

**“EVERYBODY AROUND HERE IS FROM SOME PLACE ELSE”:
NEWS FRAMES AND HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES IN THE IMMIGRATION
DEBATES IN THE UNITED STATES, 2006 AND 2010**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Kenneth P. Dietrich School of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

University of Pittsburgh

2011

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
KENNETH P. DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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In 2006, the United States House of Representatives introduced a bill that seeks to criminalize unauthorized immigrants, subjecting them to detention and deportation. Four years later, the Arizona State Legislature passed a similar measure, which classifies an alien’s presence in Arizona without the possession of proper immigration documents as a state misdemeanor. Both pieces of legislation entered the public sphere and stimulated debates on immigration, as cleavages within and among the Democrats and Republicans surfaced and opposition turned into highly publicized events. The bills crystallized the various hegemonic and contested discourses on immigration in American society. Using content analysis of *The New York Times* and *USA Today*, this study investigates the framing of immigration in two policy debates: on the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437) in 2006 and on the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act or Arizona Senate Bill (S.B.) 1070 in 2010. It draws on the literature on media discourses, news frames, and framing process in order to measure the content and frequency of media frames; explain the struggle of different and political actors over meaning in these frames; and assess the durability, resilience, and adaptability of media frames on similar policy issues but different periods.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| PREFACE..... | IX |
| 1.0 INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| 1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS..... | 4 |
| 1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH..... | 5 |
| 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW..... | 7 |
| 2.1 FRAMES AND THE FRAMING PROCESS | 7 |
| 2.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGENDA-SETTING AND FRAMING..... | 11 |
| 2.3 MEDIA DISCOURSE AND HEGEMONY | 13 |
| 2.3.1 Journalistic Norms and Framing Contests..... | 14 |
| 2.3.2 Spheres of Contestation and Agreement..... | 16 |
| 2.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH | 18 |
| 3.0 METHODOLOGY..... | 20 |
| 3.1 SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION..... | 21 |
| 3.2 DATA ANALYSIS..... | 23 |
| 3.3 LIMITATIONS..... | 24 |
| 4.0 NEWS FRAMES AND HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES | 26 |
| 4.1 “NATION OF IMMIGRANTS” FRAME..... | 27 |
| 4.2 “FAILED IMMIGRATION POLICY” FRAME | 35 |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----------|
| 5.0 | CONTESTED DISCOURSES AND NEGOTIATED FRAMES..... | 39 |
| 5.1 | “DANGEROUS IMMIGRANTS” FRAME..... | 40 |
| 5.2 | “CHEAP LABOR” FRAME | 44 |
| 5.3 | “IMMIGRANT TAKEOVER” FRAME..... | 49 |
| 5.4 | “IMMIGRANT-AS-OTHER” FRAME | 53 |
| 5.5 | CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL IDENTITY FRAME | 57 |
| 6.0 | STABILITY OF NEWS FRAMES..... | 62 |
| 7.0 | CONCLUSION..... | 66 |
| 8.0 | BIBLIOGRAPHY | 70 |
| | APPENDIX A | 76 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of the Population | 22 |
| Table 2. Percentage Use of Frames in <i>New York Times</i> and <i>USA Today</i> Per Period | 63 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1. Five Most Common Frames in the Coverage of the 2006 Immigration Debates..... | 64 |
| Figure 2. Two Most Common Frames in the Coverage of the 2010 Immigration Debates | 65 |

PREFACE

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciate to all those who helped me write this thesis: my advisor, Suzanne Staggenborg for patiently guiding me from the conceptualization to the final analysis of this project and for commenting on and editing the previous drafts; the other members of my committee, John Markoff and Akiko Hashimoto, for their insights, advice, and encouragement; my colleagues, Suzanna Eddyono, Matt Landry, Marie Skoczylas, Phebie Thum, and Carolyn Zook, for the numerous academic and personal conversations that stimulated my thinking about sociology and life in general; and Lee Ngo, for being my editor, critic, and best friend.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2006, more than a million immigrants marched in the streets of major cities and towns across the United States in protest of the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437), a bill introduced in the House of Representatives that seeks to criminalize unauthorized immigrants, subjecting them to detention and deportation.¹ H.R. 4437 reinvigorated the immigrants' rights movement in the United States and catalyzed the Great American Boycott, a one-day boycott of schools and businesses by authorized and undocumented immigrants of mostly Latin American origin held to coincide with the International Workers Day of 2006. The protestors expressed opposition to the bill, which failed to pass the Senate, and clamored for a policy that includes a legal path to citizenship for all undocumented immigrants currently living in the country. In light of the opposition to H.R. 4437 inside and outside the halls of power, the U.S. Senate passed a companion bill called the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act (S. 2611). Neither bill, however, passed the conference committee, and the end of the 109th Congress marked the demise of both bills.

Four years later, the legislature of Arizona passed a measure that resembles H.R. 4437. The legislation, entitled Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act or Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (Arizona S.B. 1070), classifies an alien's presence in Arizona without the

¹ The bill also states that deported immigrants would also be denied re-entry and deprived of any type of future legal status. In addition, anyone who hired or assisted the unauthorized population would be subject to criminal penalties, facing up to five years in prison (Rim 2009).

possession of proper immigration documents as a state misdemeanor. It also promotes the enforcement of federal immigration laws among state or local officials and authorizes the pursuit and apprehension of those who hire, transport, and harbor illegal aliens. The *New York Times* described the Arizona bill as “the nation’s toughest bill on immigration” and proponents and critics alike said it was the broadest and strictest immigration measure in generations (Archibold 2010). U.S. President Barack Obama strongly criticized S.B 1070 for its threat to “the basic notions of fairness that we cherish as Americans, as well as the trust between police and our communities that is so crucial to keeping us safe” (Archibold 2010). Like H.R. 4437, Arizona S.B. 1070 also prompted massive demonstrations and protest actions in the spring of 2010, which included organized boycotts by local governments,² artists and musicians,³ and professional athletes.⁴ The passing of Arizona S.B. 1070 led to a federal lawsuit (*The United States of America vs. The State of Arizona*), filed by the U.S. Justice Department in July 2010.

Public opinion on immigration during these two periods reveals that, regardless of their level of self-reported familiarity with the bills, Americans generally favor legislation that calls for expanded border security and oppose legislation that provides amnesty, naturalization, or citizenship options to undocumented immigrants. In 2006, at the onset of public protests, a *USA Today*/Gallup survey conducted in April indicated strong support for making illegal immigration a crime (61 percent) and for making the deliberate assistance of an illegal in any manner a felony (52 percent). Americans also believe that the most effective way to reduce illegal immigration is

² For instance, the Los Angeles City Council and the government of San Francisco limited city business transactions with companies headquartered in Arizona.

³ Zack dela Rocha, lead singer of the band Rage Against the Machine, organized a boycott of musicians called the “Sound Strike.” Dela Rocha, along with Kanye West, Cypress Hill, Massive Attack, Conor Oberst, Sonic Youth, Joe Satriani, Rise Against, Tenacious D, The Coup, Gogol Bordello, and Los Tigres del Norte, signed on a petition and vowed not to stage performances in Arizona.

⁴ In a playoff game against the San Antonio Spurs during Cinco de Mayo, the Phoenix Suns displayed a rare political action in American sports by wearing their “Los Suns” uniforms, which they normally use for the league’s “Noche Latina.”

to cut off employment incentives in the United States, instituting tougher penalties for businesses that knowingly hire illegal immigrants. More than half of the respondents (52 percent) considered this method “very effective,” and another 32 percent considered it “somewhat effective” (Saad 2006). Regarding the issue of path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants already in the United States, about a third of Americans say undocumented immigrants currently living in the country should either be deported (18 percent) or allowed to remain in order to work but only for a limited amount of time (17 percent). Sixty-three percent of respondents opt for giving them a long and difficult path to citizenship (Moore 2006). In April 2010, days after Governor Jan Brewer of Arizona signed S.B. 1070 into state law, a Gallup poll showed that more than three-quarters (78 percent) of Americans have read or heard something about the state of Arizona’s new immigration law, and among them, 51 percent say they favor it and 39 percent oppose it (Jones 2010).

Strong evidence points to public opinion’s substantial proximate effects upon policymaking the United States (see Burstein 2003; Ceci and Kain 1982; Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey 1987) and mainstream mass media provide the most accessible and inexpensive venue for learning about politics and for influencing public opinion. Not all concerns in the public agenda are within the immediate experience of individuals. They receive and process a second-hand reality that actors and practices in news production create. In their study of the public discourse on nuclear power, Gamson and Mondigliani (1989) argue that media discourse and public opinion cannot be divorced from one another since they are interacting parallel systems of meaning construction. But the former dominates the larger issue culture and shapes public opinion, by both reflecting it and contributing to its creation. Gamson and Mondigliani further caution against causal assumptions in treating these two structures, for “media discourse is part

of the process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists and other cultural entrepreneurs develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse” (Gamson and Mondigliani 1989: 2). These structures, therefore, integrate news texts as a system of organized signifying elements and interact with a rich discursive field.

1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

Using content analysis of two of the most widely circulated newspapers in the United States, *USA Today* and *The New York Times*, this study investigates the framing of the immigration debate during the deliberations of two major bills: (1) H.R. 4437 and its counterpart in the Senate, S. 2611, and (2) Arizona S.B. 1070. These bills were highly controversial, generating conflict among business owners, economists, immigration scholars, policymakers, religious groups, and social movements. They also created deep cleavages within and between Democrats and Republicans, which hampered the design of a compromise bill. This research attempts to compare and contrast the framing of salient issues during these periods and to test the significance of these similarities and variations in order to understand the degree of stability and malleability of media frames on the same policy issues. This study, however, eschews a systematic inquiry on the impact of these frames on public opinion and limits the examination to the content and structure of news frames.

I draw on the literature on media discourse and framing in order to address my theoretical interests. I am concerned with the content and frequency of media frames in the immigration debates surrounding H.R. 4437/S. 2611 in 2006 and Arizona S.B. 1070 in 2010; the struggle of different political actors over meaning in these frames; and the durability, resilience, and

adaptability of media frames on similar policy issues but different periods. Therefore, the questions that guide this research are as follows:

1. What are the different frames used by the two major broadsheets in the United States in presenting information and analyses of the two pieces of legislation on immigration?
2. Do the frames capture the different views of various actors in the debate? How and why do different actors become dominant in these frames at different times?
3. Do the frames vary significantly by bill (H.R. 4437/S. 2611 and Arizona S.B. 1070) or period (2006 and 2010)? Why or why not?

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The mainstream mass media are crucial social actors in the immigration debates of 2006 and 2010. While national, general audience media are only one set of forums for public discourse, they dominate the terms in which the issue is discussed (Gamson 1992). They are a venue for people detached from the issue of immigration in their everyday lives to learn about the bills themselves, the points of contention, the positions of various groups in society, and the actions taken in relation to these viewpoints. These are all necessary in the formation of public opinion, a fuel for the engine of democracy.

An examination of the extent of inclusiveness of media discourse is important to understand mass media's role in deliberative democratic processes. In highly contentious issues such as immigration in industrialized societies, there is a risk of presenting only the most extreme elements as representative and speaking on behalf of an entire group (Gans 2005; Rohlinger 2007) or of forcing these positions to fit the narrow and conventional framing of

debates (e.g., “Republican vs. Democrat” and “liberal vs. conservative”). These practices produce representations of a public sphere that appears much more restricted and highly polarized than it actually is, undermining liberal democracy.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to explain the content of frames and the nature of the framing process during the immigration debates of 2006 and 2010 in the United States, I survey the literature on frames in the disciplines of sociology and mass communication. I focus on the treatment of framing analysis as an approach to news discourse as reflected in the seminal works of Gamson (1992), Gamson and Mondigliani (1989), Gamson and Stuart (1992), Pan and Kosicki (1993), and van Dijk (2006). Drawing from the literature on discourse and hegemony that applies the framework of Laclau and Mouffe (2001), I examine the ways in which the immigrant as a subject is created. The subject and its context are contingently formed within a terrain of constructed and reconstructed discourse. I further review the relationship between framing and agenda-setting, a dominant theory of mass media effects. I conclude by summarizing this literature as it relates to this project's research questions.

2.1 FRAMES AND THE FRAMING PROCESS

A recent study on local opposition to immigration, which introduces the politicized places hypothesis, underscores the centrality of issue salience and news frames in the mass media and shows that national and local conditions interact to regard immigrants as threatening (Hopkins 2010). The politicized places hypothesis contends that “when communities are undergoing

sudden demographic changes at the same time that salient national rhetoric politicizes immigration, immigrants can quickly become the targets of local political hostility” (Hopkins 2010: 40). Hence, the media politicize local demographic changes through the frames employed in news accounts, which residents, who witness these transformations, use to draw political conclusions from their experiences. The analysis, however, fails to specify the content of these news frames and its cultural resonance.

While no single definition of frames or framing is used in the literature, most scholars allude to Erving Goffman’s pioneering work in *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Goffman (1974: 21) refers to frames as “schemata of interpretation” that allow individuals or groups “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” events and occurrences, thus giving them meaning, organizing experiences, and guiding actions. Within this social psychological tradition, the focus has been on how individuals make sense of their everyday social experience through cognitive processes that include classification, organization, and interpretation. In the process of comprehending issues, individuals employ a tentative anticipatory schema that is an outcome of their socialization, life histories, and mental dispositions (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). This idea of frames has profoundly influenced the seminal work of scholars in the fields of communication, psychology, and sociology (see Benford and Snow 2000; Entman and Rojecki 1993; Gamson 1992; Pan and Kosicki 2001; Reese 2010; Snow and Benford 1992; Snow et al. 1986; Zald 1996).

Gamson and Modigliani (1989), Gitlin (1980), Hertog and McLeod (2001), and Reese (2001) approach frames as cultural rather than cognitive phenomena and promote a constructionist explanation of framing. Events and issues take on their meaning from the frames in which they are embedded. Frames, therefore, are “*organizing principles* that are socially

shared and persistent over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world” (Hertog and McLeod 2001: 140, [italics in original]). In this definition, frames are cultural structures made up of a central idea and other more peripheral concepts that guide comprehension. This is also the fundamental premise of Gamson and Modigliani’s (1989: 3) notion of media packages, wherein “at its core is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue.” In producing this nucleus, actors persistently select, emphasize, and exclude (Gitlin 1980). As Entman (1993: 52) argues, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text.”

Journalists use frames to process complex and large amounts of information quickly and routinely and to package them for efficient relay to audiences (Gitlin 1980). In a study of news reporting in the United States during the Vietnam War, Hallin (1986) stresses the challenges of foreign affairs journalists who must report a multitude of events and issues extremely distant to their personal experiences and to the everyday lives of their audience. Against the backdrop of wars and antagonism among superpowers, the Cold War ideology as a dominant frame reduced the complexity of international affairs for journalists and related and condensed crises in Berlin, the Congo, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam to a single and familiar leitmotif. Similarly, Rauch et al.’s (2007) research on journalistic framing of the global justice movement from 1999 to 2004 indicates that the Battle in Seattle persisted as a symbolic reference for the threat of civic disorder in the narrative of news reports on subsequent mobilizations against corporate globalization.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) suggest that framing in mass media may be studied both as an aspect of the discourse itself and as a means of constructing and processing news discourse.

Since media frames are largely unspoken and unacknowledged, framing analysis must focus on the dynamic process of communication that combines the emergence of frames (“frame-building”) and the interplay between frames and audience predispositions (“frame-setting”) (deVreese 2005). Frame-building transpires in the interactions between different actors such as journalists, elites, and social movement activists and organizations and produces the frames manifest in the news text. On the other hand, frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals’ prior knowledge and tendencies (deVreese 2005).

As the foundation of framing analysis lies in communicative processes, an important step is the identification of framing devices that convey frames (Hertog and McLeod 2001; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Pan and Kosicki 1993; Reese 2010). This is crucial because frames as general organizing devices are often confused with general topics and specific policy positions (Nisbet 2010; Reese 2010). Gamson (1992) and Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify different types of framing devices such as catchphrases, metaphors, sound bites, graphics, and allusions to history or literature. Myths, narratives, and metaphors are powerful tools that resonate within culture because of their symbolic power and widespread recognition (Hertog and McLeod 2001). Reese (2010) points out, for example, that invoking a war metaphor in the War on Terror Frame connects with other conflicts that are deeply rooted in American psychology such as World War II and the Cold War, and the Axis of Evil slogan⁵ calls to mind the Axis powers as well as Satan. Other framing devices include lexical choices, script structures, selection of sources and quotes, and presentation of charts and statistics (Pan and Kosicki 1993; Reese 2010). The most important guideline in framing analysis is to focus on how the story is

⁵ David Frum, George W. Bush’s former speechwriter, coined the phrase, which was originally *axis of hatred*, as he saw similarities between the Axis of Powers in World War II and the modern “terror states.” Bush later changed this to *axis of evil*.

told rather than on what a text is about (Van Gorp 2010).

Gamson and Stuart (1992) make an important distinction between accounts and commentary that goes beyond the dichotomy between description and interpretation. They argue that both straightforward news reporting and opinion-editorial writing employ a mixture of description and interpretation under different conventions. News accounts tell a story about events and thus require a frame that is expressed in headlines, leads, captions, and quotes from important actors in the issue. In an attempt to establish and maintain the rhetorical claim that news is a source of facts and a mirror of reality, journalists rarely lend their voices in accounts (Pan and Kosicki 1993). The target of commentary is a narrower audience and “the commentators are an important gallery for the accounts of reporters and for the advocacy networks who are attempting to influence the reporters’ framing of relevant events” (Gamson and Stuart 1992: 61).

2.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGENDA-SETTING AND FRAMING

In media studies and political communication, the troika of agenda setting, priming, and framing prevails in media effects models (see Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). *Agenda setting* focuses on issue salience and suggests a strong correlation between the emphases that media place on certain issues and the importance that the mass audience attributes to these issues (McCombs and Shaw 1972). A plethora of issues competes for public attention and the media usually determine people’s perceptions of what issues are worthy of consideration; this is the initial stage in the formation of public opinion (McCombs 2004). *Priming* extends agenda setting by affecting judgments about political candidates or issues. It refers to “changes in the standards that people

use to make political evaluations” (Iyengar and Kinder 1987: 63) and occurs when news content suggests to news audiences the use of specific issues as yardsticks for evaluating the performance of leaders. According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11), both agenda setting and priming are “accessibility-based models” that rely on making some issues more prominent than others in people’s minds. McCombs (2004) claims that through agenda setting, the news media are not so much telling people what to think, but what to think *about*. Since most people rarely have first-hand experiences of events and issues, media coverage exercises enormous influence in the cognitive process and cultural logic that are essential for shaping public opinion.

Ghanem (1997) suggests that *framing* is simply an extension of agenda setting. She refers to the impact of the salience of elements in media coverage on audience’s interpretation of news stories as “second-level agenda setting.” Similar processes govern second-level agenda setting and framing since both are concerned with the manner of depiction of issues or objects rather than their mere salience. Framing shares with agenda setting a focus on the relationship between public policy issues in the news and public perceptions of these issues, but “expands beyond agenda-setting research into *what* people talk or think about by examining *how* they think and talk about issues in the news” (Pan and Kosicki 1993). Events and policy issues do not have meanings in themselves even if the media portray them as noteworthy. They only acquire significance from the frames in which they are embedded (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Thus, participants in media discourse are embroiled in what Stuart Hall (1985) calls a “politics of signification.” Therefore, the main problem of a cultural and constructionist perspective on frames and framing processes is the systems of discourse and the struggle for hegemony in the production of meaning.

2.3 MEDIA DISCOURSE AND HEGEMONY

In democratic regimes, ideally, the mass media strive for maximum inclusivity to provide a voice to divergent perspectives and groups. Several studies, however, have established the limits of this ideal (Ferree et al. 2002; Gamson et al. 1992; Rohlinger 2007). Normally, the media reflect the status quo and carry, validate, and reproduce the dominant codes being challenged; hence, they are both a channel and a target of communication (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Global corporate media ownership and competition (Bagdikian 2004; Croteau and Hoynes 2001; Herman and Chomsky 1988) as well as news gathering routines and professional norms that give primacy to reliance on government sources (Gamson et al. 1992; Gans 2005; McCarthy et al. 1996; McCombs 2004; Tuchman 1978) narrow the range of disseminated information. Hence, the news media present only a limited and often distorted view of reality.

The analysis of power is paramount to studies of media discourse. The exercise of social control through discourse is the control of the discourse itself and its production (van Dijk 2006). The dominant group exerts power over the subordinated through a combination of consent and coercion, in order to create the conditions necessary for the achievement and consolidation of rule in a given society (Gramsci 1971). The ruling political force produces a hegemonic discourse to propagate and strengthen the existing power relations and integrate the oppressed into the system of domination through consent. Discourses about minorities and immigrants reveal how “common sense” beliefs operate to perpetuate unjust systems of power by maintaining the socially superior status of the majority natives.

In his analysis of the “Latino Threat Narrative” in contemporary American society, Chavez (2008) traces its history to the German language threat, the Irish Catholic threat, and the Yellow Peril of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues that the “Latino Threat

Narrative” is part of a grand tradition of alarmist discourses about immigrants and their perceived negative impact on society. The “Latino Threat Narrative” has shaped the identity of Latino immigrants, especially Mexicans, such that they have become the archetypal “illegal aliens” who are undeserving of citizenship because of their violation of the territorial integrity of the United States. Ngai (2004) notes the irony behind the power of such representation since Mexicans, unlike Europeans, were not subject to numerical quotas and, unlike Asians, were not excluded as racially ineligible for citizenship.

In contrast, the academe, media, and state have constructed recently Asian immigrants and their children as “model minority” and “honorary whites” (Maeda 2009; Tuan 1998) due to their successful cultural assimilation, high levels of educational attainment, soaring incomes, and increasing rates of intermarriage. The labels not only categorize but also inherently pit one group against others; if one minority group is the “model,” then the others are problematic and less desirable. Immigrants are judged not by the rightness or wrongness of their acts but by where their actions placed them on a ranked scale that compares them to everyone else. In relation to immigration policy, the label “model minority” is a way of defining which type of immigrant the United States wants in and which it intends to keep out based on their contributions to American society and apparent conformity to the American work ethic and deferred gratification. This type of discourse is a form of Foucauldian discipline and power, an attempt by the majority to shape individuals towards an ideal while still confining them to an excluded and subordinate status.

2.3.1 Journalistic Norms and Framing Contests

Policy issues serve as a symbolic contest over which interpretation of society will prevail (Gamson and Mondigliani 1989; Gamson et al. 1992). From a social constructionist perspective,

journalists produce interpretations of the world in constant interaction with other social actors as sources of information or subjects of news themselves. In this process, the inclusivity of media discourse comes under attack as structures, institutions, and norms exclude a number of actors from participating in meaning making. For instance, in the practice of beat reporting, journalists cultivate relationship with government representatives and tend to adopt the frames of their sources as increased and sustained contact ensues (Gamson and Stuart 1992).

Hallin (1986) argues that the conventions of objective journalism during news coverage of the Vietnam War—use of official sources, focus on the president, absence of news interpretation or analysis, and focus on immediate events—made *The New York Times* an instrument of the state. Newsworthiness as a professional norm grants privileged media access to political elites such as the U.S. president, thereby recognizing and legitimating their power. In contrast, enduring news values in mainstream U.S. news outlets promote the marginalization and condemnation of movements for social change and thus reinforce the status quo (Ashley and Olson 1998; Gans 2005; Gitlin 1980; Rauch et al. 2007; Shoemaker 1984). In their study of three demonstrations and a conference by anarchist groups in Minneapolis, Hertog and McLeod (1995) identified five frames used in the coverage of radical protest: circus/carnival, riot, confrontation, protest, and debate. Both the protest frame, which acknowledges anarchists as a legitimate political voice, and the debate frame, which emphasizes discussion of philosophical conflicts and contradictions, were rarely used. Journalists stressed public disorder and potential danger (riot frame), treated the anarchists and the police as combatants (confrontation frame), and focused on the physical appearance and actions of anarchists (circus/carnival frame).

Frames include a range of positions and thus generate controversy among political and social actors who share a common frame (Gamson and Mondigliani 1989). For instance, in the

abortion debate, the framing of individual rights informs both the pro-choice and pro-life perspectives (Rohlinger 2002). Opposing movements can employ the same master frames such as “human rights” or “social justice,” but highlight different core and peripheral concepts. Frames, therefore, set the parameters in which citizens discuss events and issues and “narrow the available political alternatives” (Tuchman 1978: 156). The balance norm in journalism requires that competing points of view be given equal space regardless of their likelihood of being correct. In this case, the adoption of the individual rights frame in news media reduces differing perspectives to only two camps, pro- and anti-, and circumscribes the language of the debate.

2.3.2 Spheres of Contestation and Agreement

Kellner (cited in Gamson et al. 1992: 381) argues, “the hegemony model of culture and the media reveals dominant ideological formations and discourses as a shifting terrain of consensus, struggle, and compromise rather than as an instrument of monolithic, unidimensional ideology that is forced on the underlying population from above by a unified ruling class.” Analyses of the nature of discourses point to two separate realms: uncontested and contested (Gamson et al. 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). In the former, the social constructions appear as “transparent descriptions of reality, not as interpretations, and are apparently devoid of political content” (Gamson et al. 1992: 382); in the latter, struggles over meaning and interpretation are central. The uncontested terrain discourages journalists from obtaining opposing points of view; on the other hand, the contested landscape of meaning stimulates the balance norm in journalism. Nonetheless, once activated, the balance norm usually reduces controversy to only two competing positions: an official one and an alternative sponsored by the most vested member of the polity (Gamson and Mondigliani 1989). In American politics, debates are often framed in

terms of “Republicans vs. Democrat” (Tuchman 1974) camps or “liberal vs. conservative” viewpoints (Converse 1964), a practice that omits the perspectives of those who do not fit neatly into these binary political demarcations.

Hallin (1986: 116-117) provides a similar conceptualization but divides the journalist’s world into three provinces, each governed by different professional standards. The Sphere of Legitimate Controversy is the region of electoral contests and legislative debates defined primarily by the established actors of the American political process. The role of the journalist in this area is to provide objective reports. The Sphere of Consensus comprises objects and issues that journalists and the public consider as undisputed or less controversial, such that the news media do not feel compelled to present opposing views but rather serve as an “advocate or celebrant of consensus values.” This is the territory of hegemonic discourses, the taken-for-granted common sense of the people. Lastly, the Sphere of Deviance is the realm of undeserving voices according to the mores and values of society. News media attempt to expose, condemn, or exclude from the public agenda those who violate or challenge the political consensus and social order.

Furthermore, media frames are not static, since framing moves through various phases, from the time the issue emerges to its eventual resolution (Gamson and Mondigliani 1989; Miller and Reichart 2001). The media attention cycle consists of sudden ascendance of an issue from previous obscurity to sustained prominence for a given time and culminates in a decline and eventual disappearance in media attention (McCarthy et al. 1996). The ebb and flow of this cycle point to “critical discourse moments” (Gamson 1992; Rohlinger 2002; Rohlinger 2007), which make an issue and its culture highly visible. During these peak times, framing contests through the contested terrain are prominent and influential in the formation of public opinion. Gamson

(1992) suggests that critical discourse moments are especially appropriate for studying media discourse. Media attention cycles expose the hegemonic discourse to challengers, especially when opposition becomes public. Hallin (1986) illustrates the movement of an issue from one sphere to another in his analysis of media coverage of the Vietnam War. At the beginning of 1966, the press confined the war to the Sphere of Consensus, in which most reports merely echoed official statements. In 1968, the Tét Offensive shattered American morale at home, changed American public opinion drastically, intensified the anti-war movement, divided the elites, and thus shifted the issue to the Sphere of Legitimate Controversy.

2.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

As this literature review shows, scholarship has concentrated on the role of frames in making sense of events and issues for both journalists and audiences, but scant research leaves questions on the anatomy of these frames that give them persuasive power. For studies that examine the content of frames, such as those of Gamson and Mondigliani (1989) and Reese (2010), they fail to address the dynamic nature of the discourses to which these frames are embedded. In addition, the stability and malleability of frames in different periods of issue salience as well as from the onset of a policy issue or problem to its eventual resolution within a given period has been largely ignored.

Further research is needed in order to understand the formation of hegemonic discourses on immigration. This study treats news frames as a forum in which discourses on immigration are carried out. Using framing analysis, it examines the content of specific frames that two of the most widely-circulated newspapers in the United States employed during critical discourse

moments in the issue of immigration. Parallels with and variations of the frames in these two periods demonstrate the malleability of these frames and hence the cultural hegemony or contestations of various discourses. .

Deconstructing the discourses on immigration reveals the language and narratives that preserve and strengthen existing power relations within society. To do this, I identify key framing devices that guide how a story is told. Furthermore, I analyze the extent to which these frames belong to the uncontested and contested terrains and determine the points of contestation and normalization. Finally, I look at journalistic practices that facilitate the reproduction of these discourses.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This project combines an inductive approach to news texts with quantitative analysis of news articles. The study utilizes content analysis, which is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from a text (Krippendorff 1980; Neuendorf 2002; Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 1998; Weber 1990). Shapiro and Markoff (1998) distinguish content analysis from ordinary reading of texts by emphasizing the use of systematic or methodical procedures that make it a scientific enterprise. They define content analysis as “any systematic reduction of a flow of text (or other symbols) to a standard set of statistically manipulable symbols representing the presence, the intensity, or the frequency of some characteristics relevant to social science” (Shapiro and Markoff 1998: 18).

There are two approaches to content analysis of frames in the news: inductive and deductive (deVreese 2005; Reese 2010; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). The former entails an “open coding” of a small sample to reveal the range of possible frames of a particular issue. The latter involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables and necessitates a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely to be in the news. Since this study is interested in both richness of the discourse and counts of categories, I combine these two techniques.

3.1 SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

This inquiry proceeds from a frame analysis of *The New York Times* and *USA Today* in two periods: (1) for H.R. 4437, from its passage at the U.S. House of Representative on 16 December 2005 to its failure to gain support in the Senate on 11 May 2006; and (2) for Arizona S.B. 1070, from its sponsorship in the Arizona State Legislature in January 2010 to its scheduled effective date of 29 July 2010.

I chose *USA Today* and *The New York Times*, the second and third largest newspapers in the United States in terms of circulation, with 1,830,594 and 876,638 weekday respectively (Associated Press 2010). *The New York Times* offers a liberal slant, as reflected in its editorials. It is the national print source most widely used by collective action researchers (McCarthy et al. 1996: 486; Schmidt 1993). In contrast, *USA Today* leans toward center of the political spectrum. Its popular format led Bagdikian (1997: 17) to characterize it as “a national paper but it is a daily magazine that does not pretend to be a primary carrier of all the serious news.” I searched for articles in the Lexis-Nexis Academic archive within the specified periods, using the terms “IMMIGRATION” and “IMMIGRANT” for H.R. 4437/S. 2611 and “ARIZONA AND IMMIGRATION” and “ARIZONA AND IMMIGRANT” for S.B. 1070. This search generated 316 articles (228 from *The New York Times* and 88 from *USA Today*) and 174 articles (123 from *The New York Times* and 51 from *USA Today*) respectively. Table 1 presents information about the population.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of the Population

| | <i>New York Times</i> | <i>USA TODAY</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Total Number of Articles | 351 | 139 |
| 2006 | 228 | 88 |
| 2010 | 123 | 51 |
| Type (percentage) | | |
| News | 80.4 | 72.66 |
| Editorial | 7.98 | 6.47 |
| Op-Ed | 7.12 | 17.99 |
| Feature | 4.56 | 2.88 |
| Graphic (percentage) | 53.28 | 61.87 |
| Length (number of words) | | |
| Mean | 871.32 | 684.96 |
| Standard Deviation | 529.93 | 421.42 |

From this population, I randomly selected a subsample for open coding. Since the entire discourse is relevant, the unit of analysis is the excerpt rather than the entire news article. Frames are embedded across a body of discourse and speakers, rather than clearly defined within a single article (Buonfino 2010: 29). I analyzed 314 excerpts from the 490 news articles. I examined different types of forums: news, editorials, opinion columns, and features. Drawing from the framing literature, I looked at framing devices (lexical choices, metaphors, historical examples, catchphrases, depictions, source and quote selections, and visual images), utterances (speech acts or statements), speakers (actors that appear as the carriers of certain claims, beliefs, or positions), and reasoning devices (cultural themes, definition of the problem, causal and treatment responsibility, consequences, and moral judgment). Although I gathered information on the use of illustration, I limited the investigation to texts.

Based on this inductive analysis and theoretical constructs from the existing literature on immigration, I developed a preliminary categorization of frames. I then proceeded to the quantitative part of my data collection, which entails a count of frames used for each article. The study utilizes the elaborated categories to measure the extent to which these frames appear in the

newspapers during the periods under study, using a simple binary coding strategy (1=yes, 0=no). In the coding sheet, I added four additional categories: “Party Politics,” “Protest,” “Other,” and “No Obvious Frame.” The first one covers stories that focus on Democrat-Republican dynamics that do not specifically tell a story about immigration or construct the immigrant. Journalists report on the conflict, negotiation, and compromise between the two parties on every major policy issue as part of their news routine. Such accounts are, therefore, not unique to immigration. This also applied to protests. Journalists, especially beat reporters, seek out social movements because “they provide drama, conflict, and action; colorful copy; and photo opportunities” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 117). Since my interest is in the framing of immigration or immigrant, I applied the same rule as the one with “Party Politics” and coded any story that focused merely on information about the protest event as “Protest.” I followed the practice of putting ambiguous and debatable idea elements in the “Other” category in order to keep clear the meaning of my main frames of interest. Lastly, when the news item simply reports core facts, as in news briefs, I put it under “No Obvious Frame.” In coding the articles, I also collected data on the length of the article (measured in terms of the number of words) and placement (page or section in the newspaper) to account for issue salience.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

For the qualitative analysis of news texts, I used multiple inductive codes. I read all of the subsample of articles and collected a set of excerpts in order to make an inventory of empirical indicators that may guide the reader’s interpretation of the text. I then looked for framing devices and their link to a chain of reasoning devices that demonstrate how the frame functions to

represent an issue (Van Gorp 2010). Reasoning devices include causal attributions, consequences, or appeals to principles that do not need to be explicitly included in a mediated message. The reasoning devices are related to four framing functions, namely the promotion of a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman 1993). I constructed a table that consisted of three columns: excerpt, framing device, and reasoning device (see Appendix A). In this step, I noted the differences and similarities between the devices and developed themes at a higher level of abstraction that could be separated from the specific news stories that the excerpts were taken from. After re-reading the excerpts and analyzing the table, I plotted the relationship of different concepts and integrated or disentangled idea elements.

Using the categories I developed from the inductive phase of my analysis, I moved to the quantitative part of my study, which consisted of a systematic investigation of the extent to which the different frames are present in the whole sample. In order to answer my research questions, I determined the significance of the variations between periods using a chi square test.

3.3 LIMITATIONS

A major limitation of this study is the selection of newspapers for analysis. If unaddressed, selection bias leads to problems of validity and reliability. Due to reliance on the LexisNexis Academic database, which does not index the largest newspaper in the United States by circulation, the *Wall Street Journal*, I am unable to present a complete picture of the news frames and the framing process of the three top broadsheets that dominate print media in the United States. I, therefore, run the risk of undercounting the common frames used by the *Wall Street*

Journal in its news accounts and commentaries on immigration, which I can only surmise center on economic matters. Furthermore, I also chose newspapers whose headquarters (New York City for *The News York Times* and Fairfax County, Virginia for *USA Today*) are far from the cities of Southwestern United States, which are the main sites of the immigration conflict. Since proximity is one of the news values that news media gatekeepers hold, events and issues within New York, Virginia, and the nearby states are more likely to be covered than those that take place far away, unless they exhibit other dimensions of newsworthiness. In this case, selection bias gives a false impression of the breadth of stories and positions on immigration (Ortiz et al. 2005).

The selection of the second and third largest newspapers, which are national in circulation and have divergent political inclinations, is an effort to remedy this drawback. *The New York Times* is long regarded within the industry as a national “newspaper of record,” while the *USA Today* is more accessible as it sells for US\$1.00 in newsstands, and it is often found free at hotels, airports, and universities. Likewise, since immigration became a national issue during the two periods of interest, metropolitan newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Arizona Republic* would be limited in their coverage and circulation.

4.0 NEWS FRAMES AND HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES

In this chapter, I present the findings of my inductive analysis of news frames that constitute the hegemonic discourses on immigration and on the construction of the immigrant as subject. My results suggest that, through their news frames, the media sustain and consolidate power relationships embedded in these discourses. Newspapers do this through adherence to professional norms and news values and the use of language and narratives in news reporting that normalize these dominant ways of thinking and talking about immigration. By propagating myths and privileging familiar speakers—the usual participants in the discourse—over others, the media set the allowable and unquestioned parameters through which a reader processes information and interprets reality. As the hegemonic discourses that give rise to these news frames are embedded in culture, they uphold the unthinking, taken-for-granted common sense of the people embodied in social relationships. Stories employing the “Nation of Immigrant” and “Failed Immigration Policy” frames reveal discursive formations that have undergone a process of consensus, struggle, and compromise among various actors, but now appear as transparent depictions of reality and lie within the realm of the unconscious.

4.1 “NATION OF IMMIGRANTS” FRAME

Located in the Sphere of Consensus or uncontested terrain is the “Nation of Immigrants” frame, which focuses on the narrative of America as a nation of immigrants and portrays the immigrant’s journey to the United States as an arduous odyssey to the promised land. In this classic tale, the immigrant—the hero or heroine—toils and overcomes hardships in pursuit of the American dream. In this frame, immigrants are reminders of how Americans as a people came to be, and immigration is central to how they view themselves as a nation. Thus, the press retells this narrative to reaffirm the formation of the nation (Chavez 2001).

Although Huntington (2004) contradicts this myth of origin of Americans, arguing that America was a society of settlers, the immigrant narrative of American history has become a hegemonic discourse. In the realm of immigration policy, political and economic elites, corporate media, academia, and the church have employed this discourse and influenced policy choices. Journalists, for instance, refer to President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s famous speech to the annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which he started with “My dear fellow immigrants.” Another example is Senator Edward M. Kennedy’s address delivered on the Senate floor for his major piece of legislation—an immigration bill. Kennedy’s most noted immigration achievement was to help abolish the decades-old quota system that favored immigrants from northern Europe over Asians and Latin Americans in 1965.

“We are the land of opportunity,” he said. “Our streets may not be paved with gold, but they are paved with the promise that men and women who live here—even strangers and newcomers—can rise as fast, as fast as their skills will allow.” (Hulse 2006)

Triandafyllidou (1999: 81) contends that the reproduction of such mythology in the press is important “because it provides for a socio-cognitive model,” a specific way of thinking about

Americans as people. According to this model, if Americans speak about themselves as coming from distant lands and becoming one in their adopted home, they are likely to welcome contemporary immigrants, who share their dreams, aspirations, and struggles. Through words, metaphors, and symbols, the frame appeals to compassion to accept today's immigrants because they come to America for the same reasons as past immigrants—the promise of a better life. Unlike the “Immigrant-as-Other” frame discussed in the next chapter, which represents an unassimilable immigrant, the “Nation of Immigrants” frame celebrates America's ability to absorb and transform all cultural differences into a single American culture. The message is that the willingness to absorb immigrants and refugees into American society is fundamental to American values and identity, for America is a compassionate, immigrant-receiving nation (Chavez 2001).

Phrases and words associated with this frame include *American dream*, *promised land*, *nation of immigrants*, *welcome*, and *absorb*. In essence, the media appropriate terms that have been institutionalized in the discourse, through their reproduction in various scholarly works (see Alba and Nee 2003; Gordon 1964; Park 1950; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Shibutani and Kwan 1965), political speeches, and past news reports. This can be seen in the following examples:

One sign this country's self-confidence and strength has been its ability to *welcome* and *absorb* people who want to make new lives here. (“Immigration's Moment,” *The New York Times*, 15 March 2006, Editorial, Editorial Desk, Pg. 26, 565 words)

It was one of the happiest days of his life, a seminal moment in the pursuit of the *American dream*. (“They're People Just Like My Grandpa,” *USA TODAY*, 5 May 2006, Op-ed, News Section, Pg. 13A, 458 words)

Guillermo could see the *promised land* of Southern California from the cramped three-bedroom house he shared here with his mother, his wife and two children. (“A Border Killing Inflames Mexican Anger at U.S. Policy,” *The New York Times*, 14 January 2006, News, Foreign Desk, Pg. 3, 1382 words)

Related to this is the use of metaphors, which are also rooted in the scholarly literature on immigration, to characterize an immigrant nation such as the United States. The “melting pot” is a metaphor for a heterogeneous society becoming more homogeneous, the different elements “melting together” into a harmonious whole with a common culture. It is presented as a binary opposite of multiculturalism (Chavez 2001). The concept had been initially set forth in the 1780s by Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, a French-American writer who describes America as a society with a new culture produced by an amalgamation of peoples from different lands (Huntington 2004). It posits the creation of a syncretic American culture through the biological and cultural fusion of different peoples (Gordon 1964). In contrast, the “Anglo-conformity” model focuses on cultural assimilation and assumes the centrality and durability of the culture of the founding settlers. It generally applies to the rapid Americanization of immigrants that took place during and after World War I. Huntington (2004: 129) refers to this as an Anglo-Protestant “tomato soup” to which “immigration adds celery, croutons, spices, parsley, and other ingredients that enrich and diversify the taste, but which are absorbed into what remains fundamentally tomato soup.” Lastly, the “salad bowl” concept suggests cultural pluralism or the integration of the many different cultures of United States residents, but not the fusion into a single homogeneous culture. Smaller groups within a larger society maintain their unique cultural identities and their values and practices are accepted by the wider culture.

“New York is still the classic *melting pot*, with a whole array of immigrants coming in, but the suburbs are now becoming part of this bigger *melting pot*,” said William H. Frey, the Brookings Institution demographer who conducted the analysis. (“Whites to Be Minority in New York Area Soon, Data Show,” *The New York Times*, 7 March 2006, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 1, 910 words)

New York’s immigrants make up an *international stew* while Los Angeles’s immigrants are largely Mexican—citizens and noncitizens who share a history and a culture and have become a political force. (“2 Cities, 2 Approaches to

Immigrants,” *The New York Times*, 3 April 2006, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 1, 768 words)

As opposed to the “Immigrant-as-Other” frame, which chronicles the downside of assimilation, the “Nation of Immigrants” frame illustrates positively the process of becoming Americans among children of immigrants. Social institutions play a central and facilitative role in welcoming immigrants and in making them Americans in words, deeds, and thoughts. Schools, for example, inculcate patriotism and promote the linguistic assimilation of new Americans.

The multilingual center in Claudia Creo’s third-grade classroom comes to an abrupt halt when a picture of the American flag flashes on a screen. *Hands over hearts, the children recite the Pledge of Allegiance...* She says it’s her mission to welcome America’s newcomers by teaching them English. “*That’s what this country is all about.*” (“Ever Day an English Test at Virginia School,” *USA TODAY*, 1 May 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 4A, 428 words)

Another framing device is the use of familiar and powerful symbols of the immigrant heritage of the United States that perpetuate and serve as a visible and tangible manifestation of the immigrant narrative. References to the Statue of Liberty, Ellis Island, and Emma Lazarus symbolize both the journey and struggle of immigrants and the United States as a welcoming immigrant-receiving nation.

“Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,” wrote *Emma Lazarus*, in a poem that still puts a lump in my throat. I’m proud of America’s immigrant history, and grateful that the door was open when my grandparents fled Russia. (“North of the Border,” *The New York Times*, 27 March 2006, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 19, 743 words)

Along the way, as they crossed the bridge built by Irish, Italian and German immigrant workers, they got a great view of the *Statue of Liberty*. (“2 Cities, 2 Approaches to Immigrants”)

Anecdotes are popular devices in the “Nation of Immigrant” frame. One way journalists bring this frame into an account is by personalizing the story. The frame is, therefore, not without the classic immigrant story. The account starts with a life of destitution in the homeland then progresses to the pain of leaving the old country and to the perilous journey in search of a better life in the land of opportunity. Conflict occurs as the immigrant confronts obstacles to his or her dream and climbs the ladder of success from the lower rungs. In the end, the immigrant emerges victorious and lives to tell the tale. This corresponds to the news values that journalists observe as they look for and pay homage to people who act heroically, struggle successfully against adversity, and overcome more powerful forces (Gans 2005).

A synonym for the *immigrant success story* that he is, Guillermo Linares—who grew up dirt poor in a dirt-floored hut in the Dominican Republic, came to New York City at age 15 knowing not a word of English, drove a taxi to pay for a college education that culminated with a doctorate, and believes he is the first Dominican to hold public office in the United States—is having a touchy time keeping his cool as the immigration battle heats up on Capitol Hill.

More than 11 million life stories—Mr. Linares estimates that there are at least 500,000 illegal immigrants in New York City alone—are at stake, and some of them remind him of his own. (“An Immigrant Success Wants Others to Have a Chance,” *The New York Times*, 7 April 2006, Feature, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 2, 886 words)

Journalists also feature children of immigrants and allow them to tell the story of poverty and eventual triumph in America. For example, there are stories of labor and perseverance in order to receive an education, a step towards the coveted American dream. In the narrative, children of immigrants exhibit values—Protestant work ethic—that Americans hold dearly; to some extent, they even exert greater effort than their native counterparts due to the barriers they face.

Stories of hardship are easy to find among community college students, and the class of 2010 at Queensborough, in Queens, is no different.

...

Queensborough Community College has about 15,000 students from 140 countries. The graduates on Friday—a multinational cast with surnames like Baptiste, Chang, Garzon, Kumar, and Mohamed—speak 58 languages and include many who are *the first in their family to receive a higher-education degree*.

...

Mr. Lopez left the mountains of Oaxaca in 2002, crossing the desert into Arizona. After spending time in Santa Monica, Calif., he joined his brothers Alvaro and Gaspar in Corona, Queens. He enrolled at Newton to finish high school, took some classes in computer technology at LaGuardia Community College and went on to manage an Internet café in Astoria called Forum, which he bought last month.

Mr. Avellaneda moved to Woodside, Queens, from Bogota eight years ago on a tourist visa he has long overstayed. “Life is easier here,” he said, even though *he worked three jobs at a time—assembling jewelry, cleaning tables at a restaurant and driving a delivery minivan—to save money to go to college*. (“With Diplomas in Hand, but Without Legal Status,” *The New York Times*, 5 June 2010, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 17, 859 words)

Essentially, the immigrant reminds Americans of the values and traditions that have been lost and forgotten with modernization. In such discourse, the immigrant is venerated for possessing the qualities, especially in relation to work ethic, that once made America a great nation. Hence, by employing the “Nation of Immigrants” frame, the press underpins the centrality of hard work and diligence in American culture.

...immigrants themselves are like a booster shot of traditional morality injected into the body politic. Immigrants work hard. They build community groups. They have traditional ideas about family structure, and they work heroically to make them a reality. (“Immigrants to be Proud of,” *The New York Times*, 30 March 2006, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 25, 751 words)

Kids who emigrated from foreign countries—such as Shewit Giovanni from Ethiopia, Farah Ali from Guyana and Edgar Awumey from Ghana—often aced every test, while many of their U.S.-born classmates from upper-class homes with highly-educated parents had a string of C’s and D’s... What many of the American kids I taught did not have *the motivation, self-discipline or work ethic of the foreign-born kids*... The sad fact is that in the USA, hard work on the part of students is no longer seen as a key factor in academic success. (“For Once, Blame the Student,” *USA TODAY*, 8 March 2006, Op-ed, News Section, Pg. 11A, 890 words)

Related to this, the media historicize contemporary immigration by drawing parallels between immigrants of the past and present. Thus, the immigrant as subject represents historical continuity. After a few generations, the Irish and Jews became white in the American cultural milieu, even though they endured the same travails of Mexican and Vietnamese immigrants. Through historical references, the media nurture the immigrant story and portray the experiences of destitution and discrimination as the bedrock of an immigrant identity.

The Jewish population, like many other booming immigrant groups in the USA, suffered hardships such as disease, poverty, mental illness, inadequate housing and discrimination. (“‘Cradled in Judea’ Remembers the Orphans; NYC Exhibit is Story of Loss and Discovery,” *USA TODAY*, 24 March 2006, News, Life Section, Pg. 7D, 835 words)

Unskilled Irish immigrants were abused and despised back then, chained to a life of poverty and hard labor that bonded them—at least for a little while—with enslaved African-Americans.

The parallels with the present day are too obvious to ignore. Georgia is undergoing another demographic shift, as Mexican immigrants flock to its farms, mills, processing plants and cities... *At least half of the newcomers are illegal, unskilled laborers who, like their Irish predecessors, want “any job, but now.”* (“In Immigrant Georgia, News Echoes of an Old History,” *The New York Times*, 6 March 2006, Feature, Editorial Desk, Pg. 20, 862 words)

In their news reports, journalists who apply the “Nation of Immigrants” frame also quote interviewees who refer to their immigrant background. These quotes attempt to validate the immigrant history of America by showing that almost all persons in the United States descended from immigrants or are immigrants themselves. They also demonstrate that they are a living testament that assimilation of America’s newcomers is possible.

“These immigrants came here, I came here, my mother and father came here for a better future,” said Mr. Lombardo, who was a teenager when he left Sicily to move to New York. *“Everybody around here is from some place else. America is a country of immigrants, so it’s important that we all participate, whether we’re legal or not.”* (“Walkout is Planned to Show Solidarity with Immigrants,” *The New York Times*, 1 May 2006, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 4, 725 words)

“Poland is my old country,” Mr. Jabolinski said. *“This is my new country. I can make everything happen here.”* (“Immigrants Take to U.S. Streets in Show of Strength,” *The New York Times*, 2 May 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 0, 1270 words)

Lastly, the “Nation of Immigrants” frame appeals to ethical and moral codes by stressing that immigrants come to the United States because of American values. The press portrays U.S. not only as a land of opportunity but as the epitome of a modern and free country, having principles that immigrants yearn in their countries of origin.

One lesson: Maintaining order cannot become a facile excuse for trampling the *freedoms that make so many immigrants eager to come to the USA in the first place.* (“Students Join Immigration Debate—And Get Muzzled,” *USA TODAY*, 11 April 2006, Editorial, News Section, Pg. 11A, 495 words)

In sum, news accounts with the “Nation of Immigrants” frame utilize language, metaphors, anecdotes, and other stylistic choices that glorify the immigrant narrative, an important story that Americans tell about themselves as people and as a nation. The frame condenses images of immigrant journey and struggle, of the Statue of Liberty welcoming the tired and the poor, of a “melting pot,” and of the face of new Americans. It aims to arouse sympathy from the readers, for the frame focuses on the immigrant as an individual with an identity, and not as a universal and disembodied figure. This is also connected to news values that tend to privilege individualism. The discourse of America as an immigrant nation is so deeply rooted in the American psyche that it has become common sense knowledge.

4.2 “FAILED IMMIGRATION POLICY” FRAME

This frame, which also lies in the Sphere of Consensus, focuses on the failure of the state to address the immigration problem, with emphasis on the dynamics between states and the federal government. Typically, it begins with an acknowledgment of a broken immigration system (context) and ends with reference to the need for comprehensive immigration reform. The main actors are policymakers and various state agencies.

The “Failed Immigration Policy” frame veers away from the immigrant and turns to the U.S. state as its subject. The centerpiece of this frame, which dovetails with a primary news criterion, is conflict. The conflict revolves around a power struggle between the states and the federal government and the conclusion underscores a call for the latter to perform its role. The frame recasts immigration: the main problem is not immigration, but the inability of the government to perform its role. The frame, therefore, identifies a familiar, accessible, and legitimate target of the people’s grievance on immigration by virtue of the social contract. This is applied on topics and issues such as skepticism on President Barack Obama’s immigration agenda because of contradictory actions, appointment of unqualified individuals to lead agencies on immigration, overburdened immigration courts, and responses to immigration policies that affect the welfare of poor U.S. citizens.

If anxiety or fear is the dominant emotion in other frames, the “Failed Immigration Policy” frame channels and reinforces the feelings of frustration of Americans on immigration. This is evident, for instance, in the lexical choices, which capture the general sentiment on the inability of both local and federal governments to offer a comprehensive solution to the immigration problem. The use of *frustration* and *furious* conjure images of an exasperated public

and *punitive, lacking, piecemeal, overdue, patchwork, broken, neglect, and slow* express disappointment on the various measures that have been formulated thus far.

A *patchwork* of state and local immigration policies would cause havoc. (“The Constitution Trumps Arizona,” *The New York Times*, 8 July 2010, Editorial, Editorial Desk, Pg. 24, 653 words)

Frustrated by slow action in Congress, state legislatures are debating whether to increase border enforcement at their own expense, fine employers who use undocumented workers and get local police involved in deporting them. (“State Weigh Immigration Controls; Congress Moving Too Slow for Some,” *USA TODAY*, 26 January 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 1A, 411 words)

Arizonans, like all Americans, have every right to be *furious* about Washington’s protracted and bipartisan *failure* to address the immigration stalemate. (“If Only Arizona were the Real Problem,” *The New York Times*, 2 May 2010, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 10, 1585 words)

Arizona’s law is not a case of a state helping the federal government do a job it *neglected*. (“Shutdown in Arizona,” *The New York Times*, 29 July 2010, Editorial, Editorial Desk, Pg. 28, 610 words)

Lacking a sound federal response to illegal immigration, we are left with small-bore crackdowns, like the unconscionable jailing of eight men in Brewster this month for the crime of playing in a schoolyard. (“Insight, at Last, on Immigration,” *The New York Times*, 29 January 2006, Editorial, Westchester Weekly Desk, Pg. 13, 678 words)

Congressional action is long *overdue*. Without it, state and local authorities have been trying to solve the problem on their own with *piecemeal* measures. (“Street-Corner Immigration Reform,” *The New York Times*, 25 February 2006, Editorial, Editorial Desk, Pg. 14, 679 words)

But the law is also the product of simmering *frustrations* that *boiled* over in a border state that has suffered the consequences of decades of *failed* federal immigration policies. (“Suing Arizona Hurts Chances for Immigration Overhaul,” *USA TODAY*, 7 July 2010, Editorial, News Section, Pg. 8A, 591 words)

A prominent feature of this frame is the use of metaphors, especially in describing the flawed and purely subjective enforcement of immigration policies (“Sometimes the case for leniency is in the eye of the beholder,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2006) and in

explaining the actions of states such as Arizona. This frame, for instance, presents the state of Arizona as plagued by immigration because of its unique location in the present juncture and justifies Arizona's response to immigration as an indication of a larger problem in the polity. However, the frame also criticizes the actions of Arizona by comparing them to the steps taken by other states. In any case, one message of the "Failed Immigration Policy" frame is: the states are doing this because the federal government is not doing anything.

Don't blame it on Arizona. The Grand Canyon State simply happened to be in the right place at the right time to tilt over to the dark side. Its hysteria is but another *symptom* of a political *virus* that can't be *quarantined* and whose *cure* is as yet unknown. ("If Only Arizona were the Real Problem")

They may sit side by side on the border, they may share historical ties to Mexico; they may have once even been part of the same territory, but Arizona and New Mexico have grown up like *distant siblings*. ("Side By Side, But Divided Over Immigration," *The New York Times*, 12 May 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 13, 1448 words)

Thought it has been settled in law since *Civil War* ended that a state cannot secede from the union, Arizona's extreme action suggests it imagines it can. ("Arizona's Immigration Witch Hunt Challenges Federal Authority," *USA TODAY*, 27 April 2010, Op-ed, News Section, Pg. 10A, 588 words)

But while Arizona may have become a *cartoon of intolerance* to much of America, the reality is much more complex, and at times contradictory. This state is a center of both law and order and of new age om. Red-meat-loving. Red-rock-climbing. ("Welcome to Arizona, Desert Outpost of Contradictions," *The New York Times*, 29 April 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 14, 1268 words)

In expounding how a series of immigration policies has been ineffective and mistargeted, the press employs logical appeal to establish causal connection. For instance, the press provides an image of a possible outcome of H.R. 4437 for American society. Here, it highlights the impossibility of proposed actions because of unrealistic expectations and the danger of abuse of the law especially with ambiguous provisions. It likewise poses a paradox of enforcement,

wherein it entertains the likelihood that the results of the law may be detrimental to America in the end. A case in point is deportation, which is a slow and expensive legal process.

Since the House bill would make being here without papers an aggravated felony, would turn people who extend charity to illegal immigrant into “alien smugglers” and would grant state and local police officers the “inherent authority” to enforce immigration laws, *the authors presumably want to rouse the country to seek out and deport every last unauthorized person.* (“Immigration’s Moment”)

The frame also uses quotes on opinions of ordinary people, especially immigrants themselves, about the effectiveness of the proposed immigration policy. The excerpt below expresses the essence of the “Failed Immigration Policy” frame, as it validates the futility of short-term and one-sided solutions and endorses the need for a comprehensive immigration reform. Determined immigrants will find a way to cross despite stricter enforcement because there is a demand for their services in the United States.

Here, though, *migrants on the move to the USA say beefed-up enforcement will deter few.* “Walls and lights and sensors and police fill our heads,” says Dagoberto Martinez, a 17-year-old from Hidalgo, Mexico, who is headed north. “But they don’t make us turn back.” (“Illegal Immigrants Persist Despite Fences, Danger; Mexicans Try Many Routes to Get into USA,” *USA TODAY*, 30 March 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 6A, 923 words)

5.0 CONTESTED DISCOURSES AND NEGOTIATED FRAMES

In contrast to hegemonic discourses where news media do not feel compelled to seek opposing views, contested discourses on immigration, specifically on the construction of the immigrant subject, are captured in news frames that attempt to present conflicting perspectives. This stimulates the balance norm in journalism. The findings of this study suggest that frames within these discourses construct the immigrant as devoid of individuality. In most cases, the media refer to immigrants in aggregate terms or as part of an ethnic group. Another interesting result is the use of framing devices that generate controversy: quantification and statistics in research reports, interviews of experts, and opinion polls. In cases of contradictory views and analyses based on these sources, journalists negotiate differing interpretations of social reality. Finally, contested discourses rely on anxiety and fear that encourage the further creation and solidification of boundaries between immigrants and natives. The frames that capture the struggle over the meaning of immigration in the two different periods and legislative bills are the “Dangerous Immigrants,” “Cheap Labor,” “Immigrant Takeover,” “Immigrant-as-Other,” and “Citizenship and National Identity.”

5.1 “DANGEROUS IMMIGRANTS” FRAME

Within the Sphere of Legitimate Controversy or contested terrain lies the security frame or the portrayal of immigrants as dangerous. This mostly refers to the application of a security framework to immigration and the classification of the immigrant as engaged in criminal activities, hence, the use of the word *illegal*. The problem centers on how to keep out these “unwanted” individuals from American territory. In the narrative, the press depicts immigrants as the antagonists, as their act of crossing the border violates the sovereignty of the United States. The protagonists are security forces such as the police, federal immigration agents, and the National Guard, while the natives, especially residents of border cities, are the victims, caught between the conflict between the central players and prey to the illegal acts of the antagonists. The press invokes a war metaphor (“The Border Wars: 47 Arrested in Raid On Smuggling Rings,” *The New York Times*, 16 April 2010), in which the borders become the central battlefield.

The lexical choices used as a framing device conjure images of the United States under threat from undocumented immigrants, invaders and criminals, whose intent is to do harm to the native population. The press employs words such as *illegal aliens*, *fugitives*, *hordes*, and *lawbreakers* to identify them as perpetrators; *flood*, *flow*, and *invasion* to describe their movement to the United; and *harm* and *threat* to illustrate their presence in the United States. The press, likewise, refers to *secure border* and *build fences and walls* as the main solutions to the problem.

In an unprecedented crackdown of more than 500,000 illegal immigrants who have not followed deportation orders, U.S. authorities this year are nearly tripling the number of federal officers assigned to round up such *fugitives*. (“Feds to Expand Hunt for those Ordered to be Deported,” *USA TODAY*, 11 January 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 3A, 448 words)

Hordes of immigrants rushed into the state in the last 25 years, competing for jobs with the least educated among the native population. (“Cost of Illegal Immigration May Be Less than Meets the Eye,” *The New York Times*, 16 April 2006, News, Money and Business/Financial Desk, Pg. 3, 1062 words)

If National Guard men and women were deployed at our major airports and seaports—and at some key international sites—to help keep away foreigners who want to *do us harm*, the results would be much lower—in lives and dollars. (“National Guard Role: Gulf, Ariz., Afghan?,” *USA TODAY*, 4 June 2010, News, News Section, Pg. 11A, 377 words)

Exaggeration with no reference to highlight the urgency of immigration as a security issue is also a common framing device. The press uses superlatives and hyperbole in assessing the situation posed by illegal immigration.

Eleven people have now been convicted in the case, the *nation’s deadliest human-smuggling disaster*. (“3 More Convicted in Deaths of Immigrants in a Trailer,” *The New York Times*, 9 February 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 16, 939 words)

And it’s very necessary: Arizona is the ground zero of illegal immigration. Phoenix is the hub of human smuggling and the kidnapping capital of America, with more than 240 incidents reported in 2008. It’s no surprise that Arizona’s police associations favored the bill, along with 70 percent of Arizonans. (“Why Arizona Drew a Line,” *The New York Times*, 29 April 2010, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 31, 898 words)

In the context of the 9/11 attacks and the Mexican drug war, the media increasingly discussed illegal immigration along with human and drug smuggling and terrorism. The conflation of drugs, radical thought and action, and people connotes unmonitored and unauthorized movement as an opening to the destruction of the fabric of American society. Ngai (2004) explains this as an outcome of the abstract definition of “illegal alien,” a body dispossessed of individual personage, a subject and a good that is illegally trafficked across the borders.

House Republicans voted on Thursday night to toughen a border security bill by requiring the Department of Homeland Security to build five fences along 698 miles of the United States border with Mexico to *block the flow of illegal immigrants and drugs* into this country. (“House Votes for 698 Miles of Fences on Mexico Border,” *The New York Times*, 16 December 2005, News, National Desk, Pg. 37, 767 words)

The Republicans also insist that border security has to come before immigration reform. But a tighter border without a legal path for unskilled labor only makes human smuggling part of the criminals’ business plan. *Unlike bricks of cocaine*, people can be smuggled more than once and their families shaken down for easy cash. (“Troops and the Border,” *The New York Times*, 28 May 2010, Editorial, Editorial Desk, Pg. 22, 461 words)

The “Dangerous Immigrants” frame also uses anecdotes and descriptions of scenes, especially on the experiences of immigrants in crossing the border and on the difficulties of the Border Patrol in securing the border (e.g., dramatic border chases and scuffles). These stories call attention to the actual act of “invading.” Descriptions of horrific experiences evoke images of the border as a combat zone and a place of death. Often, the press reports these incidents as human interest stories that elicit either sympathy or anger from the readers and hence fit in the news values and routines of journalists.

Dr. Bruce Parks unzips a white body bag on a steel gurney and gingerly lifts out a human skull and mandible, turning them over in his hands and examining the few teeth still in their sockets.

The body bag, coated with dust, also contains a broken pelvis, a femur and a few smaller bones found in the desert in June, along with a pair of white sneakers.

“These are people who are probably not going to be identified,” said Dr. Parks, the chief medical examiner for Pima County. There are eight other body bags crowded on the gurney.

The Pima County morgue is running out of space as the number of Latin American immigrants found dead in the deserts around Tucson has soared this year during a heat wave. (“An Arizona Morgue Grows Crowded,” *The New York Times*, 29 July 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 14, 1254 words)

The contestations in the security frame appear in the application of quantification and statistics and use of expert opinions to highlight the gravity of the immigration problem and the

urgency of a government response. This includes the number of deaths in the border, raids, and deported immigrants as well as the necessary budget for border enforcement, especially in terms of the costs of increased size of border security agents and installation of high technology equipment. Much controversy, however, arises in the relationship between undocumented immigrants and crime, as the excerpt below encapsulates.

Crime figures, in fact, present a more mixed picture, with the likes of Russell Pearce, the Republican state senator behind the immigration enforcement law, playing up the darkest side while immigration advocacy groups like Coalicion de Derechos Humanos (Human Rights Coalition), based in Tucson, circulate news reports and studies showing that crime is not as bad as it may seem.

For instance, statistics show that even as Arizona's population swelled, buoyed in part by illegal immigrants funneling across the border, violent crime rates declined, to 447 incidents per 100,000 residents in 2008, the most recent year for which comprehensive data is available from the F.B.I. In 2000, the rate was 532 incidents per 100,000.

Nationally, the crime rate declined to 455 incidents per 100,000 people, from 507 in 2000.

...

Scott Decker, a criminologist at Arizona State University, said a battery of studies have suggested that illegal immigrants commit fewer crimes, in part because they tend to come from interior cities and villages in their home country with low crime rates and generally try to keep out of trouble to not risk being sent home. ("In Border Violence, Perception is Greater than Crime Statistics," *The New York Times*, 20 June 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 18, 1326 words)

"Dangerous Immigrants" is a common trope in the immigration discourses that is rooted in the imagining of the nation. Buonfino (2004: 28) claims migration as a politicized phenomenon in Europe comes from "not a threat for what it is, but a threat for what it represents." The securitization of immigration discourse has achieved hegemony at the national and European Union levels because of its appeal to public fears and its call to preserve the unity of the community. In addition, migration exposes the paradox of democracy in Europe as its people grapple with the contradiction of unity and plurality. Buonfino explains that securitization

has the ability to preserve existing boundaries and keep identity strong and legitimate and thus becomes a hegemonic discourse in Europe.

In the United States, the undocumented immigrant as an undesirable alien situates the principle of sovereignty in the foreground and makes state territoriality the engine of immigration policy (Ngai 2004). Huntington (2004) attributes this to the uniqueness of the United States as the only First World country that has a two-thousand mile land frontier with a Third World country. Furthermore, the United States once invaded and annexed half the territory of Mexico, a result of the Texan War of Independence in 1835-1836 and the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. With regard to immigration and criminality, this discourse has its roots in the deportation policy and the making of illegal aliens in nineteenth-century United States, in which “the national body had to be protected from the contaminants of social degeneracy”—the excludable classes such as the mentally retarded, diseased persons, and Chinese laborers (Ngai 2004: 59). Whether the frame actually reflects reality, the vivid images of body bags, border chases, and smuggled drugs in news accounts suggest a territory of a nation-state under siege.

5.2 “CHEAP LABOR” FRAME

Another contested or controversial frame stresses the supply and demand factors that fuel immigration. The economic frame represents immigration as an inevitable outcome of capitalist development. Business owners and economists are the main actors and the conundrum is how to align immigration with the economic needs of the United States. If the security frame revolves around the narrative of immigration as a threat to territorial security, the economic frame situates the immigrant in an ambiguous location vis-à-vis the nation-state. On the one hand, it draws on

the popular theme of immigrants taking the jobs natives do not want and of the benefits of cheap, immigrant labor at the micro and macro levels, especially for small and medium enterprises. On the other hand, it also depicts undocumented immigrants as a burden to the welfare state. In this frame, the responsibility shifts to the employers: as long as a demand for their services exists, immigrants will persist.

The “Cheap Labor” frame relies on metaphors, description of actors and their lifestyles, and quotes on opinions of business owners to describe the relationship between immigration and capitalism. For instance, the press characterizes *addiction to cheap labor* as the cause of the steady flow of labor migrants. Addiction implies Americans’ high dependence on cheap labor provided by immigrants in order to maintain their consumption-driven upper- and middle-class lifestyles. Hence, tolerance of illegal immigration stems from the benefits Americans derive from it.

This is a nation that insists on paying as little as possible for goods and services, and as long as it is impractical to send lawns, motel beds and dirty dishes overseas, determined immigrants and semiporous borders will continue to feed the American *addiction to cheap labor*. (“Street-Corner Immigration Reform”)

It’s because people in those places have decided they cannot live without the cheap and readily available labor supplied by illegal immigrants. Those are the real culprits—the teachers and engineers and soccer moms who *love that they can afford upper-class perks* (nannies, gardeners and housekeepers) on middle class wages. (“Misguided Border Patrolling,” *USA TODAY*, 15 February 2006, Op-ed, Bonus Section, Pg. 13A, 893 words)

The press, likewise, uses quotes of employers’ opinions about the economic interests in keeping undocumented immigrants. Business owners become central authority figures in this frame because they affirm the necessity of employing immigrants in their operations. Although they do not explicitly acknowledge that they pay immigrants competitive wages, they extol immigrant work ethics and romanticize their role in the organization.

[Marriott International CEO J.W. Marriott Jr.] said that hotels are one of the many industries in the USA that rely on immigrants to fill entry-level jobs, and those who take them often work their way up to better jobs.

“We just can’t get the work done without people from other nations,” he said. (“Marriott CEO Blasts Congress Over Immigrant Bill,” USA TODAY, 12 April 2006, News, Money Section, Pg. 4B, 454 words)

The “Cheap Labor” frame also includes discussions on the contrast between high-skilled and low-skilled labor and the neglect of the former in the debate on immigration policy. It further suggests preference for professional immigrants and its ties to national economic policy.

In making immigration laws, Congress caters to cheap-labor industries like agribusiness and sweatshop manufacturing while shortchanging the high-tech, high-wage industries on which the future of the American economy depends. While the United States perversely tries to corner the market in uneducated hotel maids and tomato harvesters, other industrial democracies are reshaping their immigrations to invite skilled immigrants that we turn away. (“How to Lose the Brain Race,” The New York Times, 10 April 2006, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 23, 848 words)

Two major points of contention arise in the “Cheap Labor” frame. The most common is the argument that immigrants are only taking jobs that Americans do not like. This is echoed mainly by immigrant advocacy groups, some business owners, sympathetic political elites, liberal media personalities, and the immigrants themselves. Anecdotes and quotes from various sources are the framing devices used to increase the salience of this reasoning. The press portrays natives as disinclined to accept these types of work because of their changing attitudes toward unskilled jobs and increasing preference for professional occupations. In this narrative, both the employers and the native population are to blame for the rise of undocumented immigrants in the United States.

Tom Demaline is an all-American success story. But he’s the first to say it wouldn’t be possible without the Mexicans who work for him... Of the 350 employees hired to work the March through December busy season, 271 are

Mexican nationals with visas from a “guest worker” program designed to fill jobs for which, employers say, *no American workers can be found*.

...

Employers say Congress’ unwillingness to raise the caps has made it difficult to find enough workers. “Like it or not, there are a lot of undocumented workers in our industry,” says Gary Roden of Dallas, former national president of the Associated Builders and Contractors. He says the building trades are “in drastic need” of carpenters, plumbers and heating and air-conditioning technicians.

He *blames a society that favors white-collar professions on the lack of American workers in these trades*. “School counselors and parents feel like their kids are failures if they don’t go to college,” he says. (“Guest Workers’ at Core of Immigration Dispute,” *USA TODAY*, 28 March 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 1A, 1910 words).

Ozzie Guillen, the manager of the Chicago White Sox, said “I am an immigrant” and spoke forcefully Friday about Arizona’s much-debated new law, which seeks to crack down on illegal immigrants.

...

“This country could not survive without Mexicans, all Latinos,” Guillen said. “They cannot live without us. *A lot of people from this country, they’re very lazy. They want to be on the computer and sending e-mail, and we do the hard work. We’re the ones who work in the sun all day long to make this country better.*” (“Guillen Echoes Union, Criticizing Arizona Law,” *The New York Times*, 1 May 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 5, 892 words)

The press presents an opposing view, which economists such as Paul Krugman and Thomas Friedman and pundits have largely dominated through their opinion columns. In addition, in news accounts, journalists often seek and present the opinions of labor leaders. The substance of the counter-argument hinges on the impact of immigrant labor on the wages of natives. News accounts report findings of quantitative research reports, conducted by economic think tanks and elite business schools, which dispel the common belief that Americans do not want the work that immigrants, mostly undocumented, do.

...while immigration may have raised overall income slightly, many of the worst-off native-born Americans are hurt by immigration—especially immigration from Mexico. Because Mexican immigrants have much less education than the average U.S. worker, they increase the supply of less-skilled labor, driving down the wages of the worst-paid Americans. The most authoritative recent study of this effect, by George Borjas and Lawrence Katz of Harvard, estimates that U.S. high

school dropouts would earn as much as 8 percent more if it weren't for Mexican immigration.

That's why it's intellectually dishonest to say, as President Bush does, that immigrants do "jobs that Americans will not do." *The willingness of Americans to do a job depends on how much that job pays—and the reason some jobs pay too little to attract native-born Americans is competition from poorly paid immigrants.* ("North of the Border")

"I don't think there's a tolerance in this country for an unlimited, unregulated future flow of foreign workers," said Donald Kaniewski, political director for Laborers International Union of North America...

"Let's face it," Mr. Kaniewski said. "There is a reality that *immigrants, particularly those out of status, put downward pressure on wages.*" ("Union Leader Supporting Guest Worker Proposal," *The New York Times*, 24 February 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 14, 1273 words)

Another highly disputed area in the "Cheap Labor" frame is the widely held belief that immigrants come to the United States to take advantage of the welfare state, in which a lion's share of taxpayers' money sustain the livelihoods of undocumented immigrants. This discourse undergirded the formulation of pieces of legislation such as California Proposition 187 in 1994, which prohibit undocumented immigrants from using health care, public education, and other social services. These proposals, in turn, led to media to amplify the discourse through the "Cheap Labor" frame. Chavez (2001) argues that this widespread thinking stems from the relationship between reproduction and production, in which the state is only interested in the body of the immigrant, but not his or her reproductive capacity. Immigrants, including undocumented, actually pay more than their share of taxes, but Chavez (2001) claims that the majority of those taxes go to the federal treasury rather than to the local and state levels where the costs associated with immigration occur.

"I do think the federal government should deal with it, because *illegal immigrants don't pay taxes and don't contribute to our government,*" said Deborah Adams, 53, a Democrat from Ephrata, Pa., and a paramedic who called the Arizona law a "necessary evil."

“They take jobs from American citizens who need to work and pay into Social Security,” Ms. Adams said.

In fact, many illegal immigrants do pay taxes into the Social Security system, but never see a return on their contributions. (“Poll Finds Serious Concern Among Americans About Immigration,” *The New York Times*, 4 May 2010, News, National Desk, Pg. 15, 1005 words)

Like the “Dangerous Immigrants” frame, the “Cheap Labor” frame reinforces and channels pre-existing attitudes and emotions, in this case fear on what immigration represents—that is, migrants might take away jobs. The way media reports the arrival of migrants in the United States emphasizes a natural course of capitalist development. This stirs anxiety among working class citizens over issues such as competition for jobs, access to education, and social security, especially since the cause of immigration is presented as stemming from the United States itself, from changes either in lifestyles of its people or in the views on certain occupations. Buonfino (2004: 34) explains, “As the individual’s economic position in the capitalist society is one of the bases of identity formation, a discourse that leverages on and is articulated around threat to the already ‘limited good’ will lead to the gradual production of a discourse based on strengthened collective will and a more ‘common voice’.”

5.3 “IMMIGRANT TAKEOVER” FRAME

This frame highlights the transformation of the face of the American nation, specifically making reference to the decreasing population of the racial majority. Like the two earlier frames, “Immigrant Takeover” also appeals emotionally to the reader through anxiety—anxiety that the United States will no longer be a white nation because of uncontrolled movement of non-white immigrants into the United States, their high fertility, and increased rate of interracial marriages

as racial boundaries erode. The media presents this in an alarmist manner, as demographic change will have repercussions in the social, cultural, economic, and political fabric of the American nation; according to Auguste Comte's clichéd phrase "demography is destiny." In this frame, the media poses the question of whether the American nation still exists in the imagination when whites are no longer the majority. The message, therefore, is that a nation can be lost through demographic change for the imagination of the nation is tied to race. It is neither the Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture nor the American Creed that define the nation; rather, it is the phenotype of its people.

Words such as *exodus* and *retreat* that conjure images of immigration inducing "native flight" are often used. With regard to the demographic and cultural presence of Mexicans in the Southwest, the press adopts the term *reconquista*, which brings to mind claims to the land of Mexican immigrants and Americans of Mexican descent. Although the Chicano movement popularized and advanced the concept in the 1970s to describe plans for the creation of a mythical Aztec homeland called Aztlán, *reconquista* only entered common parlance during the 2006 immigration rights protests. This media frame dovetails with the protest frames of militant groups like the Mexica Movement and the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, which used slogans and signs that include "We did not cross the border, the border crossed us," "If you think I am 'illegal' because I'm a Mexican, learn the true history because I'm in my homeland!," and "Uncle Sam stole our land!"

A more diverse immigrant population would have fewer opportunities to self-segregate and stronger incentives to assimilate. Fears of a Spanish-speaking *reconquista* would diminish, and so would the likelihood of backlash. ("The Borders We Deserve," *The New York Times*, 3 May 2010, Op-ed, Editorial Desk, Pg. 25, 821 words)

The most common framing device is the use of statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau to demonstrate the empirical reality of a disappearing white majority and of an impending transformation of class, ethnic, and racial classification in the United States. The most frequently reported data are on the proportion of whites to the whole population; the percentage increase of foreign-born, especially Mexicans, compared to previous years; and the fertility rates of each racial group. In contrast to the two earlier frames where some central issues are heavily contested due to conflicting results of studies that form the basis of arguments, the “Immigrant Takeover” frame regards the U.S. Census as the sole authority in demographic data. Thus, it has a monopoly in information and in shaping discourse. Use of census data touts the facticity of the news account. Ngai (2004) argues that the sciences of demography and statistics have assumed a leading role in U.S. immigration policy since the national origins quota system of the 1920s. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the census was not simply a quantification of material reality but a language of interpreting the social world. She further explains, “demographic data was to twentieth-century racists what craniometric data has been to race scientists during the nineteenth” (Ngai 2004: 31). In this frame, few people doubted and contradicted the census.

...growing ethnic and racial diversity fueled by record immigration and rates of interracial marriages have made the USA’s demographic data far more complex. *By 2050, there will be no racial and ethnic majority as the share of non-Hispanic whites slip below 50%, according to Census projections.* (“Multiracial No Longer Boxed in by the Census,” *USA TODAY*, 3 March 2010, News, News Section, Pg. 1A, 1697 words)

Few states have a Hispanic immigrant population as robust as Texas’s. *The United States Census Bureau said this year that Anglos make up less than half of the Texas population for the first time in more than a century, after a surge in Hispanic population.* (“Republican Strategist is Taking Heat for Taking Mexico as Client,” *The New York Times*, 28 December 2005, News, Business/Financial Desk, Pg. 1, 1084 words)

Demographic change takes place not only in abstract aggregate numbers in census data, but in communities, as immigrants change the look and feel of towns and cities, especially non-traditional immigrant-receiving places. The press uses framing devices such as description of scenes and settings and stark contrasts between the old and the new to portray the undisguised cultural and demographic presence of immigrants, from the food sold in the markets to the music heard on the radio.

The imprint of Latinos in Liberal [Kansas] goes well beyond the schools. Bakeries, Mexican food stands, Spanish-language radio and other business catering to them have sprouted over the years. On Pancake Boulevard, a main drag dotted with fast food restaurants and cheap motels, a restaurant, El Amigo Chavez, rubs shoulder with the KFC, and the counter girl at McDonald's take orders in Spanish while a group of older white men hold court at a table. ("For Latinos in the Midwest, A Time to be Heard," *The New York Times*, 25 April 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 1, 1350 words)

Lastly, the "Immigrant Takeover" frame highlights the power of immigrants to shape American politics because of their size, especially since Mexicans are concentrated in nine states that control 71 percent of the electoral votes to elect a president (Chavez 2001). The press often refers to Latinos as the "fastest growing political bloc" and stories focus on how Democrats and Republicans are careful not to outrage Hispanic voters in their decisions on immigration policy. This forms the basis of Huntington's (2004) criticism that minority group politics has displaced political party politics with respect to immigrants. News reports also narrate how large corporations such as Bank of America and Pepsi Cola have adapted their brands in order to penetrate the booming ethnic markets. In these accounts, the media present the views of marketing and advertising executives on the difficulty of ignoring the growing size of immigrant consumers.

On parallel tracks, the rise of Latino ball players aligns with growing Hispanic political power in the USA—and the bitter immigration debate. Almost like the

subtle shift in black to Latino baseball stars, *we suddenly see 500,000 people in the streets protesting proposed harsh immigration laws, flourishing Hispanic music and movie roles, the selection of 26 Hispanic members to Congress, a count of approximately 40 million (legal and illegal) Hispanics in this country.* (“Baseball’s Black Exodus,” *USA TODAY*, 4 April 2006, Op-ed, News, Pg. 15A, 949 words)

Marketers are embracing America’s mishmash of cultures as the influence of immigrants is felt in areas like cuisine, music, holidays and clothing.

...

Some marketers are inching forward. Bank of America sponsored a Manhattan family music festival—promoted in English and Spanish—with a Chinese music ensemble and a gospel choir from Soweto. McDonald’s spun off the Chipotle Mexican Grill chain this year and still owns a big stake.

Last year, Schieffelin & Company rolled out Navan, a vanilla cognac intended to play off the spice’s appeal to Hispanics but also to blacks and Asians. Diageo last year introduced the high-end Brazilian rum Orinoco. (“Throwing All Cultures into the Marketing Pot,” *The New York Times*, 21 February 2006, News, Business/Financial Desk, Pg. 6, 1268 words)

5.4 “IMMIGRANT-AS-OTHER” FRAME

This frame pertains to the portrayal of America’s newcomers as unassimilable. Together with the “Immigrant Takeover” frame, they challenge the idea and principles of the American nation, based on its White Anglo-Saxon Protestant origins. The problem in the “Immigrant-as-Other” frame centers on the difficulty in assimilation and integration of these “others” into the American core culture. The community becomes the central venue where the dynamics of immigration are played out. Like the “Immigrant Takeover” frame, the press highlights the transformation of neighborhoods and schools because of immigration, but focuses on the unfavorable visible changes, particularly on aesthetics.

In contrast to the “Nation of Immigrants” frame from the previous chapter, which celebrates the assimilation and process of becoming American of immigrants, the “Immigrant-as-

Other” stresses their inability to shed off their old ways and embrace American culture because the cultures of their countries of origin are perceived as diametrically opposed to that of America. It is asserted that such integration is impossible because the “cultural gap” between Us and Them is too wide (Triandafyllidou 1999). The assumption in this frame is that American culture is fixed, and any change brought by immigration presents a danger to the constitution of the American nation (Chavez 2001). Thus, the message is that culture is static and nonresilient. As the majority of contemporary immigrants in the United States hail from Asia and Latin America, the frame weaves race and culture together.

Lexical choices for this frame include *unfit* and *backward*, which suggest immigrants as originating from underdeveloped places that remain untouched by modernization and progress. Their provincial Third World roots have shaped their worldviews—attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values—that are hard to abandon in favor of American culture. These words are often used in anecdotes about the experiences of immigrants with assimilation, discrimination, and racism. The anecdotes, which appeal to both the sympathy and sense of humor of the reader, suggest that the struggles of immigrants are simply due to the fact that they are different. Because of their oddity, stories such as this fit into the journalist’s news space.

Abdiaziz Hussein and his family had been in their apartment only a day, and in the modern world not much longer. Still, he knew from the orientation class at the refugee camp in Africa what that sound meant: Fire!

...

He’d also been taught that a fire alarm brought fire engines. However, minutes passed, and none arrived. Eventually, the family realized they were safe -- and trapped in their apartment. They stayed there for five days, until their caseworker let herself in with a key and explained to Abdiaziz that what he thought was the fire alarm actually had been the lobby door buzzer.

The tragicomic episode and others like it across the nation became fodder for the national debate over immigration.

Were Abdiaziz’s people—the displaced Bantu of Somalia—totally *unfit* for life in America? Or were they no more *backward* than most Third World refugees?

The answer, it now seems, was neither. Bantus, who began arriving almost three years ago, are not latter-day cave men. But their assimilation has been a struggle.

...

“We had no idea how hard it would be, even though we spent a year preparing for their arrival,” says Marmor, the Springfield agency director. “We didn’t realize there would be people with *no knowledge of Western civilization.*” (“After 3 Years, Somalis Struggle to Adjust to USA,” *USA TODAY*, 22 March 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 1A, 1370 words)

Stories about the day-to-day battle with racism of children of immigrants are also common. In these accounts, the press indicts the United States as an intolerant and racist society. The immigrants, therefore, become the central protagonists. The press questions assimilation as a “one-way street,” in society cannot simply expect immigrants to join if they are not invited.

Her 8-year-old son, Christopher, has faced similar problems at John F. Kennedy Elementary School in Brewster, she added, describing classmates’ comments like “*You’re brown and you’re dumb.*”

One day when she arrived at the school to take Christopher to a doctor’s appointment, Ms. Castro-Arce said, she listened in shock as a receptionist referred to him over the loudspeaker as “*the dark Christopher,*” to distinguish him from a white classmate with the same name. Ms. Castro-Arce said she complained right away to the principal, Robin Young, who told her she would tell the receptionist “not to say things like that.” (“In Brewster, A Backlash Against Day Laborers,” *The New York Times*, 5 February 2006, News, Westchester Weekly Desk, Pg. 1, 1506 words)

Another framing device is used in the description of settings, applied to portray changes in neighborhoods because of the influx of immigrants and to represent the immigrants’ places of origin as different. In the former, immigrants pose a threat to once white-dominated neighborhoods because of their culturally different ways that cheapen these places. This is similar to the “Immigrant Takeover” frame, wherein immigrants expropriate locales through their demographic and cultural presence. However, the core argument of “Immigrant-As-Other” is the ghettoization of neighborhoods associated with the arrival of immigrants.

The actions often are prompted by complaints from neighbors that their *property values are being jeopardized by multiple cars parked in front of houses, trash, unsanitary conditions and fire hazards*. Some public officials and policy analysts say crowded housing poses safety hazards and squeeze schools and other services. (“Crowded Houses Gaining Attention in Suburbs,” *USA TODAY*, 31 January 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 5A, 1036, words)

When *crowding* becomes commonplace, neighborhoods change. *Parking disappears, and mountains of trash appear on the sidewalk on collection day*. (“A Family or a Crowd?,” *The New York Times*, 26 February 2006, Feature, Magazine: The Way We Live Now, Pg. 9, 1052 words)

The media depict negatively the countries of origin of immigrants, based on the yardstick of Western civilization and modernity. They characterize them as semi-feudal, and their inability to welcome capitalism is viewed as an obstacle to their people’s adaptation in American society. Again, like the American core culture, the culture of immigrants is also regarded as rigid or, in the press’s popular term, *deep-seated*.

And that peril is compounded by recent immigrants’ sudden collision with American culture. Many of them left *places where factory and field work was strenuous, televisions were rare and advertising was limited*.

... Many recent Chinese immigrants have come from *places where food was scarce, and experts say some view fat as a trophy of wealth and status*. Their children try to fit into their new country by embracing its food and its sedentary pastimes.

... Moderation may also be a foreign concept to many new immigrants from China because of *deep-seated* attitudes they have brought with them. (“East Meets West, Adding Pounds and Peril,” *The New York Times*, 12 January 2006, Feature, National Desk, Pg. 1, 5637 words)

Often, Asian parents who have high ambitions for their children will tell sons and daughters who aspire to police work that it is not the type of career for which they endured the upheaval of immigration. Koreans, Chinese and some other Asians come from *societies that look down upon police officers as corrupt, brutal or unlettered*.

... “I figure, give it another generation,” he [Michael P. Vietri, Chief of the Palisades Park Police] said. “When the young kids have become more American, that’s when you’ll see them getting involved a little more.” (“Influx of Asians in

New Jersey is Not Reflected in Police Ranks,” *The New York Times*, 1 May 2006, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 1, 1419 words)

These two excerpts draw attention to the contradictions of assimilation. The latter acknowledges that traditional assimilation is a function of period of contact with the native population and thus posits a linear change. The assumption is that generations of immigrants will blend into the American “mainstream,” whether in socioeconomic terms—as they achieve parity with the native majority in such indicators as education, employment, and income—or in cultural conditions as they “become American” in word, deed, and thought (Rumbaut 1997). However, as the first excerpt shows, assimilation has a downside. Chavez (2008) argues that rapid or “pressure-cooker” assimilation leads to loss of healthy diet and high fast-food consumption, loss of family values that lead to divorces, and reduced respect for parents. With increasing time in the United States, as they become more American, Chavez suggests that Latinos become more obese, fail in their relationships and marriages, and perform badly in school. In this case, the ideal American culture is highly questionable.

5.5 CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL IDENTITY FRAME

This frame both captures the attitudes of conservatives that mourn the impending demise of exclusive citizenship and the crisis of American national identity and liberal views that celebrate the expanding scope of citizenship and the achievements of multiculturalism in American society. In this frame, the press interrogates the traditional exclusionary concept of citizenship and the permanence of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture as the root of American identity, especially in the context of liberal democracy. Similar to Buonfino’s (2004) study of the

European press in its coverage of immigration, the media in the United States expose the contradictions of democracy.

Furthermore, appeals to human rights and the use of the buzzword *transnationalism* in the news accounts reveal the fragility of the nation-state. Koopmans and Statham (1999) argue that the nation-state's position as the predominant unit of social organization is being eroded from the outside by the forces of globalization and the shift in the locus of power from the national to the transnational and supranational levels and is being weakened by the increasing pluralization of modern societies. Immigration is one of the main forces behind the external erosion of sovereignty and the internal cultural differentiation of liberal nation-states.

Political elites dominate the citizenship and national identity frame. This is expected since provisions on citizenship in the Senate counterpart bill of H.R. 4437, S. 2611, were the most contentious issue during the immigration debates in 2006, driving a wedge deep into the heart of partisan politics. The guest worker proposal became the main issue on which discussions of citizenship centered, since Republicans and some Democrats considered it as an easy path to citizenship. The press provided a historical reference, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 that granted amnesty to illegal immigrants, to justify this concern. Both Democrats and Republicans agree that immigrants should earn American citizenship through perseverance and hard work.

“For those who work hard, pay their taxes, continue to obey the law and demonstrate a commitment to this country, the opportunity to eventually earn citizenship should also be available,” she [Senator Hilary Rodham Clinton] said. (“Clinton Suggests Legalizing Some Immigrants,” *The New York Times*, 9 March 2006, News, Metropolitan Desk, Pg. 4, 505 words)

... “They will go to the end of the line,” said Judiciary Committee Chairman Arlen Specter, R-Pa.

Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., emphasized the hurdles immigrants would have to overcome. “To me, that’s not amnesty,” he said referring to opponents’ charges

that the approach would reward those who have entered the country illegally. “That’s *working for the right to become an American citizen.*” (“Senate Committee Supports Overhaul of Immigration Law; Illegals Would Need to Get Jobs, Pay Fines Before Citizenship,” *USA TODAY*, 28 March 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 2A, 604 words)

Another theme in the citizenship and national identity frame is the composition of the American nation. The guest worker proposal can change dramatically the anatomy of American society; when people only come for economic purposes, they lack the social and emotional ties to the community that make a group of people a nation. It also rewards violation of the law, which mocks the concept of citizenship. In this theme, the press interviews ordinary Americans, and some note that “a nation of immigrants does not mean a nation of lawlessness.”

“That would radically reshape the notion that we have always had ourselves as a *nation of citizens, not a nation of guests,*” Ms. Avendano [associate general counsel of the AFL-CIO] said. (“Union Leader Supporting Guest Worker Proposal,” *The New York Times*, 24 February 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 14, 1273 words)

In his radio talk, Mr. Bush acknowledged the difficulty that lawmakers faced. “This is an emotional,” he said. “*America does not have to choose between being a welcoming society and being a lawful society. We can both be at the same time.*” (“A G.O.P. Split on Immigration Vexes a Senator,” *The New York Times*, 26 March 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 1, 1476 words)

Lastly, a central point of debate that uses this frame concerns the respect for symbols and institutions that represent American identity. During the immigrants’ rights protests in 2006, protestors waved the Mexican flag and sang the Star Spangled Banner in Spanish, which caused indignation among the American public and a stir among the political elites. Huntington (2004) explains that the Stars and Stripes has the status of a religious icon and is a badge of national identity. The frame condenses the dispute by foregrounding the constitutive element of American citizenship and identity, which is deference to its symbols.

Asked at a news briefing in the Rose Garden on Friday whether he believed the anthem would have the same value in Spanish as it did in English, Mr. Bush said flatly, “No, I don’t.”

“And I think people who want to be a citizen of this country ought to learn English,” Mr. Bush said. “And *they ought to learn to sing the national anthem in English.*” (“Bush Enters Anthem Fight on Language,” *The New York Times*, 29 April 2006, News, National Desk, Pg. 1, 797 words)

To demonstrate that the sentiment is not confined to the elite, the press presents results of public opinion polls. In the public sphere, political and economic elites administer public opinion polls as part of social control through consensus. In the contemporary stage of capitalism, public opinion represents, for the most part, their private interests. Habermas (1962) argues that public opinion has shifted from rational consensus emerging from debate, discussion, and reflection to the manufactured opinion of polls and mainstream media. Reports of public opinion reinforce the boundary between the acceptable and the unacceptable in society (McLeod and Hertog 1992) and thus, in this case, construct those who sang the Star Spangled Banner in Spanish as ineligible to American citizenship.

More than two out of three Americans say the national anthem should be sung only in English, according to a USA TODAY/Gallup Poll.

...

The poll, taken Friday through Sunday, found that *69% believe it is only appropriate for the anthem to be sung in English*, while 29% say it is OK to sing it in Spanish. (“Most Turn Deaf Ear to Spanish U.S. Anthem,” *USA TODAY*, 2 May 2006, News, News Section, Pg. 3A, 239 words)

In sum, journalists often employ frames that are rooted in contested discourses in news accounts about conflict, which are newsworthy. Unlike hegemonic discourses where various articulators draw on familiar and acceptable culturally resonant themes, participants in contested discourses recourse to empirical data that can be contradicted (e.g., crime statistics, public opinion polls, and employment and wage rates) and normative arguments based on systems of

moral values that people understand differently (e.g., undocumented immigrants as breaking the law). These news frames are not unique to the 2006 and 2010 debates, as the contested discourses in which they are ingrained have also shaped similar frames used in the coverage of the conflicts on the California Proposition 187 (1994), the Immigration Reform and Control Act⁶ (1986), Immigration and Nationality Act⁷ (1965), and the Chinese Exclusion Act⁸ (1882) (Chavez 2001; Daniels 2004; Ngai 2004). Such frames are easily activated because the conflicts that they capture are germane to policy debates on immigration.

⁶ The Immigration Reform and Control Act passed by the 99th United States Congress in 1986 required employers to attest to their employee's immigration status, made it illegal to knowingly hire or recruit unauthorized immigrants, granted amnesty to certain seasonal undocumented agricultural laborers and other unauthorized immigrants who entered the United States before January 1, 1982 and had resided in the country continuously.

⁷ Also known as the Hart-Celler Act, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quota system that served as a framework for American immigration policy, replacing it with a preference system that focused on human capital and family relationships with citizens or permanent residents of the United States.

⁸ The Chinese Exclusion Act enacted the suspension of Chinese immigration for 10 years.

6.0 STABILITY OF NEWS FRAMES

This chapter discusses the results of the deductive analysis or quantitative part of the research to address the question of whether the use of news frames varies significantly by period, a measure for frame stability. Huntington (2004) laments the dominance of the economic frame in the debates at the expense of discussions on assimilation and social cohesion. My study shows that this is not the case. The findings suggest that in the case of the debates on comprehensive immigration reform in 2006 instigated by the federal bills, H.R. 4437/S. 2611, journalists employed diverse frames in their news coverage, although “Nation of Immigrants” and “Failed Immigration Policy” have the highest counts. On the other hand, the “Failed Immigration Policy” frame shaped the reporting on S.B. 1070. This, therefore, suggests that “Failed Immigration Policy” exhibits frame stability, whether the policy issue is at the federal or state level.

Table 2 illustrates that “Nation of Immigrants” and “Failed Immigration Policy” were the most dominant frames in 2006, 28.5 percent and 26.3 percent respectively. Within the contested discourse, “Dangerous Immigrants” (15.5 percent), “Cheap Labor” (13.6 percent), and “Immigrant Takeover” (15.2 percent) were the most widely used frames. In contrast, in 2010, during the debates surrounding Arizona S.B. 1070, journalists employed the “Failed Immigration Policy” in a majority of their news accounts and commentaries at 60.3 percent, with some reports (22.4 percent) applying the “Dangerous Immigrants” frame. A chi square test indicates statistically significant difference between the two periods for all frames, except “Dangerous

Immigrants,” “Immigrant-As-Other,” “Other,” and “No Obvious Frames.” One reason for the dominance of the “Failed Immigration Policy” frame in the Arizona S.B. 1070 debate is the fact that the bill is a state legislation for a policy issue that the government should address at the federal level. In addition, following the lack of attention to comprehensive immigration reform since 2006, except for President Obama’s public pronouncement in 2009 to make it a priority, the passage of S.B. 1070 captures the tension between states, which bear the costs of immigration, and the federal government, which is tasked to enact and enforce immigration laws according to the Constitution.

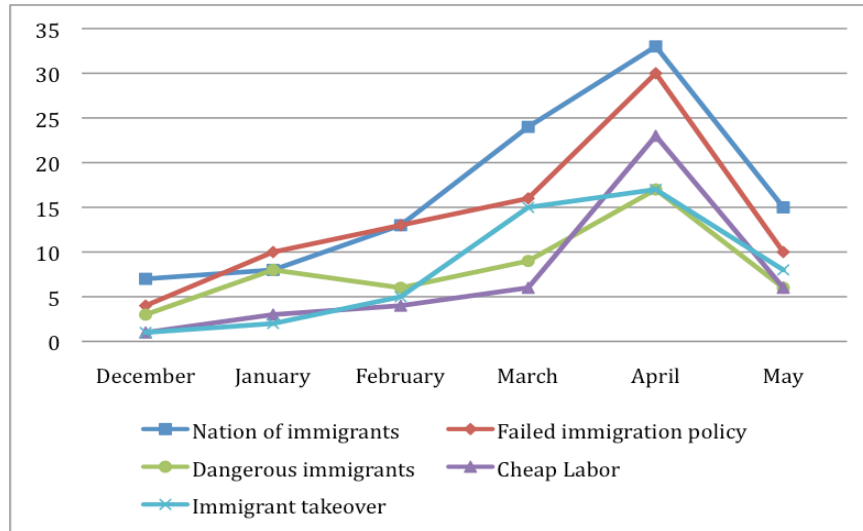
Table 2. Percentage Use of Frames in *New York Times* and *USA Today* Per Period

| Frame | 2006 (N=316) | 2010 (N=174) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Nation of Immigrants | 28.5 | 6.3 |
| Failed Immigration Policy | 26.3 | 60.3 |
| Dangerous Immigrants | 15.5 | 22.4 |
| Cheap Labor | 13.6 | 5.2 |
| Immigrant Takeover | 15.2 | 4.5 |
| Immigrant-As-Other | 6.0 | 2.3 |
| Citizenship and National Identity | 11.1 | 5.2 |
| Party Politics | 11.1 | 5.8 |
| Protest | 13.3 | 3.5 |
| Other | 4.1 | 1.7 |
| No Obvious Frame | 10.2 | 11.5 |

The news coverage of the immigration debate in the two periods varied as protests and party politics influenced the ebb and flow in the news. Figure 1 shows that reports on the immigration debates peaked in April 2006, when protests occurred almost every day across the United States. Protestors held their largest nationwide demonstration on April 10, 2006 in 102 cities. Spanish language radio stations also played *Nuestro Himno*, the Spanish language rendition of the Star Spangled Banner, in April, which intensified the debates and deepened the

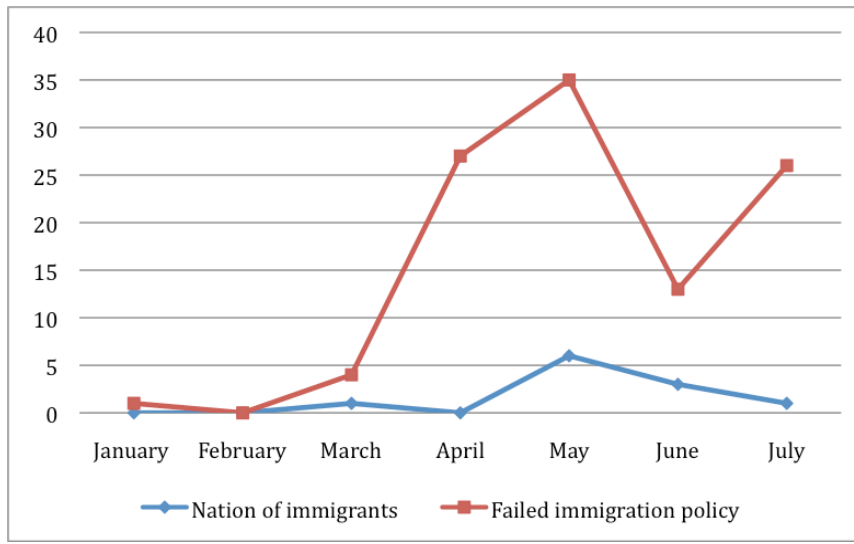
conflict. Inside Congress, the Senate introduced its own version of comprehensive immigration reform legislation, which created tension between the House and Senate and between the Democrats and Republicans in the talks toward a compromise bill.

Figure 1. Five Most Common Frames in the Coverage of the 2006 Immigration Debates



Likewise, party politics and demonstrators also determined the peaks and valleys in news in 2010 (Figure 2). Tens of thousands of people marched against the law in over 70 U.S. cities on International Workers’ Day and Memorial Day Weekend, both in May. During this month, protests extended to sports and the arts, with organized boycotts from artists and athletes. Court actions were also filed against the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (Arizona S.B. 1070) in May.

Figure 2. Two Most Common Frames in the Coverage of the 2010 Immigration Debates



The results of the quantitative analyses suggest that two factors influence what type of news frames journalists use and when they are applied. One is the level of the piece of legislation. For instance, a state bill such as Arizona S.B. 1070 illuminates the deficiencies of federal government and automatically stimulates the discourse that informs the “Failed Immigration Policy Frame.” At the same time, this also draws attention to local experiences of residents in the border states, who bear witness to incidents such as border crossings. As Hopkins (2010) argues, people living in changing communities will have negative attitudes about immigrants as long as immigration is nationally salient. Therefore, disturbances in communities may activate the “Dangerous Immigrant” frame as people’s day-to-day experiences become politicized.

Another consideration is the stage of the conflict. As opposition to the bills peaked and rifts among politicians deepened, the news frames embedded in hegemonic discourses were employed more often than the rest to make sense of the antagonisms. In essence, as conflict intensifies and enlarges, journalists rely on hegemonic discourses to interpret their environment.

7.0 CONCLUSION

Sociologists and communication researchers have studied the social and cultural construction of meaning. News texts attempt to convey, contest, or reinforce hegemonic worldviews through the integration of stories to a larger discourse on immigration and the nation. These discourses become most salient during policy debates, wherein pieces of legislation, Congressional talks and negotiations, and media spectacles serve as discursive fields.

My research examines the different frames used by the two major broadsheets in the United States in presenting analyses and interpretation of two highly contentious bills on immigration. My interest is to describe the content of these frames, explain their relationship to hegemonic and contested discourses and the reason they become dominant or disputed in the framing of journalists, and assess their stability. Though I focus only on two controversial bills, one federal and one state, my findings have broader implications for events and issues that become fulcrums for framing contests on immigration. In this chapter, I will review my findings, situate these findings within past scholarship, and discuss their implications for future research.

News frames are embedded in discourses about the relationship between immigration and the nation. The study demonstrates that these frames appeal to various emotions such as pride for “Nation of Immigrants,” frustration for “Failed Immigration Policy,” and anxiety for most of the rest. These sentiments trigger conceptions of immigration in antipodal terms. Whereas the “Nation of Immigrants” frame sees immigration as constitutive to nation building, the

“Dangerous Immigrants” and “Immigrant Takeover” frames define it as invasion, “Immigrant-As-Others” as cultural contamination and “Citizenship and National Identity” as dilution. Finally, the construction of the immigrant as subject varies across frames: as a citizen that is integral to the nation (“Nation of Immigrants”), a criminal (“Dangerous Immigrants”), a dispensable labor (“Cheap Labor”), an invader (“Immigrant Takeover”), a stranger with inferior culture (“Immigrant-As-Other”), and a forever foreigner (“Citizenship and National Identity”). Only the “Failed Immigration Policy” frame takes the state as its subject and characterizes ambiguously the process of immigration.

Discourses reflect relationships of power, and depending on whether they are hegemonic or contested, they reinforce or question these relations. For instance, the “Nation of Immigrants” as a hegemonic discourse that is deeply rooted in the American psyche celebrates and emphasizes the process of becoming American. This is largely shaped by the assimilation thesis that has gained ascendancy in academic and political discourse, one that rests on and valorizes the concept of nationhood. The media cultivate the immigrant story and portray hardship and struggle in the adopted society as a rite of passage to the American dream. Such a picture therefore questions the immigrant experiences of high-skilled workers and affluent newcomers who do not fit the mold. Likewise, the representation does not question the notion of American society as welcoming and having the ability to absorb immigrants. In this discourse, assimilation is a one-way street. In contrast, contested discourses such as “Dangerous Immigrants” and “Immigrant-As-Other” draw from and activate the creation of boundaries between Us and Them, between those inside and outside the territory and polity, and between Americans and foreigners. Scholars have argued that the production of boundaries within society is the only way to make sense of the contradictions of unity and plurality, of the external erosion of sovereignty, and of

the internal cultural differentiation of liberal nation-states brought about by deepening capitalism and complex interdependence among states (Buonfino 2004; Chavez 2001; Koopmans and Statham 1999).

The news frames capture a range of perspectives, contingent upon their location in the spheres of contestation or hegemony. In the hegemonic discourse, only certain types of participants are granted privileged access. In contrast, the contested discourses stimulate the balance norm in journalism and thus journalists cover opposing actors. Usually, dominant or socially advantaged groups set the parameters and language of the discourse. For instance, demographers exercise control over the “Immigrant Takeover” frame, economists over the “Cheap Labor” frame, and criminologists and security personnel over the “Dangerous Immigrants” frame. However, since the basis of their arguments is heavily contested, journalists seek opposing views, which often come from marginal actors such as social movements.

Finally, the frame that takes the state as its subject exhibits stability. The use of diverse news frames during the immigration debates in 2006 and the dominance of “Failed Immigration Policy” in 2010 indicate that legislative measures on immigration at the state level are a response to the inadequacy of actions from the federal government. Journalists reflect this dynamic in their news coverage. The stability of this frame suggests that regardless of the construction of the immigrant and immigration, the role of the state remains unquestioned.

To best capture the stability of the news frames and the nature of the discourses, I suggest future research to investigate them during non-critical discourse moments and in periods of economic prosperity. This is in light of the findings of a study that argues that residents living in places that have seen influx of new immigrants suddenly take political stances against immigration when immigration receives national media attention (Hopkins 2010). For instance,

it is interesting to examine exogenous shifts in salient national issues not directly related to immigration such as the United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003 and their effect on the construction of the immigrant in news frames using time-series, cross-sectional, and panel data. In addition, since past research has established that the portrayal of immigrants is a function of economic conditions (Chavez 2001), further explorations on news framing during periods of economic boom should be undertaken.

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APPENDIX A

EXAMPLE OF INDUCTIVE ANALYSIS OF A NEWS ARTICLE

The New York Times

March 29, 2006 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Split Over Immigration Reflects Nation's Struggle

BYLINE: By RACHEL L. SWARNS

SECTION: Section A; Column 1; National Desk; THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE: THE CONTEXT; Pg. 17

LENGTH: 1130 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 28

It is almost as if they are looking at two different Americas.

The Senate Republicans who voted on Monday to legalize the nation's illegal immigrants look at the waves of immigration reshaping this country and see a powerful work force, millions of potential voters and future Americans.

The House Republicans who backed tough border security legislation in December look at the same group of people and see a flood of invaders and lawbreakers who threaten national security and American jobs and culture.

But both wings of the deeply divided Republican Party are responding to the same phenomenon: the demographic shift driven by immigration in recent decades, a wave that is quietly transforming small towns and cities across the country and underscoring pressures on many parts of the economy.

The United States has always been a nation of immigrants, but today the country has more than 33 million foreign-born residents, the largest number since the Census started keeping such statistics in 1850. In 2003, foreign-born residents made up 11.7 percent of the population, the highest percentage since 1910. And over the past 16 years, the newcomers, many of them illegal,

have poured into places in the South and Midwest that have not seen sizeable numbers of new immigrants in generations.

The question of how to cope with the 11 million illegal immigrants believed to be living here -- whether to integrate them, ignore them or try to send them home somehow -- is a question gripping many ordinary citizens, religious leaders, state legislators and policy makers in the White House. And in their bitter, fractious debate, Republicans in Congress are reflecting what some describe as the nation's struggle to define itself and, to some degree, politically align itself, during a period of social change.

The Senate Republicans on the Judiciary Committee who emerged victorious on Monday with help from Democrats argue that those illegal immigrants who work, pay taxes and learn English should be fully incorporated into American society as citizens. The House Republicans who passed a far different bill in December are pushing to criminalize their presence in the United States. (The full Senate is expected to vote on immigration legislation next week. Any bill that passes the Senate will have to be reconciled with the House legislation.)

As the party struggles to reconcile these competing visions, frustrations over the stalemate are spilling onto the airwaves and into the streets as some conservatives on talk radio call for a wall to be built along the Mexican border and tens of thousands immigrants and their supporters march in favor of citizenship.

"Right now, we're seeing to some extent the political response to the demography," said Roberto Suro, executive director of the Pew Hispanic Center, a nonpartisan research group in Washington. "And even though the legislative proposals are seemingly technical and narrow, they touch these nerves about how we think of ourselves as a people."

"You end up, after a point, trying to balance our fundamental traditions, the need for order, law and security with a need for openness," he said. "Immigration policy, writ large, has always been partly a matter of national identity. It becomes a values-laden debate. Congress has a hard time with it."

That difficulty reflects, in part, the swiftness and the enormity of the demographic shift.

In 1970, there were 9.6 million foreign-born residents in the country, census data show. By 1980, that figure had surged to 14.1 million. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of foreign-born residents jumped to 31.1 million from 19.8 million.

Senator Sam Brownback, Republican of Kansas, who voted for the legalization of illegal immigrants on Monday, says he has seen and felt the shift in his own state.

"Huge increase," he said of the number of new immigrants. "It's a big issue, and it's one where communities that have adapted to it are more accepting and others are more questioning about the scale of what's taking place."

But when he wrestled with the issue, Mr. Brownback decided that he could not join the ranks of those who wanted simply to push out illegal immigrants. "This is also about the hallmark of a compassionate society, what you do with the widows, the orphans and the foreigners among you," he said.

Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, echoed those thoughts in his defense of the legalization program, which would ultimately grant immigrants citizenship.

"Where is home?" Mr. Graham asked his colleagues Monday. "Their home is where they've raised their children. Their home is where they've lived their married lives."

"Whatever we do," he added, "we have to recognize that for several generations people have made America their home."

But to Representative Tom Tancredo, the Colorado Republican who helped spearhead the border security bill in the House, illegal immigrants are far from welcome or essential to this country.

He was not moved when he saw the tens of thousands of immigrants, some illegal, and their supporters rallying against his bill. He said he was outraged that people he viewed as lawbreakers felt comfortable enough to stand without fear in front of the television cameras.

"For years, the government has turned a blind eye to illegal immigrants who break into this country," Mr. Tancredo said. "It isn't any wonder that illegal aliens now act as if they are entitled to the rights and privileges of citizenship."

Mr. Tancredo's view of the illegal immigrant as an unwanted outsider, an encroacher, is far from uncommon.

The National Conference of State Legislatures has reported a surge in recent years in legislation intended to crack down on illegal immigrants. As of Feb. 28, state legislators in 42 states had introduced 368 bills related to immigration or immigrants, and many of those bills were intended to limit or restrict illegal immigrants.

But some Republicans are warning now that tough anti-immigrant legislation may fuel a backlash and threaten the party's hard-won gains with Hispanics, whose numbers have surged in recent years.

Foreign-born Hispanics voted for President Bush in 2004 at a 40 percent greater rate than Hispanics born in the United States. Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform and a strategist close to the White House, warned that Republicans could squander what the party had gained if lawmakers did not embrace a more welcoming vision of America.

"There is a danger that if the face of the Republican Party is Tancredo that we could be weaker with Hispanics for generations," Mr. Norquist said. "If the face of the Republican Party is George Bush or Ronald Reagan, we win. This is up for grabs."

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com>

LOAD-DATE: March 29, 2006

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Photos: Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, who supports a legalization plan, was surrounded by reporters yesterday on Capitol Hill. Lawmakers say they face days of contentious debate on the issue.

Immigration was the topic of discussion yesterday after two leading Republicans, Senators John McCain of Arizona and Bill Frist of Tennessee, the majority leader, left a policy luncheon on Capitol Hill. (Photographs by Doug Mills/The New York Times)

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

| Excerpt | Framing Device | Problem situation/definition | Problem source | Moral/emotional basis |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| <p>It is almost as if they are looking at two different Americas.</p> <p>The Senate Republicans who voted on Monday to legalize the nation's illegal immigrants look at the waves of immigration reshaping this country and see a powerful work force, millions of potential voters and future Americans.</p> <p>The House Republicans who backed tough border security legislation in December look at the same group of people and see a flood of invaders and lawbreakers who threaten national security and American jobs and culture.</p> | <p>Contrast</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senate Republicans vs. House Republicans • Legalization vs. border security • Immigrant as powerful workforce, potential voters, and future Americans vs. immigrants as criminals and threat to national security | <p>Immigration creates cleavages among politicians based on the construction of the immigrant and policy options.</p> | <p>Political parties cannot handle immigration even within their ranks.</p> | <p>Immigration is dividing the nation and it is in everyone's best interest to have one view of America.</p> |
| <p>The United States has always been a nation of immigrants, but today the country has more than 33 million foreign-born residents, the largest number since the Census started keeping such statistics in 1850.</p> | <p>Quantification and statistics Authoritative source of information Lexical choices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "always" • "nation of immigrants" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration gave birth to the American nation, but increase in the number of foreign-born residents has been unprecedented. • Immigration rates are out of control. | <p>National government allowed increase of immigration to happen.</p> | <p>Immigration validates the narrative of the nation, but the nation state's collective identity is under attack since there are more foreign-born today than previous years.</p> |
| <p>In 2003, foreign-born residents made up 11.7 percent of the population, the highest percentage since 1910.</p> <p>...</p> <p>In 1970, there were 9.6 million foreign-born residents in the country, Census data show. By 1980, that figure had surged to 14.1 million. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of foreign-born residents jumped to 31.1 million from 19.8 million.</p> | <p>Quantification and statistics Authoritative source of information</p> | <p>Immigration rates are out of control.</p> | <p>National government allowed increase of immigration to happen.</p> | <p>Immigration is creating anxiety, as the demographic shift is faster and more obvious. The nation state loses its unique character, identity and national sovereignty because of uncontrolled.</p> |

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| <p>“Right now, we’re seeing to some extent the political response to the demography,” said Roberto Suro, executive director of the Pew Hispanic Center, a nonpartisan research group in Washington. “And even though the legislative proposals are seemingly technical and narrow, they touch these nerves about how we think of ourselves as a people.”</p> <p>“You end up, after a point, trying to balance our fundamental traditions, the need for order, law and security with a need for openness,” he said.</p> <p>“Immigration policy, writ large, has always been partly a matter of national identity. It becomes a values-laden debate. Congress has a hard time with it.”</p> | <p>Expert opinion</p> | <p>Immigration is a value-laden issue and the legislative debates reflect different principles and ethics that are contradictory and sometimes come into clash.</p> | <p>Legislative debates have not been insulated from emotions of politicians and the citizens.</p> | <p>The nation state must always refer to its fundamental traditions and beliefs in policy issues. Immigration policy is about national identity and the current problem requires rethinking of this identity.</p> |
| <p>Foreign-born Hispanics voted for President Bush in 2004 at a 40 percent greater rate than Hispanics born in the United States.</p> | <p>Quantification and statistics</p> | <p>Immigration is a highly political issue that touches on partisanship.</p> | <p>Politicians cannot resolve the immigration problem because of their own political interests.</p> | <p>The positions of politicians on immigration do not reflect that of the people but of their party.</p> |