

MORE THAN BIBI, SELENA, JUAN, AND VICENTE: MEDIA'S RACIAL
FORMATION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS' GENDER IDENTITY

A Dissertation

by

ARLETT SOPHIA LOMELI

Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Chair of Committee,	Rogelio Saenz
Co-Committee Chair,	Joseph Jewell
Committee Members,	Holly Foster
	Sarah Gatson
	Antonio La Pastina
Head of Department,	Jane Sell

May 2015

Major Subject: Sociology

Copyright 2015 Arlett Sophia Lomeli

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the gendered racialization of identities of Mexican immigrants in the media and focuses on how newspapers in particular provide a significant platform in which to reinforce, transform and/or challenge historic depictions of immigrant identities. Through the use of the Ethnographic Content Analysis protocol, Critical Discourse Analysis, and the intersectional theories composed by Omi and Winant's Racial formation theory with Patricia Collin's family social hierarchies, this dissertation provides a connection of racialization from individual gender depictions and family gender-roles to group generalizations. Selecting three Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas newspapers, this dissertation examines how urban/rural locations along the U.S. and Mexico border portray Mexican immigrants and immigration policy during the 2012 presidential election.

This dissertation recognizes Mexican immigrants' identity is primarily gender neutral, but once further data is reviewed, women have gained visibility. However, such gendered depictions of both, Mexican immigrant men and women have continued to reinforce the racialized portrayal through their discussed gendered-family and occupational roles. This dissertation explains while men and women are depicted differently, media continues to define Mexican immigrant identity under late capitalism through multi-layered writing techniques (frames, metaphors, and stereotypes), which establish a singular and often one-dimensional identity of minority groups through individual news stories.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my family and friends in the Lower Rio Grande Valley and Mexico who have been there each step of the way during the good, the bad, the ups, and definitely the downs. A special dedication to God, whom without the light provided, I could not shine.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A very sincere thank you to my committee co-chairs and members, both past and present: Dr. Saenz, Dr. Jewell, Dr. Foster, Dr. Gatson, Dr. La Pastina, Dr. McIntosh, Dr. Portales, and Dr. Ramasubramarian, for their support and encouragement. I am grateful to have been able to work with you during this journey. I would like to say a special thanks to my committee co-chairs; Dr. Saenz, thank you for the inspiration to shoot higher than I would have ever dreamed of by beginning and completing the doctoral program, and Dr. Jewell, a resounding thank you for believing in my abilities and challenging me to grow as a scholar and an academic.

Dr. Sell, many thanks for each and every moment of your time and blessings, words cannot express my gratitude. Thank you to Christi Ramirez for always going above and beyond the call of duty. A warm thanks to my colleagues, department faculty, and university staff for allowing me the privilege to be apart of such a strong, guiding family away from home at Texas A&M University. To the Lechner Grant, thank you for your support, which allowed me to complete my data collection.

To my friends, Rob Carley, Jennifer Guillen, Hilario Molina, Daniel Delgado, and Claudia Rocha, thank you for your guidance and encouragement through this journey. To my friends in the various writing groups who met at the coffee shops, the libraries, and that famous blue spot, thank you for working with me through every 45-minute pomodoro session. To my life-long friends, Mai Lee, Christina, Edith, Maggie, Janie, Paula, Cindy, Samuel, Lupe, Randy, Alfonzo, and all of their families, thank you

for your words, inspiration, and loving reminders of staying in *la lucha*. My people *los quiero mucho*.

To all of my teachers and professors along the way, I could not do what I do now, if it wasn't for your dedication to teaching and your belief in my abilities to grow as a student. We all have our strengths and weaknesses, but you all allowed me the ability to improve and excel above any of my expectations. A special thank you to Mr. Meissner, Mrs. Meissner, Mr. Demo, Mr. Gill, Ms. Pachecho, Ms. Davis, Ms. Power, Ms. Metke, Ms. Harwell, Mr. Sherman, Ms. Arredondo, Mr. Chapman, Dr. Richardson, Dr. Su, Dr. Wang, Dr. Bastida, Dr. Himmel, Dr. Hinojosa, Dr. Rajapoot, and Dr. Selber. Before the start of my doctoral program, these teachers and professors gave me the best environments for learning I could ask for. Thank you to Ms. Chamberlin who mentored me in my final semester at UT-PA and especially Mr. Jesse Medina who would go beyond his job duties to help students and staff, as was the case with me too, with guidance and a friendly word.

An overwhelming thank you to all of my family whom are near, far, and no longer with us. Especially, my dearly departed, *Tía Abuelita* Agustina, *Abuelito* Marin, *Abuelito* Toño, *Tío* Benito, *Tío* Felipen, *mi primo* Alex, *mi gran amigo* Javier, and our Bestie, Belinda. This process has meant the world to me, but especially because of the love and support I have received from each and every one of you during each step of the way. Thank you to my father, Antonio Lomeli for believing in me and always challenging me to keep growing into the impossible. The most sincere *Gracias* to my mother, Sofia, and siblings, Ayisha, and Ascary, as well as their significant others, Ron

and Sandra, I could not ask for a more loving family who has been there for me at each and every moment. Finally, to all of my nieces and nephews, Kyara, Kayllie, Tanner, Jariath, and Aluma, thank you *corazones* for your loving words, the best hugs, and wonderful smiles.

Words can never be enough to explain how grateful I am for each one of you and the wonderful gifts of knowledge and support you shared with me. Thank you to all, WE did it. *Si se pudo!*

NOMENCLATURE

LRGV	Lower Rio Grande Valley
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
ECA	Ethnographic Content Analysis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
NOMENCLATURE	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
Border Experience: Mexico to U.S.A	1
Chapter Overview.....	10
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW	11
Introducing Race	11
Media: Site of Racial Formation	17
Racialization of Mexican Immigrants	18
Newspaper’s Involvement with Racialization of Mexican Immigrants	19
Understanding the Newspaper’s Dynamics	20
Frames	20
Stereotypes	21
Metaphors.....	22
Intersectionality of Gender and Race in Racial Formation within Media	
Images of Immigration and Immigrants	25
Immigration and Citizenship.....	25
Media Discussion of Immigration and Class	27
Criminalization of Immigration.....	30
Media and Immigration Gender Discussions	32
Men.....	35
Fatherhood, Sexuality, and Changes	36
Women	38
Historical Images.....	38
Pelonas y Pachucas.....	42

Contemporary Identity	44
Family.....	48
Royal Children/Anchor Babies	48
Livelihood	49
Second-Class Citizens	50
Malinche Mothers and Sexuality.....	51
Social Hierarchy	53
Conclusion.....	54
 CHAPTER III HISTORICAL TO CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT.....	 56
Introduction	56
Mexicans/Mexican Americans in the U.S.....	56
Location.....	64
The Lower Rio Grande Valley History	66
The Valley's Current Context	73
Conclusion.....	78
 CHAPTER IV METHODS	 79
Introduction	79
Data	79
Procedures	81
Data Collection.....	81
Data Analysis	82
Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA).....	84
Implementing ECA.....	86
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	90
Conclusion.....	94
 CHAPTER V GENERAL FINDINGS	 95
Introduction	95
Associated Press Versus Local Press	95
Meet the News Writers.....	97
Six Categories	98
Type of News Story (1).....	99
Location (2).....	100
Frames (3).....	103
Metaphors (4)	109
Stereotypes (5).....	111
What's in a Name? Identifying Labels (6)	115
Conclusion.....	121

CHAPTER VI RACE/IMMIGRATION AND GENDER	124
Introduction	124
How Immigrants are Identified in Terms of Gender and Gender Roles	124
Generalization of Immigrant Gendering	129
Men.....	132
Overview of Men.....	137
Women	137
Overview of Women	141
Chapter Overview.....	142
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSIONS	144
Limitations	147
Contributions.....	148
Future Research.....	150
REFERENCES	151

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1. Almanac's Popular Regions 2010	64

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Demographic Data: Brownsville/McAllen TX	80
Table 2. Newspaper Circulation Numbers	82
Table 3. Three Newspapers' Identified News Stories	83
Table 4. Protocol Evolution.....	87
Table 5. Newspapers' Local vs. Associated Press	96
Table 6. News Story Types	99
Table 7. Identified Immigrant Country of Origin.....	100
Table 8. Frames	103
Table 9. Metaphors.....	109
Table 10. Stereotypes	111
Table 11. How Immigrants are Identified as Individuals and Groups	115
Table 12. Gender and Age Range.....	125
Table 13. Gender Roles and Occupations	129

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Border Experience: Mexico to U.S.A.

The breeze is a constant flashback to my youth. It was always refreshing on a hot day. As a child the breeze was my companion sitting on the cement stairs overlooking the patio where my aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, and parents all gathered to visit in Reynosa, Tamaulipas Mexico. The family was made up of different ages, genders, educational achievements, and statuses. Some were Mexican citizens, others U.S. citizens, few both, and still some in the process of gaining their resident status. Each had different experiences in the U.S. and Mexico, but all shared their story each Sunday.

My grandfather could be found in his plastic, outdoor-chair reading the news and discussing the latest events. The family would discuss stories they had heard or experiences that related to the topic of the day. With only three channels on the television and poor reception, the newspaper discussions allowed for hours of entertainment. As time passed, the men would stay outside and continue to talk, as the children played around them. The women went inside to prepare the food or the coffee for everyone to enjoy later. I enjoyed both conversations, but preferred the inside conversation because it allowed me the comfort of eating before anyone else as family tradition was to serve men, children, then women last.

The kitchen table was the largest thing in the kitchen. It had a red plaid pattern cover that had at its center, two or three stacks of tortillas rolled in white butcher paper purchased at the corner store. I'd unwrap the paper and lift half the tortillas in the air and

pick the middle tortilla out. It was the hottest one. I would put salt in the tortilla and roll it up to eat. The women would join in with coffee or soda. That was our pre-dinner or pre-lunch snack, depending on the time of day. As I would sit at the table, they would each have a task to hurry through the food preparation. Sometimes there were 20 or more family members at my grandparent's house, but there was always room for more. Each room had a sitting area to visit and by the end of the day, everyone had spoken to at least one member of each family. As families would leave to return to the United States, they would call to let us know how long the line on the bridge was to avoid sitting in the car for long periods of time. The cross was easier as a child. The lines on holidays were very long, but typically we could cross within 2 hours at most. As immigration restrictions became stringent, crossing became a longer, tedious experience. The days of accidentally forgetting an ID and being allowed to cross, were over. No longer was, "Yes, I'm a U.S. Citizen or a resident," enough to cross.

By the time I was in my early twenties, I would drive into Mexico to visit my grandparents and cousins. If the lines were very long, I could park the vehicle at the border parking and pay 50 cents to walk the bridge. The Rio Grande River always varied in water levels. Some days the river was very low and other times, very high. On days it was low, I would worry about not having enough water for everyone to drink and when it was high, I was afraid the old bridge would give out as I walked to the Mexico side. The bridge was the link to both countries. About half way on the bridge, I would pass the sign that had a line between it. Each side of the line had its own words, Mexico and the United States. As a child, I would stare at this sign as I waited in the car to cross the

bridge. It was there, as an adult, that I would stand and look down at my feet; one foot on either side of the divide elevated in the middle of the river. My body joined these two places in one entity, and it was a connection I always took with me. The connection was to my identity, my way of life, and the boundaries that were placed on these by the media, political discourse, legislation, and its enforcement.

By the age of 30, visiting my grandparents was becoming more and more difficult. As cartel activity increased and crossing became impossible for some of my family due to a lack of documentation, my family would no longer gather in Mexico. The news became more than important; it became vital to ensure a safe crossing. Mexico newspapers told a different story than U.S. newspapers, and sometimes the other way around. Family and friendship networks had to develop codes and new ways to visit family in Mexico as phones were tapped and cartel members monitored the neighborhoods. It was through the newspapers and the oral tradition of relating the news that allowed for a sharing of experiences that allowed my family and friends to visit family in Mexico. In particular, the women in the family kept in constant contact with more and more extended family members from all around Mexico and the United States. In this manner, they would be able to verify events in the newspaper and some that were being excluded from the pages. As time passed, the women knew who had been affected and had to leave their homes, the contact allowed for them to pass along information about a safe location to stay. Other times, knowing who was where and with whom, allowed them to face phone calls asking for money for the return of their family members with a calm mindset.

Visiting family in Mexico had become a mission that involved the efforts of several people. These visits usually began with the use of a Mexico-plated vehicle, with family that was seen and known to live in Mexico as the drivers and front-seat passengers. Visitors were advised to only take their essential needs, dress to blend in, and speak only Spanish. These multiple actions allowed for families to unite, but these visits came with a risk. Being identified as citizens or residents meant having documents that proved these statuses to U.S. Customs or Border Patrol officers on the bridge upon the return to the U.S. To have such documentation in Mexico, made the family and those involved, targets. It was in this period, U.S.-plated cars were being targeted by the cartels. Mexican Americans, Mexicans, and non-Hispanic Americans were all marks; no one was exempt from the violence. Some family members would cross without identification and call family members to bring proof of status to the Mexico-United States Bridge when they were ready to return to the Valley.

The fear always came with the agents at the bridge. Documents were not always a guarantee of crossing. Some individuals would have to go through great lengths to prove the documents they provided were not only valid, but that they belonged to the person showing them. The fear was the action of having these documents taken away or not being allowed to pass. This would leave the individual in the world of constant fear, as the Mexican border was no longer a place that was safe in the light of day, let alone at night.

One day in particular, border patrol had an issue with my passport.

Border patrol agent: “Are you a U.S. citizen?”

Me: “Yes”

Border patrol agent: “Where were you born?”

Me: “Mexico”

Border patrol agent: “How?”

Me: “Parents” (I give my passport to agent)

Border patrol agent: “This doesn’t look like you?”

Me: “I have my Texas driver’s license?” (I give license to agent)

Border patrol agent: (waits a second as he scans all of the documentation then compares it with my face, then gives me a serious stare) “Get a new one, this doesn’t look like you.”

I was fortunate to be allowed to cross, despite the paperwork presented, the agent could have made me return to Mexico while my family brought my naturalization paperwork. Over the years of crossing, having left the dangers of Mexico’s current climate, arriving in the United States presented it’s own set of difficulties, dangers, and discrimination. These national identities and citizen statuses were only the beginning of the issues I would face when I would return to the United States. While violence changed the way the family interacted and gathered in Mexico, the statuses were always an issue in the United States.

As a first generation immigrant from Mexico, I am personally, well aware of the politics of immigrant identity. At each crossing of the border, airplane ride, and interaction with a mall cop, I have been met with a familiar demand; prove you are a citizen. The first two are locations where one would think of proving citizenship as they

involve government agency policy and procedures, but shopping centers have become equally demanding. I have had to watch as business owners call security or have their sales associates follow me around to make sure I am not stealing something because of my physical characteristics, or even have fellow shoppers admonish me for using a language other than English in their presence. While this seems surreal at times, it is part of the experience of being identified by others as an immigrant. When I meet new people they ask me, “Where are you from? What are you?” Immigrant identity, and belonging, is tied in to all of these questions.

In particular, the U.S. borders have been central sites of conflict for many immigrants. They are locations where at present people continue to struggle against collective representations of race, nation, class, and gender to assert individual identities. It is the fight against the assumption that all immigrants are criminals and the necessary actions to accomplish their removal. As a first generation immigrant, such a fight changes consistently depending on the location, surrounding individuals, and the authority such individuals possess. Such personal interactions can take the shape of first proving the immigrant’s humanity, then their intentions, and finally their legality to the privilege to enter into a space. Once in the space, they will continue to prove these three things and others, to make sure they are not removed from the space; a vicious cycle of general to specific to general. This occurs for a number of reasons, but foremost, it is fixed with the creation of government policies on immigration, their orders for laws, and their enforcement.

During the 2012 presidential election and presently, the opinion formulated in the political discourse is surrounding the question of what to “do” with current and future immigrants. This question is loaded. It comes with the establishing of an image through which immigrants are being discussed, what their value is to the United States and its citizens, as well as, what actions should be taken in regards to their existence. Along with this discussion are the perceptions of the group, and what actions citizens as individuals should take in regard to immigrants and immigration. Historically, different immigrant groups have been feared as invaders, considered outsiders and/or criminals (Santa Ana 2002; Turner and Surace 1957; Cisneros 2008; Lind 2010). With such opinions building about immigrants and immigration policy, the United States has moved from lax practices such as “open borders” to more stringent policies such as forced immigrant deportations, holding camps, and even deaths.

These established policies, laws, enforcement guidelines, and their interpretation are communicated to the public through a variety of media outlets such as newspapers, television programs, websites, and podcasts. Media outlets present messages and set agendas that shape public opinion about immigration policy. As the oldest form of mass media, newspapers have a history of informing the public of local, state, and national governments events, decisions, and situations. However, the process of establishing a message should be seen as an on-going process. In particular, newspapers should not be seen as an independent source or as a monopoly of information. Presently, newspapers have expanded their content to different technological avenues, which include online circulations, blogs, podcasts, and television. However, what remains consistent despite

these new forms of dispensing information is the newspaper's continued ability to form public opinion with the information it disperses (Santa Ana 2002:52).

The Lower Rio Grande Valley is known as one of the lowest socioeconomic status areas in Texas and in the United States (U.S. Census Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates 2012). With a delayed infrastructure for strong Internet connections and financial difficulty to use those available, printed newspapers reach the population consistently and without technical or economic difficulty. Newspapers provide Valley residents and visitors a consistent source of information about immigrants and immigration policy. Unlike online versions that change daily, printed newspapers remain without change. They may be left in businesses, laundry mats, and libraries for weeks to be seen by those in the vicinity.

Generally, newspapers are understood to provide information to a *literate* population--those who are able to understand and read printed content. However, the Texas Center for Advancement of Literacy and Learning, which provides the most recent estimates of literacy in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, reports an estimated 50 % of Hidalgo County residents are illiterate, Willacy County 40 %, Cameron County 43 %, and Starr County 65 % (Texas Center for the Advancement of Literacy & Learning 2014). These percentages reflect some of the lowest literacy percentage estimates in Texas. While this may appear to be reason to review other media platforms, this study focuses on printed newspapers, which reached residents without technological interference. The newspapers build the information-loaded messages by using different government, political, community, and personal sources. They also use different

grammatical techniques such as the use of certain frames, metaphors, and stereotypes to build their messages. These messages can be more than opinions, but a call to action to those consuming the newspaper messages. They can support the current policy or they can also fight against it. Depending on what the call to action is, the cycle may begin anew and demand a call for a second or third change in policy.

This study offers an examination of the raced and gendered immigrant discourse in newspapers serving the communities along the US/Mexico border. Specifically, I use Michael Omi and Howard Winant's theory of racial formation and Patricia Hill Collin's family social hierarchies to examine how discussions of immigration policy rely upon gendered understandings of immigrant identities. I focus my analysis during a time where national and state policies have caused thousands of deaths, deportations, and countless racial profiling incidents due to political beliefs about who immigrants are, what reasons for immigrating are legitimate, and what to do with an increasing immigrant population. This study is guided by two central questions. First, in what ways do representations of immigrants' racial and national identities reflect, reinforce, or challenge dominant gender ideologies? Secondly, to what extent are the racial and national identities of immigrant women constructed differently from those of immigrant men? Reviewing subsequent questions, such as, are immigrants seen as only men, men and women, or children? In what ways have these gendered and age-specific depictions of immigrants contributed to the ongoing racialization of immigrant identities?

Chapter Overview

The dissertation begins with a tribute to the life I experienced living on both sides of the border. This reflective ethnographic account is followed by the discussion of the research questions and significance of the study reviewing the context and discourse within three Lower Rio Grande Valley newspapers. In Chapter II, the current and historical media tactics in the building and altering of identity discourse is discussed in relation to immigrant racial formation. Focusing on how this discussion allows for a closer look at the use of intersectional theory connections and how they draw information from past research in criminology, gender, and immigration studies to guide the questions under review. Within Chapter III, an in-depth racial history of the Texas and the Lower Rio Grande Valley is provided to understand the federal, state, and local immigration and immigrant policies, political legislation, and identity discourse that has lead to the current political climate and immigration decisions. Chapter IV, discusses why the Lower Rio Grande Valley is an excellent location for conducting Critical Discourse Analysis Research. Following the methodological chapter, there are two analysis chapters. Chapter V, provides an overview of the trends found within the newspapers; finding patterns for closer review in the following chapter. Chapter VI focuses on gender identity within immigration racial formation. This chapter provides an in-depth understanding of the patterns provided by the newspapers during the political elections in 2012. Finally, Chapter VII provides an overview of how these two chapters interact and review the main research questions; leading to the discussion of future research suggestions

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introducing Race

Race, as a defining term, provides a way to divide people into groups. These groups provide what is known as the Us vs. Them affect or the One vs. the Other. This division both reinforces and categorizes those involved in a power dynamic. Simone de Beauvoir explains the power dynamic is not voluntary, but a structure that is imposed by the One, or the group with the power in this instance (1989:xxiv). Race then, as is similar within the discussion of gender, is synonymous with the understanding of power dynamics between the groups with the most and lesser power (Omi and Winant 2013:964).

Power dynamics of these groups both within and between, possess a contextual and historical component which helps explain the tactics of the One to obtain and retain their position. Tactics used can consist of making the Other as an 'alien' or separate from the One to mark difference (De Beauvoir 1989:xxiv). De Beauvoir expresses, the Other must then accept their position if they are not to be the One (1989:xxiv). However, with understanding this power dynamic, it is important to mention and review this concept must include the discussion of the lack of power to switch positions and the barriers the One places for the Other to remain as distant as possible.

When discussing race, specifically within the United States, theorists have understood race in these terms of us vs. them, but focus on different factors. Some review the biological aspects of race, while others focus on cultural, structural or a

combination. Biological theories were prevalent in the late 18th century (Feagin 2000:68). Feagin explains, during this time period, race was understood to be a physical representation of what a group was like in their behavior that allowed those in power, based on these assumptions, the reasoning to consider themselves superior and others inferior (2000:68). By accomplishing this, race began to transcend division of groups of individuals into what rights were afforded to each based on such understanding. While biological theories have been disqualified as the dominant theory (Omi and Winant 1994:15), present day genomics have been used to give the perception of such a theories reemergence in popularity.

Following the popularity of biological theories were three respected racial theories: cultural/ethnic theories, systemic racism theory, and racial formation. Each theory allows for researchers to understand the thinking of the period and how that has evolved over the years. In briefly reviewing all three, I posit racial formation explains the process of identification best.

The first, ethnic theories were used to describe the cultural characteristics of a group of individuals (Feagin and Elias 2012:931). Stating it is not the biological, but the cultural characteristics that should be focused on. Ethnic theories believe assimilation can help establish a higher level of racial acceptance within the American hierarchy, but it fails to see the assimilation of European immigrants was not similar to non-white immigrants (Omi and Winant 1994:20). They believe by acting and possessing the same beliefs as the majority or the One, they would be able to be accepted and treated as equals. As has shown by Omi and Winant, Ethnic theories failed to explain racial

dynamics, often blaming the Other for their lack of power within the system due to their ethnic characteristics that fell short to those of the One (1994:22).

The second, systemic racism theory takes a step further than ethnicity theories, because the focus is dedicated to the structure of the American hierarchy that has been established since the construction of the country.

“Systemic racism theorists emphasize the actual social structures, material conditions, knowledge and everyday practices and experiences of racial oppression generated by white Americans, as well as the hierarchical organization of racial groups and the worldview-conceptualization and rationalizing of these structures, racial meanings and material reality that are part of the dominant white racial frame (Feagin and Vera 1995; Feagin 2006)” (Feagin 2012:944).

Similar to ethnic theories, assimilation theory does not fully explain the structure that is imposed within the social structure of the United States.

For systemic racism theory, the focus is more on the One vs. the Other, studying the systems within the social structure that allow for those in power to either obtain more and/or retain it. Joe Feagin explained, “White elites and the white public have long dominated and evaluated later non-European entrants coming into the United States from within the previously established and highly imbedded system of anti-black oppression and its centuries-old white racial frame” (2000:223). Furthermore, discrimination held those who were non-white in positions of the Other. “Other Americans of color fluctuate in their levels between whites and blacks, but only whites decide where all of the other

racism fit on their ladder” (Feagin 2000:228). For systemic racism theorists, the power then lies completely within the One vs. the Other.

In the third, racial formation theory disagrees with systemic racism theory in terms of the white racial frame, as there becomes a totalitarian understanding of what is occurring, such as the One has complete control, leaving the Other with no agency (Omi and Winant 2013:961-2). Omi and Winant’s Racial formation theory explains,

“The meaning of race is defined and contested throughout society, in both collective action and personal practice. In the process, racial categories themselves are formed, transformed, destroyed, and re-formed. We use the term *racial formation* to refer to the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings. Crucial to this formulation is the treatment of race as a *central axis* of social relations which cannot be subsumed under or reduced to some broader category or conception” (Omi and Winant 1994:61-62).

They take the understanding of the social structure a step further than systemic racism theory as it takes into account the agency and movements of the Other or racial minorities and white allies (Omi and Winant 2013:963-965).

Racial formation theory reviews the structure of the One and the Other and how they develop and transform understandings of race and racism. Omi and Winant (1994) explain, “Structure and agency, political economy and consciousness, are interwoven so that the workings of racial formation are seen in a new and integrative light. In so doing,

they demonstrate what is at stake at this time is the very meaning of racial equality” (xi).

Clarifying,

“All of this requires a particular sensitivity to a whole nexus of relationships.

One must uncover the connections among the state, ideologies and social movements, and at the same time be sensitive to how class and race work off and sometimes contradict each other. Above all, it requires an awareness of the historical variability and complexity of the concrete” (Omi and Winant 1994:xi).

Racial formation allows researchers to focus on different aspects of the transformation of the meaning of race, providing a theory to bring macro analysis to micro data.

I posit by using the cultural aspects of boundary formation processes with racial formation theory, a better understanding can be provided as boundary formation processes have allowed the outline of the identity to be discussed. Boundary formation theorists such as Levitt (2005), Backer (2004), Gerteis and Goolsby (2005), and Telles (2006) discuss the intersections of ethno-racial boundaries and immigration, as well as, nationalism. These theorists establish the connection of where these intersect in the private and public sector of a said group’s lives (Pachucki, Pendergrass, and Lamont 2007:337-8). In reviewing the definition of the group’s personal practices by the media, it can help define the boundary of the group’s racial identity. “Saguy and colleagues (Saguy and Almeling, 2008; Saguy and Riley, 2005) have investigated how media reframe claims concerning obesity as a social problem produced by the scientific community” (Pachucki et. al 2007:343). While this study differs from that of

immigration, it does allow the connection of the media's ability to frame or transform the identity of a group of people.

In particular, the understanding of such a transformation can be used to research the different gender identities and roles they play within media's frame of the group. The researcher, "Epstein (1992, 2007)[,] point[ed] out that dichotomous categories play an important part in the definition of women as "other" and explains that much is at stake in the labeling of behaviors and attitudes as feminine and masculine (also Gerson and Peiss, 1985)" (Pachucki et. al 2007:340). By establishing how both men and women Mexican immigrants are discussed, there can be an expansion of explanation to what is occurring within the media's framing.

In doing so, Racial formation and the cultural aspects of boundary formation can be combined to understand the media's participation in racial formation for Mexican immigrants through their discussion of the immigrant's families and gender roles. By doing so during the political election, there can be a broader and more defined understanding of how media forms the boundaries around the immigrant identity. The family, especially in terms of gender roles and characteristics of each, can bring a micro level, an everyday practice level of socialization, into the macro understanding of the racialized identity of a group. This micro and macro connection is facilitated by reviewing the smallest unit of a group of individuals known as the family unit. For instance, the newspaper reviews in each story those who are involved and those who are sources for the story. By reviewing whom they interview and what they say about those involved, we can understand the formation of the Mexican immigrant family racialized

identity in the U.S. What is the family like? What are their roles, their jobs, their immigration status, and how do these transform the racial formation of the group during the presidential election? Especially, during this time period of elections, there are specific images the newspaper gives of each group that help establish a boundary to the racialized identity, which allows those stories that are not consistent to the boundary of the image, to be disregarded as the exception (Ramasubramanian 2011:509-510).

In this research, I focus on how the media participates in racial formation. The way it forms, transforms, destroys, and/or re-forms the racial categories and identities of Mexican immigrants. These immigrants, like those individuals born in the country, “learn some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of their own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation (also known as racial subjection). Race becomes “a common sense”- a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world” (Ore 2011:23). Through these understandings of racial common sense, media also provides a platform to disperse these perceptions and also allows for these discussions and information to become daily knowledge.

Media: Site of Racial Formation

Media is a social institution that serves as a site for racial formation. Media, whether focused directly on a specific source such as television or newspapers, or as a general social institution, provides an insight into the development and distribution of the messages and images that inform and call to its readers. Entman and Rojecki (2000) explain media “provides stereotypical information by helping to create cognitive structures and linkages between social groups and certain shared

characteristics”(Sanders & Ramasubramanian 2012:18). These cognitive structures present positive and/or negative portrayals of social groups, but have been consistent in providing a limited, one-dimensional, false caricature to maintain and construct beliefs about a social group to those within and outside of its perceived boundaries (Sanders & Ramasubramanian 2012:19).

Media, specifically newspapers, create these cognitive structures through their word use and techniques. By understanding how these techniques (in particular, frames, stereotypes, and metaphor) are used by newspapers to construct images, I argue, they are the building blocks to understanding racial formation within media. Specifically, how the media’s treatment of race, gender, and class shape readers’ understanding of these hierarchies and identities in the discussion of immigrants and immigration.

Historically, newspapers served as the first site of racial formation in media. Newspapers consisted of local news stories and ideology, which has transformed into an unequal global distribution of knowledge and particular dominant constructed ideologies. In reviewing the transformation of these ideologies, in particular of Mexican immigrants, this section is dedicated to delineating how they were racialized with the help of the media and how the techniques used provided both, support or lack-there-of to the political discourse on immigration at the time.

Racialization of Mexican Immigrants

Haney-Lopez (2003) explains the government constructed Mexican immigrants into a race through the help of the media through “three principle, mutually reinforcing aspects of Anglo racial ideology” (58). The first aspect consisted of identifying

Mexicans as mixed race (Haney-Lopez 2003:58). The second aspect, non-white races would be destroyed by the expansion of white society (Haney-Lopez 2003:60). Finally the third aspect, because Mexicans were identified as mixed race, they were identified as inferior to whites racial purity (Haney-Lopez 2003:61).

Newspaper's Involvement with Racialization of Mexican Immigrants

These three mutually reinforcing aspects were consistent messages within newspapers during the late 1800s and beyond. In 1871, The *Southern Review* published an article, "The Latin Races in America", discussed "the horror Anglos expressed for racial mixing. ...Anglos relied on the racial ideology surrounded miscegenation to denigrate Mexicans as a mixed and therefore inferior people" (Haney-Lopez 2003:58-59). Newspapers at the time, had several discussions, articles, and posts of the threat Mexicans were to the white population with such a relaxed sentiment to interracial relationships (Haney-Lopez 2003:59). Keeping in mind, that within this time period, these were white authority figures that made similar statements to members of Congress, police officials, and the general public (Haney-Lopez 2003:58-60). One such statement derived from Sam Houston himself. He stated, "The Mexicans are no better than Indians, and I see no reason why we should not go in the same course now, and take their land"(Haney-Lopez 2003:60). Sam Houston's statement in the newspaper, display a particular method of dispensing particular information. Sam Houston's statement framed Mexicans as the "other" by providing a connection to a previous Other, Indians.

Understanding the Newspaper's Dynamics

The newspaper is created with formatting that values some information over other. The most important information is placed on its front page to signify to the reader it is the primary news of the day (Brown 2010:121). Brown (2010) explains newspapers also show importance of a topic or issue based on how often it is discussed in the news stories and in what particular light (negative, positive, neutral) (121). Readers can determine the writer's stance depending on the sources and word selection they use and incorporate to support their statements. For instance, in the discussion of immigration, writers may use terms to describe a group of individuals whose legal status has changed. In this instance the writer may select government official terms or *Associated Press Stylebook* terms to discuss the status (Brown 2010:121). Each word choice, such as *undocumented worker*, *illegal alien*, and *refugee*, holds a different type of image and message for readers to understand and retain (Brown 2010:121).

Frames

These word selections provide ways to look at others in a particular story through specific to general that include the use of stereotypes and frames, even if unintentional. Frames, in conjunction to newspapers, "are central organizing themes used in the narrative of a story" (Brown 2010:122). Media has different purposes for the frames they select. They can be used as a method of organization and/or a way to focus attention to a particular way of thinking about the piece and those topics/individuals involved (Brown 2010:122). Cheryl I. Harris (2006) explains frames can bring attention to the discussion of race within a story in terms of how writers incorporate characteristics of the group of

individuals or the individual themselves, such as the socioeconomic status of those asked to be quoted or quoted within the story (933-934). These types of frames are known as racial frames. “Racial frames are conceptual structures that operate at both the macro (societal) and the micro (cognitive) levels, which both consciously and unconsciously shape our everyday understandings and communications that implicate race (Harris 2006:933).

These frames can be created by different individuals, both within and outside of media and used to their advantage (Brown 2010:122; Hopkins 2010:43). Immigrant frames include, but are not limited to, the national security and border control frames, the (over) population frame, the human rights frame, the immigration reform frame (Brown 2010), and the immigrant pollutant (Cisneros 2008). Each frame describes a different story about immigration and immigrants. Depending on how frames depict and discuss immigration and immigrants, the audience gains a certain perception and knowledge about the topics.

Stereotypes

Newspapers writers use stereotypes as a way to build their frames (Harris 2006:934). “Stereotypes are a particular way that we construct and store cognitive pictures of social categories” (Harris 2006:933). How important are stereotypes in frames? In “[p]ast work[, research has] presente[d] compelling evidence that framing effects can shape the extent to which Americans’ attitudes toward public policies are racialized (Gilens 1999; Kellstedt 2003)” (Hopkins 2010:43). These attitudes can lead to

action or to prevent support for certain causes because of the messages they are internalizing from the (televised) stereotypes (Ramasubramanian 2010:115-116).

Metaphors

If we review historical understandings of metaphor use in the media, we can see it continued to proliferate the message of Mexican stereotypes of lazy, dirty, cowardly, criminals (Haney-Lopez 2003:83). Specifically “in 1968 the critic Thomas Martinez analyzed ten contemporary advertisements featuring Mexicans. Six of these commercials-from major corporations such as General Motors, A.J. Reynolds, Frigidaire, and Frito-Lay- painted Mexicans as dirty or criminal, and another three invoked the lazy stereotype” (Haney-Lopez 2003:83).

Here Martinez describes an ad for Arrid deodorant that portrays Mexicans as filthy and foul smelling: “Emerging from a cloud of dust appears a band of horse-riding, ferocious-looking Mexican banditos (criminals). They are called to a halt by their sombrero-covered, thick-mustached, fat-bellied leader, who, upon stopping, reaches with the utmost care for a small object from his saddlebags. He picks up the object, lifts up his underarm, and smiles slyly- to spray Arrid deodorant. An American Midwestern voice [says], ‘If it works for him, it will work for you’ (Haney-Lopez 2003:83-84).

“Such commercials told stock stories that at once drew upon and confirmed stereotypes of Mexican inferiority. These pervasive images formed part of the cultural patrimony of all U.S. residents” (Haney-Lopez 2003:84). Presently, Cisneros (2008) explains, “The metaphor of “immigrant as pollutant “ present in news media discourse

on immigration can have serious consequences for societal treatment of immigrants as well as the policies designed to respond to immigration” (569). Cisneros discusses the problems with media oversimplification of immigrants through the metaphors they use (2008:591). This oversimplification alludes to an oversimplification from their “solution” (Cisneros 2008:591).

The discursive construction of the other as a threat, in the words of David Campbell, “naturalize[s] the self (as normal, healthy, civilized, or something equally positive) by estranging the other (as pathological, sick, barbaric, or something equally negative).” Images of immigrants as dangerous and destructive pollutants dehumanize immigrants by constructing them as threatening substances, denying them agency and reinforcing common stereotypes. Immigrants’ primary identity is marked by their racial difference and illegal migrant status. Their brown bodies are portrayed as dirty and dangerous because of their ethnicity. Their legal status as outsiders is marked by their sneaking and seeping through borders as well as their apprehension by law enforcement officials (Cisneros 2008:591).

The pollution metaphor is not alone in its visual connections in news media images, but is accompanied by advertisement (Cisneros 2008); magazines covers and their stories (Chavez 2008); Talk Radio (Steuter and Wills 2008), movies (Cisneros 2008); newspaper stories (Santa Ana 2002) and many other areas of media. All lending to a combined effort to “define the other and solidify the self. As Mary Douglas outlines, discourse of danger construct difference as a means of constituting shared national and

cultural identity. Metaphoric representations are a crucial component of this identity construction” (Cisneros 2008:591). Cisneros continues in explaining that “these metaphoric understanding of the immigration “problem” create conceptual and societal hierarchies that lend themselves to particular solutions” (2008:593). Further, continuing “popular stereotypes of immigrants and strengths institutional responses that deal with immigrants to be contained and eliminated. ... These metaphors work together, “weav[ing] a congruent web of marginalization and aspersion”” (Cisneros 2008:593).

For example, the human rights metaphor has three interacting and necessary parts. “The grand narrative of human rights contains a subtext that depicts an epochal contest pitting savages, on the one hand, against victims and saviors, on the other. The savages-victim-saviors (SVS) construction is a three-dimensional compound metaphor in which each dimension is a metaphor in itself” (Mutua: 2001:201-202). Each part requires the other to exist, as there cannot be good if there is no evil (Mutua 2001:201-202). In this way, while there appears to be good, the human rights metaphor is seen as negative all around as those who are seen as good are typically identified as white saviors and have a Christian religious superiority of other religions (Mutua 2001:207-208, 219-220,228-233). This signifies that little to no weight is placed on global political and religious diversity, as well as, the power dynamics of “European tyranny and imperialism” (Mutua 2001:205). The arrogant and biased rhetoric of the human rights movement prevents the movement from gaining cross-cultural legitimacy” (Mutua 2001:206). “In other words, the SVS rhetoric may undermine the universalist warrant that it claims and thus engender resistance to the apprehension and punishment of real

violators. [Furthermore,] the subtext of human rights is a grand narrative hidden in the seemingly neutral and universal language of the corpus” (Mutua 2001:206). When reviewing such language used within media, it is through the use of “hidden” language, that these discussions can be reviewed in depth.

Intersectionality of Gender and Race in Racial Formation within Media Images of Immigration and Immigrants

Now that there is understanding on how the media uses frames, stereotypes, and metaphors for different reasons, which can include claiming authority in an issue, deterring previous ideas about immigration to their new perception, and also to perpetuate old ideas of immigration that reflect negative stereotypes and beliefs. The focus can be changed to understanding the issues that media discusses about immigration, specifically citizenship, class, and gender.

Immigration and Citizenship

Specifically in terms of citizenship, literature discusses why it is important and why the consequences of how media discusses citizenship can affect immigration discussions and more specifically immigrants. Historically, perceptions and in turn discrimination have resulted in Mexicans holding a low position on the hierarchy of the U.S., both structurally and culturally (Chomsky 2007:96). If we take into consideration non-citizen status, we can begin to understand what consequences undocumented or non-citizen immigrants face in the United States.

By not having rights associated with citizenship, immigrants are unable to defend themselves against discrimination, even when different authorities (Article 2 and 6 of

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), The U.S. Constitution, The Bill of Rights, and The U.S. Department of Homeland Security) have stated immigrants do have equal rights and should be treated equally (Chomsky 2007:xviii-xix). For instance, “If the Fourteenth Amendment is taken literally, then it is routinely violated in the United States today. Noncitizens- are openly denied equal protection, and some of them-those who are undocumented- are denied any protection under the law” (Chomsky 2007:xxiii).

Citizenship, then, becomes yet another issue in the racialization of Latinos. In the past, race was the determinant of citizenship, but in is now the birthplace of an individual (Chomsky 2007:82-83). This continued perception as outsiders (including native born individuals), perpetuates the production of citizenship, which becomes a form of discrimination in providing its proof. This connection allows a layered negative stigma to become increasingly powerful in its destructive results. For instance, consequences for stereotyped individuals as an unwanted race can prevent others from hiring them or allowing them to purchase a home in a certain area (Lind 2010). When this is further layered with the idea that an individual of a certain race is also not a citizen, they are further ingrained into the out-group. Perceptions of being “foreigners” or “outsiders” to the country allow questions of belonging and citizenship. For instance, how did they arrive to the U.S.? Are they documented? Do they have work visas?

Viewed as a non-citizen, questions and perceptions about what rights this individual is entitled to are raised. If they are not citizens (and even at times when they are), then this lack of rights legitimizes the discrimination Latinos face because they are viewed as second-class or sub-human to U.S. citizens (Chomsky 2007:96). This also

raises issues with native-born Latinos who are racialized as non-citizens (Chomsky 2007:88). Consistently, Latino U.S. citizens are in need to prove their status. This status provides a claim to the rights to equal human status to others. Keeping in mind, Latinos have and are still deported regardless of their status of U.S. citizens. Chomsky (2007) explains, “Over 400,000 people of Mexican origin were deported during the early 1930s, some 60 percent of them U.S. citizens” (99). This provides a stark reality for Latinos. Realizing that even when provided with legal claim to rights, they can be removed, whether foreign or born in the U.S. These weighted images that connect race and citizenship provide a grip on Latinos that is not easily escaped or released from.

Media Discussion of Immigration and Class

Media has been responsible for the portrayal of Mexicans as lower class individuals. How has media intertwined the racialization of Mexicans with socioeconomic status of being lower class? How has this affected immigrant treatment and identity?

I begin by focusing on the time period when U.S. social classes that were, stumbled and changed. The Great Depression, was a time when immigrants became Mexican Americans and at time when Mexicans and Mexican Americans were effected by the combination of racialization and class. It was during this time, that there was a shift of employment from Mexicans to Whites for low paying jobs (Haney-Lopez 2003:70). As the depression progressed, “Mexicans nationals as well as U.S. citizens of Mexican descent” were asked to leave (Haney-Lopez 2003:70-71). Some left early, while others remained and felt the intimidation of public agencies.

The Los Angeles police and sheriff's department intimidated many Mexicans into leaving: law enforcement officials staged mass roundups and interrogations, publically proclaimed their intention to stop all persons who "look like Mexicans," and threatened that "attention will be paid not only to the person under arrest, but to all members of the family (Haney-Lopez 2003:71).

Under these conditions, a third of the Mexican community in Los Angeles was gone. Those that stayed attempted to obtain full acceptance by the Anglo communities; however, this did not pan out the way they had hoped. In the fight to be included as white, they lost many Mexican-American lives in WWII only to be repaid with further attacks from Whites (Haney-Lopez 2003:72-23).

In 1942, "the Los Angeles press ran a series of articles playing up the threat posed by "Mexican" crime and "Mexican" delinquency. Anti-Mexican attacks in 1942 and 1943 beset the East Los Angeles community, particularly during two troubling episodes: the *Sleepy Lagoon* case and the zoot suit riots" (Haney-Lopez 2003:73). In the *Sleepy Lagoon* case, it was clear that even the Judge, Charles Fricke, had control of the very images of the teens, as he "forbade the defendants to cut their hair or change clothes, forcing the defendants to face the jury while ill kempt and filthy" (Haney-Lopez 2003:74).

This case lead, while condemning them to long prison sentences, did not stop Anti-Mexican propaganda, but increased it (Haney-Lopez 2003:74). The American public was shown again, that Mexicans were not good news. In 1943, the press had "replaced general tirades against "Mexicans" with a more focused campaign against

“zoot-suit hoodlums,” a reference to Mexican youths and their distinctive style of dress” (Haney-Lopez 2003:74).

“Stimulated into action by the press, for ten days in early June Anglo mobs led by sailors and soldiers took over the streets of Los Angeles and terrorized the Mexican population” (Haney-Lopez 2003:75). They “pummel[ed] and strip[ped] the clothes from young Mexicans. The police did little to stop the rioters, instead following along behind the mobs to arrest the victims. Local government officials, like most Angelenos, supported the attack” (Haney-Lopez 2003:75).

It was not until after the 1950s that the public discourse of Mexicans as an inferior race subsided from front pages (Haney-Lopez 2003:82). There were three main reasons for this, first, white identity boundaries had been blurred and more groups were included (Haney-Lopez 2003:82). The second, more people began to believe that culture, rather than race determined character and intelligence (Haney-Lopez 2003:82). The last, “Mexican American efforts to oppose discrimination and demand recognition as whites also greatly reduced public expressions of anti-Mexican prejudice” (Haney-Lopez 2003: 82).

However, discrimination did not subside, government policy continued to attack the Mexican communities through both local and federal means. Locally, government policy bulldozed community housing and placed businesses instead. Followed by, the displacement of thousands of Mexican families in Los Angeles. Federal government went many steps forward and instigated “Operation Wetback” (Haney-Lopez 2003:82-83). “Responding to a public hysteria about the “invasion” of the United States by

“illegal aliens,” this campaign targeted large Mexican communities” (Haney-Lopez 2003:83).

Criminalization of Immigration

Crimmigration, a term coined by legal scholars, is recognized “as the immigration population in the United States grows, immigration policy has shifted “away from regulation and toward enforcement, punishment, and deterrence,” making immigration enforcement goals more aligned with those of the criminal justice system” (Hartry 2012:5). Previously, deportation was not a consequence to undocumented crossing until the Immigration Act of 1891 (Hartry 2012:7). Since then, “As Teresa A. Miller succinctly describes, “[c]riminal aliens (deportable for their post-entry criminal conduct), illegal aliens (deportable for their surreptitious crossing of the U.S. border), and terrorists... are all deemed dangerous foreigners for whom criminally punitive treatment and removal are uniformly appropriate and urgently necessary” (Miller 2005:113; Hartry 2012:6). In reviewing these changes, legal scholars have denoted the connection of immigration and the criminal justice system has evolved into a current blurring of the line of division of civil and criminal proceedings (Hartry 2012:6).

With different legislative implementations, such as the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), USA PATRIOT ACT, the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, and Secure Fence Act, institutions have established the term change of felonies (Hartry 2012:10-11). As a result, these law changes permit these institutions the ability to identify, process, incarcerate and/or

deport immigrants at an increased rate without the possibility of defense (Hartry 2012:10-11).

The government through the beliefs that immigration was changing the fabric of the U.S. created different laws that would ensure this would not occur (McDonald and Sampson 2012:6-7). However, in reviewing data, the criminalization of immigrants, is not only due to the change of the immigration policy, but also in the systems policy to identify them. In the 1990s prisons were given a quantity of money to those institutions that were holding immigrants (Hagan and Palloni 1999:620). “Especially since the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 released unprecedented funds to reimburse states and localities for the cost of incarcerating illegal aliens, correctional institutions have developed an acute interest in the identification of noncitizens” (Hagan and Palloni 1999:620). Previously, the identification of immigrants was not a primary concern, so now, because it gives these institutions money, they are investing money to be able to identify for the profit for undocumented immigrant detainment and retention. In short, the criminalization of immigrants becomes a profitable business for institutions involved. Immigrants then become profitable on different levels, as defined criminals for prison profit (Hagan and Palloni 1999), but also are beneficial as members of U.S. communities (Martinez Jr., Stowell and Lee 2010:798).

Scholars have reviewed the belief of immigrants to equal criminals, but there are no biological or cultural reasons to back it up (Martinez Jr., Stowell and Lee 2010:799). Furthermore, other researchers have other beneficiary trends within the community. In terms of longitudinal homicide rates, immigrants are seen to have lower numbers than

non-immigrants (Martinez Jr., Stowell and Lee 2010:798); as well as, lower incidents of partner violence (Wright and Benson 2010:480), confusing the perceptions of immigrants as criminal. Research supports immigrants are beneficial for the communities and neighborhood in which they reside (MacDonald and Sampson 2012:12; MacDonald and Saunders 2012:125).

Furthermore, immigrants have also been shown to revive the communities they reside in economically (MacDonald and Sampson 2012:15). Sampson (2008) “showed living in a neighborhood of concentrated immigration was directly associated with lower violence (again, after taking into account a host of correlated factors, including poverty and an individual’s immigrant status). Immigration thus appeared “protective” against violence” (29).

Media and Immigration Gender Discussions

In reviewing the literature on gender, media discussions of immigrants differ in terms of perceptions. Gender is “the physical, behavioral, and personality traits that a group considers normal for its male and female members” (Ferris and Stein 2012:249). “The concept of gender... provides an overarching rubric for looking at historical, cultural, and situational variability in definitions of womanhood and manhood, in meanings of masculinity and femininity, in relationships between men and women, and in the extent of their relative power and political status” (Glenn 1999:5).

By examining gender as a constitutive feature and organizing principle of collectives, social institutions, historical process, and social practices, feminist scholars have demonstrated that major areas of life –including sexuality, family,

education, economy, and state- are organized according to gender principles and shot through with conflicting interests and hierarchies of power and privilege. As an organizing principle, gender involves both cultural meanings and material relations. That is, gender is constituted simultaneously through deployment of gendered rhetoric, symbols, and images and through allocation of resources and power along gender lines. Thus an adequate account of any particular gender phenomenon requires an examination of both structure and meaning (Glenn 1999:5)

Media gender perceptions are altered in different mediums (newspapers, magazines, etc.) based on physical appearance and class. Specifically, Mexican's racialization has led to situations where immigration status, class, and gender were incorporated into the discussion. For instance, in terms of Crimmigration, women have been overlooked, even when they are disproportionately affected by this change of policy (Hartry 2012:6-7). "Female immigrants' experiences with Crimmigration are uniquely impacted by their gender and familial status. Women and families have a distinctive relationship with the state that a gender-blind analysis misses entirely" (Hartry 2012:7).

Discrimination also varies based on physical characteristics, Haney-Lopez explains, "The darker-skinned and poorer suffered from more virulent racism than the lighter-skinned and wealthier, who were more likely to be racialized as white or close to it" (2003:65). Moreover, stereotypes allowed gender to also play a great role in their beliefs about the racialization of Mexicans.

Mexican men more than women were demeaned by allegations of cowardice, for instance, as that trait stood in counterpoint to the manly virtue of courage. Other stereotypes, such as dirtiness, were less gendered and applied indiscriminately to men and women. In addition, white men routinely saw Mexican women as willing sex partners. Again, class and racial appearances made a difference, with well-off and fair-featured women more likely to be considered for marriage. White men nevertheless stereotyped most Mexican women as having loose morals and a special eagerness for Anglo partners that justified constant sexual predation (Haney-Lopez 2003:65).

Being identified based on these characteristics established a destruction of immigrant identity, but of their social capital as members of the community.

Often, the media would also establish their stance on their opinions of Mexican immigrants, both men and women, through printing letters to the public. For example, “An Anglo miner’s 1850 letter to a California paper, *the Stockton Times*, made this viewpoint abundantly clear: “Mexicans have no business in this country... The men were made to be shot at, and the women were made for our purposes” (Haney-Lopez 2003:65). This letter established the value of Mexican immigrant men as disposable and Mexican immigrant women as sexual conquests for White, working-class, American men.

In this section of the literature review, I discuss the images of Mexican, immigrant men and women. I begin with the focusing on the realities of past research of

men and review the broader specific explanation of Mexican, immigrant women who are on the contrary, often overlooked in the research.

Men

The literature review has been demonstrative, in particular, of immigrant men identities within research and the media (Lemish 2000:334). Within the research, Massey (2009) delineated the decline of the perception of Mexicans in the United States from middle ground to “despised outgroup” viewed as low in warmth and low in competence (22). “In societal terms this is dangerous territory, since it implies that undocumented migrants are not perceived as fully human at the most fundamental neural level of cognition, thus opening a door to the harshest, most exploitive, and cruelest treatment that human beings are capable of inflicting on one another” (Massey 2009:22). The increase of these perceptions over the years, especially after institutional implementation of laws to reduce immigration numbers, have established a negative perception of immigrants, but of Mexican immigrant men in particular (Massey 2009:15-25).

On a personal level, Lamont (2000) explains research on personal value for working class men. While, this project does not hold a racial project on the self-perception of Mexican immigrants, it is important to note the working class men did not consider immigrant men as part of their working class (Lamont 2000:3). Furthermore, in terms of class discussions, working class men had different methods of identifying their personal value vs. other class levels, such as placing a higher value on their “solidarity

and warmth” (Lamont 2000:4). They have different ways to view their work and how their work is valued vs. the other group.

The perceptions of working-class men, help to understand the boundaries of immigrant identity because it reviews both, how the One identifies terms of racial boundaries, and the way the Other fights back with a different set of work and personal values (Lamont 2000:4-5). “It complements state and institutional-centered approaches to national identity that focus less on how social groups define who is “in” and “out” than on the role of institutions in shaping-sometimes mechanistically-these definitions” (Lamont 2000:5). By establishing a macro and micro understanding it helps to establish a perceived and acted-upon hierarchy of power and value.

Fatherhood, sexuality, and changes

As fathers, Mexican immigrant men were often categorized as the stereotypical image of a *machista* (a man who is without consideration of others, but looks to enhance his pride), but there is much more to them and their stories. Gonzalez-Lopez (2004) explains there are different perceptions of fatherhood and some differences are expressed through regional cultural ideologies (and not as a singular experience) (1127). These fathers expand their gender role in protectors of their daughters through discussion of sexuality (including sexually transmitted diseases) and the consequences, such as violent partners or inability to complete their college due to pregnancy, they will face within a new life in the United States (Gonzalez-Lopez 2004:1126). In retrospect, fathers, often change their expectations and their beliefs about gender roles through their own experiences.

The experiences of Mexican immigrant men vary as many face challenges upon searching for jobs if they have an undocumented status. They are subject to sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and hate crimes (Gonzalez-Lopez 2006:71-74). Gonzalez-Lopez expresses the power and economic hierarchy of wealthy men, similar to immigrant women, become sexually objectified. “That is, an employer may have embraced the idea that he has the right and power to do whatever he pleases to his employee. And the fact that the *jornalero* [(their employed immigrant man)] has agreed to work at his employer’s home or business (and in “his” country and “without legal documents” for that matter) can make him even more vulnerable to sexual harassment by the employer” (Gonzalez-Lopez 2006:74).

On a personal level, immigrant men have responded to such harassment and lower wage status by projecting hyper-masculine displays of behavior. This is essentially done through gender by portraying their dominance over women, regardless of their sex orientation (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 2008: 306-308, 311). Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (2008) connect the behavior to want of regaining their patriarchal privileges in three arenas: “Spatial mobility, authority in family decision-making processes, and household labor” (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 2008:307). The removal of these patriarchal privileges is attributed to their limited freedom a label of undocumented immigrant gives within the realm of police and other authorities (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 2008:308) and followed by deportations or crossings that distance their own authority among their families as leader and the last word in decisions (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 2008:308-309).

Women

Mexican, immigrant women have not been significantly studied. They have long been described in the media in metaphors that bring stereotype images, such as the “saint y marquesa.” My focus on reflections of metaphor in this particular section reviews the metaphoric discussion of immigrant women in 21st century media. How have immigrant women been discussed in the media? Specifically, how have historical images of immigrant women and the attached beliefs of their identities affected them? How have they affected the evolution of the way they are portrayed in media?

Historical images

Latinas, in particular, Mexican immigrant women have had different meanings assigned to their identity. These identities have been considered to be representative of the political encapsulation of their bodies. Their cultural identities have been metaphorically described in various and often contradicting ways. Arredondo (2002) attributes the “*wild zone*” metaphor and the “*entre fronteras*” metaphors as helpers of reviewing the “*santa y marquesa*” metaphor that is revealing of the “Latina gender socialization construct”, *marianismo* (308-309). The wild zone metaphor “contextual[izes] or [a] space that applies to the mental, physical, and spiritual chaos that has enveloped many Latinas” (Arredondo 2002:308). While the *santa* (saint) y (and) *marquesa* (woman of royalty or nobility) (Arredondo 2002:309) help explain marianismo, which has been around for numerous years. In looking to better understanding marianismo, I have included the ten commandments of marianismo (while

may be used by other cultures, is specific to Latino cultural value) (Arredondo 2002:314). The ten commandments of *marianismo* are as follows:

1. Do not forge a woman's place.
2. Do not forsake tradition.
3. Do not be single, self-supporting, or independent-minded.
4. Do not put your needs first.
5. Do not forget that sex is for making babies, not for pleasure.
6. Do not wish for more in life than being a housewife.
7. Do not be unhappy with your man, no matter what he does to you.
8. Do not ask for help.
9. Do not discuss personal problems outside the home.
10. Do not change (Arredondo 2002:314).

As Arredondo lists the ten commandments above, I parallel the commandments to those women whom become, by choice or force, to consider making wages in the United States as nannies and house keepers. These parallel experiences would allow them to partially retain the *Santa* image as they remain within the realm of gendered space of the home. To further project, I could contest similar understandings could expand the role of the man of the house who directs Mexican, immigrant women to their duties around the home. Allowing drastic power dynamics to fall in line with those of *marianismo*. Unfortunately, along with these power dynamics, violence and abuse can pursue.

In contrast to *marianismo's* *santas y marquesas*, Arredondo explains in the 21st century, there are three prevalent images of immigrant women with historical significance. These are *La Virgen de Guadalupe* (The Virgin of Guadalupe), *La Malinche* (The Malinche), and *Sor Juana Ines de La Cruz*. These women show their representations as feminists, who against some of the *marianismo* commandments help others succeed in education, in fighting for equality with intelligence, and being

translators between socio-political worlds in the name of those who could not defend themselves (Arredondo 2002:310-314). .

While I will speak in shallow depth of La Virgen, I will mostly focus on the Chicana Feminist icon La Malinche. Ramirez (2009) explains,

Like the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint, La Malinche functions as an archetype in Mexican nationalist discourse; both figures represent maternity. Yet, where Guadalupe is "the Virgin Mother" and "the mother of orphans" (that is, of universal man in general and Mexico's Indians in particular), La Malinche is "the Chingada [the fucked one], the violated Mother," and the mother of bastards- in other words, of conquered (7).

In particular, to some, La Malinche is considered the "most ignominious traitor in Mexican and Chicano culture" (Ramirez 2009:6). As both slave and traitor, she [was] *la vendida* par excellence: literally, she [was] the one sold; metaphorically, she [was] the sell-out" (Ramirez 2009:6). "As the historian Rita Cano Alcala point[ed] out, La Malinche ha[d] come to epitomize "woman's inherent unreliability, through her religious conversion, cultural assimilation, political collaboration, and most important, her sexual liaison with the enemy" (Ramirez 2009:6). In comparisons, La Malinche was a "symbol of Mexican/Chicano (post-) colonial misogyny, mother, sister, daughter, goddess, savior, speaking subject, and feminist prototype" (Ramirez 2009:7) to the 1970s, Chicana feminists, as both, "[a] mythical figure and historical actor" (Ramirez 2009:7).

In sum, these varying women's images can be found in the words of poets, authors, human activists, academics, and contemporary writers. Through their work they

“shed light on how values that shape our thinking as *mujeres*/women get reinforced within *la familia* and [judged] through the principles of *marianismo*” (Arredondo 2002:315).

Jullia de Borgos seems most appropriate. Borrowing a few lines from *Yo Misma Fui Mi Ruta/I Was My Own Path* (1953) are words of inspiration to Latinas who live with the *santa y marquesa* identity:

I wanted to be what men wanted me to be- an attempt at life- obscuring my real being. But I was a woman of the here-and-now and I could not retreat. I had to go forward humored by the ironies of the old roads and scripts in order to reach the new pathways (Arredondo 2002:318).

For those in these new pathways, they also consisted of those immigration law allowed them to walk. As Gardner (2005) explained, single immigrant women and single immigrant mothers were limited in their ability to select husbands and/or dating partners (224, 248). Furthermore, along with immigrant men, sexuality of immigrant women were monitored and punished in immigration policy if the labels they had been given by policy fell within the definitions of “unlawful” arrivals (Gardner 2005:241-248).

Specifically, for the women of Texas-Mexico border, Gloria Anzaldua (1987) author of *Borderlands/ La Frontera* shared a metaphor that discussed the contradictory and challenging lives of Mexican women who grew up on the border, the metaphor of *entre fronteras* (between borders) (Patricia Arredondo 2002:308). The imagery of the metaphor allows the audience to “capture the traumas and struggles of Latinas throughout the United States and women historically experiencing triple jeopardy

(Candelaria, 1980) attributed to oppression based on ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status (Falicov, 1998)” (Arredondo 2002:308).

Pelonas y pachucas

In the 1920s, las Pelonas (the bald ones), represented these visible contradictions and feminist stance of la Malinche. “Indeed, the invective pelona, which literally means “bald,” underscored the bob-haired, Mexican American flapper’s spectacular affront to her immigrant parents’ standard of feminine beauty and a comportment during the 1920s” (Ramirez 2009:19-20). Their images were extensions of their call for change. “Historian Vicki L. Ruiz... pointed out, las pelonas were ridiculed for being not only too masculine but excessively feminine as well: their hair was too short and they were “chastised ... for applying makeup so heavily as to resemble a piñata” (Ramirez 2009:19-20). Not retaining the held up gender normative image, they sought for their right and freedom of expression and acceptance.

Like las Pelonas, las Pachucas of the 1940s, “created a striking public presence” and “were distinguished by their self-conscious ‘airs,’ a style of dress and manner which was a studied departure from ladyhood, an implicit rejection of bourgeois female decorum” (Ramirez 2009:19). Las Pachucas came at a time in history when femininity and associated gender roles were associated with national duty. Specifically, “[t]he instability of race, class, and gender categories; fear of nonnormative sexualities, especially unchecked female sexuality and homosexuality; and concern over the widening rift between adults and adolescents came to a head in the figures of the pachuca and pachuco during World War II” (Ramirez 2009:1-2).

For several contemporary observers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, pachucas and pachucos constituted a “lost generation”. They had been rejected by the United States but also appeared to have renounced all things Mexican, including their own parents. Consequently, they were pitied or ridiculed as cultural orphans, as pochas and pochos (Americaized Mexicans). According to the cultural critic Octavio Paz, the pachuco had “lost his whole inheritance: language, religion, customs, beliefs.” In other words, he was a cultural bastard. Even the word pachuco was of “uncertain derivation,” he chided (Ramirez 2009:3).

Certainly, La Malinche’s representation is correlated with the difference of la Pachuca of the 1940s to Mexican-immigrant-femininity (Ramirez 2009:18). They were both seen as having left behind their ‘respected, family- oriented’ gender role. Las Pachucas were discriminated against because of their perceived deviation by police, academics, and the community (Ramirez 2009:4, 18). At the federal level, Pachucas were seen as national traitors as they were not doing their perceived civic-duty of remaining out of the male public sphere, by staying out on the streets and refusing to be, as I understand, womb soldiers, referring to using their womb as a generator of new soldiers (Ramirez 2009:18-21). These contrasting images of Mexican-immigrant women and their daughters have had a lasting effect in how others view and understand their lives.

Contemporary identity

For many these images do not stop to consider the ways media produces contemporary images through past ideals of race, class, and gender. Similar to past law, rereleased “classics” are also similar in their shared invisible discriminator legacy. Marco Portales expresses, “...it was not until I saw *Giant* that I was successfully able to understand the pernicious extent to which Latinos and Anglos have been fed false pictures that misconstrue the lives of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Texas” (2005:170). Reflecting on its forty-year anniversary, and described “Hollywood classic” status, this film has given more than viewing “pleasure”, but “pervasively shape[d] the psychological realities that people believe, not only are Mexican Americans automatically expected to be subservient, but we are also seen as living and principally existing to serve and to make the world continually more comfortable for Anglo-Americans” (Portales 2005:170-171). As Portales describes, these images move past their time and show new audiences a past socio-historical time period that is reflective of “Hollywood classic” status, emphasizing a “better” time or an ideal for the future.

In particular, contemporary films and directors are not far in their own selected identity images of Mexican, immigrant women. This can be perceived through the portrayal of the culture and specifically the utilized bodies selected to represent minorities in media. Specifically, these images of immigrant women identities help to establish how authors, including those who write news and different media outlets, reinforce and help create narrow and limiting immigrant women identities. Frances R. Aparicio author of “Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in media and Popular

Culture” explains the physical and cultural implications of the connection of these new pathways identity. In the making the Selena movie,

Selena went from being a Tejana (a territorialized ‘regional’ identity) to being a Latina (an ‘ethnic minority’). If it is true, Clara Rodriguez argues, that there is a homogenized ‘Latin look’ produced by the entertainment industry, isn’t it true that Jennifer Lopez and Selena’s physical similarities are not necessarily only a result of this dominant homogenization, but perhaps, as I argue here, visual embodiments of the colonial conditions and historical experiences of second-generation US Latinas who have been public objects of racial sexualization? (Aparicio 2003:97).

During the Selena movie, as in other media sources, there were many questions in terms of Latino immigrant identity and who was able to play the role. Selena was in fact, Mexican-American, but when Mexican stars such as Bibi Gaytan and Salma Hayek attempted the role, both were not hired. In particular, Gaytan was eliminated because the movie would be in English and Hayek was not casted due to her “deep” accent (Aparicio 2003:100). “Despite the geographical proximity to the US/Mexico border, Texas born Selena’s identity as Mexican-American young girl, and as a Tejana shares more with Bronx-born Jennifer Lopez than with Hayek and Gaytan” (Aparicio 2003:100).

These media depictions of a particular artist helps illuminate decisions that the media makes to provide an image they are trying to portray. Those who were involved, specifically Latino males, directors for Selena Gregory Nava and Abraham Quintanilla, (Aparicio 2003:97) also helped in blurring the lines of ethnic identity, removing as

unwanted, “immigrant” representations of Selena. Dismissing Selena’s ethnic culture, they aimed to alter another Latina identity to create their new representation of Selena that would be more appealing to the American audience.

Once in the role, Lopez was forced into Selena’s world. A world where Selena had to play into these fine metaphors of being a saint and *marqueza* and being apart of the wild zone.

Manuel Pena (1999:203-207) has argued that Selena played a double function in terms of her physicality and body. He frames this doubleness in terms of ‘use value’ and ‘exchange value’ to explain how Selena served both as a cultural hero with which her community could identify, at the same time that she was capitalizing on her sexuality to serve as an object of desire for mainstream audiences. The double-edged sexuality, constituted both through the virginal, good daughter image and the emerging sexual symbol that Selena constructed for herself through her ‘bustiers’ and revealing costumes, is not necessarily informed by a segmented audience, as Pena suggests, but rather by patriarchal discourses that, through processes of racialization and erotization, objectify Latinas’ bodies (Aparicio 2003:98).

Selena, as an icon, is often described as having exemplified the double metaphoric and accompanying stereotypical roles of being a good girl, the saint and *marqueza* and also a sexualized performer, as *La Malinche*. These two conflicting images selectively combined in one iconic individual’s body, representing the conflict to both promote the culture, but also like *La Malinche*, to fight against the saint’s definition

of a woman's place, a sexualized freedom of expression, but also to do away with a male-dominated public space of Tejano music. Selena's story, along with many immigrant women, is that of the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic status.

In other types of media, such as television and print media, immigrant discourse is on a platform of identity ideals. Leo Chavez (2008) told of Jessica, a young undocumented child who required a heart transplant (116). When her surgery was unsuccessful, the news reports and the following responses questioned the eligibility of Jessica to be given an opportunity for the transplant/surgery over a U.S. citizen of her age. Chavez explains this connects many levels of nation or body (2008:116). Within those meanings is the macro level connection to her individual (micro) story. "Linking the biological/body with the privileges of citizens takes on new meanings, a new biological citizenship. By biological citizenship, I mean that the battle over scarce medical resources can become the grounds for struggles over social membership, and the basis for staking claims for citizenship" (Chavez 2008:117-118). For Jessica and other immigrants, their bodies are seen as commodities of consumption, in terms of lives, work, children, and individual organs to transplant upon entering the country, but they are not awarded the same rights in return. Stories like Jessica's, often lead to furthering ideals of continuing these levels of inequality. "Immigrants such as Jessica become contextualized not as individuals but as signifiers of alarmist rhetoric of excessive population growth and overuse of prenatal care, children's health services, education, and other social and medical services" (Chavez 2008:119). In these contexts,

contemporary identity of immigrants is formed through reoccurring ideals of the past presented again, new ideals within Latino characters and stories, and through the news stories presented in varying media platforms.

Family

As Latinos are generalized through individual stories within the media, so to are immigrant families portrayed as, both figuratively and literally. Figuratively, they may be portrayed as a divided family awaiting reunion, and extended family unions. Literally, they may be represented as nuclear families united within the United States. When family is discussed within media, audiences hear different types of ideas. In particular, these families are vilified, not only as a whole, but the roles of each within. Take for instance the lives of immigrant mothers.

Royal children/anchor babies

When women take the role of mother, they are taking the role of Santa and Marquiza. I say this because they are married women with child/ren. By following the role in having children within a marriage, they are seen as “good” wives to the Mexican culture. However, once within the U.S., there are many issues with their Santa and Marquiza gender role. In particular, many media outlets portray immigrant women, whom deliver their babies within the United States, as “negative” or “bad” immigrants because they have done so within the United States. As Gabe Ignatow and Alexander T. Williams (2011) explain, for women, specifically immigrant women, there has been an increase discussion of their reproduction for the purpose of citizenship known as having “Anchor babies” (60). While this term continues to be derogatory, it was originally used

to reference “Vietnamese boat people in the 1980s (Arax, 1987) and again in the early 1990s (Kelly. 1991). [The meaning of] ‘Anchor child’ refers to a very young immigrant whom will later sponsor immigration for family members who are still abroad” (Ignatow and Williams 2011:60). Unfortunately, the media continues to use this term in higher numbers since 2000 in the reporting and discussion of immigration discourse (Ignatow and Williams 2011:60). These increases delineate the persistence of derogatory associations to immigrant women and their children despite that such a believed “plan” would require the individual and their families to go un-apprehended and survive the 21 years of wait time for such an action to be “successful” (Chavez 2008:88). Bringing to light, if this were to be the “plan,” the lives members of the family must face at each step are in the assistance of citizen employers who can and often take advantage of their citizen status.

Livelihood

Beyond facing the different challenges to arrive within the U.S., these undocumented immigrant mothers face other challenging social factors as they strive to provide a living, within an employment, which requires little to no documents. For instance, many may become nannies for affluent white women. Within these jobs, their salaries may be reduced, their freedoms limited, and their working hours increased in comparison to reported hourly wage employment (Romero 2011:24-26). They become invisible in the realms of the higher SES areas, reporting to work through the back doors, cleaning and cooking before their employers arrive home or being “invisible” to the presence of others (Romero 2011:140-147). Consequently, they must find someone to

care for their children. Without time to dedicate to their own children, the affluent families consume undocumented immigrant women's emotional and physical labor that is not equally paid for, while their own child/ren go without their mother's attention (Romero 2008: 1364, Romero 2011:93).

Second-class citizens

To those who look in on the mother's life, she is seen as a "bad" or "unfit" mother for lacking available time to her child/ren (Romeo 2008:1366). However, due to her lack of ability to become a citizen, she is unable to apply or qualify for federal aid to reduce the hours needed to work. As undocumented immigrants become parents to citizen children, such laws and legislation provide these children with second-class citizenship. As Laura Hernandez (2010) explains, when citizen children are denied housing due to the ordinances because they deny their undocumented parents, the ordinances are unconstitutional (332).

Even if a municipality can justifiably pass legislation that addresses the concern of illegal immigration, that legislation may not trample on guaranteed constitutional rights of citizens, whether they are at the age of majority or not. Like the Civil Rights Cases brought on behalf of African-American citizens in the mid-twentieth century, future litigation should begin to carve out exceptions to these Housing Ordinances until the ordinances address the issue of illegal immigration narrowly or are deemed facially unconstitutional (Hernandez 2010:332-333).

For those mothers who face deportation (because employers report them, they are reported to authorities by neighbors, stopped by police in a minor traffic stop, etc.) due to not having documents, many are unable to locate or contact their citizen children who are often times at school. This is because many immigrants are not allowed the same rights that are offered to citizens, such as the ability to make a phone call. This leaves mothers in a challenging situation because citizen children often come home to empty houses. These children are often placed in foster homes or orphanages for not having any former notice of who should care for or information as to where the parent was deported to, so as to remain in contact with the parent.

Malinche mothers and sexuality

Detained undocumented immigrant mothers, face other discriminations and are many times held back by their legal status within the country and are often times unable to change their status on their own. As good *Santas* they are often portrayed as awaiting to be saved by these children's statuses, but contrasting portrayals are seen of single undocumented immigrant mothers whom attempt to find other ways of remaining in the country for their citizen children's futures.

Single undocumented, immigrant mothers in these positions are often seen in terms of following La Malinche metaphoric stereotype as they are seen as "bad" mothers for "leaving" their child/ren or as a delinquent, for "attempting" to "help herself" and her family, by obtaining her citizenship through marriage to a citizen or through her child's citizen status for need of the ability to work or federal resources to survive. Beisel and Kay delineate "this approach to intersectionality [which] allows [for the] consider[ation

of] reproductive politics as an instance of struggle over the culturally inflected material resource of bodies (2004:504). Furthermore, “[i]t also allows consideration of two theoretically separable aspects of racial reproduction: reproduction of the cultural categories of race, and reproduction of children, which generally entails control over the (racially inscribed) bodies and sexuality of adults” (Beisel and Kay 2004:504). This occurred by racial lines, but also within the political issue of abortion.

As Donovan (2010) expressed, “certain racial projects require sex and gender projects because idealism about racial purity define who has sexual access to whom. Stories of sexual danger served as a cultural resource for native-born whites, allowing them to draw sharp racial boundaries” (708). In this manner, sexual encounters and children of those encounters, would be regulated for racial purity (Donovan 2010:710) or in this case in the purity of citizenship. Undocumented immigrant mothers who do wed U.S. citizens, are also identified as not being “racially pure”. In this sense, citizens are reprimanded by politicians in the media for causing the need of immigrants to provide low wage labor and increase the workforce (Huang 2008:403). Specifically, politicians have focused the initial blame of an increase of immigrants by “blam[ing] white women for the decline of the American (white) work force that forced the population to produce less revenue for social security benefits and make undocumented immigrants necessary to replace the workforce (Huang 2008:403). By placing the blame on white women and immigrant women, there is a consistent focus on blaming women for political decisions and macro issues.

Social hierarchy

Families in particular, undocumented and mixed citizenship status families provide an insight into the United States social hierarchies. Norma Williams (1988) saw this division early on. Williams explains while she found differences in her status versus her older family members, she also had found a connection to the different hierarchies she was present in and yet still facing discrimination. I say this because she saw the difference in treatment of minorities as students, graduates, and employees; as well as, mothers, daughters, and members of society (Williams 1988). Williams stated she was faced with professors and employers who found it difficult to accept her role as student or educator. “Several professors criticized me for “breaking the rules,” which I learned was a code phrase for nonconformance to the stereotypes of Mexican American women, who were assumed to be passive and destined to the homemakers” (Williams 1988:341). Consistent with stereotypes and metaphors used to perpetuate the ideals about Mexican immigrant women.

Patricia Hill Collins (1998) explains, “the traditional family ideal functions as a privileged exemplar of intersectionality in the United States” (62).

Individuals typically learn their assigned place in hierarchies of race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, nation, and social class in their families of origin. At the same time, they learn to view such hierarchies as natural social arrangements, as compared to socially constructed ones. Hierarchy in this sense becomes “naturalized” because it is associated with seemingly “natural” processes of the family (Collins 1998:64).

Overall, family parallels the social hierarchies in six different ways for Collins. The first, as noted above, allows for family to be seen as natural. The second, to understand family as home that has gendered notions of duty, but also in terms of the boundaries of who is welcomed (1998:67). The third, Collins (1998) explains is the importance blood tie bonds are given in the biological aspects of family, and hence, of the state to its citizens (69). As with the third, blood ties also denote the importance given to racial purity and the privileges afforded based on these ties of the fourth (Collins 1998:71-72). The fourth discusses these privileges of the family, which are afforded based on belonging and gender, and not necessarily due to a meritocratic system (Collins 1998:71-72). In the fifth, meritocracy is also overlooked, as the family unit becomes the smallest unit of monetary and wealth, which is able to be intergenerational transferred (Collins 1998:73). The last, discussed the aspects of family planning, which have historically allowed for the control of women's reproductive rights and choices by their husbands and class. Furthermore, controlled by the political rights awarded and denied by the U.S. government's public policy (Collins 1998:75). Collins social hierarchy of the family in particular, allows for a close analysis of how gender roles and family structures provides a base unit for the racial formation of Mexican immigrant women along with boundary formation.

Conclusion

It is through these different frames, stereotypes, and metaphors media creates an image of immigrants, both men and women, which affect the way the government and the general public discuss immigration issues and public policy. By reviewing what

media, in particular, historically to contemporary discourse has reflected in terms of immigration, immigrants and their families, we can better understand what is being done to reflect, reinforce and/or challenge immigrant racial and national identities.

Specifically, how they intersect with immigrant gender ideologies. I posit by establishing the discussion of family gender roles in terms of immigrant identity in newspapers during the presidential election, research can be established to explain the racial formation and transformation of the Mexican, immigrant identity in the media.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL TO CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

Introduction

The historical context of immigration, in particular with Mexicans within the United States and specifically within the Lower Rio Grande Valley, is required to understand the current context of immigration discourse. To begin, I focus on the time frame, which lead to the appropriation of Mexican land and the subsequent meanings it held for those newly made U.S. citizens. In particular, I introduce the following, the Treaty of Guadalupe, immigration policy changes, and the discrimination that ensued. It is through these various time-period events, which have evolved the discussions of Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American identity. Following this discussion, I introduce the geographic and business diversity of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and its historical context. This provides a platform to elevate the discussion of immigrants and immigration in the area during the last presidential election.

Mexicans/Mexican Americans in the U.S.

Mexican American is a complex, historically changing term. Its complexity derives from its social construction through political, legal, and cultural structures within the United States. Mexican Americans have been argued to be a race (biological, unchanging or a social construct), an ethnicity (cultural and relative to experience and subjectivity) or a simultaneous existence of a racialized ethnicity (Mexican Americans are seen as an ethnic group, but term denotes and expresses the experience of being treated as a minority racial group) (Vasquez 2011:5).

Historically, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed on February 2, 1848 has been identified as the point of birth for the term, Mexican American (Samora and Simon 1977:100). During this time, the United States appropriated lands from Mexico after winning the Mexican-American War that included present states Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, and areas of Wyoming (Samora and Simon 1977:99; Kansas and Oklahoma (Menchaca 2001:216). Mexicans who had remained on their land after a one-year period of decision within these areas became Mexican Americans (Samora and Simon 1977:100). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo reflects the legal legislation that allowed Mexicans to become citizens of the United States (Molina 2014:5; Samora and Simon 1977:100).

The treaty becomes a legal and political economic tool used by the United States to delineate the terms through which a social order would be established. Michael Omi and Howard Winant define the term, racial formation, as

“the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings. Crucial to this formulation is the treatment of race as a *central axis* of social relations which cannot be subsumed under or reduced to some broader category or conception” (Omi and Winant 1994:61-62).

In reviewing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo there becomes an insight into the racial formation of Mexican Americans in the way the government through legal, political, and economic social constructions formed, transformed, destroyed and reformed the racial category and the identity of Mexican Americans.

In particular, the explanation through which citizenship was denied or granted by officials after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was ratified. The treaty originally promised the basic civil liberties that allowed Mexican Americans to retain their land, language, religion, culture, and education in Spanish (Samora and Simon 1977:100). However, enforcement of the treaty was not prominent, as violations left many new citizens without land and rights (Cisneros 2014: 28-29; Samora and Simon 1977:101,135). The denial of the treaty's basic civil liberties was committed by varying levels of government during the time of the transition that warranted Mexicans to Mexican Americans with citizenship (Samora and Simon 1977:100-101). What remained was citizenship based on the level of government's own constructions of racial ideologies in the years to come which left Mexicans in a low socioeconomic and political standing (Cisneros 2014:29).

Citizenship was contested on different levels of government as some Mexican Americans were viewed to possessed Indian heritage, which would void their rights to citizenship, as the United States did not recognize anyone with Indian heritage or blood as citizens until 1940 (Nationality Act of 1940) (Menchaca 2001:285). This belief stemmed from the aspects of racial ideology by whites at the beginning of the 1800s, which reinforced their beliefs about who Mexicans were as a race and by association Mexican Americans. The three main aspects consisted of the belief of the White race as pure and any mixture as non-white, those who were non-whites would disappear during the development of civilization (as whites had done with Native Americans), and that as a result of their racial purity, Whites were superior (Haney-Lopez 2003:58-62).

This racial ideology was the underlying ideology that reflected the laws of the time. Laws reflect the beliefs of citizens and protect the society. By establishing laws that reflected Mexicans and Mexican Americans stereotypes as true and as non-citizens, their racialization was being transformed into more than common sense, but into fact. These social facts were reflective of the protection of Whites or Anglos from Mexicans (perceived non-citizens/ outsider to the society). For example in 1850, gold was found in California; this finding led to a Foreign Miners Tax that targeted Mexican and Chinese miners (Haney-Lopez 2003:65-66). The tax allowed Anglo miners to have an economic advantage over non-white miners. When mining increased Anglos' wealth, they used the tax to implement a legal advantage by establishing a vagrancy law to punish all non-whites who attempted to steal, found to be stealing or possessed arms and were suspicious (Haney-Lopez 2003:66). Those found guilty would be imprisoned and made to work hard labor while chained (Haney-Lopez 2003:66).

These developments of economic, political, and social gains from Anglos further established a defined racial category and social class for Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Transforming the Mexicans before the Mexican American War, from wealthy landowners and politically participating citizens to what many faced to be a shift to low socioeconomic status and politically exempt non-citizens or low political clout citizens (Samora and Simon 1977:100). In an effort to fight back, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and immigrants from different countries attempted to petition the courts for naturalization to gain citizenship that had been restricted since 1790 to whites (Haney-Lopez 2006:31). In 1870, all those who were born within the United States were

awarded citizenship (Haney-Lopez 2006:35). While this was true, this was not the case for individuals who were denied or refused citizenship (Haney-Lopez 2006:31).

Naturalization became an important issue for Mexican Americans and Mexicans, as citizenship meant the access to rights and political power. From 1887 to 1950s, one out of the fifty-two prerequisite cases heard, *In re Rodriguez* (1897), was allowed naturalization based on prior treaties, while all others focused on making a case to prove they were white (Haney-Lopez 2006:163-167). This case was the only one that presented a Mexican defendant and by which the court decided, while he was not scientifically white (for the time's scientists), they would honor his citizenship based on prior treaty agreements (Haney-Lopez 2006:164).

Naturalization cases, while only a few recorded, allowed individuals the ability to voice their personal case on their perceived characteristics that qualified them to be white and therefore, citizens of the United States. It was not until the 1920s that naturalization cases made their way to the U.S. Supreme Court (Haney-Lopez 2006:1). These two cases, *Ozawa v. United States* and *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, denied citizenship to Japanese and Asian Indians due to their racial identification as non-white (Haney-Lopez 2006:56; Molina 2014:6). These decisions allowed for the possibility to deny Mexicans and Mexican Americans their citizenships based on similar non-white status (Molina 2014:6). Historically for the first time, these U.S. Supreme Court and pre-requisite cases held judges responsible for the explanation of their decisions to deny or grant citizenship (Haney-Lopez 2006:2).

In retrospect, the guidelines by which judges based their decisions were not consistent within their own decisions or that of each other. Some judges had based their decisions on current common knowledge, while others used scientific evidence of the time (Haney-Lopez 2006:4-5). This inconsistency and the discussion of race allowed for a larger discussion of whom whites were at that moment in history and by what means could they be identified consistently throughout the legal system. These legal decisions would become a guideline for judges in the future and therefore, racial formation of whites to transcend the time frame through their 1920s decisions (Haney-Lopez 2006:65). It is important to note, while in-depth discussion is not made of other racial projects' formations during this time period and others, they are interconnected with the racial formation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The formation of these simultaneous racial projects informed the current time period of what could be used in legal and social discourse to provide or withhold rights and privileges readily available to whites (Molina 2014:6-11).

During this same time period, other political issues concerning the end of WWI, immigration numbers increasing, and the Great Depression drew government to review immigration policy, American identity, and economic stability. The government implemented immigration quotas (unequal quotas favoring Western and Northern Europeans only) established by the National Origin Act of 1924 (Molina 2014:34; Reisler 1996:29). The initial implementation of the Act did not affect Mexicans and Mexican Americans because of the pull of workers needed to overcome the shortage of workers during WWI in the United States and the subsequent push from the Mexican

Revolution (Molina 2014:45-46). However, as the population growth became visible, they became government targets for removal as the proximity to Mexico allowed economic advantages. Specifically, when the Great Depression reduced jobs, the focus changed to unemployment and the removal of all Mexicans (U.S. citizens and non-citizens) as it was considered a viable solution to prevent job and wage competition with whites (Haney-Lopez 2006:27; Molina 2014:60).

By the 1930s, the Mexican/ Mexican American population, which had been increasing, had been reduced to one-third of their community's size by 1935 (Haney-Lopez 2006:27). This reduction was the result of the implementation of the "Reparation Campaign" that forced both, Mexican and Mexican Americans (citizens and non-citizens) to Mexico by the government and the society at large (Haney-Lopez 2006:27). This was seen again in the 1950s (Haney-Lopez 2006:27). By establishing and enforcing such quotas over a period of time, the United States was legally and politically transforming the population, reinforcing the racial formation of who Americans were (whites) and would be in the future, as well as, what privileges and rights would be reserved for these citizens. This placed the one-third remaining population of the Mexican and Mexican American community in a newly transformed America with racial inclusion as an ultimate strategy to become full citizens (in terms of rights and privileges that came with citizenship, but were presently denied) (Orozco 2009:222-223; Cisneros 2014:9, 28-29).

These new conditions lead to the creation of unions and organizations that would be focused on constructing the Mexican American identity through varying strategies of

inclusion both, as a race and active members of the political discourse and decisions (Molina 2014:40-41; Dowling 2014:11). This inclusion was to be based on seeking recognition as white to defend their rights by the government and other citizens (Molina 2014:40). Unions developing at the time were the Order Sons of America, the Order Sons of Texas, the Order Knights of American, and League of Latin American Citizens (Orozco 2009:151). They united in 1929 and were known as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) (Orozco 2009:40, 151).

Racial formation is not the only research through which Mexican Americans history and identity is studied, other scholars focus on different factors such as international vs. national construction, inter-generational and intra-generational migration, acculturation and/or assimilation, changes of identity through government research (U.S. Census racial categories), new technological breakthroughs (genomics), the implementation of the white racial frame (Feagin 2010), intersectionality (Orozco 2009), and color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2010). While others continue to deconstruct political legislation (Haney-Lopez 2006), media representations (Santa Ana 2002), and provide ethnographic research (Menchaca 2001). These as a whole begin to explain the present development of Mexican American identity through the political, economic, and social contexts of the past, and its changes in the years to come.

The overview is important to understand the historical and contextual understanding of the term Mexican and Mexican American and the connotations given in terms of socioeconomic status, citizenship, and immigration status. Specifically,

within South Texas, the term has its own history. It is important to express its transformations that have led to its current state of life for its natives and visitors.

Location

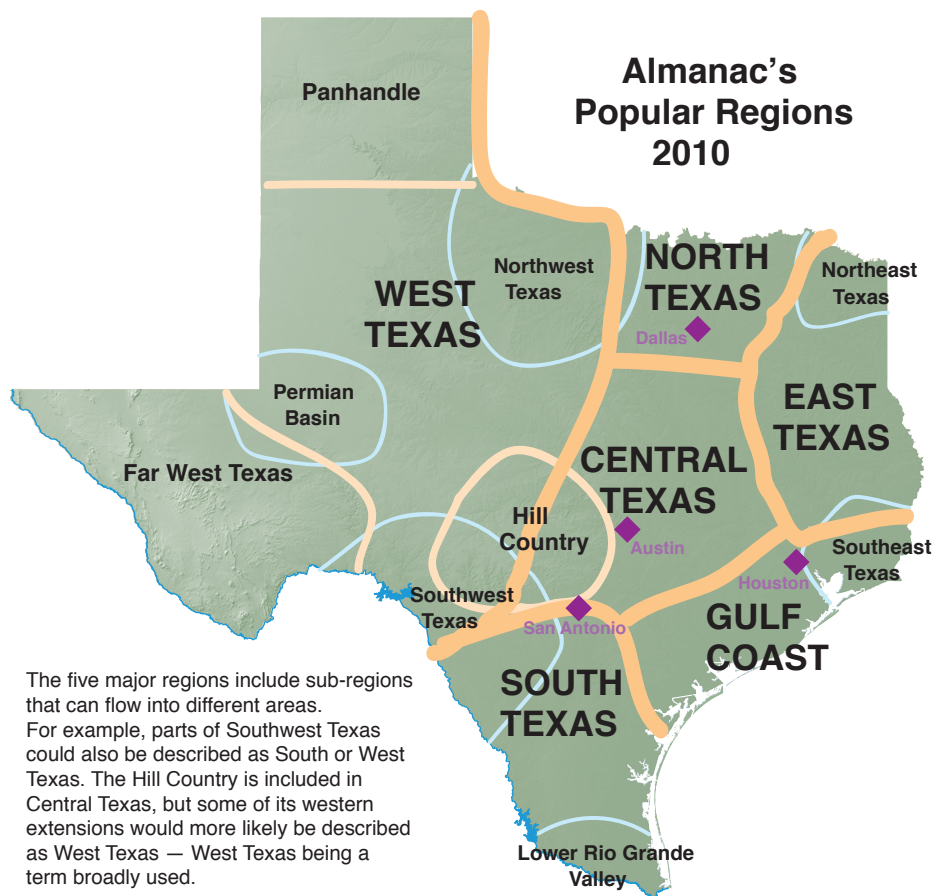


Figure 1. Almanac's Popular Regions 2010. Source: Texas State Historical Association's Texas Almanac. 2012.

The Lower Rio Grande Valley also known colloquially in Texas as “The Valley,” can be located on Figure 1. above. The Valley is considered the “flood plain of the Rio Grande River” (Trotter II & Chavira, 1997:3). Furthermore, Fig. 1 effectively displays the Valley’s isolation to the other Texas regions. The area is made up of three counties -- Hidalgo, Cameron, and Willacy-- but a fourth—Starr-- is sometimes also considered (Trotter II & Chavira, 1997:3; Dowling 2014:18). The entire area of these four counties is not fully populated, as residents tend to stay within 15 miles along the Rio Grande River (Trotter II & Chavira, 1997:3). Along this strip of towns and cities, populations vary from 2,000 residents to 75,000, “running from Brownsville at the mouth of the Rio Grande to Mission, approximately sixty-five miles upstream” (Trotter II & Chavira, 1997:3). The Rio Grande Valley is also bordering the US-Mexico border, having four main bridges (Anzaldua (new bridge), Hidalgo –Reynosa bridge, Pharr International bridge (longest), Brownsville-Matamoros bridge (US Department of Homeland Security 2012). These bridges allow for international trade of produce, business, and more. “Clearly, the investment of tax resources by regional, state, and federal governments to improve the infrastructure and provide access for legal commerce and related transportation by residents is also being extensively used for illicit border trade” (Arispe Y Acevedo Jr. 2009:54). Hence, the border holds more than a divisional wall in place, but different physical and symbolic meanings to the various individuals and agencies involved in its creation, retention, and reinforcement.

The Lower Rio Grande Valley History

“The borderline, between the Rio Grande Valley and northern Mexico, is the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo. Kay refers to this boundary as “a wide, sluggish river, of no great natural beauty or interest. But because it forms the border between the United States and Mexico for a thousand miles, it has great political, social and economic significance” (2004:25)” (Arispe Y Acevedo, Jr. 2009: 40).

The history of Texas, in particular the Lower Rio Grande Valley has not been one of rest and social harmony. As revisited in the overview of the discourse of the Mexican and Mexican American identity within Texas, historically, the LRGV also faced racial tension, segregation, and political battles due to the conflict of land rights and subsequently, the legal status of the residents. Before the twentieth-century had begun, Mexico had lost Texas and the Rio Grande Valley in the 1836 Texas Revolution (Arispe yAcevedo, Jr. 2009:38). After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 the area became part of San Patricio County. However, “Despite the incorporation of Texas into the United States... , many Mexican Texanos were unaware of their U.S. citizenship” (Orosco 2009:50). Such confusion stemmed from the fact the area had been “a territory claimed by both Mexico and the United States between 1836 and 1848” (Orozco 2009:50). In response, the population had adopted the name “Republic of Hidalgo” (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). “These crucial historical events occurred in what are today Brownsville, Texas and Matamoros, Mexico and along the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo to present day Rio Grande, Texas” (Arispe Y Acevedo, Jr. 2009:38).

While the population was small, it increased during the 1900s. Surprisingly, the area, once a quasi-desert place, thanks to irrigation (1898) and the railroad (1904),

became a booming agricultural location (Texas State Historical Association Rio Grande Valley 2012). When the area became an agricultural region, the population increased significantly from both sides of the border. Bringing a “large-scale migration of Midwest farmers in the teens and twenties, matched by growing surge of Mexican immigration” (Texas State Historical Association Rio Grande Valley 2012). In particular, the increase was by Eastern and Midwestern-origin settlers who refused to adapt to “Hispanic culture and considered themselves superior to Mexican Americans” (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012).

There were two different contributing factors for these beliefs of superiority and consequential political actions; The first, lack of federal and state support during the confusion of legal land rights and the second, who was a U.S. citizen. As Anglo (Non-Hispanic) settlers arrived, they believed they had the legal right being U.S. citizens to the land and its resources. However, as per the Treaty of Guadalupe, Mexicans’ land deeds and grants were valid and to be respected, but were not. Believed to be Non-Americans, Anglo settlers refused to honor the agreement and viewed Mexicans, now Mexican Americans, as non-citizens. The results were conflict, both in the physical arena through cattle wars that consisted of raids on both sides of the border and through the figurative arena by way of political legislation and consequent enforcement (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012).

The cattle wars were gruesome as casualties were high in number but increasingly so for Mexican lives. From 1912-1915, the border raids “claimed at least thirty Anglo lives and several hundred Mexican lives” (Texas State Historical

Association Hidalgo County 2012). Over lapping this time were the South Texas race wars and WWI. “Subsequent raids by La Raza convinced European Americans that a “Mexican” uprising in Texas was eminent. A hundred skirmishes, raids, and violent confrontations took place between 1915 and 1920, some of which expressed grievances against European Americans and the United States government” (Orozco 2009: 44).

Media was involved in spreading such information to the communities. They printed information that provided fear of a Mexican uprising that led to many deaths. “The Texas mainstream press intensified racial tension, calling “Mexicans” “mangely wolves,” “lice of thickets,” “hounds of perdition,” and “devils”” (Orozco 2009:44).

“[During] September 1915 a circular announced an uprising on September 16, Mexico’s Independence Day. Texan military personnel and civilians braced for the uprising, which did not occur.” (Orozco 2009:44). Instead, “Whites continued to organize conferences and vigilante committees [which] compiled “black lists” of suspected raiders or collaborators and proceeded to kill, lynch, and burn homes of suspects. By October, five thousand whites were patrolling the Valley” (Orozco 2009:44).

While casualties were not officially counted due to lack of value placed on Mexican descent lives by the Rangers, an approximate of 5,000 dead were tallied (Orozco 2009:45). During this time, troops showed their beliefs of the lack of value Mexican descent bodies held by sending depictions by mail. Often in these “postcards [were] depict[ions of] burned and mutilated Mexican corpses... they [had] sent back home, often with the sentiment: ‘A good greaser is a dead one’” (Orozco 2009:45). While there were individuals who attempted to legally charge the Rangers for their

actions, such as J.T. Canales, there were no further actions, at the time, proceeded by superiors (Orozco 2009:46). “Even legislator William Harrison Bledshoe, a Ranger supporter, conceded that South Texas authorities “didn’t consider it of enough importance down there to indict a Ranger for killing a Mexican.” The consequences of the Plan de San Diego conflict were far-reaching. Half of the Mexican-origin community left South Texas, many returning to Mexico” (Orozco 2009:46).

During the South Texas race wars, World War I started and factors that played a role for the United States also called for an overlapping of fear and uncertainty in the LRGV area. “The war raised citizenship, patriotism, and identity issues- all complicated issues for La Raza, especially Mexican Tejanos. ... In 1918 the Laredo newspaper *Democrata Fronterizo* proclaimed, “The children of Mexico citizens who are born in the United States are Americans,” as if a discovery had been made” (Orozco 2009:50). Those not born in the United States or legally U.S. Citizens after the Treaty of Guadalupe warned of anchor babies stating in “Another newspaper... “one of the biggest mistakes made by Mexican parents is to think that at age 21 when his offspring reached legal age he could go to the Consulate and obtain his American citizenship automatically without having been born in the United States”” (Orozco 2009:50). These questions in the community and in the media about citizenship and belonging came at a time when national identity required a broadened definition to deal with the demand of soldiers needed during the war.

The draft of men to participate in WWI held a narrow line of acceptance for Mexican descent men because of this broadened definition, but also held real dangers.

While some Mexican descent men did volunteer others fled to avoid the harm inflicted by Rangers assisting draft boards in different towns (Orozco 2009:51). The inclusion of Mexican descent men serving during WWI was only temporary as veterans returned to second-class citizen treatment after the war. Often times the veterans were not served and turned away from businesses and restaurants. There was a mixed feeling, having been included and then rejected upon return (Orozco 2009:55).

“War World I [had] had a significant impact on Mexican American consciousness. At the same time the war engendered patriotism, it raised the issue of national and social citizenship in the Mexican-origin community. The war gave some men both a racially segregated and integrated war experience, and it raised the contradictions of American democracy and racism at home” (Orozco 2009:61).

By the 1920s and 1930s segregation was a way of life and the Mexican descent population numbered above half of the population. Regardless of their numerical majority, they had separate and unequal education. Treated as inferior, Hispanic children were only afforded elementary school by the government and expected to work to help support their families (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012).

Within county politics, those in power used their authority to change polling procedures as early as 1902. It was then the poll tax was implemented in 1902 (Texas State Historical Association’s Texas Almanac 2012. Previously, politicians would win political power using the “pachanga” or block vote, which entailed rounding up men, filling them with food and liquor, and paying their poll tax” (Texas State Historical

Association Hidalgo County 2012). “[By the] 1927 elections, election codes were amended to prohibit voting by the foreign-born, including those naturalized. Until then, South Texas political bosses had ensured La Raza’s vote, as it was vital to winning elections in the region (Orozco 2009:47). “

In Hidalgo County the GGL [Good Government Leagues] sought to end boss politics like the Anderson Y. Baker Democratic machine. In 1928 reformers intimidated hundreds of Raza voters at the polls, shouting, “Don’t let those Mexicans in to vote. Throw them out.” These actions made Mexico Texasos stress U.S. citizenship. Progressive reform proved yet another assault on La Raza (Orosco 2009:47).

“Weslaco's Anglo voters, all new farmers to the area and opposed to the regime, asked for and got a federal investigation. The investigation not only hurt the machine but further marginalized Hispanic voters, who were scared away from the polls” (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). These forms of vote-buying also led to the “Hidalgo County Rebellion”, in which Weslaco residents fought the Mexican voters and the “Weslaco ballot box was thrown out during the 1928 county election” (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012).

By the 1940s, the area had become an urban and rural combination (Texas State Historical Association Rio Grande Valley 2012). This transformation brought new groups of visitors known as “snow birds” or “winter Texans”. These individuals, due to the Valley’s mild climates and rare freezing temperatures, visit during the winter months

and return to their northern homes when the cold weather subsides (Texas State Historical Association Rio Grande Valley 2012).

This mixture of individuals allowed, and continues to allow, many different area discussions about immigration, cultural assimilation, and citizenship. Including the “...assertions of whiteness [by Mexican Americans who] are interpreted by so many as a sign of inclusion, [but are also seen as] Latinos’ continu[ed] struggle to be recognized as full and equal Americans [are] discounted” (Dowling 2014:134). It was not until the 1960s that Hispanics turned to the political arena, with racial tensions still present even with the changes of the civil-rights movement, (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). At this time, various changes were occurring. There was an increase in migrant farmworkers in the area whom had separate schools until 1970s (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). With the numbers of individuals increasing, colonias were being developed to allow residents to build at their own pace. They often had no access basic utilities and water (Migrant Health Program 2012).

During the 1980s, the devaluation of the peso hit the Lower Rio Grande Valley. It was at this time that “Not until the mid-1980s did area merchants who catered to Mexican nationals began to experience the negative effects of the several devaluations that occurred in that decade” (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). While the area has never experienced a major population decline, the prevalence of agriculture also makes it one of the poorest in the nation (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County). Little profit found its way to the poorest people, however,

a fact reflected in the standard of living of *colonia* dwellers, of whom an estimated 52,000 lived in 366 colonias in 1986. The problems of inadequate water supply and substandard housing were rife among *colonia* residents, many of whom were migrant farmworkers. It was hoped that in the 1990s part of the problem would be solved by new trade and opportunities for employment brought by the North American Free Trade Agreement (Texas State Historical Association Hidalgo County 2012). While the area's population continues to increase its economic ventures and agricultural sector, discussions of race and immigrant have remained central.

The Valley's Current Context

“Late on the night of September 26, 2006, Congress approved the Secure Fence Act, authorizing the construction and partial funding on a 700 mile long fence along the United States- Mexico border, sending a clear message on the United States' stance on illegal immigration from Mexico and the effort to secure the nation's borders”
(Mendoza 2011:1).

The Lower Rio Grande Valley has continually experienced push and pull from both the US and Mexico. “Racial and ethnic distinctions in these border towns are primarily focused on the differentiation between Mexican immigrants, more established Mexican American families, and Anglos (Richardson 1999). Such close proximity to the border emphasizes the distinction between “American” and “Mexican” identities for residents in these communities” (Dowling 2014:18).

Its location makes it a central zone for implementing policies geared toward monitoring and controlling immigration. Because its secondary border is 70 miles away, it allows for an intermingling of people from both nations. As such, the discussion of immigration focuses on a variety of border issues—immigration (both documented and

undocumented), the economic benefits stemming from Mexican nationals visiting the area, to concerns about the flow of drugs and the activities of drug cartels. Each of these issues reflects long-standing and deeply held beliefs about race and gender among Mexican immigrants.

An online discussion about a magazine article on immigration in the Rio Grande Valley provides a useful example. Posted on June 17, 2013, “Immigration, Border, Security, and the Rio Grande Valley” by Paul Burka for *Texas Monthly Magazine*, reported on the immigrant presence in the Rio Grande Valley. In both the story and the reader comments there is discussion of the current views prevalent in immigration policy, identity, and economics as well as different aspects of how news stories can open and shape the way topics and issues are discussed. Burka writes,

The *New York Times* is reporting that for the first time in more than a decade the battle over securing the border has shifted from Arizona to Texas. According to the story:

Now the Rio Grande Valley has displaced the Tucson enforcement zone as the hot spot, with makeshift rafts crossing the river in increasing numbers, high-speed car chases occurring along rural roads and a growing number of dead bodies turning up on ranchers’ land, according to local officials.

“There is just so much happening at the same time — it is overwhelming,” said Benny Martinez, the chief deputy in the Sheriff’s Department of Brooks County, Tex., 70 miles north of the border, where

smugglers have been dropping off carloads of immigrants who have made it past Border Patrol checkpoints.

This will surely have an impact on public policy in Texas, and not for the better. It will provide Rick Perry with a ready-made issue for his next political campaign, whatever it might be. We may see a renewed emphasis on sanctuary cities laws and other Arizona-style anti-immigrant legislation, and, of course, criticism of Obama for failing to do the impossible, which is to secure the border. The timing is bad for South Texas, which should be looking toward a bright future with the new UT Medical School and other advances in higher education (Burka 2012).

Burka's story allows for the audience to acknowledge there are "problems" arising due to the increase in immigration, possible criminal organizations, and murder. Following the metaphors of "overpopulation, criminals, and murderers", the discussion was opened in the comments section below.

Others in the post, like many immigrant discussions, faced using the very metaphors that stereotype immigrants in defending them. Especially in terms of assimilation and social class status. Commenters expressed what they saw as the differences in immigrants from Europe and Mexico, stating they were faster in assimilating because they were fewer immigrants coming into the country (pro-quotas in immigration) (Burka weblog comments, 2013). Furthermore, this new "racial tension" was due to the "influx of poor, low skilled Hispanics[.]" who would require more "health care and education spending" at the expense of U.S. tax payers (Burka weblog

comments, 2013). This comment allows the audience to review “certain” immigration as acceptable (European immigration acceptable, “others” need quota), but there were consequences for that decision (new racial tension, tax increases, and less resources for Americans).

Others in the comment section focused on homeland security. “John Johnson” wrote,

“Who does not agree that we need to secure our borders with more wire, more people, more gadgets and more money? Forget about nosing around in Syria. Bring every last service person home from Afghanistan and Iraq, and use the saved resources to keep anyone not invited out. Get nasty with them. Take all the free candy and carrots we dangle at them out the equation [sic]. Then, and only then, start to deal with the illegals already here” (2013).

In this comment, the discussion of what ‘war’ is was more important as discussed. John Johnson (2013) called for troops over seas to come home and protect the country from an internal enemy. He demanded troops get rid of “unwanted” visitors by “Get[ting] nasty with them”(John Johnson, 2013). As with discussion of war, there are allies and enemies. If troops are to remove said enemy, John Johnson would prefer troops did so perhaps by using excessive force from his commentary (2013). Moreover, his discussion follows immigrant stereotypes behind the reasons for immigrants to select the U.S. As John Johnson expressed immigrants were only here due to the need of “Free candy and carrots” (free resources) (2013). By his understandings, in removing said free resources, immigrants would stop entering the U.S. and those currently in the U.S. would leave.

The discussion progressed to the option of dealing with immigration by sealing the borders. This comment allowed the audience to review what type of ‘protection’ they could still possess if this option were possible. This would include in their discussion, the continued exploitation of immigrants through an increase in maquiladoras, militarizing hundreds of miles of borderland, and removing “drug lord operations” for a “win-win for us (U.S.)” (Aanon-p, 2013). However, these metaphors and stereotypes do not end there, but there are others including those that affect immigrant discourse in terms of gender.

Reviewing these posts and responses, written on June 2013, it is clear that there was a continued discussion of the “flood” of Mexican immigrants, who pose a “threat” to the United States’ support system by funding immigrant education, prisons for their adult lives, providing housing, food, and unemployment benefits (Burka weblog comments, 2013). Furthermore, the “flood” threatened the US identity through citizenship, US culture through failure to assimilate and bring the American rate from 1st to 3rd, and the economy because Mexico was sending all of their poor through a “valve”.

Discussions above also alluded to solutions to deal with the “threat”, by building a Great Wall like in Germany, sending all troops to protect the US borders, and invading Mexico for the purpose of controlling a 100-mile radius to ensure drug cartels are removed and maquiladoras flourish. Overall, the audience comments, in particular, their metaphor use, was consistent with negative stereotypes, implying immigrants were not

voting because they were seen as lazy, “poor” and possessed “low skills” (Burka weblog comments, 2013).

Conclusion

The historical context of the Lower Rio Grande Valley delineates a rich history of the construction and transformation of immigrant identity through various political changes; from the geographic typography that was enriched through irrigation that required migrant workers, to the racial climate that was intensified as American identity which was formulated through federal, state, and local politics. Isolated from much of the United States, the Lower Rio Grande Valley remains dominant in the bi-national discussions of immigration, policy, enforcement, and identity. The unique geography and history lend heavy support for the need of further social science research in the area. Under this context, the Lower Rio Grande Valley, in particular, can shed added light in what is constructed in the media in terms of immigrant identity in a rural/urban setting.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

Introduction

As Chapter III explained why the Lower Rio Grande Valley is the ideal location for understanding the racialization of Mexican immigrant gendered identities, this chapter is specifically dedicated to reviewing the different methods used to analyze the data selected to answer the research questions. I begin by reviewing the main cities in the LRGV that are best suited for the study. Followed by the selection of the data collection process and an overview of the research method theory, which facilitates in depth discussion of racial formation.

Data

I reviewed three of the Lower Rio Grande Valley's newspapers: *The Brownsville Herald* (Brownsville, TX), *The Monitor* (McAllen, TX), and *The Valley Town Crier* (Free newspaper for Hidalgo County area). These newspapers were distributed around the Lower Rio Grande Valley. I selected these areas due to their history in South Texas and similar demographics.

Brownsville, TX, was “the first settlement in the area, which was founded as a result of the invasion of Zachary Taylor and the United States Army in the Mexican war in 1846” (Texas State Historical Association Rio Grande Valley 2012). McAllen, TX and Hidalgo County were chosen for their history of being highly segregated, and one of the first settlements that were subsequently close to the US/Mexico border (Texas State Historical Association McAllen 2012).

Demographic Profile Data is displayed below in Table 1. This data is provided by the U.S. Census Bureau information from the 2010 Demographic Profile Data.

Table 1. Demographic Data: Brownsville/McAllen TX

	Brownsville, TX	McAllen, TX
Total Population	175,023	129,877
Median Age	29.5	32.2
Male Population (percent)	82,686(47.5%)	62,044(47.8 %)
Male Median Age (Years)	27.3	30.7
Female Population (percent)	92,337(52.8%)	67,833(52.2%)
Female Median Age (Years)	31.4	33.6
One Race		
White	172,472(98.5%)	108,913(83.9%)
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	163,109 (93.2%)	109,910(84.6%)
Specifically Mexican	150,945(86.2%)	100,963(77.7%)
Relationship		
Households by type		
Total Households	49,871	41,573
Family Households	41,047(82.3%)	31,823(76.5%)
With own children under 18 years old	22,828(45.8%)	16,542(39.8%)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau information from the 2010 Demographic Profile Data for Brownsville, TX and McAllen, TX.

The U.S. Census allowed a general comparison of the two cities for the research. While Brownsville had approximately 50 thousand more residents counted for, they were both similar in percentages of being majority White Latino from Mexico or of Mexican descent. They were also similar in family households and median age for both men and women of the population. This comparison allowed for newspaper’s audiences to be similar in population, racial/ethnic makeup and gender.

Within these newspapers, I focused on both *local* and *associated press* stories. Local stories were those who had local in-house writers. For this study, associated press stories were those identified as such. All news stories that did not identify the writer as “Associated Press” were local press for the purpose of this research. These distinctions in stories stem from a view of how local vs. national press discuss immigrants and immigration. This was also to relate how local newspapers selections of associated press articles could also send a specific message to local residents.

These articles were appropriate for answering my research questions, because they both were distributed to majority Latino, Mexican residents. They were also the best selection of newspapers in the Rio Grande Valley because they were both English only, which allowed for researched metaphors to be identifiable. They were also newspapers that were easily purchased at many local convenient stores and street corners where newspaper vendors stood or danced.

Procedures

Data Collection

In June 2012, I had begun a subscription to both *The Brownsville Herald* and *The Monitor* newspapers. During this time, I also collected *The Valley Town Crier* from the location itself, as I did not live in the area it was distributed (This is a free newspaper). I collected over 6 months (June 1st to December 5th 2012) of newspapers from all three newspapers. From these newspapers, local and associated articles were selected, which discussed immigrants and immigration. Specifically, the unit of analysis was newspaper articles that had immigration or immigrant in some part of the headline (title), subtitle,

and/or body of the article. This specific unit of analysis removed all implied immigrant and/or immigration discourse.

These articles were the most appropriate because they allowed data to be collected on immigration and immigrant identity in the media. These articles also allowed for the gathering of information on immigrants and gender in the media. In Table 2. below, general information is provided about these three newspapers' circulation. From the table, The *Valley Town Crier* has the largest circulation recorded, followed by the *Monitor* and finally the *Brownsville Herald*.

Table 2. Newspaper Circulation Numbers

Newspapers	<i>The Brownsville Herald</i> a)	<i>The Monitor</i> a)	<i>The Valley Town Crier</i> b)
Circulation daily	15,880	35,960	
Circulation Sunday	16,409	55,580	
Circulation Wednesday			115,000

Source:

a. Alliance for Audited Media, 2013.

b. ACM Valley Multimedia Network, 2013.

Data Analysis

The three newspapers (the *Monitor*, the *Brownsville Herald*, and the *Valley Town Crier*) were reviewed. I was surprised to find only the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald* had any discussion of immigration or immigrants. Each newspaper was reviewed for any articles that included immigration or immigrant in the title, subtitle, and body during June to the first week of December 2012. This time period represented the

months before and one after the 2012 presidential election. This was a 27-week period of time in 2012. Out of these days, there were some days that the newspaper did not reach me. At times, the newspaper did not have extras to sell or available at the University of Texas- Pan American library. The data then reflected the lack of the following days: The *Valley Town Crier*: June 27, September 26, October 10, and November 21; The *Brownsville Herald*: 0; The *Monitor*: 0.

Table 3. Three Newspapers’ Identified News Stories

	<i>Monitor</i>	<i>Brownsville Herald</i>	Totals
June	27	17	44
July	19	14	33
August	23	13	36
September	23	11	34
October	19	6	25
November	21	18	39
December (1 st week)	3	1	4
Totals	135	80	215

In Table 3. above, the numbers reflect the total number of stories found, which contain the unit of analysis. There were a total of 215 stories that included immigration or immigrant in the title, subtitle, or body. Out of these stories The *Monitor* had the most stories in June 2012. For the *Brownsville Herald*, they discussed the most stories in November. The *Valley Town Crier* was not included in the chart as there were zero

stories found that met requirements. Both, the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald* had the least number of stories in December, but this was only representative of 1 week. If only June- November were reviewed, then the *Monitor* would have had the least number of stories found in July and October with 19 stories each. For the *Brownsville Herald* the least number of stories found during June- November was in October 2012 with 6 total stories. This information helped to understand, while there was importance to the discussion during the election period, it showed they were not as debated in the 2 months before the election.

Having established the numerical newspaper articles established for each newspaper to be reviewed. The question of which methodological theory was best to answer these research questions were highly studied. To better understand the gendered-identity of immigrants using the newspapers as data, I used components of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Ethnographic content analysis (ECA)

The ECA “approach is to blend the traditional notion of objective content analysis with participant observation to form Ethnographic Content Analysis, or how a researcher interacts with documentary materials so that specific statements can be placed in the proper context for analysis (Altheide, 1987)”(Altheide and Schneider 2013:5).

This goal is

“attained by studying documents as representations of social meanings and institutional relations. Documents, for this study, newspapers articles (primary documents), are studied to understand culture- or the process and the array of

objects, symbols, meanings that make up the social reality shared by members of a society” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:5).

ECA is “an acceptable method in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* (Altheide 2004b)” ... [and] high-quality, peer reviewed journals (Altheide and Schneider 2013:9). ECA’s “approach to document analysis is derived from a theoretical and methodological position set forth by George Herbert Mead, and Herbert Blumer, as well as Alfred Schutz (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Schutz, 1967) and others” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:13).

The ECA approach has three general points. The first, “social life consists of a process of communication and interpretation regarding the definition of the situation” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:13). The second for ECA,

it is this communicative process that breaks the distinction between subject and object, between internal and external, and joins them in the situation that we experience and take for granted. Our activities are part of the social world we study and are “reflective,” or oriented in the past to what has gone before as part of the relevant process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983)(Altheide and Schneider 2013:13).

Finally, ECA’s third step deals with “the notion of process is key because everything is, so to speak, under construction, even our most firmly held beliefs, values, and personal commitments. What we consciously believe and do is tied to many aspects of “reality maintenance”- of which we are less aware- that we have made part of our routine “stock of knowledge””(Altheide and Schneider 2013:13).

ECA allows researchers to go past social facts, to how they are constructed and how to break-down text to understand how the ideologies presented are combined for public consumption. While not technically necessary, ECA combined with CDA provides a review of two-tiers of racism to be outlined to help facilitate the in-depth discussion CDA provides.

Implementing ECA

To implement ECA, I created a primary protocol after reviewing the newspapers for the selected unit of analysis. My primary protocol collection was constructed to “provide both numerical and narrative (descriptive) data collection for” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:32) ECA which consists for the following sections: a) section of newspaper; b) length of article; c) location of article within the section; d) location of article within the top or bottom of the paper fold; e) pictures included; f) metaphors referenced; g) names, gender, and occupations of those interviewed for the article and the location of the picture on the page; h) what, if any, local policies were named; i) what position did the article take (reporting positively for the policy or against); j) If immigrant was mentioned, what gender and age did they refer to them as; k) title of article; l) Use of the word “immigrant” (immigration) in terms of (metaphors found in literature ex: flood, threat, pollution, dirty, lazy, etc.); m) miscellaneous; n) summary of article. In the following table, the final protocol used is below to compare to the first protocol used in Table 4.

Table 4. Protocol Evolution

Protocol 1	Final Protocol	Categories within Final Protocol
a) Section of newspaper	1) Newspaper	a) Monitor b) Brownsville Herald c) The Valley Town Crier
b) Length of article	2) Date	a) Month and Day
c) Location of article within the section	3) Associated/ Local	a) Associated Press b) Local Press
d) Location of article within the top or bottom of the paper fold	4) Day of the Week	a) Monday b) Tuesday c) Wednesday d) Thursday e) Friday f) Saturday g) Sunday
e) Pictures included	5) First Page	Ex: 1A (1 st page of Section A) or A1 (Section A of page 1)
f) Metaphors referenced	6) Cont'd Page	Same as above
g) Names, gender, and occupations of those interviewed for the article and the location of the picture on the page	7) Title (Headline)	Main headline or title provided for the news story
h) What, if any, local policies were named	8) Subtitle	Secondary headline or subtitle for the news story
i) What position did the article take (reporting positively for the policy or against)	9) Author	News story writer
j) If immigrant was mentioned, what gender and age did they refer to them as	10) Author's Newspaper affiliation	Ex: Monitor, Texas Tribune, Miami Herald
k) Title of article	11) What section of the paper	Ex: Front page, Editorial, Beyond the Valley
l) Use of the word "immigrant" (immigration) in terms of (metaphors found in literature ex: flood, threat, pollution, dirty, lazy, etc.)	12) Name of Second Page	The word in bold that informs readers where the second page is located. Ex: CRIME
m) Miscellaneous	13) Out of how many pages in the section	1A out of 8A
n) Summary of article	14) Is first page Above or Below newspaper crease?	A or B
	15) Is second page Above or Below newspaper crease	A or B

Table 4. Continued

Protocol 1	Final Protocol	Categories within Final Protocol
	16) Is there a picture with the news story?	Y or N
	17) Is immigrant/immigration in the title?	Y or N
	18) Is immigrant/immigration in the subtitle	Y or N
	19) Is immigrant/immigration in the body?	Y or N
	20) Frames used	a) National Security/Border Control b) Over (population) frame c) Human rights frame d) Immigration reform frame e) Other:
	21) Metaphors used	a) Pollutant b) Dangerous waters c) Animal d) Body e) Weeds f) Criminal g) Machine h) Fire i) Air j) Wild zone k) Saint and queen l) Other:
	22) Stereotypes used	a) Dirty b) Greasers c) Outsiders d) Cowards e) Loose morals f) Men of courage g) Other:
	23) Laws/policy discussed	Type in
	24) Gender of immigrants	a) Man b) Woman c) Family d) Children/Kids e) Babies/ Infants f) Neutral (immigrant: no identifying information)
	25) Position on immigration	a) For b) Against c) Mixed

Table 4. Continued

Protocol 1	Final Protocol	Categories within Final Protocol
	27) What's happening in story?	a) Crime b) Reform (Immigration) c) Citizenship d) March/Protest e) Information Sharing f) Other:
	28) Location of where immigrants are from?	Country associated with immigrant
	29) Summaries and notes for story	Main points of the articles and what the researcher felt was the underlying message.

The final protocol took the length of the data collection process. I reviewed this protocol and identified topic characteristics of the newspaper articles on immigration and immigrant identity. Then I reexamined previous reports to verify these characteristics have been identified if previously missed. Then I revisited the information and “check[ed] the quality and quantity of information being recorded, involving queries such as “What is being omitted? Or “What segments, time blocks, and so forth, do not seem important for the present focus?” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:32). Then I revised the protocol using new articles for the protocol. I continued this process until all articles had been revised. This allowed for the different categories to emerge without the confinement of only a few. As mentioned in previous research, the data interpretation is “intended to be reflexive and nonlinear (e.g., constant discovery) because previous research with numerous journalists revealed that news workers often incorporated file film and old reports into new ones” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:33). With establishing

my finalized protocol I have provided the main themes that emerged with detailed analysis.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis reviews the position of authority and the responses of policy. Fairclough explains, "... CDA is based upon a view of semiosis as an irreducible part of material social processes. Semiosis includes all forms meaning making – visual images, body language, as well as language, (economic, political, cultural, and so on. And every practice has a semiotic element" (2001:122). In this manner, it is not one or the other actions, but emphasizing the need of the overall combination of the macro and micro that exists within the practice. Fairclough (2001) explains, "... focusing on social practices is that it allows one to combine the perspective of structure and the perspective of action- a practice is on the one hand a relatively permanent way of acting socially which is defined by its position within a structured network of practices, and a domain of social action and interaction which both reproduces structures and has the potential to transform them (122). These combinations allow the researcher to view "[a]ll practices are practices of production- they are the arenas within which social life is produced, be it economic, political, cultural, or everyday life " (Fairclough 2001: 122).

Fairclough (2001) allows researchers to understand each stage of CDA with great detail (122-127), but for this dissertation methodological review, I will focus on Van Dijk's four properties. I focus on these four, as they allow for in-depth analysis of the discourse. Specifically, when analyzing this information the four steps of Critical Discourse Analysis were used.

The first was to review context, which analyzed 4 properties for context, 1) the underlying ideologies of speakers or writers, for instance as they [had] emerged in other communicative and interactional situations; 2) the relations with the intended audience ... 3) the overall goal of the discourse; and 4) the institutional situation and action currently being engaged in (Van Dijk 2011:53).

The second was to study “the patterns of access and control in the communicative situation” (Van Dijk 2011:53). The third was to review the special discourse structures. These structures consisted of “ identity, activities, goals, norms and values, group relations, and resources” (Van Dijk 2011:54). The fourth and final step was to review the “ideological square” which consisted of the “underlying structure of polarized racist representations” (Van Dijk 2011:54). For this research, the following four were reviewed: “1) emphasize Our good things, 2) emphasize Their bad things, 3) deemphasize Our bad things, and 4) deemphasize Their good things” (Van Dijk 2011:54). These were found by the review of what was located on headlines, what was not being stated, and who was allowed to speak (Van Dijk 2011:54-55). Van Dijk explains these racist statements can be blatant, but CDA in particular, allows for researchers to study and evaluate “more subtle mainstream forms of text and talk that are not even seen as racist by the dominant consensus[,]” but are (2011:48). In particular the media publishes these subtle forms of racism in newspapers as a byproduct of both, the cultural and structural components of the media press routine (Van Dijk 2011:47).

Daily routines of newsgathering contact the powerful organizations, which happen to have the press agencies that performulate news and opinion through

tailor-made press conferences, press releases, interviews, and other source discourses, and which are consistently formulated in the best interest of these institutions and organizations (Tuchman 1978). And since the latter are largely controlled by the dominant white elites, it is their ideologically based opinions that dominate in the mass media as long as the journalists do not see and inconsistency with their own ideologies and interests (Van Dijk 2011:47).

“Journalists thus legitimize racist cognitions for the public at large, which will therefore be more easily persuaded to adopt these attitudes, as long as these mental models and attitudes do not conflict with their own interests” (Van Dijk 2011:47)

Van Dijk (2000) is explicit about how these mental modes are formed at the socio-cognitive level. Specifically how at first glance, individuals are judged and explained by a social group they are associated with (Van Dijk 2000:93). Then through the predominate explanation of the group through the authoritative lens of newspapers, journalists, and other institutions (Van Dijk 2000:93-94). Finally, through the “societal (and historical) processes of ideological formation and change [that] are enacted by group members through varying social practices in general, but especially in many forms of institutional talk and text (for detail, see Van Dijk, 1998a) (Van Dijk 2000:93-94).

In sum, racism is a complex system of social inequality in which at least the following components are combined:

- a) Ideologically based social representations of (and about) groups
- b) Group members’ mental models of concrete ‘ethnic events’
- c) Everyday discriminatory discourse and other social practices

- d) Institutional and organizational structures and activities
- e) Power relations between dominant white and ethnic minority groups

(Van Dijk 2000:93).

Clarifying, while there exists variations of what components are needed to understand the complex system of racism, mental models can also be based on various factors. These factors can include those of the individual's experiences of "speak, write, and read or listen (Van Dijk, 1998b)," but also those group mental models, which the individual interacts with (outside communities) (Van Dijk 2000:95-96). Noting that while there is focus on what is experienced or expressed, what is also not expressed is also an extension of mental models (Van Dijk 2000:107-109). "Since context models may also be ideologically influenced (e.g., in the ways interacting participants are represented as own or other group members), also contextually controlled structures of discourse may be ideologically based" (Van Dijk 2000:97).

In sum, racism has a complex, equally important, three-tiered structure. The first, "a mental-level of analysis and reproduction, featuring racist ideologies and social representations of group," second, "... a social-level of analysis, featuring everyday discriminatory interaction and discourse," "...and [finally,] group relations and institutions" (Van Dijk 2000:113). "As is the case for other ideologies, also racist ideologies are largely (through not uniquely) reproduced by text and talk" (Van Dijk 2000:113).

Conclusion

Together, my ECA and CDA combination focuses on Immigration topics during the last months before and weeks shortly after the Presidential election. I am focusing on this selection of information from the newspapers. I am not selecting random sample or a specific day, as this may miss information that can be vital for the understanding of the documents (Altheide and Schneider 2013:31). I instead will be drawing a saturation sample, “to obtain a theoretically informed sample while still drawing a comparative sample of news reports about [immigration and immigrant identity]” (Altheide and Schneider 2013:31).

In sum, the combination of components of ECA and CDA allow for these three-tiered components of racism to be observed within the research data to provide answers to the research questions. Components of ECA allow for the pin-pointing of the social-level analysis, as well as, the group relations and institutions level of analysis, while CDA provides in-depth insight to the mental analysis and reproduction, but what is stated and not stated in the sources used by the newspaper. These sources also inform researchers the mental analysis of the contributing writers these newspapers employee and the voices they select to project in this public platform.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL FINDINGS

Introduction

After analyzing each of the qualifying articles, I revised the general patterns of comparison. These general patterns are first determined by the newspapers' established site within the newspaper of where immigrants are discussed. In particular I review the placement of immigrant discussions within Associated Press or Local Press news articles. I follow with discussing the writers responsible for the news stories within the 6-month period. Then, I discuss 6 of the 7 ECA categories that established immigrant discourse in the LRGV within the time frame of the presidential election. I conclude with reviewing how these general findings have transformed or reinforced the previous identity of immigrants discussed in Chapter II.

Associated Press Versus Local Press

When discussing the Associated Press vs. the Local Press, there is a large discrepancy. I say this because the Associated Press is viewed and associated with national opinions and facts. In essence, the Associated Press is the voice and mind of the nation. In comparison, the local press has a limited audience and is subject to local push and pull. Within local newspapers, such as the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald*, audiences can attribute, as with other newspapers, that the selected Associated Press news and opinion pieces included in their newspapers can also be a reflection of the particular newspaper's opinions and political preferences. In light, these figures help

establish how many news articles were from each type of press and how they established a pattern of immigrant discourse during the presidential election.

Specifically, The *Monitor* and The *Brownsville Herald* both had spoken about immigration and immigrants by the use of both the Associated Press and Local press news stories. For my research, Associated Press news stories were those news stories, which stated the writer was from the Associated Press. All other news story articles were considered local press. The 215 news stories reviewed, included immigration and/or immigrant that were divided into associated vs. local news story articles. In Table 5. below the numbers of associated and local press stories for each month are displayed, for each newspaper.

Table 5. Newspapers' Local vs. Associated Press

	Totals	<i>Monitor</i>	<i>Monitor</i>	<i>Brownsvil</i>	<i>Brownsville</i>
		Local	Associate d	<i>le Herald</i> Local	<i>Herald</i> Associated
June	44	16	11	6	11
July	33	11	8	9	5
August	36	16	7	9	4
September	34	18	5	3	8
October	25	18	1	4	2
November	39	16	5	7	11
December	4	1	2	1	0
Totals	215	96	39	39	41

The information reviewed determined the totals of associated and local press. It yielded the *Monitor* had more than double the amount of local stories than the

Brownsville Herald. Furthermore, the *Brownsville Herald* only had a few more Associated Press stories than the *Monitor*. In essence, the *Monitor* discussed immigration and immigrants in a local platform through its local writers. This is also true in comparison to the *Brownsville Herald*, who had fewer local press news stories that discussed immigrants versus Associated press stories.

Meet the News Writers

In establishing where immigrant news stories are discussed, the individuals who write these pieces were also reviewed. This allows further analysis to be reviewed in terms of what type of news pieces did these writers provide. For instance, were the discussions of immigrants and immigration in Opinion pieces or news reports?

During these six months, there were a total of 76 different journalists whom covered a total of 196 out of 215 of the stories for both the *Monitor* and *Brownsville*. Of the 215, 19 stories had no specific writers assigned to them. These no-specific author stories were viewed as possible opinions of the newspaper or as past editorials with no designated writer. There were a total of 38 different Associated Press writers and a total of 38 local press writers. The Associated Press articles were located within 15 different sections of the newspapers. The most common placement of Associated Press articles were in the section, Beyond the Valley with 19 stories that had 3 different writers. This meant that there was no one writer found that had a majority of stories over all others for the section. The Nation section followed with 18 stories and Jacques Billeaud was the writer with the most stories. The Front Page section continued with 11 stories, but also had 3 different writers. These were for both newspapers combined.

In terms of the local press articles, the section with the most stories was the Front page with 36 stories, identifying writer Ildefonso Ortiz as the writer with the most stories. The next section was Valley and State with 29 where Jacqueline Armendariz had the most stories. The two sections that followed identified writer Ruben Navarrette as the writer with the most stories in the Editorial section with 24 and the Commentary: Opinion section with 23. This is important because these were the main writers who's news stories were shown with the most frequency in the newspaper sections that had the most immigrant or immigration stories in the newspapers. Resulting in 47 of the 215 total news stories written about immigrants and immigration were opinion pieces by two writers establishes the power writers have over the discourse within the realm of newspaper media in the LRGV.

Six Categories

The base-focus of the data analysis are the 6 out of 7 main categories: Frames, metaphors, stereotypes, what is happening in the story, location, and how immigrants are identified as a group. These six provide an overview of what is occurring over the presidential election time period of June 2012 to December 2012. For each of the 6, I will discuss the overall patterns found. In some of the categories, I will explain more using examples from the newspaper stories. This data allows for an in-depth reflection of both, the content and context occurring throughout the months before the presidential election in 2012 for the following sections of analysis. The order of discussion will be different, the categories will be discussed in the following order: What's happening in

the story (type of news story), Location, Frames, Metaphors, Stereotypes, and How immigrants are identified as a group (What's in a Name? Identifying Labels).

Type of News Story (1)

Table 6. News Story Types

	Crime	Reform	Citizenship	March/ Protest	Information Share	Others
June	10	16	1	1	6	24
July	12	4	0	0	4	28
August	9	1	1	0	6	31
September	16	11	0	1	21	23
October	9	10	0	0	18	24
November	11	24	1	0	27	35
December	0	3	0	0	1	1
Totals	67	69	3	2	83	166

The table above, Table 6. indicates the type of stories that had immigration or immigrants in their headlines, subtitles, and/or body during each month reviewed. The columns represent different types of stories. The first, Crime, indicates a story that includes discussion of a crime committed by immigrants, which occurred in the past or is occurring. Reform is referring to any story that discusses immigration reform. Citizenship is referring to any story that discussed obtaining citizenship, but not as a subsequent mention of bills not leading to citizenship. March/Protest is referring to stories that discussed a particular march and/or protest occurring or that which had occurred. Information share is referring to stories that provide readers with information

about different topics, not that have a particular opinion of what is occurring, but that does allow for the newspaper to inform the reader what is happening around them or in the world at the time. The last, Other, is referring to all other story types that did not fit within the other columns. The Other column had prevalence of having political stories that did not have any mention of immigration reform, racial profiling, and crime that is not committed by immigrants, but by different agencies, cartels, and smugglers.

The over all patterns revealed were those dealing with how immigrants were discussed as a sub-category. They are identified within the story, but are not the main focus. In terms of those immigrants who were discussed, they were stories that provided facts or lacked perceived bias. Those news stories that did present similar categories to those described within the literature review were as crime news stories or discussion of immigration reform. Few discussed citizenship and/or march/protests. In this sense, immigrant identity continues to be reinforced through the criminal stereotype within news stories.

Location (2)

Table 7. Identified Immigrant Country of Origin

Month	Total #s	Total Location #		
June	44	30		
July	33	21		
August	36	19		
September	34	18		
October	25	13		
November	39	20		
December	4	2		
Totals:	215	123	*57%	

Table 7. Continued

Location	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Mexico	15	17	12	14	8	18	1	85
El Salvador	2		1	1	2			6
Cuba		2						2
Honduras	2			1	1			4
Guatemala	2		3	2	2	1		10
Peru	1							1
Italy	1	2						3
Ireland	1	2						3
Africa	2					1	1	4
Central Am.	1	5				1		7
South Am.		2				1		3
Japan		3						3
India	2							2
China	2	2						4
S. Korea	2							2
Venezuela	1			1				2
Middle East				1				1
R.G.V.	1		2					3
Voskresensk	1							1
Asia	1							1
Puerto Rico	2							2
Portuguese	1							1
Pacific Islands	2							2
Ethiopia	1							1
Sudan	1							1
England		1						1
Germany		2						2
Eritrea	1							1
Greece		2						2
Britain		1			1			2
Oaxaca		1		1				2
Guerrero		1						1
Chiapas		1						1
Veracruz		1		1				2
Hidalgo		1						1
Reynosa		1						1

Table 7. Continued

Location	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Canada		1						<i>1</i>
Beyond European Union			1					<i>1</i>
Latin Am.			1					<i>1</i>
Hispanic			1					<i>1</i>
Palestinian			1					<i>1</i>
San Luis Potosi			1					<i>1</i>
Dom. Rep.				1				<i>1</i>
Colombia				1		1		<i>2</i>
Ecuador				1				<i>1</i>
Tampico				1				<i>1</i>
Totals:	45	48	23	26	14	23	2	181

Table 7. above, reflects the newspaper's identification as the country of origin for the immigrants discussed in the stories. Newspapers, through their discussion of location, provides insight as to who, in particular, which immigrants newspapers are framing, discussing, and characterizing with their descriptions. Over the researched six months, the country of origin was mentioned in 57 % of the news stories. That is to say 123 of the total 215 news stories had an identified country of origin for the immigrants identified. In those that did not have a country of origin, generalized perceptions of immigrants are applied. That is to say, due to not having a defined location, the discussion of these immigrants are perceived as a general discussion of all immigrants.

In reviewing the 123 news stories there were 181 different mentions of a country of origins, this means there were more than 1 country of origin per story. In reviewing these numbers, Mexico had the highest percent of appearance in the 181 countries of

origin at a 47 percent (appeared 85 times) mention. The second largest was Guatemala, at 5 percent (appeared 10 times). The third, and close behind, is Central America at 3 percent (appeared 7 times) and finally fourth El Salvador at 3 percent (appeared 6 times).

Clarifying, the following categories (frames, metaphors, stereotypes, etc.) reflect the discussion of Mexican immigrants and/or immigration from Mexico. Other immigrants from other countries, specifically from non-recognized Latino countries, were mentioned with low frequency throughout the months and were discussed within positive writing techniques versus that of Mexican immigrants.

Frames (3)

Table 8. Frames

Month	Total #	Total # Frames	F:1	F:2	F:3	F:4	F:5
June	44	44	16	2	6	9	19
July	33	33	15	0	5	4	18
August	36	36	19	16	3	15	20
September	34	34	26	15	8	13	20
October	25	25	20	12	8	15	21
November	39	37	28	14	13	27	30
December	4	4	2	1	0	4	1

The frames in Table 8., above, display the following columns: Month in 2012, total number of news stories reviewed in the month, total number of news stories with frames. Frame 1 the national security and border control (F:1), frame 2 over (population) frame (F:2), frame 3 human rights frame (F:3), frame 4 immigration reform frame (F:4),

and frame 5 other (F:5). The observed frames, F:1 to F:4, were consistent with previous authors mentioned in the literature review. The frame examples showed the same understanding of these frames, continuing with issues of government versus individual, assimilation and changing of cultures, immigrants to be treated as human and with respect, and finding reform for the immigration system in place.

Overall the data points for F:1 to F:4 represented an increase of the lowest established frames in July to the most in November. Similarly, this information is parallel to what the focus was during the presidential election months. It is within the progression of time there was an increase of frames around the months leading up to the presidential election in November. Within the last frame, F:5, the increase was also seen leading to November's election.

By reviewing in depth, what new frames, within F:5, Other, were being discussed, the development of what new frames were being used at the time can be better understood. The F:5, Other, frames showed the extremes, which appeared to push the boundaries that had been so firm in the first 4 frames reviewed. These frames were discussed in detail within the data analysis because they expanded the data in the field. These new frames were labeled and identified as Latinos vs. Immigrant status, False Republican Sincerity, Educational Punishment, and Religion and Immigration.

The first, Latinos vs. Immigrant status, developed points of racial formation. Within in this category, the stories position Latinos and Hispanics with immigrants, becoming synonymous with one another, a type of unification for the Republican Party. This frame along with False Republican Sincerity developed together as an

understanding of why the Republican Party should reconsider immigration reform to obtain more votes during the election.

In The Monitor View (a subsection to the Opinion section) the newspaper ran a piece entitled, “Split Purpose: Convention to show America who is really important to the GOP” on August 29, 2012 (Monitor 2012:8D). This piece reflected the previous stance Mitt Romney had taken to win the pre-primary debates for the party stating he had, “...won the battle of attrition essentially by bearing hard to the right, and appeasing party xenophobes by doing just about everything short of saying he would deport his own father, who was born in Mexico” (Monitor 2012:8D). Holding this line of thinking, the Republican Party began to draft and attempt to pass bills that reflected a pro-immigration reform stance. This change of opinion left these two newspapers with different topics of discussion focused on the causes for the change. This was supported with a news article almost a month after Republicans lost the presidential election in, both the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald's* news stories. They explained the new changes in the party's immigration reform stating, especially in the Editorial section with Ruben Navarrette's piece “GOP dug a hole with Latinos,” that this was not a new situation and provided a list of the GOP's offenses to Latinos and immigrants. Navarrette expressed,

Republicans are now playing the victim. They claim they're getting a bad rap as being hostile to immigrants and Latinos. The two groups are lumped together. Latinos headline the immigration debate because they make up the bulk of the immigrants in the United States- both legal and illegal. And it's Latinophobia

that is fueling the debate as whites and blacks, nativists and labor unions come together in common cause to turn back the demographic tide (2012a).

This statement, details the association of immigrants as Latinos and incorporates legal statuses, bringing together the way, specifically the Republican Party has associated the connection. The response has been explained as wanting to reduce the Latino/Immigrant population to “turn back” the demographic “tide”. This dangerous water metaphor will not be discussed in this frame section, but it is emphasized as a way to connect frames with metaphors to add visual significance. This action toward the action of the “tide” as explained, is characterized by its discussion of racial discrimination and fear mongering. As further discussed in this particular editorial piece, Navarrette disclosed an example of Republican association with Latinos. Navarrette gave the example of Republican Rep. Tom Tancredo of Colorado who “referred to Miami as a “Third World country” because so many Latinos reside there and so much Spanish is spoken (2012a). Further accompanied by other examples and statements that associated Latinos as immigrants who were welfare of the state and were considered livestock who were in need of electric fences (Navarrette 2012a). These connections fortified, for Navarrette, the ideology of the Party and how at the loss of a presidential election, bills that favored immigration reform came to be submitted for approval (2012a). The *Brownsville Herald* shared a specific moment a day later of this event stating, “The bill, filed Nov. 27, is evidence that the Republican Party is becoming more focused on working toward a solution on immigration following November’s general

election, which analysts have said favored Democrats due, in part, to the GOP's harsh stances on immigration" (Aguilar 2012:A4).

Within the newspapers, immigrants and Latinos were also connected in terms of legislation that would contain educational punishment for citizens who have undocumented parents. In the *Brownsville Herald* on September 5, 2012, Curt Anderson from the Associated Press wrote, "Judge rules for students in immigration-tuition suit" in which he stated, "Students at Florida's public colleges and universities cannot be charged higher out-of-state tuition simply because their parents are in the U.S. illegally, a federal judge ruled" (2012:A9). In reviewing this statement, Florida was attempting to punish undocumented immigrant parents and their children for entering/remaining in the country without proper documentation. Florida, however, was not the only state identified by the piece as attempting to punish undocumented immigrants and their family with citizenship status, additionally the list also included, New Jersey, California, and Colorado whose decisions were also ruled against. Highlighting, in this particular story, Florida attempted to claim economical issues because it identified, using the U.S. Census that "nearly 9,000 children of illegal immigrant parents are enrolled in Florida public colleges and universities in a given year" (Anderson 2012). This would mean Florida was losing money because of their assistance, but they both, claiming the need to pay for the 9,000 students, but all out-of-state students as well. In this manner, statistics that were backed by a recognized research agency were being used in an attempted to win an argument of what to do in the case of citizen students with undocumented immigrant parents. This is to say, in terms of what is acceptable and expected actions

with perceived “anchor babies”, who are legal citizens, would be punishment with institutional discrimination that would legally define them as exempt members of the state/nation because of their parents legal national status. Further associating the association of outsider to both the child and parent in different government levels within an educational setting.

The last extreme frame reviewed was that of Religion and Immigration. The story, “Passing the Torch: Pilgrimage focuses on peace for Mexico and US immigration” written by the *Brownsville Herald*, was a short piece that integrates religion and race to immigration. They had begun their pilgrimage in Mexico City, Mexico and were expected to travel to New York City. It was a pilgrimage that “focuse[d] on peace for Mexico and U.S. immigration laws that [would] give immigrants, especially students, legal status in the United States” (*Brownsville Herald* 2012). Further commenting, “They also want[ed] the event [to] symbolize the unity of families, immigrants and those who pursue justice for immigrants to strengthen their hope and faith” (*Brownsville Herald* 2012). These quotes helped to establish the connection between faith, religious pilgrimages and immigration. Furthermore, including justice for immigrants. The pictures shown were of two men passing the torch from one location to the next signifying the connection between gender and also through religion and immigration.

Overall, F:1 to F:4 reinforced the perceived identity of immigrants (the national security and border control (F:1), over (population) frame (F:2), human rights frame (F:3), immigration reform frame (F:4). F:5 other, provided new frames to discuss. In particular, Latinos vs. Immigrant status, False Republican Sincerity, Educational

Punishment, and Religion and Immigration. These frames provide a new discussion to occur with following presidential elections.

Metaphors (4)

Table 9. Metaphors

Metaphor Used	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Pollutant		2	1	1		2		6
Dangerous Waters	2	1	1	3	3	11	1	22
War	3	5	4	5	3	11	2	33
Animal	6	7	2	3	2	4	1	25
Body		2				2		4
Weeds	1	4		1			1	7
Criminal	15	11	17	10	12	15	1	81
Machine			1			4		5
Fire							1	1
Air								0
Wild Zone	1							1
Saint and Queen			4			1		5
Other	22	4	15	29	23	24	1	118
Totals								308

Metaphors, within the news stories, constituted in 13 types found. In Table 9. above, the metaphors are labeled. Please note that each row, which does not contain a number represent 0 metaphors for that particular month under the specific metaphor. For instance June had 0 Pollutant metaphors, but had a maximum of 15 for Criminal and had a total of 22 Other metaphors. In this manner, the focus was first on the overall information found from pollutant to Saint and Queen, and then on what metaphor extremes were found in Other.

These overall numbers elude to a high number of metaphors for dangerous waters, war, animal, and criminal which are those most used from the literature; providing support that these four metaphors have reinforced the already perceived identity of immigrants. The overall typical metaphor used to associate immigrants was criminal. This means that for the election period of June 2012 through December 2012, the newspapers used metaphors associated with immigrant (status or not) with that of dangerous waters and war, and as non-human, criminals.

In reviewing Other, separately, there were a large number of metaphors. The one that was consistently appearing, August to November, was that of Victims. This metaphor appeared 3 times in August, 4 times in September, 12 times in October, and 9 times in November. These numbers show a continued mention throughout the few months leading up to the presidential election. In retrospect, the literature in respects to immigrants appear to represent immigrants as the aggressors in metaphors such as criminals, war (coming to take over), and even so much so in animals (discussing their use of U.S. resources), but this was a surprising change to provide a different perspective of immigrants in the months leading up to the election. This is not to say immigrants are without agency, but to provide an indication of change of metaphor used within the newspaper articles. In particular, immigrants were discussed as victims of different people and agencies; for instance smugglers and the cartel, others of government agencies such as Border Patrol, and political parties/government.

Reemphasizing, the discussion of immigrants as victims was an occurrence that happened only a few months right before the election and not in June or July. The

inclination is to review this in further detail with the months after November to review if this was a political attempt to change voter's minds about the parties or if it was a way to move to pass their political legislation.

Stereotypes (5)

Table 10. Stereotypes

Stereotypes Used	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Dirty	1	1		1		2		5
Greaser								0
Outsider/Foreigner	17	20	3	11	12	10	1	74
Cowards			1	2	1			4
Loose Morals	4	2	2	1	2	1	1	13
Men of Courage					3			3
Other	10	10	33	33	19	29	1	135
Total S.								234

Stereotypes as discussed in the literature review, are extraordinary measures of the characteristics of groups of individuals. These measures, located in Table 10. discuss the way groups of people are believed to be as part of a group. In terms of immigrants, there were 6 particular stereotypes, synonymous with the discussion of immigrants in the past: dirty, greasers, outsiders or foreigners, cowards, loose morals, and men of courage. The last, Other, which includes all other stereotypes not discussed in the literature review.

When reviewing totals, there was an overall 58 % of news stories that contained stereotypes of immigrants within the 215 stories identified overall. Within those 58%

(124 stories) there were 234 stereotypes mentioned (as shown in Total S). The typical case for stereotype, excluding the Other Column, was Outsider/Foreigner. This was surprising, as it was the stereotype with the most frequency. Its numerical fluctuation could be a result of DACA discussions. I say this because political neutrality was reflected through the acceptance of allowing immigrants to post pone deportation, but also having not provided a formal reform for citizenship. In this sense, neither Republicans or Democrats had 100% of what they were fighting for. It did however, continue to provided a higher percentage of ‘othering’ of immigrants as outside of the nation, in comparison to citizens.

Unlike the other stereotypes, greaser was not found in any of the articles during this time period. This concluded a change in the use of the stereotype for immigrants during this time period. While dirty was used 5 times throughout the election period, it was significantly less used than foreigner or outsider, which had a total of 74 mentions or 32 % of the 234 total stereotypes identified.

Within the newspaper articles, the stereotypes used and had few mentions were Loose Morals, Cowards, and Men of Courage. In the case of Men of Courage, there were 3 in October. These numbers contradict each other, but were not found in the same stories. Furthermore, these stereotypes were not consistently used in all months leading to the election, but did show immigrant men were discussed for over 3 months as Cowards, but only represented as Men of Courage, one month before. The determining factor of consistence as a political ploy or as coincidence would require further research.

In terms of the Other stereotypes, the extreme cases repeated were stereotyping immigrants as criminals. While this also a measure used in Metaphors, it is different in that these are specific individuals who are being identified as criminals, while the Metaphor variable criminals are reviewing the metaphor used to describe immigrants overall. As mentioned, to identify immigrants as criminals each month over the period of the election period as both, a metaphor and as a stereotype show the way both can fortify the image of immigrants as negative visitors or residents of the United States.

A second stereotype frequently found when characterizing immigrants was Shadow. This term, not familiar to me, was not surprising in its negative aspect, but could be interpreted in four ways. The first, immigrants could come out of the shadow, meaning they were hidden, possibly in association with stereotype of Criminal as they are often portrayed. Second, shadow in terms of the Animals metaphor, as when it is safe, animals typically come out of hiding. Another way to see this term used Shadow, could be in that of religion, viewing shadow as the dark or evil, and coming out of the shadow could appear to mean, to come to the light and/or be good. Fourth and finally, Shadow could signify to become visible members of society and not invisible. While these 4 ways of considering the meaning are limited and can be connected to metaphors, the use can vary depending on the context of the story and the metaphor writers used.

In the *Brownsville Herald's* piece written by Elliot Spagat of the Associated Press entitled, "Immigrant requests strain consulates, schools" states, "Up to 1.7 million people may qualify, which would be the broadest stroke to bring illegal immigrants out of the shadows in more than 25 years" (2012b). This quote lets two things happen, first

to frame over (population) of immigrants already living in the United States and second to wake up what could be considered the sleeping giant after, as they mention, 25 years in one broad stroke. It is the only time it is used in the story, but it is connected to the frame and images of the metaphor of the sleeping giant.

A second example is that of the story written by Julian Aguilar of the *Texas Tribune* where he quotes U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutcherson and U.S. Jon Kyl in his piece, “Proposed legislation puts focus on young immigrants, “Relegating a potentially productive portion of the population to the shadows is neither humane nor good economic or social policy,” the senators said in a joint statement” (2012b). In this statement, immigrants were seen as productive members of the population, but by not passing, what they had proposed, after the election loss, they attempted to pass a type of similar bill to DACA that allowed a temporary period to stop deportations for qualifying immigrants. This bill was seen as humane and good for the economic and social policy. They were, after the Democratic win of the President Obama, agreeing to pass this bill, help immigrants remain outside of the shadow they had previously wanted to do away with and deport. The Shadow, then held a negative meaning that was inhumane, bad economic and social policy. Furthermore, inferring from the second statement, immigrants have been in said shadow for the last 25 years and the “improved bill” signifies previous economic and social policy was both inhumane and bad policy.

Table 11. How Immigrants are Identified as Individuals and Groups

	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Illegal	4	5	2	3	0	3	1	18
Illegal Immigrant	24	19	12	24	12	13	1	105
Immigrant	12	4	6	8	13	6	3	52
Undocumented	9	0	2	3	4	3	0	21
Undocumented Immigrant	1	5	5	9	8	6	0	34
Alien	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	8
Detainee	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Foreigner	5	0	3	2	0	2	1	13
Other	16	22	27	17	17	16	1	116
Totals for each month	74	58	60	67	55	50	7	371
Total Mentioned	371							

What's in a Name? Identifying Labels (6)

This section reviews the category, How immigrants are identified as individuals and as a group. In reviewing the terms used, those appearing in the rows in Table 11. were those terms most often used in the newspapers analyzed. In the row, Other, these were other terms used to identify immigrants such as Hispanic, Latinos, and Mexicans, when specifically discussing immigrants. Each month represents the months coming up to the presidential election in November. Overall there were 371 mentions of immigrants within the 215 articles. The typical identification of immigrants was the term illegal immigrants, which showed a total of 28 percent (105 times) within the news stories. Then next largest percent was immigrant at 14 percent (52 times). Significantly, they were the only two out of the first 7 that made up more than 10% of the 371 mentions. In this sense, within the 215 stories, the most frequently used term to identify immigrants

was illegal immigrants followed by the term immigrants. Highlighting the association with criminality due to the word 'illegal'. The next, term in numerical frequency was undocumented immigrant at 9% or 34 mentions within the articles. These terms have been apart of different debates within the newspaper. I will go into detail about these debates in just a moment, but first, I'd like to discuss the last row, Other.

The Other, describes a number of different terms used to discuss immigrants. Surprisingly, over the months, terms such as Latinos, Hispanics, and Mexicans were used synonymously with immigrant status. That is to say, instead of using the words immigrant, the writers would refer to Mexicans, Latinos, and/or Hispanics. At times they would combine terms such as Mexican immigrant, Latino immigrants, Hispanic immigrants. There was a total of 116 mentions, but within these were 13 mentions of Hispanics, 14 of Latinos, and 24 of Mexican. In total, there were 51 mentions of these three combined out of the 116 mentions, almost half of the other variable. Others in the Other variable, included recovered bodies, refugees, religious fanatics, and throwaways. While there were no others that had larger quantities such as those mentioned above, it is important to note that there is a continued connection made with religion and immigration, danger with the association of recovered bodies, and pollution in terms of throwaways.

Returning to the newspaper debates of the use of illegal immigrants as an identifying term. I did not want to discuss this above, because it detracts from a general overview and typical/extreme cases of the category. Now that the overview has been established, I'd like to discuss the points made by the newspapers as to why they should

and should not change the use of the term, during the election period and after. Ruben Navarrette, explained in the second newspaper story I discuss, the term ‘illegal immigrant’ was deemed dehumanizing by Jose Antonio Vargas during an online journalism conference, putting the spotlight to the media companies to stop such a use (2012).

While no stories appeared in the *Monitor* or *Brownsville Herald* about the use in September, the *Monitor* did so in October and then the *Brownsville Herald* did in November. The first discussion occurs in October 7, 2012 in the *Monitor*, written by local writer Ed Morales from the McClatchey-Tribune as a commentary piece. The piece is entitled, “THE POWER OF SEMANTICS: STOP USING ‘ILLEGAL’ TO DESCRIBE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS”. I emphasize its capitalized title, to mirror its importance to the writer and the paper deemed, when they dedicated one column of the entire page of text, including two large pictures of protestors (woman with a megaphone with poster stating NO human being is Illegal with the statue of liberty) and detention center area (man with his back to the camera waiting to be processed at the detention center).

This story is crucial in understanding why the press should stop using the term. Morales explained within the story, the use of the terms “has become part of the American lexicon” (Morales 2012). Continuing, “But the word has long-lasting repercussions not only on undocumented immigrants living in the United States, but the ethnicities usually associated with them” (Morales 2012). The ‘pushback’ as Morales mentions, in not changing comes from higher level newspapers. An example the

newspaper uses is, *New York Times* reporter Julia Preston who “asserted that the term “illegal immigrant” was accurate, and that we (the press) shouldn’t be blaming an accurate term” (Morales 2012).

This statement was questioned by Morales by expressing that by doing so, they ignore the political charged context (Morales 2012). Furthermore, “Illegal” is certainly not a term that undocumented immigrants chose for themselves (and the reading public) as a defining term. “This definition, long advocated for by the most virulent of the anti-immigrant crowd” (Morales 2012). The term itself was then discussed as a historical stigmatization of individuals who were “forced to leave their own country for economic and political reasons” (Morales 2012). Finalizing, the question if whether the individuals were to blame for their drastic change or if it were not the government’s political policy with other countries abroad, quickly mentioning that may be pushing the discussion a bit much (Morales 2012).

The commentary focus provided broader contexts discussed, that of press ethical standards and the representation of a group of individuals, who did not and do not, wish to be labeled and identified in a particular manner. The level of prestige and power was also evident in the piece. The *New York Times* had the authority within the press to make statements they find “accurate,” which also ignore the political context of their words. This is not the first time newspapers have printed and later retracted their statements, but in this particular moment we were identifying the pushback of the press to have the right to use a term, specifically the *New York Times*, that has continuously been a leading newspaper to the nation.

The *Brownsville Herald*, while not specifically responding to the newspaper commentary Morales wrote, does bring through Ruben Navarrette's piece, "Word police on patrol" into question the motives of individuals, like Morales, who want to stop the use of the term to describe undocumented immigrants. Navarrette had 10 reasons the press should continue. Reason 1 stated, "The wording is accurate" (2012b). Reason 2, "The proposed change is, for the most part, about being politically correct" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 3, "The word police simply want to sanitize the debate, so that immigrant reformers don't get their hands dirty by condoning illegal activity" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 4, "One way to sanitize is to minimize the offense" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 5, "For those who are concerned that the word "illegal" stirs negative emotions, many of those concerns can be addressed if we agree not to use it as a noun (i.e., "the illegals") and if we completely refrain from using the much more offensive term "illegal alien" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 6, "The charge that the term "dehumanizes" people is ridiculous" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 7, "This debate distracts from the real issues- i.e., the need for comprehensive immigration reform, walls of separation between immigration agents and local police, an end to do-it-yourself state immigration laws, and a return to the days when deportation policies were not out of whack" (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 8, alienating supporters of the term "illegal immigrant" that are also for comprehensive immigration reform (i.e. Navarrette) (Navarrette 2012b). Reason 9, "This is a squabble among elites. Ask an illegal immigrant if he cares what he's called or whether he is more preoccupied with his day-to-day struggle to work and provide for his family, avoid deportation, and ensure that his

children get legalized, and you'll see that changing the language of the debate doesn't even register" (Navarette 2012b). The final reason, Reason 10, "Finally, the crusade highlights the hypocrisy of liberal Democrats who like to think of themselves as progressives because they eschew a term such as "illegal" but then turn around and support a Democratic president who has racked up record numbers of deportations" (Navarette 2012b). His main point, "This whole discussion is a terrible waste of time" (Navarette 2012b). Finalizing his piece with, "Is the new argument that those immigrants needn't bother because, on second thought, they did nothing wrong?" (Navarette 2012b).

This piece by Navarrette, called for the need to focus on comprehensive reform and dismiss the debate to stop the use of the term "illegal immigrants" to identify undocumented immigrants, which he finds invalid. In Navarrette's statement, the term "illegal immigrants" were identified as 'men', as he refers to them in reason 9, and not women and/or children (2012b). Furthermore, these men, were expressed to be unaware or the ramifications of such a discussion on a daily or national level (Navarrette 2012b). For Navarrette, these men did not care what they were called or identified as (Navarrette 2012b). Again, the term then for Navarrette, was not an issue to the immigrant individual, but to an elite who wanted to be more preoccupied with being politically correct, then help pass comprehensive immigration. However, by Navarrette pointing out those who wanted to remain using the term, but find this reform may be "alienated" by this debate in Reason 8, was hypocritical and makes them elites simultaneously by his reasoning (2012b). I say this because, if he was in fact focused on a group, such as himself, who wants comprehensive reform but does not want to become involved

because of the use of a term, then he himself and those who support him were by his definition, hypocrites and elitists.

Furthermore, the issue then was more about what terms, those in power had and continue to have over undocumented immigrants and the luxuries they have taken by continuing to use a term deemed dehumanizing. This was because they were comfortable with its use despite its politically charged and discrimination attacks that had occurred and those which could be possible in the future. Recalling Navarrette's explaining, "The National Association of Hispanic journalists... suggest[ed] that the phrase causes hate crimes" (Navarrette 2012b). It was through this debate, that the bridge from the decision to use the term was skewed to benefit those deemed worthy of the value to name the "other" from the "one" position. In particular, identifying the writer as an identified Hispanic journalist, who had distanced himself as an immigrant and as a Republican, allowed the connection of ideology and the projection of such a ideology to newspaper audiences, as Navarrette was one of the main writers for the discussion of immigration for both, the *Monitor* and *Brownsville Herald* that were typically the length and width of an entire newspaper page. The frequency of his voice within the newspaper and the expansive space allotted for the writer verify an importance of the writer to the newspapers themselves.

Conclusion

The ECA protocol allowed for analysis on overall general findings within the newspapers' articles' analysis. Within the broader understanding, the LRGV newspapers had a combination of more local news stories in the *Monitor* versus the *Brownsville*

Herald whom had an almost equal frequency of local/national news stories that discussed immigrants and/or immigration. The analysis revealed the majority of the 196 defined news articles were written by 76 different writers, but 4 had the most articles written. In particular, Ruben Navarrette wrote the most news story articles within the Editorial and Commentary sections. Reaching to posit the writer's opinions are those reproducing the immigrant and immigration discourse within this time frame.

Within the six categories that made up the base-focus for the analysis of the gendered racialized portrayal of immigrants, there were different outcomes to the reinforcement or transformation of previous identities. From the ECA protocol, the country of origin identified was Mexico. In this sense, the following frames, metaphors, stereotypes, types of news stories, and how immigrants are identified are reflective of the newspapers' projection of Mexican immigrants. As researched, the identity labels used with higher frequency was "illegal immigrant," with immigrant following close behind. This connection allows for a reinforcement of previous identity of immigrants to be associated with "criminal activity" and a non-citizen status.

The type of news stories most newspapers had written and printed through the June to December 2012 presidential election period were of immigration reform and crime. Framing the news stories as consistent with previous research indicating higher frequency of using the national security and border control frames along with over population, human rights and immigration reform. From the protocol analysis, other frames were also included labeled Latinos vs. Immigrant status, False Republican Sincerity, Educational Punishment, and Religion and Immigration.

The categories of Metaphors and Stereotypes were very much connected with imagery and portrayal of Mexican immigrants. As with the literature there continues to be a reinforcement of viewing immigrants (despite citizen status) as criminals. Amongst Metaphors used in higher frequency after Criminals were dangerous waters, war (coming to take over), and animals. Unlike these metaphors discussed within the literature review, research also provided a different perspective, allowing the metaphor of victim to become highlighted in the data.

Within the stereotype category, outsider and foreigner were used in the highest frequency. Much like metaphors, the stereotype category allowed for a connection to the portrayal the metaphor was establishing with the frames. Unlike previous research, greaser was not used within this time period. Few mentions were found of immigrants being stereotyped to be cowards, men of courage or possess loose morals. New stereotype found was shadows. While more research will need to address the exact overall use, shadow does include 4 different uses.

In conclusion, within these general findings, these LRGV newspapers' writers were reinforcing the previous identity of immigrants with few exceptions of new framing, metaphors, and stereotypes. Allowing a layered effect of imagery the writers are constructing to perpetuate the negative ideals of immigrant individuals and in connection Latinos, Hispanics, and Mexicans.

CHAPTER VI

RACE/IMMIGRATION AND GENDER

Introduction

Immigrants have been synonymous with men (Lemish 2000). However, understandings of gender, age, and class have also been needed to build on such literature. I posit, in agreement with Collins, families are a nucleus to societal hierarchies and contextual culture (1998). In particular, I posit, racialization of immigrants can be determined through the family and gendered roles. Within such a dynamic, families provide understandings about their socioeconomic status, ideas of race, and perceptions of who individuals are based on these group or family settings. By understanding at this level what type of ideology and hierarchy exist, the information can be analyzed as a focused ideology of the macro understanding of the group, specifically in this research, Mexican immigrants.

How Immigrants are Identified in Terms of Gender and Gender Roles

With the use of the ECA protocol, the data analysis provided information pertaining to the gender identity, roles, and age of immigrants within the news stories. Table 12. Gender and Age Range, provided insights to the general patterns portrayed to the newspaper audiences throughout the presidential election of 2012.

Table 12. Gender and Age Range

	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Totals
Neutral	25	28	13	14	11	20	3	114
Children	8	5	9	4	5	8	1	40
Babies/ Infants	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	4
Families	3	0	1	2	4	3	1	14
Men	15	6	7	11	14	12	0	65
Women	12	6	20	8	5	12	0	63
Young Immigrants	17	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
Other	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
Totals	83	49	51	40	39	57	5	324

Within the table, there were different and surprising results once CDA were completed. Answering the sub-question, Are immigrants seen as only men, men and women, or children? Overall, the most used gender identity was neutral, meaning immigrants were given no specific gender. However, in terms of the writers' descriptions, Mexican immigrants were identified as men and women. While immigrants were identified as children in partial frequency, discussion of the term will be stated in detail below, however, for the overall finding, they remain within the gender dichotomy. Furthermore, in the majority of the news stories, these described immigrants were not seen as "families" per say, but as lone individual men, women, and children. Having reviewed the data on the gender roles, many remained within the gendered traditional identified roles, but the connection of the describing or explaining immigrants as family units was missing within the generalized perception of Mexican immigrants.

In answering the second sub-question, in what ways have these gendered and age-specific depictions of immigrants contributed to the ongoing racialization of

immigrant identities? In particular with the Children variable, there arose a complex issue, while the variable was neutral in terms of gender, it was politically charged. The age-specific depiction of immigrants as children was politically charged because those who were identified as such could be compared to animals and were also identified as those who were up to 30 years of age. These depictions of Mexican immigrant women, men, and children contributed to the ongoing racialization of immigrant identities in the way they reinforce the past perceptions of immigrant stereotypes, metaphors, and frames.

Focusing on how the child variable accomplished this response, I turned to the Associated Press news story printed in both, the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald* entitled, “Immigrant youth shelter closes” (*Monitor*) and “Shelter for immigrant children closes” (*Brownsville Herald*). This discussion reflected the *Monitor*’s story about the *San Antonio Express News* report and the perpetuation of such imagery. The story reiterated, “Most of the kids who stayed there were **caught** near the border with Mexico” (Associated Press 2012b). It continued by stating, “The *San Antonio Express News* reports the agency has **rounded up** 8,541 unaccompanied children since October, exceeding the 2011 total” (Associated Press 2012b). Both newspapers used these last two sentences in their stories. The word choice suggested viewing the youths as animals that required being “caught” and “rounded up” to be confined in the temporary shelter and then “relocated”. While there were no distinctions in these stories of whether these children were gender specific, they were identified as illegal immigrant children and unaccompanied children. Focusing on their lack of family and legal status.

While identification of children came in third, with 40 mentions, the definition used with the newspapers' writers varied, as the DACA alternative identified children for adults who were below the age of 30. This association of adult men and women as children, is not uncommon, but a surprising contribution to the discussion of age and immigration. If policy was viable in establishing by what age does an undocumented immigrant become an adult and by definition valued and treated as such, then underlying class, ageism, and gender could be better represented. Noting, the change in policy reflected the political climate and policy ideals that were provided in response to the perceived threat of the number of statistically stated Mexican undocumented immigrants.

Finally, children were perceived to be “preferable” to older immigrants (regardless of gender) for immigration policy and assimilation. The story “TAKING ACTION: A juvenile visa program offers a path to permanent resident status for immigrant youth in state care” explained, Maria Boudet at 16 years of age realized she was in the U.S. illegally (Hopkinson 2012a, 2012b). Her mother was deported and her brother was detained. She was placed into foster care. This was interesting to discover because depending on the age, there were different enforcement policies. For instance, “children” were placed in foster care, and those who were older, were deported (mother) or detained (brother) (Hopkinson 2012b).

Focusing on the different outcomes between her and her family members in terms of possible status changes. While she was not reported to qualify for citizenship per say, because she was placed in foster care, she qualified for SL6 status that falls under SIJS or Special Immigrant Juvenile Status. This was interesting because the stories

depicted the only form of acceptance by the U.S. was through the separation of family and all they knew (culture and family structure), a type of applied assimilation theory as immigration policy. Furthermore, SIJS guidelines express greater division as was required to be “under the age of 21, unmarried and a dependent of the state at the time of the application” (Hopkinson 2012b).

Maria was further described as the innocent and saintly child because she was not knowingly in the U.S. “illegally” and she expressed no anger at her situation, instead like a saint stated, “ You can take the negative stuff and turn it into the positive stuff and there is a good lesson in that” (Hopkinson 2012b). Her words displaced the issue of immigration policy, which possibly prevented her mother from providing alternative care due to her deportation and placing it into a positive perspective of remaining within the country. Appearing to infer immigrants need not fight back, but like Maria, should look for the silver lining instead of analyzing the very system that prevents families from remaining as a whole unit.

To answer the main question, what ways do representations of immigrants’ racial and national identities reflect, reinforce or challenge dominant gender ideologies? In discussing, gender, attached to the disclosure and identification of the individual and groups of immigrant individuals, were the discussion of their roles and occupations. These occupations were classified into three categories: neutral, men, and women. These were selected due to data collected throughout the time frame. That is to say, children, general families, and babies/infants were generalized and not counted as a gender specific unless their gender identity had a discussed gender role attached. At which

point, such cases were identified as gender neutral for the specific variable, but utilized to increase depth in meaning to the gender role discussion. Other genders and sexualities were not identified within any news article, but were sought out for identification within the data. Unfortunately, there was a continued dichotomy in terms of undocumented immigrants and only references of hetero-sexuality throughout the 2012 presidential election. Explaining such a lack of discussion continues to concentrate on a narrow view and depiction of Mexican immigrants.

Generalization of Immigrant Gendering

Table 13. Gender Roles and Occupations

Occupations/Roles	Neutral	Men	Women	Totals
Low-wage job	24	7	9	40
Criminal	4	17	6	27
Student	13	7	6	26
Role within family	22	4	10	36
Professional	3	2	4	9
Athlete	0	2	0	2
Totals	66	39	35	140

In reviewing the information provided in each story, there were a total of 140 combined gender roles and occupations. What does this mean? It represents any story that identified an individual or a group as being immigrants. The information about the group or individual was noted and then placed into neutral (providing no gender

identification), men (news story referred to them as men and/or a man) and women (news story referred to them as women and/or a woman). From the previous gender table 12., there were 324 total mentions of gender and particular age ranges for immigrants. This table, Table 13., extends the focus to the mentioned occupational and gender roles provided. For instance a man in one story may have been identified as a loving father and also a student. This information would allow the identified gender and occupation to be noted into the data. Having reviewed each, inferences were made about men, women and immigrants in general.

Mexican immigrants were identified in terms of majority frequency as possessing neutral representations in the media. By identifying what type of occupations, immigrants (without gender depictions) would signify a generalized view of immigrants holding low-wage jobs or roles within the family.

These higher frequency depictions of gender roles reinforce the representation of immigrants' racial and national identities. For example, during the 2012 presidential election, both the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald* wrote about such a generalization of Hispanic immigrants. The news stories are entitled, "New Asian immigrants to U.S. now surpass incoming Hispanics" (*Brownsville Herald*) on June 20, 2012 and "Asians now surpass Hispanics in U.S.: The shift comes as American employers increase their demand for high-skilled workers" in June 19, 2012 (*Monitor*) (Yen 2012a, 2012b). Throughout both stories, I found a continued path of stereotypes for both groups.

By comparing these two stereotypes as the newspapers do with facts presented by the Pew Research Center and comments from Karthick Ramakrishnan, a professor

with international credentials, it exploits a bias and continued perpetuation of past beliefs into the present (Yen 2012b). For instance, the story refers to ““the rise of Asian-Americans,” a highly diverse group and fast-growing group” that are explained by “increases in visas granted to specialized workers and to wealthy investors as the U.S. economy becomes driven less by manufacturing and more by technology” (Yen 2012b). This states three things. The first, Asian-Americans are increasing in number, but they are diverse. As explained, their diversity and numbers are positive for the U.S. economy because they are here a) legally and b) as specialized workers (technology) and investors.

This is different from the way they portray Hispanics or “illegal immigration” from Mexico. As explained by the Pew analysis, the increase occurred in “2009 as illegal immigration enforcement and a dwindling supply of low-wage work in the weak U.S. economy. Many Mexicans already in the United States have also been heading back to their country, putting recent net migration to a standstill” (Yen 2012b). Here is the confirmation of the professor’s statement by an established authority, the Pew Research Center, in stating illegal immigration is associated with Mexico. Furthermore, positioning Mexican immigration as a complete opposite from Asian-Americans as explained above. For this story, Mexicans or Hispanics as a whole are seen as a) illegal and b) as low-waged workers who are unspecialized and involved in manufacturing work. Who are also being removed by enforcement or returning to their country as self-deportation.

Unlike these news stories, which reinforced the negative identities of Mexican immigrants, there were some stories, while few, that challenged such a perception. In “IMMIGRANT POWER: Monterrey native spotlight for contribution to UTPA tech startup” (Morton 2012a, 2012b), Neal Morton explained through the story of University of Texas- Pan American professor Karen Lozano that immigrants were obtaining university degrees and becoming innovative inventors. Lozano was Front-Page news that provided positive and challenging perception of the racialized and gendered images for Mexican immigrants, but also as Mexican immigrant women through her STEM research, which had invented a new technology that boosted the U.S. economy (Morton 2012a, 2012b).

This also brings the discussion to what extent are racial and national identities of women constructed differently from those of immigrant men? There is a definite, consistent construction of the difference between Mexican immigrant men and women. These differences were both in their *possible aspirations* to *what their roles throughout life* were to encompass. As discussed, immigrants in a neutral gendered identity reflected low-wage jobs. In terms of men, they were more frequently portrayed as having a criminal occupation. Reflected the reinforced racial and national identities of Mexican immigrants within the media.

Men

Mexican immigrant men as seen in the general findings were considered criminals and in particular, animals as within the literature. On July 31, 2012, Laura B. Martinez wrote a story for both the *Monitor* (“Man’s family sues Border Patrol:

Relatives say Juan Pablo Perez Santillan was fatally shot July 7 by an unidentified agent”) and the *Brownsville Herald* (“Mexican family suing US agencies: Lawsuit claims Border Patrol shot man”) that were printed on their front pages and continued on a second page (Martinez 2012a, 2012b).

These stories discuss a suit placed by the victim’s mother and wife after being shot on Mexico soil by Border Patrol Agents from the U.S. side of the border. The suit is placed on “the unidentified U.S. Border Patrol agent, the Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the Department of Justice’ (Martinez 2012a). The issue discussed was the use of excessive force, whom has the right to use it, why is it done, how these actions affect victims, their families, and what it means on a society level.

The parallel issue was who was the real criminal; was it the Border Patrol agents or was it Juan Pablo Perez Santillan (the person shot and killed in the story). I say this because, the story allowed for a double perspective on who the label of criminal and who’s occupation was criminality. These stories act both as a reinforcement to those who side with Border Patrol agents as victims and challenging the identity perceived of immigrants. Within the story, points were established for both sides as criminals and victims. On the one hand, the Border Patrol agents were seen as the criminals, because Perez Santillan was stated not to have been armed. He also was not one of the individuals, which had thrown rocks, but was located away from the group of individuals crossing the border. One of the undocumented immigrants being aided in his crossing was Perez Santillan’s brother, who returned to help his brother after seeing the shooting.

Per Perez Santillan's brother, Damien, upon yelling for help, border patrol responded, "que se muera el perro" or "let the dog die" (Martinez 2012a).

The Border Patrol on the other hand, was reflected to be the victim of undocumented immigrants. The story explained, "a rock attack on agents [was] considered deadly force" (Martinez 2012a). It was reported that at least one agent required reconstructive surgery and a year to recover from such an attack. These attacks were reported to be a common occurrence along the border with about 500 attacks just last year (2011) (Martinez 2012a). The interesting part was the statement made right after these statistics. The report stated, "Mendiola added Border Patrol agents would not shy away from violence" (Martinez 2012a). This statement was interesting because it first reflected the idea of not being bullied by undocumented immigrants, but also as a way to display their own power as an agency. I believe it was reflective of the terrorist discourse on how any threats would be treated by the United States. This is to say that whether it was rocks or crossing the border without documentation, they would be treated as a serious threat and violence would be used.

Such an inference was discussed later in November 15, 2012 by the newspapers. Writer Brian Skoloff wrote "Border Patrol under scrutiny: Feds defend use of force when rocks thrown" (*Brownsville Herald*) and "Border Patrol probed: The agency's use of deadly force is raising questions" (*Monitor*) (2012a, 2012b). These articles were discussing the Border Patrol's use of excessive force by shooting and injuring or killing immigrants as they were crossing the border, because they said immigrants were throwing rocks at the agents. The Border Patrol defended their excessive force by stating

these rocks have and could knock an agent to their knees and risk being cut. However, to the validation of such an accusation, it was mentioned that no report had been made by Border Patrol Agents agent in respects to being killed due to rocks being thrown.

Highlighting, the death toll of Mexicans were represented, “At least 16 people have been killed by agents along the Mexico border since 2010, eight in cases where federal authorities said they were being attacked with rocks” (Skoloff 2012b). The writer made the argument Border Patrol was, in fact, facing a different type of threat then of Israel police and that they must use this force. The *Monitor* provides additional information stating, “Border Patrol agents since 2002 [were] provided weapons that [could] launch pepper-spray projectiles up to 250 feet” (Skoloff 2012b). However, as to the number of times these projectiles were used were not provided.

This article brings into question the excessive force used as protocol by the United States in dealing with threats that were projected to be at a higher risk than that of Israel’s police who face rock throwers and use deadly force as a last resort. Furthermore, questioning the lack of charges that agents faced if they had killed or critically injured immigrants with the use of their excessive force. Also, bringing into question what is acceptable in an area that is projected to be like no other country. In this sense, the dynamics of international power amongst the two countries that have allowed Mexico’s repeated requests to stop using excessive force have not been taken into consideration.

It is important to highlight that through the news story, Border Patrol agents place the blame on Mexico for not putting their own fences and stopping immigrants from attacking Border Patrol agents with rocks; However, there were lump sums paid by

Border Patrol to immigrant families who had sued for having killed a member of their family (clarifying such information was only mentioned in the *Brownsville Herald*).

While there have been no official charges, it was left to assume that the Border Patrol accepted responsibility, but would not be paying with guilty pleas, but with pay offs.

Witin Perez Santillan's case, these excessive force actions and perceptions of criminality were also seen and discussed as a violating the constitutional rights of immigrants. As stated in the stories, these constitutional rights were violated when the agents "use[d] excessive force and engage[d] in a pattern of brutality against citizens from Mexico and Central or South America" (Martinez 2012a). It continued by stating that such claims of misconduct were not investigated and were due to a result of lack of training, which perpetuated the action to continue without consequences (Martinez 2012a). This meant, regardless of the suits placed, there would be no change to procedures and no change into how it affected those attempting to cross the border as individuals or as a group.

The discussion of Mexican immigrants, their gendered identity and that of their occupation as criminals reinforces the past perceptions, but it also brings into light international questions represented by the agents and immigrants. In particular, had agents shot at a man on the Mexican side of the border, would this be considered legal? Or who decides where the boundary of U.S. and Mexico and who has jurisdiction where? Geographically, the middle of the Rio Grande River has been seen as the border and to shoot a man beyond this boundary would be cause for federal involvement. It would also mean this issue would stop being a local issue and becomes a national one.

Leaving to ask the final question, what would have occurred if the roles were switched and Mexico would shoot Americans along their side of the border? The news story allows for the inference of international differences of power amongst the two countries. This news story and the display of international agency of the United States actions could be viewed as acceptable and given the situation, unacceptable if it would have been reversed with Mexico being the shooting country.

Overview of Men

The racial and national identities of men are constructed differently to women. For men, there continues to be a majority reinforcement of men as criminals and animals as they crossing the border, but there was challenging discussions of racialized and gendered immigrant identities through the news stories that showed them as students, having low-wage jobs, as fathers, few as athletes and professional, but still there is need of more. In this sense, there would need to be a higher number of stories that can help provide the mutli-layered identities Mexican immigrant men posses.

Women

To what extent are racial and national identities of women constructed differently from those of immigrant men? Mexican immigrant women's identities were constructed differently to a certain degree, but did share, in a smaller degree, some similar representations as men. For instance, they shared some occupational similarities as criminals and low-wage earners as men. However, what identity set them apart was the media's continued perpetuation of the role within the family. That is still the same as gendered perceptions within the literature and historic representations of Mexican

immigrant women. Their numbers within Table 13, Gender Roles and Occupations, revealed women were represented the least amount of roles amongst both, neutral and men representations with 35 out of 140 identified.

Within these new story representations, women were found to be discriminated based on their gender. For instance, on September 16, 2012, writer Gosia Wozniacka from the Associated Press wrote a piece for both, the *Brownsville Herald* (“Young immigrants may get driver’s license”) and the *Monitor* (“Young illegal immigrants may get driver’s licenses: The new immigration policy has brought back the bitter debate over the issue”) discussed a story about young illegal immigrants, but focused the story on Alondra Esquivel, 17, who was smuggled by relatives in a car with her younger sister (she barely recalled). She was a top grade high school student, earned a merit scholarship to attend college and stated she planed to become an elementary school teacher (Wozniacka 2012b). She was reported to as a current freshman in college.

What established her discrimination, was the way she was represented in her daily life. Alondra had no drivers license and was reported to have been dependent on others. She would arrange different avenues that avoid driving, which in can be very problematic as transportation in California was mostly private and not public (Wozniacka 2012b). Public transportation was established within the story to be rare and unreliable. So Alondra discusses her solutions to not having a driver’s license. She uses her network of individuals. The stories discuss that her network help move her (as an example) around to other locations and that as a result, the favor can come at a cost, both financially and socially. Reflecting on the thought that citizens do not necessarily have

to do without a driver's license, but may face due to financial reasons and not by legal status.

Alondra explains this obstacle prevented her from being fully integrated to her community. She felt left out of all the rights of passage other students had with the privilege of driving like social gatherings and being able to have some independence. However, her parents would not allow her to drive without a license as others do, due to possible deportation. These were no bias discussion, but Wozniacka mentioned, "Esquivel can't drive to the mall or to see her friends, not to mention to school or work" (Wozniacka 2012b). Reflecting on the placement of these activities showing, work and school as last priorities to Alondra. Also specifically, allocating priority number one to "driving to the mall," as a stereotypical girl loves to shop.

One of the issues discovered, especially with this story, was the identity, location, and status of the highlighted immigrant. The story focused on Alondra's network, where she lived, what schools she attended and this detailed information, I believe, placed others and herself at risk. When discussing immigration and legal status in these stories, I question the motive of reporting specific information. Is this to discuss the circumstances or to provide a method for Border Patrol or ICE to investigate?

In the case of Mauricia Horta, a mother detained on a traffic stop was deported and was unable to contact her children (Spagat 2012a). The newspapers wrote similar pieces "Police already aiding immigration enforcement" in the *Brownsville Herald* and "On a local level: State, county and city police agencies step up their immigration enforcement" in the *Monitor*. The news stories were written by Associated Press Elliot

Spagat and highlight a varying degree of information and focuses. The *Brownsville Herald* focus was on police's involvement with immigration enforcement, while the *Monitor* focused on recognizing the discussion was based at a local level (but is under the section Beyond the Valley).

These articles discussed the U.S. Supreme Court ruling, which upheld Arizona's "show me your papers" immigration law and allows local and state police to help the federal government deport those detained. The reason it is not needed is because this has been a procedure already followed by both state and local police using their databases and fingerprinting program. With this sharing of information, federal agencies have been able to deport about 18 of all deportations from 2007- 2011 (Spagat 2012a). As expressed in both newspapers, "A few departments have crafted unique arrangements with the federal government that go even further. They include Escondido, a San Diego suburb of 140,000 people that has nine ICE employees at police headquarters" (Spagat 2012a).

The additional paragraphs in the *Monitor*, helped explain how Mauricia Horta Fuentes, a mother, was detained and deported after she had no identification or insurance to show at the Escondido checkpoint (Spagat 2012a). While the story points out immigrants who were not criminals would not be deported, she still was. With her unexpected deportation, she was unable to pick up her children after dropping them off at school the morning of the checkpoint incident. Her children, later identified as "illegal" have not reunited with their mother (Spagat 2012a).

The *Monitor* states in detail Ms. Horta's story then proceeds to review what she defines as criminal versus the law. While she agreed that entering into a country that isn't hers is criminal, she "only went to improve [her] life" and that she was "a good person" (Spagat 2012a). She explained, "I haven't killed anyone. I haven't robbed anyone. In that sense, I'm not a criminal" (Spagat 2012a). These statements depict the range of what criminal means in these circumstances. This clarification and focus by the *Monitor* allowed readers to know that while these local agencies were claiming they were only focusing on "criminals" and only criminals had something to fear (Spagat 2012a), they were in fact deporting "criminals" who were defined as crossing illegally, without any other form of offense. I also want to draw attention to the use of Spagat's image of Fuentes, "she said in her dark, sparsely furnished two-story home in Tijuana" (Spagat 2012a). This focus on dark goes with many of the parallels to showing immigrants as being in the "shadows". Furthermore, they identify her social class by describing her home as being sparsely furnished, which would mean she was lower class, but with a slight contradiction as it was a two-story home, which may reflect a higher cost.

Overview of Women

The racial and national identities of women are constructed differently to men. For women, there was reinforcement to past literature identified identities as these newspapers continued to reinforce their gender roles as holding roles in the family or working in a low-wage job. Women similar to men, were mentioned as working as criminals and students, but were still lacking numerical equality in such reports.

Challenging discussions of racialized and gendered immigrant identities through the news stories, writers identified women holding professional jobs, double to that of men.. In this sense, there continues to be a singular media representation such as in the case of men, with slight challenges in providing the mutli-layered identities Mexican immigrant women posses.

Chapter Overview

For gender neutral identified immigrants, the occupational role were low-wage jobs having 24 mentions, followed by roles within the family at 22 mentions. For men, the occupation most mentioned was of being a criminal at 17 mentions. In terms of their role within the family, they only had 4 mentions. For women, the majority of mentions, 10, were holding a role within the family, but close behind with 9 mentions were low-wage occupations. Women did have some mention of having a criminal occupation, but only 6 mentions compared to men who had 17 and neutral identification that had only 4. This means that men are represented at a higher percent then all categories. They have 62% of the total mentions for criminal occupations, compared to neutral at 15 % and women at 22%.

For low-wage occupations, neutral had the highest with 60% of the total, men with 17%, and women with 22%. What does this information infer? It means that men are perceived by the news stories as criminals in comparison to women who are seen as either obtaining a role within the family or holding a low-wage occupation. Further still, that while immigrants as neutral gender term are not specifically identified as holding

criminal occupations such as drug dealer, smuggler, or cartel member, they are seen as low-wage occupation holders and filling roles within the family.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In my own personal experiences, immigration status is multi-layered and multi-dimensional for each individual. To undertake the discussion I focused on identifying each facet of this identity and how laws and enforcement of the laws created an institutionalized experience that was discussed in the media with an image for who immigrants were, what was expected of them, and what actions to take toward them. The answer came in reflecting on both, the ECA and CDA findings and the overall image of the discussions had in the news stories by the witnesses of each writer. Within media Studies, each writer is known to be the gatekeeper to a perspective and representation of the many voices needed to create an up-to-date reader and by extension community.

Writers are not alone, as newspapers are also conducive to implement standards, opinions, and goals within their state of operation. In the three Rio Grande Valley newspapers, only one stayed quiet on the topic of immigration; The *Valley Town Crier*. The paper's lack of participation in the discussion, as a free newspaper with a larger circulation, left much to be desired. I say this because I was most shocked to find a total of zero immigrant and/or immigration news stories in its obtained dates of print during the time frame.

In the case of the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald*, their overlapping stories allowed a comparison and a clear understanding of what the message was over the presidential election time frame of June to December 6, 2012. They used frames, metaphors, and stereotypes to relay their messages of who immigrants were and what the

current policy was offering them and those who both supported and were against immigration reform. In recounting the different categories, the frequency of mentions of country-of-origin, gender, age, and occupational status allowed a general insight as to the immigrant the newspaper referred to when they talked about reform and alternatives.

They were specifically discussed as Mexican illegal immigrants. As stated before, writers did not use undocumented immigrant as their main term, but illegal immigrants, to reflect the contradiction in both immigrating to the United States and having an illegal status. This legal status had been determined by the political strategy of the Republican and Democrat parties. They were not only held back by new policy debates, but by old ones that incorporated who they felt was a valuable undocumented immigrant to become a member of society (Asian immigrants) and who was not (Hispanic immigrants (Author 2012)). The newspapers reviewed the value in Mexican immigrants as a temporary economical asset to the agricultural and construction fields. The newspapers and their writers built an image of these immigrants and immigration topics by incorporating quotes, pictures, metaphors, statistics, and their own personal opinion to define the racial and national identities of Mexican undocumented immigrants.

Their bodies weren't only the representation of Mexico and it's citizens, but that of Hispanic, Latino, and Mexican Americans in the United States. The newspapers discussed the associations made by political and government authorities numerous times; as well as, law enforcement and writers about the racialization of immigrants as Hispanic United States citizens. Despite their lack of acceptance as citizens because of

their non-fluent English, their occupation, or the class status they were classified as, they were citizens and they were discriminated against because of the association they have implemented on them by people in a position of authority who molded their identity and their beliefs into a stereotypical, criminalizing, and dehumanizing image. They were the ones who held the power and authority to decide how immigrants and by association Hispanics, Latinos and Mexican Americans were represented. Rarely were there any quotes provided by immigrants that did not follow the script as stated above.

In answering the follow up question, to what extent are the racial and national identities of immigrant women constructed differently from those of immigrant men? It is through this continued reinforcement of social, economic, and political forces that during the presidential election, Mexican undocumented immigrants and by association Hispanic minorities were reinforced into the same main low-wage jobs and roles within the family.

There were some instances, which these news stories provided a challenge to the old image, establishing the possibility of Mexican undocumented immigrants, both men and women, and as a group, as holders of professional occupations and men specifically as paid athletes. The information also reinforced the old image of Mexican immigrants as criminals. In particular, men were identified as holding the occupation of criminal more than any other within the study at 63% of the mentions. In the case of Mexican immigrant women, they too were seen at a higher percent (8 % more) than immigrants as a gender-neutral term at 14%). These findings continue to disregard Sampson (2008:29), MacDonald and Sampson (2012:12), and MacDonald and Saunders (2012:125) which

support immigrants are protective against violence, provide a revival of communities and the economy with their presence. Providing, a false portrayal of immigrants, especially of Mexican immigrant men and women.

Furthermore, women along with being identified as criminals by profession, were reestablished as either holding roles within the home or in low-wage jobs. Failing to develop Mexican immigrant women identities as providing various roles within industry and in different professions, especially within the LRGV. While identification of children did come in third, the definition used varied, as the DACA alternative identified children for adults who were below the age of 30 (Author 2012). This association of adult men and women as children, was not uncommon, but a surprising contribution to the discussion of age and immigration. If policy is viable in establishing by what age does an undocumented immigrant become an adult and by definition valued and treated as such, then underlying class, ageism, and gender can be better discussed. This change in policy reflects the political climate and political policy ideals that were provided in response to the perceived threat of the number of statistically stated Mexican undocumented immigrants.

Limitations

As with all studies, this study contained limitations. The first consisted of the native bias, as the researcher was from the researched area. However, for the purpose of context, this bias helped establish a lived-experience context for the research. The strength came from reviewing the news articles as someone from the very context it stemmed from. This helped when articles were reviewed for content and message.

The second limitation was the newspaper selection, as it focused on only three of the newspapers the Rio Grande Valley had to offer. Other newspapers were excluded due to having been bilingual, all in Spanish or as a result of their location. Moreover, a contrast between Spanish sister newspapers were impossible as *La Frontera*, *The Monitor*'s sister newspaper no longer existed (Associated Press, 2009). In terms of location, the research focused directly on two of the primary cities in the lower Rio Grande Valley that have border crossings nearby. Under these limitations, other newspapers such as the *Valley Morning Star* from Harlingen, which was also a sister paper to the *Monitor* and the *Brownsville Herald*, were excluded.

The third limitation was the research's exclusive review of the societal context (macro) of these newspaper stories and not those of reader's interpretations. The research was a racial project limited to only the review of the newspapers' discourse on immigration during a presidential election. This provided a fourth limitation, as it would not review other years that were non-presidential elections months, and so there was no comparison to the number, content, and/or discourse of immigration/immigrant stories discussed within other particular time frames.

Contributions

My research provides a significant knowledge expansion of location and theory within immigrant discourse. My first contribution to the expansion of Immigration studies is the location of the study: the Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas. This location expands immigration discourse because historically it has encompassed Los Angeles, California, known for its urban setting and Chicano movements. The Lower Rio Grande

Valley provides a different historical and location context that builds on current immigration discourse. The Lower Rio Grande Valley is a location that is both a rural and urban setting. This combination of new historical and political contexts allowed new data to be interpreted in the topics of Mexican immigration and gender identities. This can provide information for further comparison research, and location longitudinal and historic studies.

The theoretical significance of my research is its focus on applying racial formation in the realm of immigrant racial/gender identity. I am positioning Omi and Winant's theory to review what had occurred with the racialization of Mexican immigrants. By using this theoretical base, I was able to expand the discussion of power and racial subjection in the media. Theories of racial formation with family social hierarchies also expanded the discussion of gender within immigration discourse, as historically, discussions of immigrants have been synonymous with male gender identity (Lemish 2000:334).

Furthermore, I expanded the limited discussion of gender in Mexican immigration. Typically, immigration had focused on other discussions such as understanding the gender identities and roles perpetuated by the media. By having focused on how media is identifying and discussing Mexican immigrant gender identities, the field now has a better understanding of how to identify and possibly change these images and discussions.

Future Research

The contributions provided to Latinos studies in the Rio Grande Valley from this dissertation is the discussion of gender ideologies with intersections of class, race, and immigration status can begin to show researchers, media writers, how a collection of news stories over topics can help reinforce and also help challenge the racialized image of a group of individuals. This research can also help in establishing new discussions of terms used to identify and represent undocumented immigrants and racial/ethnic groups associated with their immigration status.

I would use this dissertation to implement a new method that brings together media analysis ECA and a sociologically applied CDA to establish further studies that can compare non-presidential election time frames with those of the 2012 election and those to come in the future. This information can provide a longitudinal study of the racial formation of immigrants providing more information as to how these categories are formed, transformed, destroyed, and reformed along the years. By accomplishing this task, the field of Latino Studies, Immigration, Race and Ethnicity, Class, Gender, and Women Studies can better determine how to break the cycle of negative representation in news paper stories and in newspapers about undocumented immigrants and other power-oppressed groups.

REFERENCES

- ACM Valley Multimedia Network. 2013. "Media Kit 2013." Retrieved June 09, 2014
(http://www.yourvalleyvoice.com/app/mediapacks/VTC_MEDIA_KIT_2013.p).
- Aguilar, Julian. 2012. "Proposed Legislation Puts Focus on Young Immigrants: Texas Senator Wants Revised Visa System." *Brownsville Herald*, December 3, pp. A1, A4.
- Alliance for Audited Media. 2013. "Total Circulation for Newspapers." Retrieved June 09, 2014 (<http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com/ecirc/newstitlesearchus.asp>).
- Altheide, David L. 1987. "Reflections: Ethnographic Content Analysis." *Qualitative Sociology* 10(1): 65-77.
- . 2004b. "Ethnographic Content Analysis." Pp. 324-326 in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, edited by Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Altheide, David L. and Christopher J. Schneider. 2013. *Qualitative Media Analysis, second edition*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Anderson, Curt. 2012. "Judge Rules for Students in Immigrant-Tuition Suit." *Brownsville Herald*, September 5, p. A9
- Anon-p (2013, June 17). Re: Immigration, Border Security, and the Rio Grande Valley [weblog comment]. Retrieved from
(<http://www.texasmonthly.com/burka-blog/immigration-border-security-and-rio-grande-valley>).

- Anzaldua, Gloria 1987. *Borderlands/ La Frontera*. San Francisco, CA: Spinster/Aunt Lute Book.
- Aparicio, Frances R. 2003. "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture." *Latino Studies* 2013(1): 90-105.
- Arax, M. (1987, December 13). "A Profile of a Lost Generation." *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, p. 12. Online (http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-13/magazine/tm-28306_1_schooling).
- Arispe Y Acevedo Jr., Baltazar. 2009. "The Geographic and Demographic Challenges to the Regional Institutionalization of the Texas Lower Rio Grande Valley." *NORTEAMERICA* 4(2): 37-69.
- Arredondo, Patricia. 2002. "Mujeres Latinas-Santa y Marquesas." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 8(4): 308-319.
- Associate Press. (2009, October 16). "McAllen's La Frontera Newspaper Closes." [Action 4 News weblog]. Retrieved from (<http://www.valleycentral.com/news/story.aspx?id=364106#.UzTsBtz88ds>).
- Associated Press. 2012a. "Shelter for Immigrant Children Closes." *Brownsville Herald*, June 15, p. A5.
- Associated Press. 2012b. "Immigrant Youth Shelter Closes: Lackland Air Force Base's Facility was a Temporary Home for Undocumented Children." *Monitor*, June 15, pp. 3A, 5A.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. 1976. *The Second Sex* translated and edited by H. M. Parshley. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

- Beisel, Nicola and Tamara Kay. 2004. "Abortion, Race, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century America." *American Sociological Review* 69(4): 498-518.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brown, Patti. 2010. "What's in a Name?: Framing the Immigration Story." Pp. 120- 127 in *Race/Gender Media: Considering Diversity Across Audiences, Content, Producers*. New York, NY: University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Brownsville Herald*. 2012. "Passing the Torch: Pilgrimage Focuses on Peace for Mexico and US Immigration." *Brownsville Herald*, October 28, p. A3.
- Burka, Paul. (2013, June 17). "Immigration, Border Security, and the Rio Grande Valley." [*Texas Monthly Magazine* weblog]. Retrieved from (<http://www.texasmonthly.com/burka-blog/immigration-border-security-and-rio-grande-valley>).
- Candelaria, Cordelia. 1980. "La Malinche, Feminist Prototype." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5(2): 1-6.
- Chavez, Leo R. 2008. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Chomsky, Aviva. 2007. *They Take Our Jobs! And 20 Other Myths About Immigration*. Boston, MA: Bacon Press.

- Cisneros, J. David. 2008. "Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of "Immigrant as Pollutant"." Pp. 569-601 in *Media Representations of Immigration.* *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 11(4).
- Cisneros, Josue D. 2014. *The Border Crossed Us: Rhetorics of Border, Citizenship, and Latina/o Identity.* Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1998. "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation." *Hypatia* 13(3): 62-82.
- Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. 2011. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Donovan, Brian. 2010. "The Sexual Basis of Racial Formation: Anti-Vice Activism and the Creation of the Twentieth-Century 'Color Line.'" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26(4): 707-727.
- Douglas, Mary. 1984. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* London: Routledge.
- Dowling, Julie A. 2014. *Mexican Americans and the Question of Race.* Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press.
- Entman, Robert M. and Rojecki, Andrew (2000). *The Black Image in the White Mind.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Epstein, Cynthia F. 1992. "Tinkerbells and Pinups: The Construction and Reconstruction of Gender Boundaries at Work." Pp. 232-256 in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality,* edited by Michele Lamont and Marcel Fournier. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- . 2007. "Great Divides. The Cultural, Cognitive, and Social Bases of the Global Subordination of Women." *American Sociological Review* 72(1): 1–22.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2001. "Chapter 6: Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method in Social Science Research." Pp. 121-138 in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, first edition*, edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer. London: Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Falicov, Celia J. 1998. *Latino Families in Therapy: A Guide to Multicultural Practice*. New York, NY: Guildford Press.
- Feagin, Joe R. 2000. *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- . 2010. *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. New York: Routledge.
- Feagin, Joe and Sean Elias. 2012. "Rethinking Racial Formation Theory: A Systemic Racism Critique." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(6): 931-960.
- Ferris, Kelly and Jill Stein. 2012. *The Real World: An Introduction to Sociology, third edition*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Gardner, Martha. 2005. *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship 1870-1965*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gerson, Judith M. and Kathy Peiss. 1985. "Boundaries, Negotiation, Consciousness: Reconceptualizing Gender Relations." *Social Problems* 32(4): 317-331.
- Gerteis, Joseph, Goolsby, Alyssa, 2005. "Nationalism in America: The Case of the

- Populist Movement.” *Theory and Society* 34 (2): 197–225.
- Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Anti-Poverty Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 1999. “The Social Construction and Institutionalization of Gender and Race: An Integrative Framework.” Pp.3-43 in *Revisioning Gender*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber and Beth B. Hess. Washington DC: Rowman Altamira Press.
- Gonzalez-Lopez, Gloria. 2004. “Fathering Latina Sexualities: Mexican Men and the Virginity of Their Daughters.” *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 66(5):1118-1130.
- . 2006. “Heterosexual Fronteras: Immigrant Mexicanos, Sexual Vulnerabilities, and Survival.” *Sexuality Research & Social Policy Journal of NSRC* Vol 3(3):67-81.
- Hagan, John and Alberto Palloni. 1999. “Sociological Criminology and the Mythology of Hispanic Immigration and Crime.” *Social Problems* 46(4): 617-632.
- Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 1982. *Ethnography, Principles in Practice*. London, England: Routledge.
- Haney-Lopez, Ian F. 2003. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- . 2006. *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race, 10th Anniversary Ed.* New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Harris, Cheryl I. 2006. “Whitewashing Race: Scapegoating Culture.” *California Law*

- Review* 94(3) Article 7: 907-944.
- Hartry, Allison S. (2012). "Commentary Gender Crimmigration: The Intersection of Gender, Immigration, and the Criminal Justice System." *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law, and Justice* 1(2012): 1-27.
- Hernandez, Laura A. 2010. "Anchor Babies: Something Less than Equal Under the Equal Protection Clause." *Review of Law and Social Justice* 19(3): 331-376.
- Hondagnue-Sotelo, Pierre and Michael A. Messner. 2008. "Gender Displays and Men's Power: The "New Man" and the Mexican Immigrant Man" Pp. 301-313 in *American Families: A Multicultural Reader*, second edition. Edited by Stephanie Coontz with Maya Parson and Gabrielle Raley. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 40-60.
- Hopkinson, Ashley. 2012. "TAKING ACTION: A Juvenile Visa Program Offers a Path to Permanent Resident Status for Immigrant Youth in State Care." *Monitor*, August 26, p. 5A.
- Huang, Priscilla. 2008. "Anchor Babies, Over-Breeders, and the Population Bomb: Control in Anti-Immigration Policies." *Harvard Law & Policy Review* 2:385-406.
- Ignatow, Gabe and Alexander T. Williams. 2011. "New Media and 'Anchor Baby' Boom." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17(1): 60-76.
- John Johnson (2013, June 17). "Re: Immigration, Border Security, and the Rio Grande

- Valley.” [weblog comment]. Retrieved from
(<http://www.texasmonthly.com/burka-blog/immigration-border-security-and-rio-grande-valley>).
- Kay, John. 2004. *Culture and Prosperity: Why Some Nations are Rich but Most Remain Poor*. New York: Harper Collins Books.
- Kellstedt, Paul M. 2003. *The Mass Media and the Dynamics of American Racial Attitudes*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, F. (1991, June 2). “Sympathy for the Boat People is Wearing Thin”. *Toronto Star*, p. H2.
- Lamont, Michele. 2000. “Introduction.” Pp. 1-13 in *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. United States: Harvard University Press.
- Lemish, Dafna. 2000. “The Whore and the Other: Israeli Images of Female Immigrants From the Former USSR.” *Gender and Society* 14(2): 331-349.
- Levitt, Peggy. 2005. “Building Bridges: What Migration Scholarship and Cultural Sociology Have to Say to Each Other.” *Poetics* 33: 49–62.
- Lind, Rebecca Ann. 2010. “The Relevance of Race in Interpreting a TV News Story.” Pp. 100-107 in *Race/Gender/Media: Considering Diversity Across Audiences, Content, and Producers*. New York, NY: University of Illinois at Chicago.
- MacDonald, John and Jessica Saunders. 2012. “Are Immigrant Youth Less Violent? Specifying the Reasons and Mechanisms.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 641(1): 125-147.

- MacDonald, John and Robert J. Sampson. 2012. "The World in a City: Immigration and America's Changing Social Fabric." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 641(1): 6-15.
- Martinez, Laura B. 2012a. "Mexican Family Suing US Agencies: Lawsuit Claims Border Patrol Shot Man." *Brownsville Herald*, July 31, pp. A1, A5.
- Martinez, Laura B. 2012b. "Man's Family Sues Border Patrol: Relatives Say Juan Pablo Perez Santillan was Fatally Shot July 7 by an Unidentified Agent." *Monitor*, July 31, pp. 1A, 8A.
- Martinez Jr., Ramiro, Jacob I. Stowell, and Matthew T. Lee. 2010. "Immigration and Crime in an Era of Transformation: A Longitudinal Analysis of Homicides in San Diego Neighborhoods, 1980-2000." *Criminology* 48(3): 797-829.
- Massey, Douglas S. 2009. "Racial Formation in Theory and Practice: The Case of Mexicans in the United States." *Race Social Problem* 1(12):12-26.
- Menchaca, Martha. 2001. *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Mendoza, Christina. 2011. *The New Americans: Recent Immigration and American Society*, edited by Steven J. Gold and Ruben G. Rumbaut. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Migrant Health Program. 2012. "The Lower Rio Grande Valley." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (http://migranthealth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39&Itemid=31).

- Miller, Teresa A. 2005. "Blurring the Boundaries Between Immigration and Crime Control After September 11th." *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 25(1): 81-136.
- Molina, Natalia. 2014. *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Monitor. 2012. "Split Purpose: Convention to Show America Who is Really Important to the GOP." *Monitor*, August 29, p. 8D.
- Morales, Ed. 2012. "The Power of Semantics: Stop Using 'Illegal' to Describe Undocumented Immigrants." *Monitor*, October 7, p. 1D.
- Morton, Neal. 2012a. "'IMMIGRANT POWER: Monterrey Native Spotlight for Contribution to UTPA Tech Startup.'" *Brownsville Herald*, August 5, p. A5.
- . 2012b. "'IMMIGRANT POWER: Monterrey Native Spotlight for Contribution to UTPA Tech Startup.'" *Monitor*, August 4, pp. 1A, 4A.
- Mutua, Makau. 2001. "Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights." *Harvard International Law Journal* 42(1): 201-245.
- Navarrette, Ruben. 2012a. "GOP Dug a Hole with Latinos." *Monitor*, December 2, p. C6.
- . 2012b. "Word Police on Patrol." *Brownsville Herald*, November 7, p. A12.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s, second edition*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- . 2013. "Resistance is Futile?: A Response to Feagin and Elias." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(6): 961-973.

- Ore, Tracy E. 2011. *The Social Construction of Difference and Inequality: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality, fifth edition*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Orozco, Cynthia E. 2009. *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Pachucki, Mark A., Sabrina Pendergrass, and Michele Lamont. 2007. "Boundary Processes: Recent Theoretical Developments and New Contributions." *Poetics* 35(6): 331-351.
- Pena, Manuel. 1999. *Musica Tejana: The Cultural Economy of Artistic Transformation*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University.
- Portales, Marco. 2005. *Latino Sun, Rising: Our Spanish-Speaking U.S. World*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Ramasubramanian, Srividya. 2010. "Television Viewing, Racial Attitudes, and Policy Preferences: Exploring the Role of Social Identity and Intergroup Emotions in Influencing Support for Affirmative Action." *Communication Monographs* 77(1): 102-120.
- . 2011. "The Impact of Stereotypical Versus Counterstereotypical Media Exemplars on Racial Attitudes, Causal Attributions, and Support for Affirmative Action." *Communication Research* 38(4): 497-516.
- Ramirez, Catherine S. 2009. *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory*. London: Duke University Press.
- Reisler, Mark. 1996. "Always the Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the

- Mexican Immigrant During the 1920s.” Pp. 24-44 in *Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States*, edited by David G. Gutierrez. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc.
- Richardson, Chad. 1999. *Batos, Bolillos, Pochos, and Pelados: Class and Culture on the South Texas Border*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Romero, Mary. 2008. ““Go After the Women”: Mothers Against Illegal Aliens’ Campaign Against Mexican Immigrant Women and Their Children.” *Indiana Law Journal* vol. 83:1354-1389.
- , 2011. *The Maid’s Daughter: Living Inside and Outside the American Dream*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Saguy, Abigail and Kevin W. Riley. 2005. “Weighing Both Sides: Morality, Mortality and Framing Contests over Obesity.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 30 (5): 869–921.
- Saguy, Abigail and Rene Almeling. 2008. “Fat in the Fire? Science, the News Media, and the Obesity Epidemic’.” *Sociological Forum* 23(1): 53-83.
- Samora, Julian and Patricia Vandel Simon. 1977. *A History of the Mexican- American People*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Sampson, Robert J. 2008. “Rethinking Crime and Immigration.” *Contexts* 7(1): 28-33.
- Sanders, Meghan S. and Srividya Ramasubramanian. 2012. “An Examination of African American Stereotyped Perceptions of Fictional Media Characters.” *The Howard Journal of Communication* 23: 17-39.
- Santa Ana, Otto. 2002. *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary*

- American Public Discourse*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Schutz, Alfred. 1967. *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Skoloff, Brian. 2012a. "Border Patrol Under Scrutiny: Feds Defend Use of Force When Rocks Thrown." *Brownsville Herald*, November 15, pp. A1, A7.
- . 2012b. "Border Patrol Probed: The Agency's Use of Deadly Force is Raising Questions." *Monitor*, November 15, pp. 3A.
- Spagat, Elliot. 2012. "Police Already Aiding Immigration Enforcement." *Brownsville Herald*, June 27, p. A7.
- . 2012a. "On a Local Level: State, Country and City Policy Agencies Step Up Their Immigration Enforcement." *Monitor*, June 27, p. A3.
- . 2012b. "Immigrant Requests Strain Consulates, Schools." *Brownsville Herald*, September 26, p. A7.
- Steuter, Erin and Deborah Wills. 2008. *At War with Metaphor: Media, Propaganda, and Racism in the War on Terror*. New York, NY: Lexington Books.
- Telles, Edward E., 2006. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Texas Center for the Advancement of Literary & Learning. 2014. "Percentage by County of Illiterate Adult Texans." Retrieved September 15, 2014 (<http://www-tcall.tamu.edu/docs/09illitmap.html>).
- Texas State Historical Association. 2012. "Brownsville." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdb04>).

- Texas State Historical Association. 2012. "Hidalgo County." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hch14>).
- Texas State Historical Association. 2012. "McAllen." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdm01>).
- Texas State Historical Association. 2012. "Rio Grande Valley." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ryr01>).
- Texas State Historical Association. 2012. "Segregation." Retrieved September 8, 2012 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pks01>).
- Texas State Historical Association's Texas Almanac. 2012. "Almanac's Popular Regions 2010." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://texasalmanac.com/topics/facts-profile>).
- . 2012. "The 20th Century: Filed Under: Timeline of Texas History." Retrieved September 8, 2013 (<http://www.texasalmanac.com/topics/history/20th-century>).
- Trotter II, Robert T. and Juan Antonio Chavira. 1997. *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Healing*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Turner, Ralph H. and Samuel J. Surace. 1956. "Zoot-Suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior." *American Journal of Sociology* 62(1): 14-20.
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- United States Census. 2010. "2010 Demographic Profile Data for Brownsville, TX." Retrieved September 8, 2013

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1).

----- 2010. "2010 Demographic Profile Data for McAllen, TX."

Retrieved September 8, 2013

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1).

----- 2014. "Small Area and Poverty Estimates 2012." Retrieved

September 15, 2014

http://www.census.gov/did/www/saipe/data/interactive/#view=StateAndCounty&utilBtn=PDF&yLB=1&stLB=44&cLB=0&dLB=0&gLB=0&usSts_cbSelected=false&usTot_cbSelected=true&stateTot_cbSelected=true&pLB=0&multiYearSelected=false&multiYearAlertFlag=false&prStateFlag=false&invalidSDYearsFlag=false).

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 2012. "Falfurrias Station." Retrieved

September 8, 2013

http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/border_patrol/border_patrol_sectors/rio_grande_valley_sector/mcallen_stations/falfurrias.xml).

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1998a. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: Sage Publications.

----- 1998b. "Towards a Theory of Context and Experience Models in Discourse

Processing." Pp. 124-148 in *The Construction of Mental Models During Reading*,

edited by Herre van Oostendorp and Susan Goldman. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- . 2000 “Chapter 5: Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues.” Pp. 91-116 in *Comparative Perspectives on Racism: Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations*, edited by Jessika Ter Val and Maykel Verkuyten. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Ltd.
- . 2011. “Discourse Analysis on Racism.” Pp. 43-66 in *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, edited by John H. Stanfield. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press Inc.
- Vasquez, Jessica M. 2011. *Mexican Americans Across Generations: Immigrant Families, Racial Realities*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Williams, Norma. 1988. “A Mexican American Woman Encounters Sociology: An Autobiographical Perspective.” *The American Sociologist* 19(4): 340-346.
- Wozniacka, Gosia. 2012a. “Young Immigrants May Get Driver’s License.” *Brownsville Herald*, September 16, pp. A9.
- . 2012b. “Young Illegal Immigrants May Get Driver’s Licenses: The New Immigration Policy Has Brought Back the Bitter Debate Over the Issue.” *Monitor*, September 16, pp. 8B.
- Wright, Emily M. and Michael L. Benson. 2010. “Immigration and Intimate Partner Violence: Exploring the Immigration Paradox.” *Social Problems* 57(3): 480-503.
- Yen, Hope. 2012a. “New Asian Immigrants to U.S. Now Surpass Incoming Hispanics.” *Brownsville Herald*, June 20, pp. A11, A16.
- . 2012b. “Asians Now Surpass Hispanics in U.S.: The Shift Comes as American Employers Increase Their Demand for High-Skilled Workers.”

Monitor, June 19, pp. 3A, 8A.