 7.2. It is relevant to mention, however, that several news stories from the *N&O* included sections addressing the access of resources, such as a highly coveted organ transplant or money from medical lawsuit, by undocumented immigrants. Although I am asserting that gangs, *fiestas*, and Jessica are not specifically Latino issues, I do

this cautiously because there are elements of each story that might fit the definition. Furthermore, readers of the *N&O* may still link Latinos with these two issues. For instance, if there were no Latinos in the area, there would not be a potentially growing Latino gang presence. Jessica's situation similarly may contribute to an overall perception that Latino immigrants use more resources than other residents. Generally speaking, these three issues that received the most coverage confirm Wilson et al.'s (2002) assertions that news coverage of Latinos tends to be of emphasize stereotypical or threatening issues and events. The overemphasis on gangs, scandal, and *fiestas* may contribute to the symbolic disappearance of serious and timely questions of cultural citizenship such as the driver's license rules and the Mt. Olive boycott.

Discourses about Citizenship

The CDA of the driver's license issue revealed two overarching discourses that operated in both the Anglo and Latino newspapers: an "us" vs. "them" discourse and a criminality discourse. The "us" vs. "them" was established within the context of 9/11, and the position of Latinos as "them" was solidified through the criminality discourse. Constructing Latinos as "them" and attaching criminality justified taking away their access to resources, namely a driver's license. By studying the discursive practices, it was clear that the local Latino leaders were literally and symbolically marginalized. A negative slide in recognition can be seen in the marginalization of Latino leaders, which in turn made it easier to discursively and literally remove Latinos' right to a driver's license. Without recognized leaders to speak in the Latino press, the newspapers echoed the discourse established by the Anglo press, and the Latino leaders who were the main sources for news stories were put into

a defensive position. The Latino leaders and the press that reproduced their discourse decried the measure as unfair to the community on a local level. This local argument was no match for the powerful, national 9/11 criminality background discourse used by the Anglo newspapers. In fact, through their efforts to inform their readers, the Latino papers contributed to the criminality discourse by identifying which of their readers were potentially violating the rules and telling them how to possibly skirt the law. When comparing the two Latino issues studied with CDA, those in danger of losing their ability to obtain a driver's license started at a higher point on the recognition and resources chart than did the farmworkers. These undocumented Latinos who are not farmworkers live among other North Carolina residents, are active in the workforce, and are visible in a variety of service sector and unskilled or semiskilled jobs.

Figure 7.3: Cultural citizenship movement related to the driver's license issue

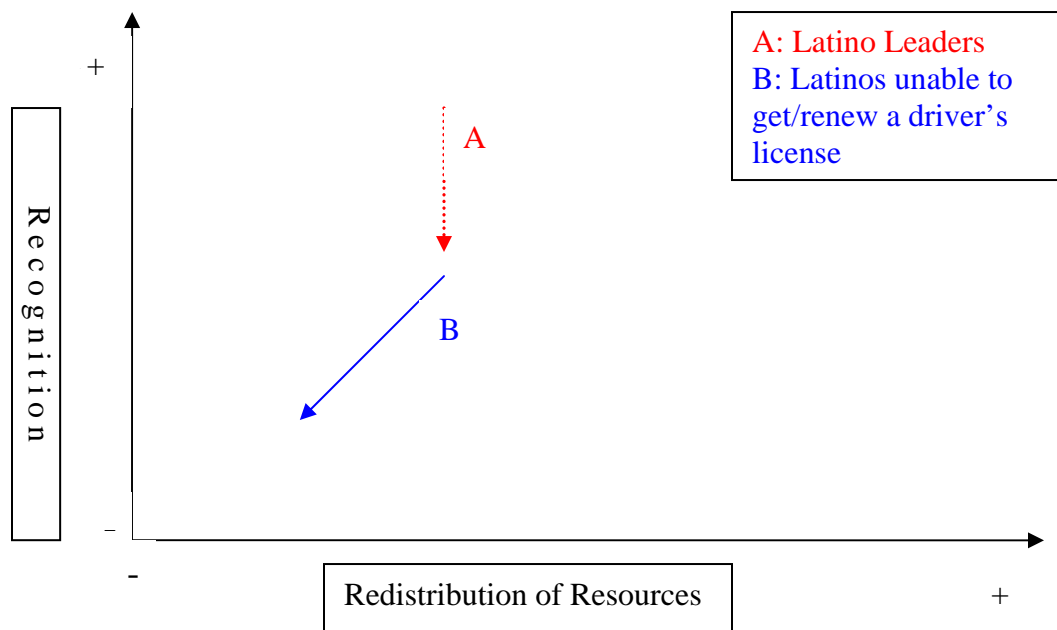


Figure 7.3 illustrates the two-step process that discursively facilitated the loss of a driver's license. In this case, Latino opinion leaders were removed from the decision-making process, and their ability to contest the removal was further disavowed by dismissing the lawsuit they filed. This drop in recognition (represented by A in Figure 7.3) created a communication vacuum because the newspapers' most credible and reliable sources were delegitimized. The lowered recognition facilitated the discursive and real loss of recognition and rights for undocumented Latinos as their right to a driver's license was taken away (arrow B in Figure 7.3).

Another context, however, was invisible: the context of what Latino labor means for the state. Although the 2006 report on the economic impact of Latinos to the state had not come out, there were other preliminary reports pointing to the contributions of Latinos and the savings for North Carolina industry (see Johnson et al., 1999; Johnson-Webb, 2002). A discursive approach suggests that researchers should consider what other alternative discourses might have been employed. In this case, the Latino community might have been able to combat the "us" vs. "them" discourse by trying to shift it back to an "us – all in this together" discourse by highlighting the contribution of Latino labor rather than simply decrying the measures as unfair to the community. In the end, the lack of a coherent argument articulated by the leaders of the community contributed to a delegitimization of their authority and led to the panic and overcrowding at the DMV offices, since readers were neither clearly informed nor had anyone standing up for them. As of February 2, 2004, Mexican immigrants must show a passport with a valid visa or a green card to get or renew their driver's license in North Carolina. Needless to say, many hardworking, law-abiding, Mexican residents are turning up in the judicial system because they are more frequently

cited for driving without a license. Without a driver's license, they are also marginalized in other areas of society. They have more difficulty with banking and other institutions in which one must prove identity and are unable to obtain car insurance. A driver's license represents a strong symbol of belonging in society, and the lack of one has negatively impacted many undocumented Mexican immigrants in both recognition and resources.

Discourses about Labor

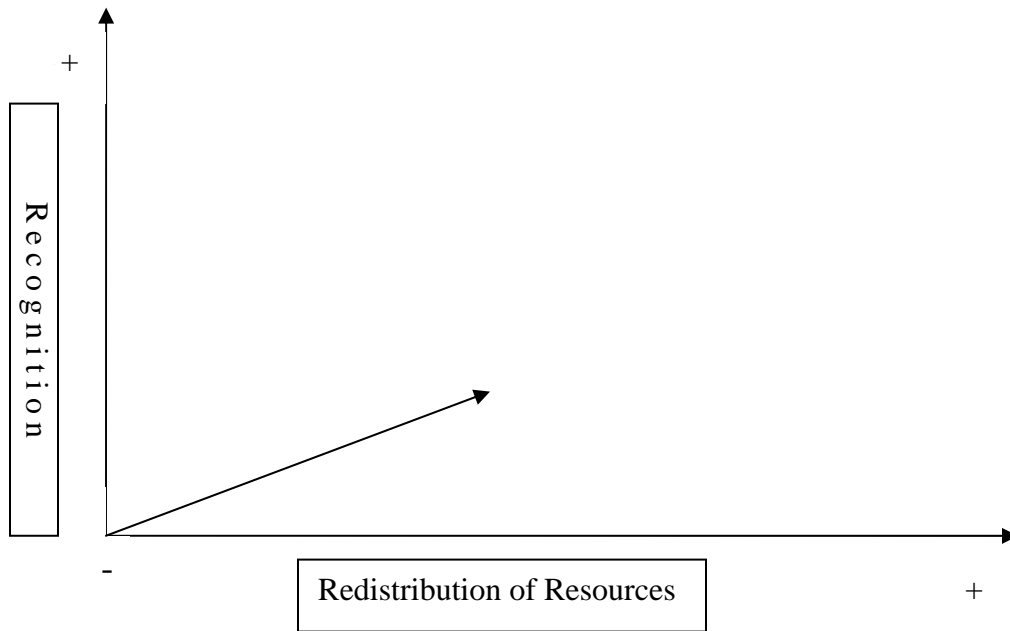
In the CDA of the Mt. Olive boycott, the Anglo and Latino newspapers used different discourses to talk about labor and economic justice for farmworkers. Anglo newspapers constructed Mt. Olive as an innocent victim of a politically-motivated, northern labor union. Just as 9/11 served as the contextual strategy to maintain the subordination of Latinos for the driver's license issue, a reliance on the South's antiunion script was the Anglo newspapers' tactic to keep the farmworkers from gaining in recognition or resources. In this case, however, it did not work. The economic, social, and political context of North Carolina, however, played a formidable role in the coverage of the Mt. Olive boycott by the Anglo newspapers, specifically the *N&O*. The South owes much of its economic revival after the Civil War to the way industry leaders and politicians kept labor unions from establishing a hold in the region and thereby maintained a cheap labor force that attracted new industry. This antiunion script is deeply embedded in southern culture, which meant that the *N&O* did not need to explain to its readers what union membership might mean or how it would help the workers. Based on the state's history, readers would attach a negative interpretation to any mention of unions. If this boycott had happened in a northern state like Philadelphia, Ohio, or Michigan, the discourse of the local Anglo newspapers might have looked very

different. Mt. Olive was given a voice in the *N&O* and used it to establish itself as an innocent victim that had been randomly selected for this boycott. Both the *N&O* and the *WSJ* emphasized that FLOC was an outsider from the North, which still resonates in the South, while making the farmworkers themselves and the work they do invisible.

In contrast, the Latino newspapers gave FLOC a voice which they used to assert that their struggle was a just and noble one – an example of the powerless fighting for what they rightly deserved. In order to support this issue, FLOC’s discourse pointed out the influential rather than inconsequential position of Mt. Olive. The Latino newspapers revealed the link between the company and the hiring process for H-2A farmworkers along with the inherently exploitative system of contract farming. FLOC’s discourse drew the reader in by using “us” and “we,” by emphasizing the struggle that the boycott represented, and by noting the support that they were receiving from other groups. The Latino papers also made the farmwork and the farmworkers a visible part of this process. The work and the abuses that had motivated the boycott were described in concrete, visual terms.

In applying cultural citizenship to this struggle, as shown in Figure 7.4, the farmworkers in question would start out at a lower position on both the recognition and resources axes because they were not permanent residents, but rather H2-A visa holders who reside in Mexico part of the year and then come to North Carolina to work in agriculture. Once here, they live in camps near the fields and have very limited or no contact with North Carolina residents. They are truly among the most invisible in society, the voiceless, and the most vulnerable to exploitation. At the same time, they are contributing to the vitality of the state’s agricultural industry by giving the state a \$147 million wage advantage (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006, p. 29).

Figure 7.4: Farmworkers' cultural citizenship movement



The farmworkers began at the lowest point for both recognition and resources. With the success of the boycott, the workers gained higher salaries, a grievance and appeals process, and more oversight in the hiring process for workers, all increases in resources. The widespread support of the boycott by church and community organizations, Kroger stores, and Duke University means that the farmworkers also moved up on the recognition axis of the chart. The Mt. Olive boycott represents a struggle by the disenfranchised to gain rights rather than an effort by the powerful to suppress rights as with the driver's license issue. The bottom-up rather than top-down initiation of the issue might have made the difference in both the discursive and real success of the movement. Even though the FLOC discourse was not able to assert itself in the Anglo papers, FLOC and the Latino press did not answer to the Anglo discourse as it did in the driver's license issue. Furthermore, the Anglo media was attentive to the discourses in the Latino media and attempted to assert its discourse in *LC*.

This would combat the notion that the Anglo and Latino media were operating in parallel discursive worlds. The implications of these findings are important for Latino media or for minority media in general and will be discussed in the section on Implications for Latino Media.

The distinctions between the two issues tell us that it may be important to have a strong, unified voice in order to articulate the alternative discourse. The farmworkers had that voice in FLOC, which used a cohesive discourse: this is a struggle we are all a part of, we have support, and this is a just cause. The driver's license issue had voices that appeared to be abdicating after being marginalized from the state power structure. They did not have a cohesive discourse but rather answered to the discourse established by others. Newspapers often reproduce the discourses of others. Their ability to shape the discourses that circulate in the public sphere, while potentially powerful, is also somewhat limited by what sources say and actors do. In the future, when Latinos' rights are on the line, a strong cohesive voice may be a key factor in the success or failure to maintain their position or gain recognition or resources.

Implications

Anglo Media: "More" does not mean "Better"

The multimethod approach of this project leads me to the conclusion that when it comes to the *N&O* and *WSJ*'s coverage of Latinos, more does not necessarily mean better. As I acknowledged in the Reflexivity section of the Methodology chapter, I have inherent biases towards Latinos. I was hopeful, yet skeptical, that the coverage in the Anglo media would be balanced, comprehensive, and fair. Through the content analysis, I discovered that

the *WSJ* had a much lower number of articles than the other newspapers. This highlighted the stark differences between the two Anglo newspapers. Despite Winston-Salem having a larger percentage of Latinos in its population (14.3% versus Raleigh's 9.7%), the lower number of articles, shorter articles, and lower number of authored articles may render Latino issues and hence the complexity or entirety of the Latino population invisible to readers. For the Mt. Olive boycott, the *WSJ* only published three news items, and all three were briefs. Two of the three briefs were in the business section of the newspaper while only one was a news brief. As briefs tend to be, these were highly impersonal in that they did not name any of the actors and also did not include any quotes. The placement of two of the *WSJ*'s briefs in the business section is indicative of another trend: the coverage of labor issues in the context of business news. This trend has been noted in recent scholarly work by Christopher Martin (2004b), who studied the news coverage of five major strikes of the 1990s and found that a corporate frame usually guided the coverage. That is, labor issues are generally presented in terms of how they impact corporate America and U.S. consumers rather than in terms of the work or the workers.

Although this is not a study of newsroom production or practices, an April 2000 article from the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) featured the *WSJ* and the difficulty the newspaper has had in increasing the number of minority staff members. After a concerted three-year effort to recruit minority reporters, the *WSJ* only gained one minority reporter, and the editor of the paper commented, "We're competing with a lot of high-quality newspapers and lose a lot of people fairly often" (Bireda, 2000). It is important to note that the ASNE article focused on the hiring of blacks and on problems the newspaper has in

covering the black community of Winston-Salem. It is probably safe to assume, however, that their problem also extends to Latinos as well as other minority groups.

After conducting the content analysis, I was impressed by the high coverage of Latino issues in the *N&O* and originally thought that it might be able to serve as a model for other southern newspapers. This impression was completely shattered, however, when I began the CDA of the driver's licenses and was solidified when I moved into the analysis of the Mt. Olive boycott. Despite the 1998 disaster at the *N&O* provoked by its coverage of an undocumented Mexican, the paper appears to have made little progress in its coverage of Latino issues. The *N&O* used blatantly polarizing language to delegitimize Latinos and also used the polemical national anti-immigration group, FAIR, as a source to comment on the driver's license issue. The paper also made little apparent effort to give a voice to Latinos or those who advocate for Latinos. The *WSJ*, on the other hand, did not employ overtly racist or derogatory terms and in fact used neutral, non-emotionally laden terms to talk about the issue. Unlike the *N&O*, the *WSJ* appears to have either more sensitive reporters or editorial policies in place that guard against overtly prejudiced reporting.

The argument that the *N&O* is written for a middle-class, Anglo readership is not sufficient to absolve it from better reporting. Higher standards exist for journalists and editors through their professional organizations. The *N&O*'s reporting on both of these issues appears to be in direct opposition to ASNE's Statement of Principles and the Society of Professional Journalists' (SPJ) Code of Ethics. Article I of ASNE's Statement of Principles reads, "The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve the general welfare by informing the people and enabling them to make judgments on the issues of the time;" and "The American press was made free not just to inform or just to serve as a

forum for debate but also to bring an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces of power in the society...” (Bowles & Borden, 2004, p. 212). The coverage of the Mt. Olive boycott left readers in no position to make judgments on the issues of the time because it did not inform them about an issue that they likely know little about: the lives of farmworkers. Likewise, the driver’s license issue was not covered in a way that would invite public debate but rather was presented as an inconvenience to readers because of the chaos Latinos created at DMV offices. The driver’s license issue represented an exercise of the forces of power in the society to limit the rights of a segment of the population. Yet the press simply accepted the false link between 9/11 and Latinos and transmitted the connection as accepted knowledge. Neither the national terrorism discourse nor the local actions by the DMV were scrutinized in the reporting by the Anglo press. Article IV of the Statement of Principles addresses truth and accuracy by asserting, “Every effort must be made to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly.” I question the *N&O*’s efforts to remain bias-free and to provide context so that all sides are presented fairly. The reporting on the Mt. Olive boycott contained strong anti-union bias and did not present the side of FLOC or the farmworkers. The driver’s license reporting also failed to provide adequate context.

Examining the *N&O*’s reporting in the context of SPJ’s Code of Ethics brings up even more serious concern. The Code states that “The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources’ reliability.” In the story that cited Peter Gadiel, the man who lost a son in the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (N1), the public was given no information that would give him any authority to comment on the driver’s license issue. He visited the state with a FAIR representative, and his highly prejudiced remarks feature prominently in the article. The

paper also used FAIR in other stories, yet FAIR's nativist bias was never questioned, seemingly violating another part of the Code of Ethics which states, "Test the accuracy of information from all sources and exercise care to avoid inadvertent error. Deliberate distortion is never permissible." The story (N1) appeared to be reporting on a debate but was actually two separate news conferences. In this discussion, the *N&O* violated the principle that says, "Avoid misleading re-enactments or staged news events."

However, the most egregious violation of the Code of Ethics that occurred throughout the reporting is that of "Give voice to the voiceless; official and unofficial sources of information can be equally valid" (Bowles & Borden, 2004, p. 214). The voiceless did not have a voice in the *N&O*. FLOC did not have a voice in the *N&O*, the farmworkers had neither a voice nor a presence, and Latinos who were losing their right to drive were limited to commenting on the chaos at the DMV offices and not on the issue itself. While there is value in critiquing the mainstream Anglo media for its continued role in the invisibility or the distortion of Latino life and Latino issues, I also recognize that their routines and practices are deeply entrenched and that the possibility for change might be complex and limited. Nonetheless, journalists and editors should be aware of the implications of their practices. The nascent Latino press which has already shown itself to be flexible in form and focus could benefit from information gathered in this project in a way to serve their readers and the Latino community in a project of empowerment and advocacy.

Latino Newspapers in North Carolina

Despite the advocacy (*LC*) versus commercial (*QP*) business models of the Latino papers, the characteristics of their coverage of the issues were similar. The biggest visible

differences between the Latino newspapers were in their editorial content and authorship patterns. *LC*, which considers itself a strong advocate for the community, had an editor at the time of this study who was also the author of many stories. This led to a blurring between news stories and editorials. At times, the lengthiest items about a topic were the editorials rather than the news stories. *QP*, on the other hand, did not print editorials or letters to the editor during this time. This lack of editorial content depersonalizes the presence of the newspaper within the community. Through editorials, papers essentially speak to their readers and break away from tenet of fair and balanced reporting to give a viewpoint and take a stand. Likewise, letters to the editor give readers a means of responding and commenting. Future research may want to look at the implications of not including editorials.

As I have already discussed, the driver's license and Mt. Olive boycott represented examples of both a success and a failure both discursively and actually. For the driver's license, the local leaders were marginalized, their messages lacked cohesion, and in the end the newspaper discourse worked with the same discourses that were set by the Anglo newspapers: "us" vs. "them" and criminality. Rather than presenting an alternative, the Latino press also worked within the 9/11 political and social context. While they did their best to inform readers of the situation, they unfortunately reinforced the criminality discourse and highlighted the lack of belonging. In the Mt. Olive stories, FLOC's strong voice articulated the position of the farmworkers and revealed the position of the Mt. Olive Pickle Company as part of a system of repression and exploitation. Eventually, FLOC won its fight leading to the first migrant farmworker union in the country and a victory with the potential to impact around 9,000 workers in the state. The discourse that the Anglo papers used was

not given space in the Latino papers except in one case where Mt. Olive asked *LC* to print its side (*LC2*). The paper obliged while at the same time disavowing the information.

Analyzing the discursive practices of the Latino newspapers reaffirmed the heavy use of information subsidies that I detected when studying the driver's license stories. This was particularly noticeable when talking about the farmworker conditions because the articles did not quote current farmworkers. Generally, when discussing the work conditions and abuses, either the FLOC president or another FLOC representative described what he or she had seen. One farmworker, who was part of the organizing committee, was quoted through his participation in the press conference held at the signing ceremony of the agreement. The Latino newspapers reprinted press releases from FLOC, a letter of support from the Archbishop of Cincinnati, and the text of the agreement between Mt. Olive, FLOC, and the North Carolina Growers Association. The exclusive reliance on official voices speaking through press conferences and press releases impersonalizes the news. This impersonalization or lack of voice of the "man on the street" limits the empowerment potential of the Latino newspapers. It is unclear, however, if the Latino newspapers are following a different model of journalism or if this reliance on information subsidies is due to financial constraints.

Latino newspapers, particularly in newer immigrant receiving sites, can learn much from these two examples. Latino newspapers in the communities of North Carolina, the South, and other places that are sites of new Latino immigration will undoubtedly face future policy issues similar to the driver's license: rules imposed from above attacking their readers' rights. The newspapers will find themselves in a defensive position and will need to deal with this fact. The Mt. Olive boycott, however, shows that it is possible to establish an alternative

discourse and that a valid way of doing that is by finding a strong, representative voice who can articulate the Latino arguments clearly. Media researchers should search for other similar examples that can serve as positive models for Latino media, and Latino media should have plans in place for how to deal with these crises of cultural citizenship. Additionally, despite their limited resources, journalists should cultivate ties with the academic and business communities – two groups who may have different interests regarding the Latino community but who may be able to provide journalists with support in the form of industry research, reports, and up-to-date academic research. Moreover, the Mt. Olive boycott demonstrates that it is possible for Latinos to make strides in obtaining rights when they initiate the issue. Researchers should look for other examples of success stories of Latino media not just responding to but actually initiating the struggle for expanding rights.

This research also confirms an increasing need for a more comprehensive typology of Latino media. As the Latino population and Latino media continue to increase in the United States, the ability to efficiently and systematically conduct research may depend on recognition of the complexity and variety of newspapers. In a recent talk before the Foundation for Mexican and American Solidarity, Federico Subervi-Vélez (in publication) noted the importance of distinguishing between community or cooperative media and privately-owned commercial media. In the case of *LC* and *QP*, both would be considered privately-owned commercial newspapers but differ in their approach. One follows a business, commercial media model that resembles mainstream, Anglo media (*QP*), and the other depends on that business model for their existence yet espouses and embodies the values of advocacy journalism (*LC*). While it is outside the scope of this project, a detailed analysis of these two newspapers might be helpful to define parameters of a proposed typology.

Negotiating a Place for Latinos

As I stated in the Introduction, discourses both reflect and construct the ways of talking about and understanding ideas and practices in society (Hall, 1997, p. 6). In North Carolina's Anglo media, Latino farmworkers are invisible, yet their plight and their struggle constituted a political threat to Mt. Olive Pickle Company. The news discourses drew on the historical knowledge of and experience with labor unions to inform the discourse that told readers this was not a fair fight. Drawing on the current national political context of 9/11, North Carolina's Latinos were constructed as a very distinct "other" and linked to criminal practices through the news discourses of the Anglo newspapers.

The Latino newspapers supported this discourse by attempting to answer to the charges rather than re-explain the situation in Latino terms. Ultimately, this strategy failed, and the result in social practices was the diminished rights of Latinos in the community. On the contrary, the Latino media's discourses for the Mt. Olive boycott told a different story than the Anglo media. In their story, readers were called together to participate in a struggle that was noble and were told that Mt. Olive was the only possible target because they created and operated the system in place. Readers were provided a different way to think about and talk about the issue, and the result was positive for the Latino cause. While the Latino community in North Carolina is diverse – not completely made up of farmworkers, Mexicans, or undocumented immigrants – many of the Latinos in North Carolina will face a similar struggle at one time or another: a struggle along the continuum of cultural citizenship. This struggle will represent a fight to gain or to keep from losing recognition and resources in society. This study has clearly demonstrated that the discourses used by the media can

contribute to articulation of cultural struggles and may influence the outcomes of these areas of social and political negotiation.

Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Article number _____ 1. Article Date _____

Circle the option that applies for each item.

2. Newspaper: N&O W-S Journal La Conexión Qué Pasa

3. Topic: Driver's license Jessica Santillan Mt. Olive boycott
Fiesta Gangs

4. Page number (or number & letter): _____

5. Attribution: Author name given Staff reports No byline
Wire report/news service Other NC newspaper
Other non-NC newspaper

6. Approximate Word count: _____

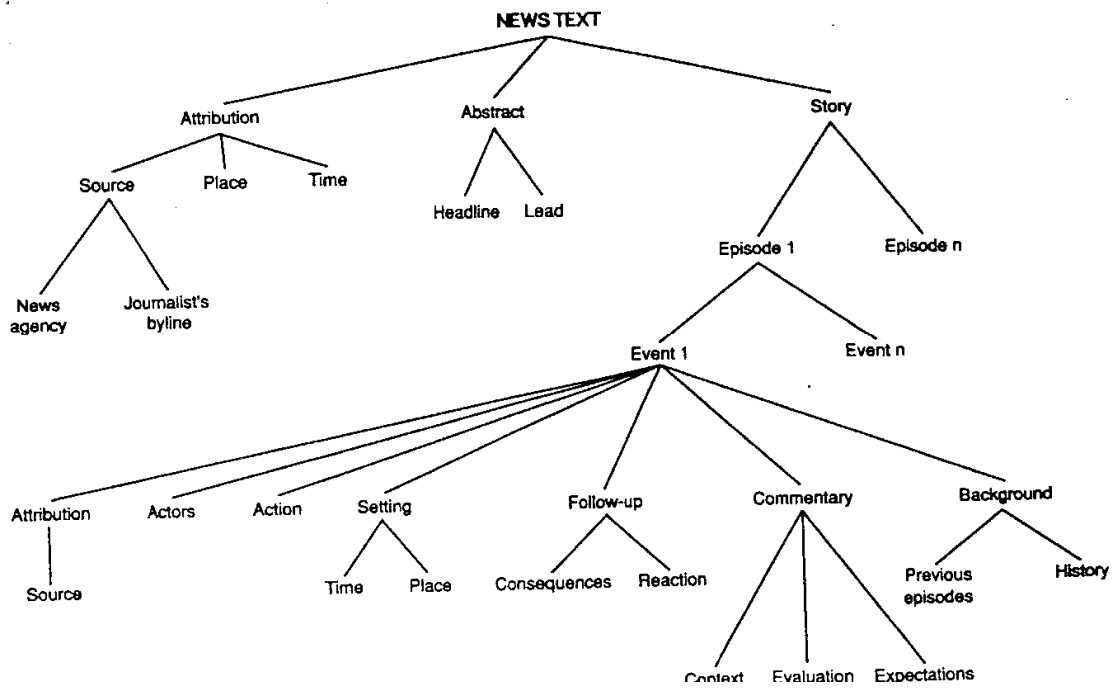
7. How much is the article really about the topic marked in number 2?

Completely	Very much	Kind of	Part of it	Not really
100%	80%	60%	40%	<20%

8. Type of article: news story editorial (by newspaper)
column (by regular columnist) letter to editor
announcement/request/brief or summary other
editorial/opinion by outside individual (sometimes referred to as a
guest columnist) If so, who is it? (name/title and affiliation)

Appendix B

Bell's Tree Diagrams for analyzing discourse of news stories (Bell, 1998, p.68)



Appendix C

Bell's questioning guide for analyzing discourse of news stories (Bell, 1998, p. 76-80)

Before answering questions, each sentence in the story is numbered.

What

1. Headline: What events take place in the headline? Summarize and number each event.

2. Lead: What events take place in the lead or intro? Summarize and number.

3. Events:

a. What events take place in the story? Summarize and number, then enter ` numbers alongside each sentence of the story.

b. What is the central event of the whole story? (Usually the main 'hard' news event in the lead.)

4. Headline, lead, and story:

a. What is the relationship of the headline to the lead?

- What events in the lead are included/excluded in the headline?
- What news values lie behind these inclusions and exclusions?
- Is the headline a valid representation of the lead?

b. What is the relationship of the lead to the story as a whole?

- What events in the story are included/excluded in the lead?
- What news values lie behind these inclusions and exclusions?
- Is the lead a valid representation of the whole story?
- Is there any information that is given in the lead but not returned to in the rest of the story?

- How does the lead begin telling the story as well as act as an abstract for it?

Who

5. Story attribution: Is the story as a whole attributed? To whom (agency, journalist)?

6. Sources attribution:

- Is there any attribution within the story? Who is attributed? (list)
- Beside each sentence, note down whom it is attributed to (if anyone).
- Precisely what is attributed and to whom?
- What speech verb is used in the attributions? (list)
 - What claims do the attributed sources have to authority?
 - Who is quoted directly? Indirectly?
 - Why have the particular speech verbs been used?
 - What parts of the story are not attributed? Why?
 - Where is attribution unclear or ambiguous? Does this have any repercussions?

7. News actors

- What news actors are mentioned? (list: people, organizations, nations, etc.)
- How are they labeled or referred to? (list)
 - What kinds of people or entities are mentioned in the story?
 - Why are they in the news? Are the news actors elite?
 - Is the news story personalized?
 - Are there patterns in the way the story refers to them or labels them?
- Does specifying who the news actors are modify the event structure you developed earlier?

Where

8. Places: What place expressions are used? (list) Where do they occur in the story?

(sentence number)

9. Place structure:

a. What locations does the story take place in? (list)

- Does the story stay in one location or move from place to place and back?

Why?

- Is it clear what is happening in which location?

- What sort of places are the events happening in? Is there a pattern to this?

b. Does specifying locations in this way modify the event structure you developed earlier?

When

10. Times: What time expressions are used in the story? (list) Where do they occur in the story? (sentence number)

11. Time structure:

a. What is the time structure of the story? Take the time of the central event as Time

0. Label earlier events as Time -1, -2, etc., and later events as Time +1, +2, etc. in the chronological sequence in which they actually occurred.

b. Beside each sentence, note down the number of the time or times at which the actions mentioned there occurred.

- How does the order in which the story is told relate to the chronological order of events?

- Why has the story been written in this order? What values lie behind the order?
- Does the order help or hinder a reader in understanding what is going on in the story?
- Does specifying times of occurrence in this way modify the event structure developed earlier?

12. Background: Is any background given (events prior to the central action – either recent previous events or more historical events)? *Does any of the background indicate any particular ideological frame behind the story?*

13. Commentary:

- a. Is there any commentary on events? – evaluation of events (editorializing)?
- b. Context for what has happened?
- c. Expectations of how the situation will develop?

Does any of the commentary (especially evaluation) indicate any particular ideology behind the story?

14. Follow-up: Is there any follow-up to the central action of each event (subsequent events, either reaction (verbal) or consequences (non-verbal)? *Does any of the follow-up indicate any particular ideology behind the story?*

Event and Discourse Structure

15. Event structure:

- a. Collate your successive re-categorizations of what happened in the story, drawing on news actors, place and time as well as the actions themselves.

b. List in chronological order the events and their associated actors, times and places and the sentence numbers in which they occur (in a table). This represents the event structure as you finally assess it to be.

c. Note any alternatives which represent discrepancies or unclarities in the story itself.

Is the story told in installments in which events follow one after another or are they interspersed with each other?

16. Discourse structure: At this stage, draw a tree diagram of the discourse structure. This will most likely require several rough drafts – which allow you to see how the structure masks ambiguities and unclarity.

17. Cohesion:

a. What linkages are expressed or implied between the sentences or events in the story? How? (list)

b. What linkages are omitted? (list)

c. What do the linkages (or their absence) between sentences or events mean for understanding the story?

d. Is a cause-and-effect relationship between different events implied by the way they are ordered?

e. Does the story flow smoothly, or does it jump about? Why?

18. Confusion

a. Has it now been possible to say precisely what happened in the story?

b. Or are there still ambiguities, gaps, or confusions, as exemplified in the possibility of alternative event or discourse structures? (list, explain)

References for Primary Sources

- Bonner, L. (2001, Sept. 15). Death of migrant worker cited in push for better conditions. *The News & Observer*, p. A3.
- Bonner, L. (2003, April 25). Bill would tighten licensing rules. *The News & Observer*. p. B1.
- Caudillo, P. (2004, Jan. 6). Restringirán requisitos de licencias de manejo en C.N. [Driver's licenses to be restricted in NC. New measures take effect in February]. *La Conexión*. p. 4.
- Caudillo, P. (2004, Jan. 13). Precisiones en los cambios de requisitos para obtener licencias de conducir en Carolina del Norte. [Details about changes to requirements for NC driver's licenses]. *La Conexión*. p. 1, 4.
- Caudillo, P. (2004, September 21). FLOC firma acuerdo con pepinera; pone fin a boicot de más de 5 años; beneficia a más de 8,000 trabajadores del campo. [FLOC signs agreement with pickle company; ends boycott of more than 5 years; benefits more than 8,000 farmworkers]. *La Conexión*, pp. 1-2.
- Easterbrook, M. (2004, Jan. 17). A new border to cross. *The News & Observer*. p. A1.
- Easterbrook, M. (2004, Jan. 24). Crowds crush DMV offices. *The News & Observer*. p. A1.
- González, A. (2004, Jan. 8-14). Complican trámite de licencias. [Complicating license procedure. Will stop accepting Mexican *matrícula*]. *Qué Pasa*. p. 4A.
- Hoppenjans, L. (2004, Jan. 30). DMV is sued over ID rules; 2 Hispanic groups say procedure not followed in new requirements. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. B1.
- Hoppenjans, L. (2004, Jan. 31). Limiting ID types for licenses OK, judge rules in suit against DMV. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. B1.
- Journal staff and wire report. (2000, May 25). Mt. Olive Pickle Co., boycotting union meet. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. D1.
- Journal staff and wire report. (2004, Sept. 16). Groups reach deal allowing workers union. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. B2.
- Journal staff and wire report. (2004, Sept. 17). Designated migrant workers to get union representation. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. D1.
- Myers, S. & Williams, B. (2000, Oct. 16). Pickle boycott debated. *News & Observer*. p. A3.
- Piñeros, H. (2004, Sept. 16-22). Victoria para sindicato de trabajadores agrícolas [Victory for farmworker unions]. *Qué Pasa*. p. 4A.

- Piñeros, H. (2004, Sept. 23-29). Acción binacional pro trabajadores agrícolas [Binational profarmworker action]. *Qué Pasa*. p. 6A.
- Prieto Zartha, R. (2004, Feb. 17). Arrestan a 208 al presenter documentos falsos para sacar licencia. [208 arrested for presenting fake documents to obtain license]. *La Conexión*. p. 4.
- Qué Pasa Staff. (2003, May 8-14). Licencias, en el ojo del huracán. [Licenses, in the eye of the hurricane]. *Qué Pasa*. p. 4A.
- Rodas, A. (2003, Nov. 6-12). Protestan relación entre Duke y Mt. Olive. *Qué Pasa*. p. 1 & 6.
- Rodas, A. (2004, Feb. 5-11). Entran en vigor nuevas reglas. [New rules take effect]. *Qué Pasa*. p. 4A.
- Saker, A. (2000, March 20). Peace amid the pickles. *News & Observer*. p. A1.
- Sparks, J. (2004, Jan. 22). Area residents also encountering long DMV waits; examiner shortage, rush to beat new ID rules are causing delays. *Winston-Salem Journal*. p. B1.
- Únase para apoyar a los trabajadores agrícolas en el boicoteo de la compañía pepinera de Mt. Olive [Unite to support farmworkers in the boycott of Mt. Olive Pickle Company]. (2000, March 17). *La Conexión*. p. 5.
- Williams, L. (2003, March 31). La compañía de pepinillos Mt. Olive da a conocer algunos hechos sobre el boicot en su contra [Mt. Olive Pickle Co. presents facts about the boycott against them]. *La Conexión*. p. 4.

References

- Acosta-Alzuru, C. & Kreshel, P.J. (2002). "I'm an American girl...whatever that means": Girls consuming Pleasant Company's American Girl identity. *Journal of Communication*, 52(1), 139-161.
- Armas, G. (2003, Jan. 22). Hispanics now outnumber Blacks in U.S. *Associated Press*. p. A1.
- Barker, C. (2003). *Cultural studies: Theory and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bekken, J. (1993). The working class press at the turn of the century. In W. S. Solomon & R. W. McChesney (Eds.), *Ruthless criticism: New perspectives in U. S. communication history* (pp. 151-175). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bell, A. (1998). The discourse structure of news stories. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to media discourse* (pp. 64-104). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Berg, C. (1997). Stereotyping in films in general and of the Hispanic in particular. In C.E. Rodríguez (Ed.). *Latin looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the U.S. media*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Bireda, S. (2000, April 14). Winston-Salem Journal confronts diversity issue. *The ASNE Reporter Online*. Available at <http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?ID=1044>. accessed Oct. 23, 2006.
- Bowles, D. A. & Borden, D. L. (2004). *Creative editing*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the newsroom: A functional analysis. *Social Forces*, 33. 326-335.
- Coe, K., Domke, D., Graham, E.S., John, S.L., Pickard, V.W. (2004) No shades of gray: The binary discourse of George W. Bush and an echoing press. *Journal of Communication*, 54(2). 234-252.
- Cortés, C. E. (1987). The Mexican-American Press. in S.M. Miller (Ed.), *The ethnic press in the United States: A historical analysis and handbook* (pp. 64-104). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Cravey, A. (1997). The changing South: Latino labor and poultry production in rural North Carolina. *Southeastern Geographer*, 37(2), 295-300.
- Cravey, A. (2003). Toque una ranchera, por favor. *Antipode*, 35(3). 603-621.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (2003). *Media/Society: Industries, images, and audiences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

- Cunningham, B. (2002). The Latino puzzle challenges the heartland; editors are dealing with a vast demographic shift. North Carolina is a case in point. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 40(6), 34-40.
- Dale, J. G., Andreatta, S., & Freeman, E. (2001). Language and the migrant worker experience in rural North Carolina communities. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 93-104). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Daniels, R. (2004). *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Dávila, A. (2000). Mapping Latinidad: Language and culture in the Spanish TV battlefield. *Television & New Media*, 1(1), 75-94.
- Delgado, R. (1997). Citizenship. In J. F. Perea (Ed.). *Immigrants out! The new nativism and the anti-immigrant impulse in the United States*. (pp. 318-323). NY: New York University Press.
- Dixon, T. & Linz, D. (2000). Race and the misrepresentation of victimization on local television news. *Communication Research*, 27(5), 547-573.
- Domke, D. (2004). *God Willing? Political fundamentalism in the White House, the "War on Terror," and the echoing press*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
- Donnelly, R. A. (2005). *Immigrants and health agency: Public safety, health, and Latino immigrants in North Carolina* (Working paper 128). San Diego, CA: University of California, San Diego, The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.
- Downing, J. (1992) Spanish-language media in the greater New York region during the 1980s. In S.H. Riggins (Ed.), *Ethnic minority media: An international perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Duchon, D. A. & Murphy, A. D. (2001). Introduction: From *patrones* and *caciques* to good ole boys. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 1-9). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Durand, J., Massey, D., & Chavret, F. (2000). The changing geography of Mexican immigration to the United States: 1910-1996. *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1), 1-15.
- El Pueblo, Inc. (2006, April 6). Retrieved February 14, 2006, from <http://www.elpueblo.org>
- Engstrom, J. D. (2001). Industry and immigration in Dalton, Georgia. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 44-56). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

- Entman, R. & Rojecki, A. (2000). *The black image in the white mind: Media and race in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Estell, R. (1989). *Population change: The American South*. London: John Murray Publishers, Ltd.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). Political discourse in the media: An analytical framework. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to media discourse* (pp. 142-162). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Farmworker Unit, Legal Aid of North Carolina. (n.d.). *H2A temporary agricultural workers*. Retrieved March 10, 2006, from <http://www.legalaidnc.org/fwu/ncfarh2a.htm>.
- Fiske, S.T. & Taylor, S.E. (1991). *Social cognition*. 2nd Ed. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Flores, W.V. & Benmayor, R. (1997). Introduction: Constructing cultural citizenship. In W.V. Flores & R. Binmayor (Eds.). *Latino cultural citizenship: Claiming identity, space, and rights* (pp. 1-23). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Fornäs, J. (1998). Digital borderlands: Identity and interactivity in culture, media and communications. *Nordicom Review*, 19(1). 27-39. Retrieved April 18, 2005 from <http://www.jmk.su.se/digitalborderlands/digitalborderlands.htm>.
- Fox, G. (1996). *Hispanic nation: Culture, politics, and the constructing of identity*. Seacaucus, NJ: Birch Lane Press.
- Friedman, G. (2000). The political economy of early southern unionism: Race, politics, and labor in the South, 1880-1953. *The journal of economic history*, 60(2). 384-413.
- Gans, H. J. (2004). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (25th Anniversary Edition). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1979).
- Garrett, P. & Bell, A. (1998) Media and discourse: A critical overview. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to media discourse* (pp. 1-20). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Garriga, R. (2001). The Hispanic challenge. *American Journalism Review*, 23(10), 58-61.
- Geffert, G. G. (2002). H-2A Guestworker program: A legacy of importing agricultural labor. In C. D. Thompson & M. F. Wiggins (Eds.). *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp. 113-136). Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

- Greenberg, B., Heeter, C., Burgoon, J., Burgoon, M., & Korzeny, F. (1983). Local newspaper coverage of Mexican Americans. *Journalism Quarterly*, 60(4). 671-676.
- Greenhouse, S. (2004, Sept. 17). North Carolina Growers' Group Signs Union Contract for Mexican Workers. *New York Times*. p. A16.
- Guthey, G. (2001). Mexican places in southern spaces: Globalization, work, and daily life in and around the North Georgia poultry industry. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 57-67). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Gutiérrez, F. (1977). Spanish-language media in America: Background, resources, history. *Journalism History*, 4. 34-41, 65-68.
- Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. (T. Burger & F. Lawrence, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (original work published 1962).
- Hahamovich, C. (1997). *The fruits of their labor: Atlantic Coast farmworkers and the making of migrant poverty, 1870-1945*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). Introduction: Who needs identity? In S. Hall & P. DuGay (Eds.). *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-17). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Holt, A. O. & Mattern, E. (2002). Making home: Culture, ethnicity, and religion among farmworkers in the southeastern United States. In C. D. Thompson & M. F. Wiggins (Eds.). *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp. 22-52). Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S. & McGuire, W.J. (Eds.). (1993). *Explorations in political psychology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Johnson, J.H., Johnson-Webb, K.D., & Farrell, W.C. (1999, Fall). A profile of Hispanic newcomers to North Carolina. *Popular Government*. 2-12.
- Johnson, M.A. (2000). How ethnic are U.S. ethnic media: The case of Latina magazines. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(2&3), 229-248.
- Johnson-Webb, K.D. (2002). Employer recruitment and Hispanic labor migration: North Carolina urban areas at the end of the millennium. *The Professional Geographer*, 54(3). 406-421.

- Jones, S. (1999, Sept. 5). State of the unions. *News & Observer*. p. E4.
- Karim, K.H. (1998, June). *From ethnic media to global media: Transnational communication networks among diasporic communities*. Paper presented at the Canadian Cultural Research Network Colloquium, Waterloo, Canada. Retrieved March 18, 2005 from http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/ccm/ccrn/documents/colloq98_karim.pdf
- Kasarda, J. D. & Johnson, J. H. (2006, January). *The economic impact of the Hispanic population on the state of North Carolina*. UNC: Frank Hawkins Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise.
- Kellner, D. (1995) Cultural studies, multiculturalism and media culture. In G. Dines & J.M. Humez (Eds.). *Gender, race and class in media: A text-reader* (pp. 5-17). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kochhar, R., Suro, R., & Tafoya, S. (2005, July 26). *The new Latino South: The context and consequences of rapid population growth*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Korzenny, F., Neuendorf, K., Burgoon, M., Burgoon, J., & Greenberg, B. (1983). Cultural identification as a predictor of content preferences of Hispanics. *Journalism Quarterly*, 60(4). 677-685, 770.
- Kumar, D. (2001). Mass media, class, and democracy: The struggle over newspaper representation of the UPS strike. *Critical studies in media communication*, 18(3), 285-302.
- Kumar, D. (2004). Media, class, and power: Debunking the myth of a classless society. In D. Heider (Ed.), *Class and news* (pp. 6-22). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- La Conexión - Spanish Language Newspaper - Periódico de Raleigh, North Carolina - NC Press. (2006). Retrieved ADD DATE, from <http://www.laconexionusa.com/?idlc=100&menuid=7>
- Lipsitz, G. (1994). *Rainbow at midnight: Labor and culture in the 1940s*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Martin, C. R. (2004a). UPS strike coverage and the future of labor in corporate news. In D. Heider (Ed.), *Class and news* (pp. 262-280). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Martin, C. R. (2004b). *Framed! Labor and the corporate media*. Ithaca: ILR Press.
- Massey, D. S., Durand, J. & Malone, N. J. (2002). *Beyond smoke and mirrors: Mexican immigration in an era of economic integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Massey, D. S. & Espinosa, K. E. (1997). What's driving Mexico-U.S. migration?: A theoretical, empirical, and policy analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99. 1492-1532.
- Massey, D. S. & Singer, A. (1995). New estimates of undocumented Mexican migration and the probability of apprehension. *Demography*, 32. 203-213.
- Mayer, V. (2004). Please pass the pan: Retheorizing the map of panlatinidad in communication research. *The Communication Review*, 7. 113-124.
- Minchin, T. J. (2005). *Fighting against the odds: A history of southern labor since World War II*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Montalvo, D. & Torres, J. (2006). Network brownout report 2006: The portrayal of Latinos & Latino issues on network television news, 2005. Washington, DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists.
- Mt. Olive Pickle Company (n.d.). *FLOC boycott information*. Retrieved April 5, 2006, from <http://www.mtolivepickles.com/Company/FLOC.html>
- Murray, B. (2006). Mt. Olive Pickle Company Inc. *Hoovers Company Information*. Retrieved April 9, 2006, from ProQuest database.
- Noack, D. (1998). Angst and anger over a story that led to arrest. *Editor & Publisher*, 131(21). 13.
- O'Neill, P. (1997, July 4). Union leader brings organizing campaign to cucumber pickers. *National Catholic Reporter*. 12-13.
- Park, R.E. (1970). *The immigrant press and its control*. St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly. (Original work published 1922).
- Peacock, J.L., Watson, H.L., & Matthews, C.R. (2005). Introduction: Globalization with a southern face. In J.L. Peacock, H.L. Watson, & C.R. Matthews (Eds.). *The American South in a global world* (pp. 1-8). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Perea, J. F. (1997). Introduction. In J. F. Perea (Ed.). *Immigrants out! The new nativism and the anti-immigrant impulse in the United States*, (pp. 1-10). New York: New York University Press.
- Phillips, L. & Jørgensen, M.W. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Que Pasa - About Us - Que Pasa Media. (2000-2004). Retrieved ADD DATE, from <http://www.quepasamedia.com/web/content/view/17/45/>
- Que Pasa Newspapers & Radio Stations. (n.d.). *The Hispanic market*. (Promotional materials for advertisers). Obtained January 9, 2005 from Que Pasa Newspapers & Radio Stations, Raleigh, NC.
- Rees, M. W. (2001). How many are there? Ethnographic estimates of Mexican women in Atlanta, Georgia. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 36-43). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Riggins, S.H. (1992). The promise and limits of ethnic minority media. In S.H. Riggins (Ed.), *Ethnic minority media: An international perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (1998). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rodríguez, A. (1997). Cultural agendas: The case of Latino-oriented USA media. In M. McCombs, D. Shaw, and D. Weaver (Eds.). *Communication and democracy* (pp. 183-194). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rodríguez, A. (1996). Objectivity and ethnicity in the production of the *Noticiero Univisión*. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 13. 59-81.
- Rodríguez, N. P. (1997). The social construction of the U. S.-Mexico border. In J. F. Perea (Ed.). *Immigrants out! The new nativism and the anti-immigrant impulse in the United States*, (pp. 223-243). NY: New York University Press.
- Rosaldo, R. (1994). Cultural citizenship in San Jose, California. *PoLAR* 17(2). 57-64.
- Rosaldo, R. (1999). Cultural citizenship, inequality, and multiculturalism. In R. D. Torres, L. F. Mirón, & J. X. Inda, (Eds.). *Race, identity and citizenship: A reader*, (pp. 253-261). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Salwen, M. B. & Garrison, B. (1991). *Latin American Journalism*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Smith, B. E., Mendoza, M. & Ciscel, D. H. (2005). The world on time: Flexible labor, new immigrants, and global logistics. In J. L. Peacock, H. L. Watson, & C. R. Matthews (Eds.). *The American South in a global world* (pp. 23-38). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Smith-Nonini, S. C. (1999). *Uprooting injustice: A report on working conditions for North Carolina farmworkers and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's Mt. Olive initiative*. Durham, NC: Institute for Southern Studies.

- Smith-Nonini, S. (2005). Federally sponsored Mexican migrants in the transnational South. In J. L. Peacock, H. L. Watson, & C. R. Matthews (Eds.), *The American South in a global world* (pp. 59-82). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- State of the news media 2004: An annual report on American journalism. (2004). *Journalism.org*. Retrieved on March 13, 2006, from http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/narrative_newspapers_contentanalysis.asp?cat=2&media=2
- State of the news media 2006: An annual report on American journalism. (2006). *Journalism.org*. Retrieved on April 11, 2006, from http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2006/narrative_overview_intro.asp?media=1
- Stefancic, J. (1997). Funding the nativist agenda. In J. F. Perea (Ed.). *Immigrants out! The new nativism and the anti-immigrant impulse in the United States*. (pp. 119-135). NY: New York University Press.
- Studstill, J. D. & Nieto-Studstill, L. (2001). Hospitality and hostility: Latin immigrants in southern Georgia. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 68-81). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Subervi-Vélez, F. (1986). The mass media and ethnic assimilation and pluralism: A review and research proposal with special focus on Hispanics. *Communication Research*, 13(1), 71-96.
- Subervi-Vélez, Federico A. (Editor, contributor). *The Mass Media and Latino Politics* (in production and scheduled for publication in 2007). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Suro, R. (2004, April) Changing Channels and Crisscrossing Cultures: A Survey of Latinos and the News Media. *Pew Hispanic Center*. Retrieved on Aug. 19, 2005, from <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/27.pdf>. 1-2.
- Suro, R. (2005, March 2). Attitudes about immigration and major demographic characteristics. *Survey of Mexican migrants: Part one*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Taeuber, C. M. (1973). *Demography of the South*. Oak Ridge, TN: Southern Regional Demographic Group.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Thompson, C. D. (2002a). Introduction. In C. D. Thompson & M. F. Wiggins (Eds.). *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp. 2-20). Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press.
- Thompson, C. D. (2002b). Layers of loss: Migrants, small farmers, and agribusiness. In C. D. Thompson & M. F. Wiggins (Eds.). *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp. 55-86). Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Turk, J.V., Richstad, J., Bryson, R.L., & Johnson, S.M. (1989). Hispanic Americans in the news in two Southwestern cities. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66(1). 107-113.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Opinions and ideologies in the press. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to media discourse* (pp. 21-63). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Vargas, L. (2000). Genderizing Latino news: An analysis of a local newspaper's coverage of Latino current affairs. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 17(3), 261-294.
- Vargas, L. (2005). Media and racialization among young, working-class, Latina immigrants. In J.L. Peacock, H.L. Watson, & C.R. Matthews (Eds.). *The American South in a global world* (pp. 39-58). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Vargas, L. & dePyssler, B. (1999). U.S. Latino newspapers as health communication resources: A content analysis. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 10. 189-205.
- Vargas, L. & Paulin, L. (in press). Rethinking foreign news from a transnational perspective. In D. D. Perlmutter & J. M. Hamilton (Eds.), *Pigeons to pixels: New technology & foreign affairs reporting*. Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press.
- Villenas, S. (2001). Latina mothers and small-town racisms: Creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 32(1). 3-28.
- Viswanath, K. & Arora, P. (2000). Ethnic media in the United States: An essay on their role in integration, assimilation, and social control. *Mass Communication & Society* 3(1), 39-56.
- Wiggins, M. F. (2002). Conclusion: An invocation to act. In C. D. Thompson, Jr., & M. F. Wiggins (Eds.), *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp. 278-297). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Wilson II, C., Gutiérrez, F., & Chao, L. (2002). *Racism, sexism, and the media: The rise of class communication in multicultural America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wizda, S. (1998). Too much information: reporting about an illegal immigrant. *American Journalism Review*, 20(5). 58-62.

Zúñiga, V. & Hernández-León, R. (2001). A new destination for an old migration: Origins, trajectories, and labor market incorporation of Latinos in Dalton, Georgia. In A. D. Murphy, C. Blanchard, & J. A. Hill (Eds.). *Latino workers in the contemporary South* (pp. 126-136). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.