

**“THE TRUTH IS NOT SINGULAR”:  
HOW PRINT MEDIA PORTRAY DIVERSITY  
WITHIN THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY**

an Honors Thesis submitted by

Kristen L. Buckles  
CNC Box 70561  
2130 Branner Ave.  
Jefferson City, Tennessee 37660

in partial fulfillment for the degree  
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

April 27, 2011

Project Advisor: Professor Glenn Cragwall

© 2011 Kristen L. Buckles

Approval Sheet

“The Truth Is Not Singular”:  
How Print Media Portray Diversity Within the Hispanic Community

---

Faculty Director

---

Chair, Department of Communication

---

Director, Honors Program

# Table of Contents

1. Introduction .....	2
2. Literature Review .....	8
3. Methodology .....	21
4. Research and Results .....	32
5. Conclusions .....	50

# Introduction

## Introduction

Diversity is a cornerstone of America. In fact, ethnic minorities compose at least one-third of the United States' overall population (Nation's Population). In 2003, the Hispanic population became the largest minority in the United States, surpassing the black community and altering long-held views of the U.S. as largely black and white (39 Million). That trend has continued at exponential rates. According to projections based on the recent census, "the United States is expected to experience significant increases in racial and ethnic diversity over the next four decades" (United States Population Projections). The projections continued to say, "even if net international migration is maintained at a constant level of nearly one million, the Hispanic population is still projected to more than double between 2000 and 2050" (United States Population). In fact, according to the bureau's High Net International Migration Series, the Hispanic population alone may compose almost a third of the overall population by 2050 (United States Population). Census' calculations indicate that, as of July 1, 2009, there were 48.4 million people who identified themselves as Hispanic in the U.S. (Hispanic Heritage Month). They also reveal "Hispanics constituted 16 percent of the nation's total population. In addition, there are approximately 4 million residents of Puerto Rico, a Caribbean U.S. territory" (Hispanic Heritage).

As the largest minority, Hispanics have a significant impact on every aspect of the nation, from entertainment and politics to culture and cuisine – and the news media are no exception. While traditional newspapers may have struggled to adapt to the shifts in the population and audience, the open market surged with new newspapers that focused purely on the interests and

needs of the Hispanic American population, according to “Print Sees Hope in Hispanics,” an article written by Laurel Wentz in *Advertising Age*. In a similar 2004 article also published by *Advertising Age*, Jose Ignacio Lozano, the vice chairman of ImpreMedia, one of the largest Hispanic print organizations in America, said that Spanish newspapers were the only portion of the newspaper industry to experience growth in an otherwise declining market (Wentz 78). This finding corresponds to the increasing Hispanic population documented by the United States Census Bureau just the year before. It also illustrates how newspapers and other media must adjust to the rapidly changing demographics and increasing cultural and ethnic diversity. Therefore, this project will examine how a primarily Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa*, and a mainstream national newspaper, *USA TODAY*, portray diversity within the Hispanic community.

### The Challenging Layers of Diversity

Diversity, however, is not limited to trends and demographics within the overall population. Diversity also exists within races, cultures and ethnicities themselves. Even the Census Bureau struggled to define who among the population is “Hispanic” and what characteristics that may include: “How then should the Hispanic population be defined? Should Hispanics be lumped into one group such as ‘those who come from Spain or Latin America?’ Hispanics may be of any race and have a multicultural ethnic identity. Also not all Hispanics speak Spanish” (Equal Employment Opportunity). Although their decision was not without controversy, the Census settled on the term, in addition to qualifiers with “White” and “Black” categories that are “not of Hispanic origin,” and terminology was adopted by other agencies as

well (Equal Employment). In the same report, written in honor of Hispanic Heritage Month, the Census creates an eloquent summary:

Like America, the Hispanic culture within our country is diverse. Whether we look to the large Puerto Rican community in New York, the influx of Central Americans to the Washington Metropolitan region, Mexican Americans who have a long history in California, or Cuban Americans who have made South Florida their home, Hispanic American culture reflects the breadth and depth of the cultures of their nations of origin. Hispanic Americans are changing the face of America, challenging our tendency to view the world in terms of black and white and teaching us to accept ethnic diversity as well as racial differences. (Equal Employment)

Clearly, the term “Hispanic” now encompasses numerous nationalities. According to the Census’ Hispanic facts listing, 66 percent of those of Hispanic-origin in the United States in 2008 were of Mexican descent, while “another 9 percent were of Puerto Rican background, with 3.4 percent Cuban, 3.4 percent Salvadoran and 2.8 percent Dominican. The remainder was of some other Central American, South American or other Hispanic or Latino origin” (Hispanic Heritage). It is therefore little wonder that an article by Elena Shore in the *Nieman Reports* argues that the Hispanic population is far more diverse than is typically portrayed by mainstream media (51).

### The Role of the Newspaper in a Diverse Society

Newspapers maintain an important role in the American society. According to Stanley J. Baran, “Two-thirds of U.S. adults will read a newspaper each day” (17). Baran goes on to point

out that newspapers have overcome similar challenges in the past (99), that newspapers are historically “the people’s medium,” available to those “typically excluded from the social, cultural, and political mainstream,” and that the “minority press” has long been “a viable voice for those otherwise silenced” (103). Continuing in this tradition of reaching out to the people and not just the elite is what Baran describes as “the newest national daily,” *USA TODAY* (108). “Despite early derision from industry pros for its lack of depth and apparent dependence on style over substance,” the newspaper was able to succeed and bring on board prestigious journalists from other national dailies (Baran 108). Baran credits this to a positive reader response: “Readers welcome its mix of short, lively, upbeat stories; full-color graphics; state-by-state news and sports briefs; and liberal use of easy-to-read illustrated graphs and tables” (108).

*USA TODAY*, with the taglines of “The Nation’s Newspaper” and “No. 1 in the USA,” claims the title of the most popular newspaper in America (*USA TODAY* Online Subscriptions). According to the media kit, the newspaper first began in 1982. Today, the print edition has an estimated 3.3 million daily readers and the newspaper’s website’s readership is almost 18 million. It also enjoys an international readership of 40,000 in Nassau, Bahamas and Cancun, Mexico. *USA TODAY* reports that 64 percent of its print readership is male, while 52 percent of its online readership is female. Its overall readership has a high average level of education and income, with 74 and 89 percent of the print and online readership having attended college, respectively. The newspaper consists of four sections, News, Money, Sports and Life (*USA TODAY* Media Kit).

Although not a national paper, *La Prensa* (The Press), a bilingual, biweekly publication out of San Antonio, Texas is reminiscent of a *USA TODAY* ethnic press counterpart. With the

taglines of “Tu Voz en Dos Lenguas” (Your Voice in Two Languages) and “Informa, Educa E Inspira” (Inform, Educate and Inspire), *La Prensa* appears to aim for meeting the people within its demographic reach in the ways that are most convenient and beneficial for them (Portada). The newspaper alternates between a broadsheet and tabloid-size publication with both print and online editions. Sections include Noticias (News), Deportes (Sports), and Cultura (Culture), and contain much the same subsections as mainstream newspapers, including Salud (Health) and Dinero (Money). *La Prensa* has a print circulation of 162,000 (La Prensa de San Antonio). According to the Census Bureau, San Antonio’s 2000 population estimate was 1,144,646. Of those, 58.7 percent were of Hispanic or Latino origin and 46.7 percent spoke a language other than English at home (San Antonio Quickfacts). Amelia and Tino Duran began the newspaper in 1989 (La Prensa Foundation History). Baran argues that the success of such newspapers is based not only on the need to reach fragmented audiences and the high percentage of Hispanics, but also “because the newspaper is the most local of the mass media, and nonnative speakers tend to identify closely with their immediate locales” (111).

Before beginning a literature review, it is important to note the different usages of “Hispanic” versus “Latino”. Although many mass media studies use the terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” interchangeably, as will be seen in the literature review, for the purposes of this study the term “Hispanic” will appear in adherence to the definition of the term as provided by the U.S. Census and the use of the term by organizations such as the National Association of Hispanic Journalists.

# Literature Review

## Literature Review

As the United States' demographics have shifted over time, researchers constantly need to conduct new research in this field. Researchers first began looking in-depth into the topic of Hispanics and Latinos in relation to news media several decades ago. The following literature review will explore how, over that time, researchers have studied the role of minority journalists in the mainstream newsroom. They also looked at ways in which the mainstream's market could tap into the Hispanic market. Researchers have focused on the portrayal of the Hispanic and Latino population in newspapers and other media, as well as the general negative portrayal of all minorities within in the media. Some have studied the tenacity of many Spanish-language newspapers in print media's increasingly difficult economic climate. At the turn of the century, researchers' focus shifted to studying recent improvements in the media's portrayal of minorities and how the increasing population affected the media as a whole. Throughout all these years of study, much of the research seemed to remain largely quantitative in nature.

In 2006, an article by Isabel Molina Guzmán, titled "Competing Discourses of Community: Ideological Tensions between Local General Market and Latino News Media," appeared in *Journalism*. In the article, Guzmán suggests that the ethnic media market is becoming more powerful and competent in their news coverage. While tracing back through the history of Spanish-language newspapers, Guzmán examined a typical study from the early 1990s dealing with minority perception and summarized that, "the ethnic news media in relation to the general-market media play an important role in determining the socially constructed borders of the imagined community, a conceptualization of community that recognizes both its elasticity and limitations" (283). Following this, she argued for her own qualitative study by pointing to a

1999 article by Subervi-Veléz that called for more qualitative studies to compliment the many quantitative ones already completed. She then turned to the present and pointed to the significance of the Spanish-language paper to connect people with their cultural roots, which is an important part of properly portraying diversity. “US Latino ethnic newspapers maintain cultural cohesion and simultaneous symbolic connections to their home country,” Guzmán said (284). Finally, she completed her article with a look to the future, stating, “Future scholarship on the ethnic press must examine the complicated institutional and ideological relationship between the ethnic and general-market news media in the context of increasing conglomeration and pan-ethnic commercial imperatives” (Guzmán 293-4).

The following year, in 2007, *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* published the article, “Telling Stories of Latino Population Growth in the United States: Narratives of Inter-Ethnic Conflict in the Mainstream, Latino and African-American Press” by Ilia Rodríguez. This article studied newspaper stories from January 2003 when the Census declared that the Hispanic and Latino population was now the largest ethnic minority (Rodríguez 573). This announcement headlined a number of newspapers, many of which pointed out how this meant that the African-American population was now second, the Hispanic population having surpassed them. This rhetoric led to reports of troubles and competition between the two ethnicities (Rodríguez 574).

Vikki Katz presented a similar analysis of the controversy and conflict surrounding the Hispanic community in her study, “Is There Room for Spanish in the National Dialogue? California News Content and Narrowing Public Debate on Bilingual Education.” Statistics and textual analysis showed that bilingual education’s “opponents and proponents alike [argued] this issue according to the effects on one racial group: Latinos” (Katz). Katz was then able to trace

the issue back to what she calls the “two larger debates: the outer limits of the imagined American nation, and the ambivalence of Californians toward migration across the southern border” (Katz). These reports demonstrate the power of the media’s portrayal of a matter of national interest and how it can affect and influence the daily lives and opinions of Americans.

### Minority Journalists and the Conformative Norms

As part of a special addition to the July 2008 *TelevisionWeek*, Hillary Atkin wrote “Latino Journalists Face Touchy Topics; Immigration, Black-Brown Relations on Agenda in Chicago,” to preview the fourth Unity Conference of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAJH). The NAJH is an organization that works to aid and encourage Hispanic journalists in the newsroom and to offer advice and admonitions to the media concerning “the handling of politically sensitive issues such as immigration” (Atkin 24). The executive director of NAHJ, Ivn Romn, argued for diversity in an interview with Atkin. “It is a myth that there are two sides to every story. There are more than two, and not all sides have the same weight,” Romn said (Atkin 24). A similar matter was the subject of one of the conference’s panels, which was titled, “Point of Origin: How to Achieve Three-Dimensional Coverage of Ethnic Communities” (Atkin 24). This shows that the media’s demonstration of the Hispanic population as a diverse community has been a recent topic of interest to the NAJH.

The NAJH’s mission, goals and purpose all support the belief that a more diverse newsroom is the answer to dilemmas surrounding the portrayal of Hispanics in the media (About, Why NAJH Exists). However, recent studies have found that Hispanic journalists who are working in the mainstream media do not have a major impact on the level or quality of diversity in newspapers. Katsuo Nishikawa, Terri Towner, Rosalee Clawson, and Eric

Waltenburg published “Interviewing the Interviewers: Journalistic Norms and Racial Diversity in the Newsroom” in 2009. They were able to trace this common, although perhaps false, assumption back forty years to when “the Kerner Commission called for increased hiring of African Americans and better coverage of minority issues” (Nishikawa, et al. 243). Nevertheless, after speaking with both Latino and African-American journalists who are working in mainstream newsrooms, the authors discovered that most of the minority journalists in their study held a “widespread acceptance of traditional journalistic norms” (Nishikawa, et al. 248). These included the conventional journalistic ethics of “accuracy, balance, and neutrality,” which are intended to work as ethically conforming content norms (Nishikawa, et al. 248). The authors deduced that “the awareness and acceptance of mainstream norms” lead minority journalists to “eschew advocacy” (Nishikawa, et al. 248). However, they did find that “minority journalists need not openly act as advocates, yet they can have a positive effect on content ‘behind the scenes’ in the newsroom” (Nishikawa, et al. 251). Perhaps surprisingly, they made the concluding statement that “minority journalists must leave their racial identity at the newsroom’s doorstep” (Nishikawa, et al. 254).

Because having minority journalists working in the mainstream newsroom does not always create the hoped-for high level of diversity and fair portrayal of minorities, minority newspapers often have a lot to offer their target audience. Gemstone Communications and the Circulation Verification Council teamed together to complete the nation’s first nationwide audit of Hispanic and African-American community newspapers in 2005. *PR Week* published their preliminary results, which found that nearly two-thirds of Hispanic readers relied on a community newspaper for the main source of local news. Less than 15 percent reported

subscribing to a mainstream daily paper, which emphasizes the importance of ethnic and Spanish-language newspapers in the Hispanic community. The survey was included in 85 Hispanic newspapers located across the United States (Poll).

Minority newspapers are, of course, also a source of national news. Elena Shore noted in an article in the *Nieman Reports*, “The Spanish-Language Press Delves into Racial Complexities,” that even on topics of national interest, such as the presidential elections, Hispanic newspapers were able to provide coverage specific to the topics and interests of their target community (51). Shore touches very briefly on the idea that the Spanish-language press is also able to portray a more diverse view of the Hispanic community (51).

### *Cambios (Changes) in Spanish-Language Media*

Like all forms of media, however, Spanish-language newspapers are constantly evolving to meet the needs of their target audience. Three recent studies highlight these changes. In 2001, Vicki Mayer conducted a study of all Latino media in San Antonio, TX (home to *La Prensa*). She began by offering a “fragile” definition of Latino media: “Many authors define Mexican-American, Hispanic, Latino, or Chicano mass media as print, broadcast, or film texts that are produced by members of those specific identity groups. For purposes here, Latino media are mass media texts that are produced principally by Latinos or for a Latino target audience.” Mayer located four constructions within that media: “segmentation, massification, pan-ethnicity, and fragmentation.” According to her study, segmentation represents a “niche market,” such as Mexican-Americans, massification the idea of the Latino community as an audience for growing mass media forms, pan-ethnicization the outreach to nationalities and ethnicities beyond

Mexican-American, and fragmentation the targeting of “niche segments” and the definition of the Latino community becoming more diverse and fragmented itself. With the natural growth of both mass media and the Latino community, one construction has led to the next. However,

Mayer feels that this could either be “positive signs of growing multiculturalism or negative effects of global trends that divide Latinos by class.”

Other studies that support Mayer’s conclusions of evolving Latino media include Hillary Chura’s 2005 article, “Papers Chase Markets to Add Reach,” which describes the burgeoning market and its increasing levels of competition. Also relevant is Teresa Correa and America Rodriguez’s “Ahora es Cool Hablar Español: Growth and Fragmentation of Latino Newspapers.” According to this study, pure Spanish-language newspapers target immigrants while bilingual or English-language publications focus on second or third-generation Latinos (Correa, Rodriguez 6). The analysis also explains that immigration is the number one issue for Spanish-language newspapers (Correa, Rodriguez 9). This serves “as glue to connect people from dissimilar origins and nationalities” (Correa, Rodriguez 9).

### Mainstream goes *Español*

Perhaps unsurprisingly in light of recent conglomeration trends in mass media, mainstream newspapers have tried to acquire their own share of the audience and, therefore, the profits. Some chose to attempt this by incorporating the idea of a Spanish daily into their mainstream network. A seeming favorite study among researchers is Chicago’s *Hoy (Today)*, which is published by the *Tribune*. According to “The Tribune’s Stories Reach a Spanish-Speaking Audience,” by Alejandro Escalona, *Hoy*’s editor, the two papers are linked online and

often share content that is simply translated from one language to the next (46). Interestingly, this is not always a one-way street. The article chronicles times that *Hoy* picks up articles from the *Tribune* and vice versa as well. Escalona explains the process “to make sure such connections continue to happen. Hoy and the Chicago Tribune metro staff are in contact on a daily basis, as reporters in both newsrooms share information and Hoy's editors have access to the Tribune's story budgets” (46).

### Slow Progress for Diversity in Mainstream

Attempting to provide diverse and accurate news coverage to audiences has long been both a struggle for and a central goal of mainstream media. In a 1993 article for the *Editor & Publisher*, “Portrayals of Latinos in and by the Media,” Debra Gersh recounts a presentation by Cruz Reynoso, a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Reynoso and other Hispanic community leaders shared numerous antecedents of times when the Hispanic community felt ignored or “invisible” because of a serious lack of coverage by the mainstream media (Gersh). Similar protests were reiterated a year later during the third annual “State of Hispanic America” (Fitzgerald). The National Council of La Raza, the United States’ largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization, presented a report in which they argued that abundant negative stereotyping in the media limited Hispanic progress (About Us, Fitzgerald). La Raza’s biggest complaint with mainstream periodicals, however, was the lack of representation of the Hispanic community – a complaint that echoes Reynoso’s (Fitzgerald, Gersh). In an article about the conference, Mark Fitzgerald pulled excerpts from the report to demonstrate La Raza’s complaints:

“While comprehensive, longitudinal research in this area is particularly scarce, anecdotal evidence strongly suggests that major newspapers frequently fail to adequately present Hispanic perspectives in their coverage of the news,” says the report, which was prepared by NCLR staffers Lisa Navarrete and Charles Kamaski.

"Even when print news coverage includes Latinos," the report says, "it appears that this coverage is inadequate. Specifically, such coverage appears to focus on Latinos as 'objects' of the news to be commented on by others, rather than as 'subjects' of the news who have an authoritative or legitimate perspective to share." (Fitzgerald)

With protests running high over anecdotal indications of unjust coverage, *Quill* published a 1996 study by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), “Hispanic Portrayals,” that finally provided quantitative evidence of the stereotyping and lack of inclusion of the Hispanic community in mainstream, network news. The NAHJ found that Latinos and related issues were the focus of a mere one percent of stories and that 85 percent of those stories fell into four categories: crime, affirmative action, welfare and immigration. In their conclusions, the NAHJ found that “Latinos are ‘symbolically annihilated’ in terms of their presentation in network news stories. They are only seen occasionally, and then usually as illegal aliens, welfare recipients, criminals, and workers receiving ‘underserved’ benefits of affirmative action” (Hispanic Portrayals 14).

In a 2001 study by Maria Christina Santana and Ron Smith, “News Coverage Surpasses Expectations,” content analysis revealed that mainstream newspapers had made progress in their

representation of the Hispanic community. However, Santana and Smith also found that focus groups within the Hispanic community still held a high level of distrust for local mainstream newspapers. For example, although participants were familiar with *The Orlando Sentinel's* columns, feature stories and various other efforts to reach minorities, they offered complaints surrounding “the quality of stories, their content and lack of Latino sources” and expressed “a feeling of disconnection and alienation between their communities and the local paper” (Santana, Smith).

Several other studies suggest that the Hispanic community may not be misled in its continued distrust of mainstream media. Lucila Vargas conducted a 2000 study, “Genderizing Latino News: An Analysis of a Local Newspaper’s Coverage of Latino Affairs,” which drew on feminist and postcolonial theorizing, and utilized content and textual analyses of four years coverage by *The Raleigh News & Observer*. Vargas argues that, by feminizing the Latino community, newspapers are presenting them as the “inferior ‘other’” because Western culture traditionally views femininity as “being yielding, childlike, and soft spoken; and on the other hand, a mode or state of being, such as being inferior, subordinate, and dependent” (267). Her conclusions state three findings: “Latinos and their current affairs are quantitatively and qualitatively underrepresented,” “media portrayals of Latinos tend to reproduce negative stereotypes,” and finally, “the coverage often presents Latinos as objects of the news rather than as authoritative subjects with valuable perspectives” (Vargas 285).

More recently, Carolyn Byerly, Kehbama Langmia, and Jamila A. Cupid set out to discover how important local news coverage is to minorities and how it affects their level of involvement in the community. Their study, “Localism and the Ethnic Minority News

Audience,” found that about a third of minorities named newspapers as their preferred medium (Byerly, et al. 20). Participants expressed the desire for “minority perspectives and minority voices,” in addition to several other complaints reminiscent of those heard more than a decade earlier (Byerly, et al. 27). The study concluded that mainstream news media are still not doing enough to prepare all ethnicities and races for the impending social shifts (Byerly, et al. 34).

### Exploring Qualities of Mainstream *versus* Minority Media

The final major area of research in this field of study involves topic-based comparisons between mainstream and Spanish-language media. A 2006 study by Maria Villar and Yvette Bueno, “A Frame for Health: A Comparison of English and Spanish News Stories and Ads,” explored how these competing media use frames within health-related articles (5). Through a content analysis of news items and obituaries, Villar and Bueno found that “English news items were more likely to focus on medical treatments for health problems, and more likely to frame health topics as social or economic concerns, as compared to the Spanish language news items” (10, 13). This demonstrates a difference not only in the presentation of the news (i.e. in English or Spanish format), but also in the very content of the news itself.

Lisa Paulin presented two additional studies in this area of research in 2008. “Driving Under the Influence of 9/11: Latino Marginalization Reflected in North Carolina Newspapers” centers around North Carolina’s decision to revoke licenses from all undocumented immigrants following the “sociopolitical context of 9/11” (3). While the Spanish-language press presented this marginalization in a literal way, the mainstream presented it more symbolically (Paulin 10). Paulin found that “every story created an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ discourse that would make non-oppositional discourse look out of place” (7). Overall, this study was able to present both the

similarity in and difference between Hispanic and mainstream newspapers. Paulin's second study, "In a Pickle: How Latino Newspapers Helped Fight the South's Antiunion Discourse and Won," sought to discover what, if any, alternate discourse the Latino press provided to *The Raleigh News & Observer* (2). Findings indicated a strong alternative discourse that was able to beneficially impact the Latino community (Paulin 24). This conclusion emphasizes the value of diversity in newspaper medium.

## Impact

The United States thrives on diversity. It is the basis of both our history and our future. Diversity of opinion led many of our Founding Fathers to America's shores. The thought that everyone deserves the right to share his or her opinion and contribute it to the marketplace of ideas has become a foundation for the First Amendment and the strength of the United States' free press (Key Supreme Court Cases). For anyone or anything to mute that diversity is to rob the public of a greater knowledge. Unfortunately, as the literature analysis has shown, mainstream papers have struggled in the past to properly portray the diversity of opinion in America's Hispanic population (Byerly, et al. 27). Newspapers have made more recent improvements in other areas of their portrayals of Hispanics, however. It is now essential to build on these findings and discover if yet more progress has been made. Moreover, it seems that no researcher has completed a basic comparison study between the types of newspapers, mainstream and Spanish-language, in regards to diversity.

Within a few years, almost one-third of the United States' population will likely consist of the Hispanic and Latino minority (U.S. Census). Journalists have an ethical responsibility to consciously consider, form and provide a fair, holistic view of this community. It would not be

wise to wait until this moment comes to begin searching out ways to properly serve this audience. The newspaper industry has already seen one crisis brought on, at least in part, by a lack of foresight. Now is the time to avoid the mistakes of the past and look towards how diversity lies at the very heart of journalism.

# Methodology

## Methodology

This project will examine how a primarily Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa*, and a mainstream national newspaper, *USA TODAY*, portray diversity within the Hispanic community. For the purpose of this study, diversity is defined by four major categories – difference of opinion, social rank or civic involvement, legal standing, and country of origin or reason(s) for immigrating – as determined by reader perception. The difference of opinion category revolves around the journalistic ideal of providing more than one side to every story. Diversity in social rank or civic involvement signifies that there is depth, breadth and life within a community. Indications of social rank can include economic status, language abilities, social acceptance, job capabilities and work ethic. Civic involvement can include indications of civic rights and levels of political involvement. Unfortunately, some people in the United States often profile members of the Hispanic community as undocumented immigrants. Therefore, legal standing is an important category of diversity because it helps to ensure that journalists are not aiding stereotypes. Finally, country of origin and reasons for immigrating are humanizing features that also add depth and are an important part of the unique diversity of the Hispanic community.

This study will focus on three month's news coverage of one topic of national interest, immigration. Of particular interest to the study will be news coverage surrounding the Arizona Senate Bill 1070, which allowed police to investigate an individual's immigration status during the course of routine police business if they suspect the individual of being an undocumented immigrant (Senate Bill 1070). Arizona's Senate declared the intent "to discourage and deter the

unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States” (Senate Bill). One section in particular drew the attention of the nation:

For any lawful contact made by a law enforcement official or agency of this state or a county, city, town or other political subdivision of this state where reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States, a reasonable attempt shall be made, when practicable, to determine the immigration status of the person. The person's immigration status shall be verified with the federal government pursuant to 8 United States Code Section 1373(c). (Senate Bill)

Concern with this section revolved around what constitutes “reasonable suspicion,” if this would cause racial profiling, and if the law would involve a breach of federal jurisdiction (Senate Bill).

The model of interpretation will be content analysis through Harold Lasswell’s model of communication. The project’s most significant goal is in answering the question of *how* the Spanish-language and mainstream newspapers portray diversity within the above mentioned categories and what impact that makes on reader perception. The goal of this project is not to state what is likely obvious – that Spanish-language newspapers can better portray the diversity among Hispanics in America than mainstream newspapers can. Rather, the goal is to study at what level and by what means a Spanish-language newspaper portrays diversity and to use the mainstream newspaper as a standard of comparison in order to determine the means by which journalists can best holistically portray a community of people. This may also reveal ways in which mainstream newspapers can improve their coverage to better suit the needs of this rapidly

expanding minority. This project is taking the next logical step with this field of study, based on the findings of the literature review.

## Content Analysis

During the qualitative analysis of *USA TODAY* and *La Prensa*'s newspapers and their coverage of immigration, the source will be the first of several specific aspects of interest concerning the articles. This will not only include the newspaper from which the article came, but also who wrote the article. It is significant to note for the analysis if one of the newspaper's journalists wrote the article versus a journalist from a global news network such as the Associated Press. While analyzing *USA TODAY*, the next step will be to determine if the article includes Hispanic sources or any reference to the Hispanic population. Obviously, there may be some immigration articles that only address other ethnicities. Researchers' methodology for prior studies in this field noted surnames to determine the ethnicity of a source or interviewee in the articles. One such study, "News Study of Hispanics Surpasses Expectations," admitted the limitations of this method. The authors noted that not all Hispanics would be included and that some Anglos would accidentally be counted as Hispanic. However, they also point out that newsreaders would not be any better equipped and thus this method falls in line with reader perception (Santana, Smith 94) and is useful in any situation where ethnicity may be ambiguous. All articles focused on immigration with reference to the Hispanic community fall under further qualitative content analysis.

## Lasswell's Model

The analysis of the two newspapers is formed by applying Harold Lasswell's Model. This model is beneficial in that it allows for the evaluation of multiple layers (Janowitz 648).

Lasswell's model provides an analysis based on the following description: "Who/ Says What/ In Which Channel/ To Whom/ With What Effect?" (37). Lasswell's method aids in forming conclusions that analyze the overall picture of how each newspaper portrays diversity and assists in determining why each periodical chose this approach. The final stage of the project will draw comparisons and conclusions between the two periodicals. The application of Harold Lasswell's model completes this comparison between the newspapers.

### The *Who* Behind It All

The first component of Lasswell's model, the *Who*, will vary within each newspaper. In *La Prensa*'s articles about immigration, it includes articles from staff writers, attorney columnists, articles labeled "Special to *La Prensa*," and articles from EFE. "Special to *La Prensa*" would signify articles that come from sources outside of the newspaper's staff, including press releases. According to their website, EFE is "the leading Spanish language news agency and the fourth largest news agency in the world, with more than seventy years of experience guarantees its impartiality, its power, its credibility and its immediacy" (Presentation). EFE's website further stated that they are "responsible for more than forty percent of international news published in Latin America" and have 884 American customers (Presentation). Finally, the agency promises, "EFE instantaneously offers the Spanish and Latin American view of the world" (Presentation). EFE's articles accounted for 25.6 percent of *La Prensa*'s coverage of the topic of immigration. *USA TODAY*'s articles limit the *Who* to staff writers and the Gannett News Service, "an international media and marketing solutions company" that partners with *USA TODAY* (Company Profile). The Gannett News Service's articles accounted for 74.3 percent of *USA TODAY*'s coverage.

## Following the Steps

The bulk of the research and analysis of this study falls under the *Says What?* of Lasswell's model, which utilizes the popular methodology of content analysis (37). In *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, Kimberly A. Neuendorf describes how content analysis "may be briefly defined as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (1). Neuendorf goes on to explain how "the various techniques that make up the methodology of content analysis have been growing in usage and variety. In the field of mass communication research, content analysis has been the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years or so" (1). Neuendorf states, "Researchers working in this vein are careful to limit their conclusions to the content being studied. [...] These analyses are attractive in their clarity and parsimony" (53).

The following research questions will address each newspaper's portrayal of diversity. The process of descriptive content analysis determines the answers.

**RQ1:** How does each source portray diversity within the Hispanic community? In other words, what are the unique characteristics of each source's portrayal of diversity?

This could include references to an interviewee's nationality or family's point of origin and how that might impact their point of view on an issue. An article that includes more than one member of the Hispanic community with differing viewpoints is of particular interest to the study. A coding system using each of the four categories aids in the organization of the varying characteristics of diversity expressed in the articles. Each article is individually examined and marked for every reference to each category of diversity. Then, a careful category-by-category study of all the marked material determines if there is diversity contained within the individual

article or if the content has to be seen in comparison to the newspaper's other articles for diversity to be revealed.

**RQ2:** In what areas is the portrayal of diversity scarce in each newspaper?

After determining how individual articles portray diversity, the next step is to analyze each newspaper for what their respective content does not include under each category. While answering this question also requires some comparison between the two newspapers to determine what may constitute as "scarcity," its design is not to hold both periodicals to the same overall standard. It instead aims to pinpoint the need for variety in the portrayal of diversity. Also interesting to this portion of the study are the implications of uniformity, both in a lack of variety and in any large similarities between the two periodicals.

**RQ3:** Within two weeks (one-sixth of the overall research time frame of three months), how much diversity did each newspaper portray?

As the only quantitative portion of this study, this question exists mainly as a confirmation of what seems a natural assumption – that the Spanish-language newspaper is able to present more diversity because Hispanics are their target audience. It also exists to confirm prior studies' findings that mainstream media present a credible amount of diversity within their coverage. In this manner the study ensures solid data and not mere assumption. The design of the question is not, however, to set up an unfair contrast between the two in which *USA TODAY*, with their larger target audience and more diverse demographic, is held to the same standard. Answering this question requires that each article be examined for each category of diversity. Differences in opinion will include quotes and commentary that indicate alternate points of view or conflict. Examples of diversity in social standing or civic involvement could include naming various

Hispanic professions, social reactions or economic standing. Diversity of legal standing can be indicated by the specified inclusion of both legal and undocumented members of the Hispanic community, or by mentioning various other legal factors that could impact their legal standing. This is the only category that should be represented within the individual articles, rather than overall coverage, to truly represent diversity. Finally, country of origin or reasons for immigrating, both largely self-explanatory, could include references to nationality or ancestry.

## The Newspapers

*La Prensa* and *USA TODAY* answer the *In Which Channel* section of the model (Lasswell 37). When choosing which newspapers to include in the study, the main concern was in finding periodicals that were representative of the majority of national mainstream print media and Hispanic-American print media. *USA TODAY*, as one of the nation's largest and most popular newspapers, fills that role (*USA TODAY* Online Subscriptions). Archives to larger Spanish-language print media were more difficult to access, but *La Prensa* is representative of the typical Hispanic print media found in the United States. In studying these periodicals, it will be important to take into account their individual differences and demographics, including audience, circulation, location and purpose, all of which also fall under the *To Whom* of Lasswell's model (37). These differences will add value to the study and be an important part of the analysis.

## Why Reader Perception?

Lasswell's model also aids in determining the likely effect to the reader's overall perception of the Hispanic community. Although research naturally yields more information than the average – or perhaps even the very thorough – daily reader would ever perceive, the reader's perception is perhaps the most important consideration of all. In fact, it answers the final

segment of Lasswell's model, *With What Effect* (37). Imparting true, valuable information to the reader is the very basic and most important goal of journalism. It is important, therefore, that this study does not look beyond what the reader can see; it is equally important that it deeply analyzes the content's likely effect on reader perception. Ideas such as those behind the Social Expectation Theory can help to explain why this is so significant.

The Social Expectation Theory aids in the exploration of how mass media can motivate behavior and perceptions through symbolic and abstract modeling (Bandura 51). Bandura references how mass media, as symbolic models, are particularly powerful in the early stages of diffusion. Bandura states that "models not only exemplify and legitimate innovations, they also serve as advocates by encouraging others to adopt them" (51). Novelties introduced through mass media follow a kind of downward gradient. Those with access to information receive the ideas or innovations first. The people closest to them will then pick up on the novelty and continue the process (Bandura 51). This is not to say, however, that people are "simply reactors to external influences" (Bandura vii). Bandura explains that, while there is "confirmatory evidence that behavior is indeed subject to external control," (vi) behavior is also subject to such influences as "self-generated consequences" (53). Bandura argues that "people readily espouse what they regard as praiseworthy but resist convictions. Self-reinforcing reactions are not insulated from the pressures of social influence, however" (53).

Julian B. Rotter explored the idea of "internal versus external control of reinforcement" and its surging popularity in *The Development and Application of Social Learning Theory* (265). Rotter argues that "interest in this concept surely must be related to some persistent social problems, which in turn are related to the tremendous growth in population, increasing

complexity of society, and the subsequent feeling of powerlessness that seems to permeate all levels of society, at least in Western culture” (265). Clearly, based on both Rotter and Bandura’s analysis, the Social Expectation Theory has value in this study and is a significant component when considering the importance of reader perception.

### Why Immigration?

The analysis primarily deals with the news (noticias) section, as it concentrates on a popular matter of national interest. The study will not include editorials, simply because the focus is better served by hard news and feature content. This is because this analysis aims to study the journalistic portrayal of diversity in news reporting. Therefore, the analysis will only include articles focused on the topic of immigration or the life of an immigrant. Choosing a topic of national interest increases the probability of encountering a sufficient amount of coverage in two distinct newspapers. This also provides a more standardized place to begin. Because much of the coverage is of similar times, places and events, the differences found within the articles hold greater significance and more meaning than could otherwise be determined by a study of multiple issues. Immigration in particular is a favorable topic choice because it is a “hot button” issue (especially in light of the recent debate over Arizona’s new law) that draws an enormous amount of news coverage and prompts a lot of discourse and strong opinions. Coverage of the Arizona law SB 1070 alone progressed for a number of months, with regular updates that ensured continued media coverage. As the Census numbers have shown, immigration and changing demographics will have a huge impact on the nation. All together, these factors compliment a study of diversity.

The three-month timeframe of the study allows for a thorough reading without overwhelming amounts of content. An analysis of a quarter of the year's coverage should present a fair examination of each periodical's coverage. Since Arizona's SB 1070 is an area of particular interest, the timeline surrounding the law is the focus of this study's timeframe. According to a *New York Times* timeline, national news outlets first reported on the law in mid-April of 2010. Arizona's Governor Jan Brewer signed the law in late April and by early May the nation was in heavy debate. Large demonstrations and protests were held in late May. Protests continued into June with the addition of another proposed law in Arizona that would deny citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants. The Justice Department took legal action against the state in early July. By the end of the month, the Justice Department ruled that parts of the law were outside the state's jurisdiction, but allowed other sections to move forward (*As Reform Falters*). While July's legal action is an important part of the newspapers' coverage, it is less likely to present the type of content favorable to this study. The three-month timeframe will therefore consist of April, May and June of 2010.

# Research and Results

## Research and Results

*All results break down into four major categories of diversity (as determined by reader perception and, of course, content analysis): differences in opinion, social rank and/or civic involvement, legal standing, and country of origin and/or reason(s) for immigrating.*

### *La Prensa*

The research began with a study of San Antonio's *La Prensa*. As a bilingual publication, the content appears in either English, Spanish, or, on the extremely rare occasion, both. Hard news and feature articles that surround the topic of immigration occurred in Spanish most often (66.7 percent of the time), although there was a considerable amount of coverage in English as well. *La Prensa* is also a biweekly publication, alternating sizes between broadsheet and tabloid. On an approximately bimonthly basis the tabloid publication is a special entertainment edition. Articles about immigration were rare within the entertainment publication but appeared in almost all of the regular news editions. There were numerous articles about Arizona's SB 1070. Within the study's timeframe, April 18 was the first time *La Prensa* mentioned the proposed law. This coincides with the mainstream national coverage.

### **RQ1: How does *La Prensa* portray diversity within the Hispanic community?**

#### *Differences in Opinion*

Among the four major categories of diversity as defined for this project, this particular category was the least developed among the examined articles. Although *La Prensa* rarely portrayed differences in opinion within the Hispanic community, the few notable instances that did occur revealed strong upheaval. For example, within "From Totoncapán to Texas: A Series,"

by Eduardo Jiménez Mayo, the tumultuous society of Guatemala's departments produce such differences in opinion as to cause civil war and reputed trends towards law-breaking. In the series, Mayo, a *La Prensa* journalist, travels to Totonicapán to learn more about the Guatemalan-Mayan immigrants who had formed a community in Houston (April 4). While there he encounters a man, José, who had spent several years working illegally in the States and had since returned to his family. José provides a bleak description of Guatemalan society: "There is no peace here. Rather there is continual conflict. Conflict between families, between communities [...] the rule around here is delinquency" (Mayo, April 18). José then goes on to share how that conflict does not end at Guatemala's border: "Some of the Houston-Maya are American citizens or have permanent resident status: They discriminate against newcomers, affirms José, despite sharing the same heritage and genetics as their undocumented brethren" (Mayo, April 18).

*La Prensa's* content did not extend diversity of opinion within the Hispanic community to their hard news articles. The solitary other instance of such diversity was discernable only after a careful reading and analysis of multiple articles concerning Arizona's SB 1070. In "A Song Contest to Spur Debate about Immigration Reform," Angela Covo quotes Dr. Paul Ruiz, a San Antonio native, saying, "There is no question too many are coming over illegally, and we have to do something." This statement stands out as a difference in opinion because it is the only instance within three month's coverage of immigration where a member of the Hispanic community offers a negative view of illegal immigration. In contrast, some articles clearly aimed to portray those who immigrated illegally in a positive light.

### *Social Rank/ Civic Involvement*

This category was one in which three month's content was able to provide an extensive amount of diversity. Journalists at *La Prensa* demonstrated the diverse Hispanic society in numerous ways – from language abilities and job capabilities to work ethic and civil rights. The majority of the selected articles contained at least one, although often multiple references to such social diversity. Eduardo Mayo's "From Totoncapán to Texas: A Series" is, in fact, an example for all four categories of diversity. For this category in particular, Mayo described José's work ethic while in the United States in clear contrast to the other Guatemalan men with whom he stayed. Mayo explains how José left home with nothing and was able to return with enough to provide for his family:

“He returned to Guatemala in 2007 [...] having not only provided for the daily needs of his family but having financed the construction of a humble home on the outskirts of the City of Totoncapán. [...] By working day and night at odd jobs: landscaping, dishwashing, warehousing: anything to make a buck. While he saved his money, [...] some of his indigenous compatriots spent their earnings on beer, cigarettes, drugs and sex— drowning in their sorrows.” (Mayo, April 11)

The contrast in ethics is very clear in this passage. Other articles describe the varying levels of education within the Hispanic community through skill level. Some, typically new immigrants, hold the label of low-skilled workers, limited to jobs such as José's. Others are doctors, businessmen, Congress members and other important government officials.

Another frequent expression of diversity included civic involvement – even through peaceful protests. Civic involvement was particularly interesting because the articles expressed a range in the rights and abilities of both legal and illegal residents, as well as the overall power and influence of the Hispanic community. The articles made it very clear that the community was aware of what sway their opinion can hold, especially in the matter of immigration. In a syndicated article by EFE, “El 1 de mayo, movilizaciones para pedir más impulse a la reforma,” Gabe Gonzales, from the Centro por el Cambio en la Comunidad (Center for Community Change), stated, “Somos conscientes del poder que tenemos la comunidad inmigrante y latina tanto política como económicamente. Y lo vamos a utilizar.” (“We are conscious of the power that we the immigrant and Latino community have, as much political as economic. And we are going to use it.”)

One article in particular, “Presentan la campaña “Pídame mis papeles” para denunciar la ley de Arizona,” also syndicated by EFE, stood out as an example of this form of diversity. This article tied everything together by pointing out the numerous roles Hispanics play in American society and how they apply them to their civic involvement through peaceful protests. The article explains how Democracia Ahora, a national organization that supports Hispanic rights, announced a new campaign against SB 1070, in which Hispanics traveled to Arizona with signs declaring “Ask Me for My Papers.” Democracia Ahora’s president, Jorge Mursuli, explained the purpose of demonstrating Hispanic’s diverse roles in society:

“¿Quiere ver los papeles de un latino? Él posiblemente le mostraría su título de abogado o una carta que le escribió su hija. ¿Quiere ver los papeles de una latina? Quizás ella le mostraría una carta de ascenso en el trabajo o su tarjeta

de la biblioteca. Queremos que ustedes vean nuestros aportes, nuestros logros, nuestras familias, el lugar valioso que ocupamos en la sociedad estadounidense”, dijo el activista. (Presentan).

(“You want to see the papers of a Latino? He would possibly show you his lawyer’s title or a letter his daughter wrote to him. You want to see the papers of a Latina? Perhaps she would show you a letter of job advancement or her library card. We want you to see our accomplishments, our work, our families, the valiant place that we occupy in the United States’ society,” the activist said.)

Democracia Ahora advertised the campaign in Arizona with commercials featuring a Hispanic soldier, farmer, teacher, architect or doctor who shares his or her success story (Presentan).

### *Legal Standing*

Among the four categories of diversity, this was the one category *La Prensa’s* journalists were most likely to represent in their articles, in addition to appearing most frequently in syndicated news and published press releases. It was also the easiest category for any article to demonstrate as it only required the implication of at least two different legal standings within the Hispanic community in one article. Most accomplished this by referencing or addressing the Hispanic-American community at large, as well as mentioning those who are undocumented. There were, however, also references to criminal activity or convictions that influenced certain Hispanic individuals’ legal standing. The most common differences in legal standing fell into the following categories: legal resident, United States’ citizen, temporary resident, amnesty, illegal alien, and those who were once in the U.S. illegally and had since gained legal residency. No

matter what their legal status, *La Prensa's* coverage of the interaction within the Hispanic community remained almost 100 percent positive. Another interesting note within this portion of the study was the variety of ways in which the articles referred to undocumented immigrants. These terms included: aliens, innocent workers, undocumented, undocumented immigrant, migrants, unauthorized workers, illegal, and emigrant. Selected articles also included a similarly broad listing of nomenclatures for the Hispanic community at large.

### *Country of Origin/ Reason(s) for Immigrating*

Although not as limited as differences in opinion, *La Prensa's* content did not portray diversity in this category to the level hypothesized. While there was diversity among the reasons for immigrating, a mere single article saved countries of origin from being limited to Mexico, Guatemala and Ecuador. Notably, Mexico is the only country of origin mentioned within hard news articles pertaining to Arizona's SB 1070. The article that included other countries, "Mexicanos encabezan número de extranjeros que recibieron la residencia legal," by EFE, describes how Mexicans are the leading Hispanic nationality to receive legal residency in 2009. The article also lists other Hispanic nationalities where large numbers have received legal residency, including Dominican Republicans, Cubans, Columbians, Haitians, Salvadorians and Peruvians (Mexicanos encabezan). Although outside of the context of this study, the April 4 issue of *La Prensa* also included a photo spread under the heading of "Comunidad" (Community). Photos chronicled a parade asking for migratory reform, in which Hispanics and others were dressed in the different outfits associated with various Hispanic nationalities (Piden reforma migratoria).

Selected articles also presented diversity in this area by describing varying reasons for immigration. Once again, Eduardo Mayo's series presents an example of such diversity. Mayo describes José's reasons for immigrating as a mixture that was largely economics, as well as political and historical (April 4). One column by Joseph B. De Mott, an immigration lawyer, describes varied reasons such as immigration as a tourist, student or visitor (¿Por qué tengo que ir a Ciudad Juárez?). The majority of such references, however, fall in line with Patricia Garza's argument in the article "¿Vendrá ley anti-inmigrante a Texas?" that "la mayoría deja a sus familias en busca de un mejor porvenir para ellos, sacrifican su realidad por venir a este país en busca del famoso sueño americano." ("The majority [of immigrants] leave their families in search of a better way to provide for them, sacrificing their reality to come to this country in search of the famous American dream.")

## **RQ2: In what areas is the portrayal of diversity scarce?**

Within the four major categories of diversity, *La Prensa's* coverage of immigration presented a high level of diversity in legal standing and social rank/civic involvement. There was also a moderate level of diversity within country of origin/reason(s) for immigrating. The biggest issue for this category was that journalists presented hard news immigration articles as though Mexicans were the *only* immigrants. Most notably, however, is the way in which diversity was blatantly lacking in the final category, differences in opinion.

Outside of the rare instances previously mentioned, any portrayal of differences in opinion on or surrounding the topic of immigration was nonexistent within the Hispanic community. Instead, *La Prensa* presented a unified front, choosing to describe Hispanics as a community that seemed to be almost defined by its solidarity. While *La Prensa* described the rest

of America as being split between supporting or opposing Arizona's SB 1070, the entire Hispanic community was always described as being solidly against it. Because the Hispanic community is *La Prensa's* target audience, this allowed the articles to take a strong advocacy stance against the legislation, as well as anyone or anything that opposed immigration. That advocacy caused them to present a very unified front on issues that actually limited their portrayal of diversity.

By not presenting conflict or diversity in opinion within the Hispanic community, *La Prensa* was able to focus on any existing conflict with the outside community. Lisa Paulin, in her study, "Driving Under the Influence of 9/11: Latino Marginalization Reflected in North Carolina Newspapers," found that the periodicals' grouping of the community between those who had the right as "legitimate members of society" to hold drivers licenses versus those who did not created an "us" versus "them" discourse that allowed Latinos to be marginalized (8). *La Prensa* demonstrated the same idea of "us" vs. "them," only in this case the "us" was the Hispanic community and "them" the oppressing majority. This was very clear in articles published at the end of April through mid-May. Patricia Garza's "¿Vendrá ley anti-inmigrante a Texas?" is one example. Garza explicitly stated in her article that Latinos are united in the fight against Arizona. She also quoted Ronald Rodriguez, a United States citizen, as saying, "“Dudo que una persona rubia de ojos azules, o una persona de raza negra tengan que probar su nacionalidad, esto es un sueño racista, hecho realidad”" (Garza). ("I doubt that a blonde person with blue eyes, or a Black person will be asked their nationality, this is a racist dream, made reality.") In the May 16 publication of "San Antonio desapueba Ley 1070 de Arizona", Roberto J. Pérez, a journalist with *La Prensa*, made the statement that not only Hispanic immigrants, but also members of the

general public were protesting SB 1070 (Pérez). From this article forward, the conflict shifted to “us” together with “some of them” versus “the rest of them.”

### *USA TODAY*

As one of the nation’s leading newspapers, *USA TODAY* is able to publish five days a week to over five million daily readers (*USA TODAY* Online Subscription). Because they print more frequently than *La Prensa*, *USA TODAY* was able to publish more articles within the three-month time frame of the study. Both periodicals peppered articles dealing with immigration throughout their publications. However, it is noteworthy to mention that *USA TODAY*’s coverage extended into their Sports section as well, whereas *La Prensa* only made reference to immigration’s impact as a hot-button issue on sports within news articles. The majority of *USA TODAY*’s immigration articles focused on Arizona’s SB 1070. Within this study’s timeframe, the periodical made its first mention of the senate bill on April 19. There was a very significant increase in articles concerning immigration after that date.

### **RQ1: How does *USA TODAY* portray diversity within the Hispanic community?**

#### *Differences in Opinion*

This category was the least represented of the four in *USA TODAY*’s coverage. However, there were a handful of articles that demonstrated ways in which members of the Hispanic community hold diverse opinions. (All of the *USA TODAY* articles with diversity of opinion were hard news stories.) The first article to represent diversity of opinion within the Hispanic community, “Labor Unions and Civil Rights Groups Boycott Arizona,” by Erin Kelly included

the somewhat typical information for immigration articles about Hispanic organizations fighting against Arizona's new law. However, Kelly also included a poll of registered Latino voters in Arizona that the National Council of La Raza had commissioned. The study found that 55 percent supported a boycott and 41 percent did not (Kelly). Daniel Gonzalez included something similar in his article, "Arizona Immigration Law Backlash Spurs Hispanics to Join Democrats." Gonzalez also included a poll of registered Latino voters. According to the article, ASU researchers found that 81 percent oppose the Arizona law strongly or somewhat that while 59 percent place the blame on the Republican Party and 60 percent feel that Democrats did not do enough to block the law (Gonzalez). These are some examples of how news articles can portray differences in opinion within a community and give the readers a holistic, and more realistic, view.

Polls were not the only examples of differences in opinion within the Hispanic community. Some articles demonstrated this diversity through conflict. There were two articles concerning Mexico's fight against Hispanic immigrants. One article, "Mexico Consul Braces for Fallout from Arizona Immigration Law," also by Daniel Gonzalez, includes the statement that "the Mexican government does not condone illegal immigration," indicating that some of the Mexican people do not agree with the actions of other Hispanics and that they therefore harbor differing opinions. This idea of conflict between Mexicans and other Hispanic people is clearly portrayed in the article, "Activists Blast Mexico's Immigration Law – Migrants Say the Country's Strict ID Requirements are Similar to What Arizona is Implementing," by Chris Hawley. When the Mexican government indicated their disapproval of the Arizona law, a backlash resounded from the Hispanic community. Central American migrants reported

harassment and racial profiling while passing through Mexico. The article includes a quote that summarizes much of what the Central American's were saying: "“The Mexican government should probably clean up its own house before looking at someone else's,” said Melissa Vertiz, spokeswoman for the Fray Matias de Cordova Human Rights Center in Tapachula, Mexico” (Hawley).

### *Social Rank/Civic Involvement*

*USA TODAY's* April through June coverage of immigration demonstrated an abundance of diversity in this category. Articles included members of the Hispanic community from all levels of life, from the world's richest man, politicians, doctors, lawyers and judges to soldiers, mechanics, construction workers and students. Other means of showing diversity included language abilities, social acceptance and civic involvement. The level of civic involvement by members of the Hispanic community was very diverse throughout *USA TODAY's* coverage. Hispanics, both legal and illegal, were portrayed as actively protesting, others as hiding, and others still as running or fleeing from Arizona. Articles demonstrated differing language abilities in a number of ways. Many articles included interviews with Hispanic people speaking in English. One article, “Officers Sue Over Arizona’s New Immigration Law,” by Ofelia Madrid, described how Tucson officer Martin Escobar filed a suit due to concerns about being asked to racially profile, among other issues. He also shared his personal concerns over the law, such as his mother’s ability to communicate should she be questioned, because she is a U.S. citizen who automatically switches to Spanish in stressful situations (Madrid). In another article, “Arizona Law Adds a Census Hurdle – In Border State Where a Third of Residents are Hispanic, Fear

Percolates,” by Haya El Nasser, Census workers described encountering language barriers, indicating those who were only able to speak very little, if any, English.

Unfortunately, racism has long haunted the United States. Today, many Hispanics face differing levels of acceptance. Many of *USA TODAY*'s articles described varying perceptions of the Hispanic community. This type of diversity is different from others mentioned in this study because it focuses more on the diverse ways others view the Hispanic community. However, this type of diversity still holds great impact on and within the community itself. “Democrats’ Immigration Proposal has Menendez Involvement,” by Raju Chebium, quotes Sen. Robert Menendez explaining how Hispanics do not see themselves as second-class citizens, but laws such as Arizona’s make them out to be a “suspect class.” In “Phoenix Women Testify Against Arizona Immigration Law,” by Peter Urban, single mother Alma Mendoza explained the impact the law could have when she expressed her fear that immigrants would be afraid to approach the police for help against domestic violence and other situations. Of course, not everyone outside of the Hispanic community sees them as second class. Alan Gomez’s article, “People Sympathetic but Want Security – Survey Shows Duality in Views on Immigration,” demonstrated just that. Gomez quoted a man from the New American Foundation, Tomas Jimenez: ““On the one hand, they don’t like the idea that people are breaking our immigration laws, that it appears we have a southern border that is out of control,’ Jimenez said. ‘On the other hand, they think the people coming here who work hard, who have dreams of a better life, are really participating in an American tradition that is as old as this country.’” Several other articles also addressed how those outside the Hispanic community were able to recognize their economic and political strength instead of this idea of Hispanics as the undesirables.

## *Legal Standing*

Many of *USA TODAY*'s articles surrounding immigration portrayed diversity in this category, most of which did this by simply including the idea that some Hispanics are in the United States legally while others are here illegally. As in *La Prensa*, there were numerous ways to describe the legality of their presence, from "undocumented" to "U.S. citizen" to "permanent resident." Other articles, however, included a bit more depth than the simple use of these key phrases. This was typically accomplished by delving into the immigrant or citizen's background, explaining any prior run-ins with the law, or simply presenting them as a valid, active member of society. One example is the article, "Calderon, Obama Assail Arizona Immigration Law," by Mimi Hall. In this article, Presidents Obama and Calderon both addressed the Arizona law's potential to cause racial profiling and discrimination against Hispanics. This alone meets the qualifiers for diversity because the presidents were both legitimizing some members of the Hispanic community and acknowledging that there are others who are in the United States illegally. In addition, the article includes a reference to an incident where first lady Michelle Obama visited an elementary school. The article described the incident: "A second-grade girl asked the first lady whether it was true that her husband was "taking everybody away that doesn't have papers" and expressed concern that her mother didn't have "papers." The first lady gently replied, "We have to fix that"" (Hall). The tone of this quote is notable because it leaves the reader with almost a feeling of sympathy or even empathy for the little girl's mother, which is unusual for a hard-news story.

### *Country of Origin/ Reason(s) for Immigrating*

This category was also underrepresented, although not to the level of the first category of differences in opinion. *USA TODAY*'s coverage only depicted diversity in country of origin by simply stating the subject's birthplace. Other possibilities would have been a listing of Hispanic countries or percentages of immigrants from different Hispanic countries, among other options. One of the presentations of diversity in this category was the article, "Immigrants Walk to Washington to Urge Better Treatment," by Bart Jansen. The article described four immigrants, three illegal and one a permanent resident, who were all from different Latin American countries, including Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia (Jansen). Other articles included countries such as Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua and Cuba, in addition to the commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Although only a single article listed more than one reason for someone to immigrate to the United States, *USA TODAY*'s overall coverage of immigration included four unique reasons. Raju Chebium's article, "Graham: Immigration Reform Won't Pass until 2012," included Senator Lindsey Graham's statement that "drug wars south of the border are prompting many Mexicans to flee to the U.S." Anne Ryman's article, "Arizona Immigration Law Motivating Youths to Embrace Community Activism," included examples of young activists who "were brought to the U.S. illegally as children by their parents," one of whose mother "fled Mexico with him and his two sisters to escape domestic violence." In the article, "Arizona Students Leaving Their Schools Due to Immigration Law," by John Faherty, a family of illegal immigrants complained of the irony of their situation, as they felt forced to move their children

to Mexico: “They moved to this country, in part, so their children could have a better life. Now, they are taking them from the only country they have ever known.”

## **RQ2: In what areas is the portrayal of diversity scarce?**

*USA TODAY*'s coverage of immigration presented varying levels of diversity in each of the four categories. Of these, two categories – differences in opinion and country of origin – seemed to fall short of the mark. There were very few instances that demonstrated a difference in opinion within the Hispanic community and even fewer were more developed than the simple statement of the results of a poll. Clearly, a group of people as large as the entire Hispanic community is going to be full of numerous and diverse opinions. Yet this did not come across in the articles. With deeper research, journalists could have accomplished this task by discussing different Hispanic immigrants' ideas about immigration reform or how Arizona could alter the law to address their concerns. Another way to improve this area would have been to take the earlier mentioned polls as starting points for an article, rather than as a simple fact buried in the middle. Hispanic interviewees could have then explained in more depth how and why they hold differing opinions.

The category of country of origin/reason(s) for immigrating was similarly poorly represented and contained very little depth. While the articles listed a good number of Hispanic countries, the journalists never related how that country is significant to their subjects, excluding the one reference to immigrants escaping Mexico's drug wars (Chebium). Many Hispanic countries have extremely turbulent political and economic histories that would have a major impact on emigration. In turn, that could also have had a major impact on the reader's perception

of immigrants. In light of the number of Hispanic immigrants in the United States, one would imagine that there would be far more than four reasons behind their decision to immigrate.

**RQ3: Within two weeks, how much diversity did each newspaper portray?**

*La Prensa* and *USA TODAY*

Conducting a quantitative study to compliment the qualitative helped to emphasize the results and ensure accuracy. Although the true focus of this study was on the *how* and not the *how much*, both are pertinent and play off one another. Excluding editorials, *La Prensa* included 39 articles focusing on the topic of immigration over the three-month time frame; *USA TODAY* included 74 articles. The two weeks included in this section of the study begin with the first article to mention Arizona's proposed SB 1070. This timeframe seems a fair decision because, in both newspapers and with mass media in general, there is often a trend for the bulk of coverage to occur immediately surrounding an event. After so much time passes, the media and their audiences focus more on updates and repeated summaries than the initial width and depth of coverage.

Within the two-week timeframe of the quantitative study, from April 18 to May 2, 2010, *La Prensa* published seven articles concerning the topic of immigration. Of those articles, all presented some level of diversity within the Hispanic community for the newspaper's overall coverage. *USA TODAY* published 28 immigration-related articles within the same timeframe and 21 of those articles (75 percent) gave at least some level of diversity towards the newspaper's overall presentation of Hispanics. However, only six articles from *La Prensa* (86 percent) and 18 articles from *USA TODAY* (64 percent) demonstrated diversity in and of themselves, without considering the respective newspaper's overall coverage. Utilizing the four categories of

diversity helped to break this data down even further. Within *USA TODAY*'s coverage, diversity in social rank and civic involvement appeared the most often, followed by the legal standing and country of origin categories. Diversity of opinion did not appear over the course of the two-week timeframe. *La Prensa*'s data was slightly different in that diversity in legal standing was the most frequent to appear, followed by social rank and civic involvement, country of origin and reason(s) for immigrating, and differences in opinion. The following chart represents the breakdown in percentages:

<b>Categories of Diversity</b>	<b><i>La Prensa</i></b>	<b><i>USA TODAY</i></b>
Opinion	<b>14.3</b>	<b>0</b>
Legal	<b>100</b>	<b>35.7</b>
Social	<b>85.7</b>	<b>67.9</b>
Nationality	<b>57.1</b>	<b>21.4</b>

Of the two-week's worth of coverage by both newspapers, only one article, "From Totoncapán to Texas: A Series," by Eduardo Jiménez Mayo, portrayed all four categories of diversity.

# Conclusions

## Conclusions

Harold Lasswell's model for interpreting forms of communication can also aid in combining the data and breaking it down for a comparison and final analysis of both newspapers. The first step of this model is to consider the *Who*, followed by the "*Says What/ In Which Channel/ To Whom/ With What Effect?*" (Lasswell 37). In this study, the *Who* has already been explored. This included *La Prensa*'s staff writers, outside sources such as press releases, and EFE, as well as *USA TODAY*'s staff writers and the Gannett News Service. This concluding section will answer the remaining portions of Lasswell's model within each major category of diversity.

### *Differences in Opinion*

While the quantitative study found more differences in opinion in *La Prensa* than *USA TODAY*, it is important to note that the qualitative study did not match this finding. *La Prensa* limited the portrayal of diversity under this category to three examples, two of which were in the same article. In contrast, *USA TODAY*'s coverage had four examples from four respective articles. In addition, there was a notable difference in the way *USA TODAY* portrayed the Hispanic community's stance on immigration and the Arizona bill (which ties into Lasswell's *Says What*) (37). While some articles mentioned that the law had caused a national uproar, especially from Hispanics, it did not have the same divisive flavor. There was no indication that the entire Hispanic community was against the bill. On the contrary, published polls implied the opposite in two separate articles. *La Prensa* chose instead to limit diversity of opinion and present an undivided community while advocating against the law and thereby losing their neutrality.

These findings support the need for and value of the traditional journalistic norms. Nishikawa, Towner, Clawson and Waltenburg's study, "Interviewing the Interviewers: Journalistic Norms and Racial Diversity in the Newsroom," explored the impact of these journalist norms, beginning their research based on journalistic traditions: "Scholars have identified and critiqued the norms of objectivity, accuracy, balance, and fairness because these norms limit what journalists deem as news and influence how that news is presented. [. . .] Objective and fair reporting demands that journalists report two sides of an issue regardless of the nature or complexity of the issue" (244). However, Nishikawa, et al. argued that minority newspapers as "'advocacy presses' select news based on their audience and, most importantly, report the news from a Black or Latino perspective. [. . .] Minority journalists in mainstream organizations, however, face a great deal of pressure to steer clear of advocacy journalism or any type of coverage that presents a complex picture of minorities" (244-5). While mainstream media avoids advocacy and generally aims to present both sides of every story, minority presses (including *La Prensa*) may lean towards advocacy in an effort to meet the needs of their community. However, in contrast to Nishikawa, Towner, Clawson and Waltenburg's study's conclusions that mainstream norms "constrain" minority journalists, this study found that advocacy by minority presses constrains diversity (254).

Indeed, it is also important to note, as Nishikawa, et al.'s study does support, diversity of opinion is, traditionally, the most important form of diversity a journalist can depict (244). This also makes the finding that both newspapers portrayed differences in opinion the least of all the categories all the more significant. These newspapers could have revealed differences in opinion through conflict, polls, or simply quotes from members of the Hispanic community stating

distinctive point of views. In summary, however, the study found that staff writers at *La Prensa* chose to say “advocacy” while addressing their Hispanic audience while at *USA TODAY* staff and syndicated writers simply rarely addressed this diversity to their mainstream demographic. The effect was similar in that both limited diversity. However, *La Prensa*, despite its smaller audience and greater opportunity, abandoned journalistic norms, which resulted in an even greater constraint on diversity. In both situations, the consequence of this lack of diversity could be that this coverage leaves the reader with an uninformed or incomplete view of the opinions and needs of the Hispanic community. In such situations, it is also important to remember the downward gradient in the diffusion of information that theorists have documented when working with the Social Expectation Theory (Bandura 51), as this suggests readers pass along their misinformation to others.

### *Social Standing/ Civic Involvement*

Both *La Prensa* and *USA TODAY* included a high level of social diversity in their coverage, as the quantitative and qualitative studies were able to prove. Not only did this category of diversity appear frequently in both publications, it also held the most depth, as each newspaper portrayed social diversity in numerous ways. Applying Lasswell’s model did reveal slight differences, however. Because *La Prensa*’s content is for Hispanics and by Hispanics, it offered a slightly more insider view of these social differences compared to *USA TODAY*’s slightly outsider view. For example, in regards to civic involvement, *La Prensa*’s articles focused on how legal standing impacted members social involvement, *USA TODAY*’s articles focused on the Hispanic community’s varying level of social acceptance among the mainstream community and how Hispanics reacted to that in turn. So although both provided a holistic view of social

diversity within the Hispanic community, each did so in a manner that took its respective audiences into account and, in response, gave slightly different points of view. This forms symbolic models that have the true breadth, depth and life of the community that the reader may then disseminate to others (Bandura 51).

### *Legal Standing*

Of the four categories, legal standing was the most similar as far as what each newspaper was saying to its respective audiences, although each used a different variety of terms in reference to individuals' legal or illegal presence. This alone is significant because some of the terminology has sparked considerable debate. For example, in 2009, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAJH) deemed terms such as "illegals" and "illegal aliens" as "dehumanizing" and "pejorative" (NAJH Urges News Media). Outside of direct quotes, there was a noticeable absence of these terms in *USA TODAY*. However, "illegal immigrant" was prevalent, despite the fact that the NAJH listed "'undocumented immigrant' or 'undocumented worker'" as their preference over this term as well (NAJH Urges News Media). Perhaps surprisingly considering their audience, *La Prensa* used all of these terms. In summary, each newspaper said similar things, only using somewhat different terms that may carry varying cogitations that have differing impacts on the reader's positive or negative perception of the community. In addition, because *La Prensa* addresses a Hispanic audience, it was easier to portray this type of diversity in comparison to *USA TODAY*. In the latter newspaper's coverage, the Hispanic community, legal and illegal standing had to be included, while it was implicit that *La Prensa* referred to Hispanics.

### *Country of Origin/ Reason(s) for Immigrating*

Finally, there were notable differences in each periodical's coverage of this last category. In *La Prensa*, the articles included very little diversity in country of origin, and at least seven different reasons why Hispanics immigrate. In *USA TODAY*, however, there was more diversity in country of origin, and only four different reasons why Hispanics have immigrated. Once again, the audience has an impact as the difference here lies in the fact that *La Prensa*, in its attempts to portray Hispanics as unified, downplayed any diversity by including only generalities of why the Hispanic people as a whole immigrate. As a result, the reader's perception could be one of monotony, causing him or her to miss the rich tapestry that is really present. In contrast, *USA TODAY* included the individual's country of origin and, in four rare occasions, their reason for immigrating. Nevertheless, three of the four reasons *USA TODAY* listed were closely related, all easily falling under the idea of "escape." Of course, this may fit the mainstream audience's expectations as it corresponds to the typecast of America as a land of dreams and opportunity, which also means that this lack of diversity could be playing into stereotypes. The end result is that *La Prensa* left its audience with a limited view of national diversity while *USA TODAY* left its audience with a limited view of why Hispanics immigrate.

### Summary

The Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics encourages the following behaviors: seek truth and report it, minimize harm, act independently, and be accountable (SPJ Code of Ethics). While all are relevant to this study, the first (and also the greatest among journalistic tradition) holds the most impact. Among the necessary actions for a journalist to fulfill this call, he or she must do the following: "Tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of

the human experience boldly, even when it is unpopular to do so. Examine their own cultural values and avoid imposing those values on others. Avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status” (SPJ Code of Ethics). None of these things are easy, but all are essential to an honest, clear representation of the truth. Obviously, this requires purposeful action and serious study of the best way to portray anything, but most especially a people.

When looking for the truth of how to portray the Hispanic community, journalists have something to learn from each of the four categories of diversity. Both differences in opinion and country of origin/reason(s) for immigrating revealed the need to uphold the traditional journalistic standards. While advocacy may be a tempting route for minority newspapers or minority journalists, it only serves to limit the truth when presented as news reporting. Following the SPJ’s Code of Ethics, it is important to distinguish between the two (SPJ Code of Ethics). In addition, it is important to consider what type of diversity is most important for the journalist to emphasize. While social diversity may help the reader form a more holistic view of the Hispanic community, it is more in keeping with journalistic tradition for newspapers to be a medium for exchanging ideas, i.e. differences in opinion, and to “support the open exchange of views” (SPJ Code of Ethics). However, journalists can look to the diversity in social rank/civic involvement because *La Prensa* and *USA TODAY* were able to find the balance that may be lacking in other categories. Even though their content was unique to their respective audience, it still presented a high level of diversity. Finally, the category of legal standing showed how mainstream media face the challenge of addressing a larger, more diverse audience. These media may therefore be held to a different standard than those seen as a part of the minority community. Together these

lessons can aid journalists as they search for the true, diverse portrayal of the Hispanic community.

## What Comes Next

There are some ways that future research could improve on or add to this study. For example, while *La Prensa* is a good representation of the average Hispanic newspaper, a larger Hispanic newspaper, such as Los Angeles' *La Opinión*, may fit closer with the standard of *USA TODAY* due to larger distribution and more frequent publishing. *La Opinión* was not available for this study due to limited access to its archives. With the availability of coders to sort through the articles, the study could also be expanded to include more mainstream and Hispanic newspapers. Additional categories of diversity could include gender, age, and official versus non-official sources. This area of study could also benefit from a longitudinal analysis. Moreover, additional research focusing solely on Hispanic newspapers and the use and effect of advocacy in news reporting would be valuable. Naturally, as there is continued growth in the Hispanic community, there will be a growing need for increased representations of diversity and a growing need for researchers to delve into the complexities of presenting a true interpretation of this, and other, diverse groups.

## *El Fin*

Diversity may be inescapable, but for the journalist, it should never be inexplicable. After all, as Eduardo Mayo stated in the concluding paragraphs of "From Totoncapán to Texas: A Series": "The truth is not singular; it's plural" (April 18). National, mainstream newspapers such as *USA TODAY* have a responsibility, both to minorities and the public at large, to present a complete, holistic view of people, places and events. Minority newspapers also share that

responsibility, along with the responsibility of the time-honored, journalistic traditions that have served the people for so long, and continue to do so. Perhaps most important is the responsibility of every journalist to seek out and represent the true, complex view of diversity.

## Works Cited

- “39 Million Make Hispanics Largest U.S. Minority Group.” *USA TODAY* 6 June 2003  
<[http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/census/2003-06-18-Census\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/census/2003-06-18-Census_x.htm)>.
- About*. National Association of Hispanic Journalists. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.nahj.org/about/>>.
- About Us*. National Council of La Raza. 25 January 2011.  
<[http://www.nclr.org/index.php/about\\_us/](http://www.nclr.org/index.php/about_us/)>.
- “As Reform Falters, Immigration Battle Rages in Arizona.” *The New York Times* 29 July 2010  
<<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/06/20/opinion/immigration-editorials.html?ref=arizonaimmigrationlawsb1070>>.
- Atkin, Hillary. “Latino Journalists Face Touchy Topics; Immigration, Black- Brown Relations on Agenda in Chicago.” *TelevisionWeek*. (2008, July 21) 6 April 2010.
- Bandura, Albert. *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977.
- Baron, Stanley J. *Introduction to Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2009.
- Byerly, Carolyn, Kehbama Langmia, and Jamila Cupid. “Localism and the Ethnic Minority News Audience.” *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2007): 1-35. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. EBSCO. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.
- Chebium, Raju. “Democrats’ Immigration Proposal has Menendez Involvement.” *USA TODAY* 30 April 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011  
<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- . “Graham: Immigration Reform Won’t Pass Until 2012.” *USA TODAY* 27 April 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Chura, Hillary. “Papers Chase Markets to Add Reach.” *Advertising Age* 76.5 (2005). *EBSCO*. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 7 February 2010. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.
- Company Profile*. Gannett. 6 February 2011.  
<[http://www.gannett.com/about/company\\_profile.htm](http://www.gannett.com/about/company_profile.htm)>.
- Correa, Teresa and America Rodriguez. “Ahora es Cool Hablar Español: Growth and Fragmentation of Latino Newspapers.” *Conference Papers -- National Communication Association* (2008): 1-26. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. EBSCO. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 7 February 2010. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.

- Covo, Angela. "A Song Contest to Spur Debate about Immigration Reform." *La Prensa*. 16 May 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- De Mott, Joseph B. "¿Por qué tengo que ir a Ciudad Juárez? Tengo miedo." *La Prensa*. 4 April 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- "El 1 de mayo, movilizaciones para pedir más impulse a la reforma." *La Prensa*. 18 April 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO)*. United States Census Bureau. 17 January 2011. <[http://www.census.gov/eo/special\\_emphasis\\_programs/hispanic\\_heritage.html](http://www.census.gov/eo/special_emphasis_programs/hispanic_heritage.html)>.
- Escalona, Alejandro. "The Tribune's Stories Reach a Spanish-Speaking Audience." *Nieman Reports* 60.3 (2006): 46. *EBSCO*. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 7 February 2010 <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.
- Faherty, John. "Arizona Students Leaving Their Schools Due to Immigration Law." *USA TODAY* 28 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Fitzgerald, Mark. "State of Hispanic America: National Council of La Raza says negative stereotyping by both Hollywood and news organizations is holding down Latino progress in civil rights, education, housing and the economy." *Editor & Publisher* 127.92 (1994): 11. *General OneFile*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 17 January 2011. <[www.galegroup.com](http://www.galegroup.com)>.
- Jansen, Bart. "Immigrants Walk to Washington to Urge Better Treatment." *USA TODAY* 28 April 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Garza, Patricia. "¿Vendrá ley anti-inmigrante a Texas?" *La Prensa*. 2 May 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- Gersh, Debra. "Portrayals of Latinos in and by the media." *Editor & Publisher* 126.31 (1993): 12. *General OneFile*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 7 February 2010. <[www.galegroup.com](http://www.galegroup.com)>.
- Gomez, Alan. "People Sympathetic but Want Security – Survey Shows Duality in Views on Immigration." *USA TODAY* 4 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

Gonzalez, Daniel. "Arizona Immigration Law Backlash Spurs Hispanics to Join Democrats." *USA TODAY* 8 June 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

---. "Mexico Consul Braces for Fallout from Arizona Immigration Law." *USA TODAY* 12 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

Guzmán, Isabel Molina. "Competing discourses of community: Ideological tensions between local general-market and Latino news media." *Journalism* 7 (2006): 281-298.

Hall, Mimi. "Calderon, Obama Assail Arizona Immigration Law." *USA TODAY* 20 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

Hawley, Chris. "Activists Blast Mexico's Immigration Law – Migrants Say the County's Strict ID Requirements are Similar to What Arizona is Implementing." *USA TODAY* 26 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

*Hispanic Heritage Month 2010: Sept 15 – Oct 15*. U.S. Census Bureau. 17 January 2011. <[http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts\\_for\\_features\\_special\\_editions/cb10-ff17.html](http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/cb10-ff17.html)>.

"Hispanic Portrayals." *Quill* 83.6 (1996): 14. *EBSCO*. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 17 January 2011. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.

Janowitz, Morris. "Harold D. Lasswell's Contribution to Content Analysis." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. 32.4 (1969): 646-653. *JSTOR*. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 6 April 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org>>.

Katz, Vikki. "Is There Room for Spanish in the National Dialogue? California News Content and Narrowing Public Debate on Bilingual Education." *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2005): 1. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. *EBSCO*. C-N Lib. Jeff City, TN. 17 January 2010 <[www.web.ebscohost.com](http://www.web.ebscohost.com)>.

Kelly, Erin. "Labor Unions and Civil Rights Groups Boycott Arizona." *USA TODAY* 6 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.

*Key Supreme Court Cases*. American Bar Association. 8 February 2011. <[http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public\\_education/initiatives\\_awards/students\\_in\\_action/schenck.html](http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_education/initiatives_awards/students_in_action/schenck.html)>.

- La Prensa de San Antonio*. La Prensa. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.wellmedgives.org/pdf/LaPrensa%20Project%20Cool%20060610.pdf>>.
- La Prensa Foundation History*. La Prensa 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.laprensasa.com/2.0/4/310/107132/La-Prensa-Foundation-Inc/La-Prensa-Foundation-History.html>>.
- Lasswell, H. "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society." In L. Bryson (Ed.), *The Communication of Ideas* 37-51. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.
- Madrid, Ofelia. "Officers Sue Over Arizona's New Immigration Law." *USA TODAY* 15 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011  
<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Mayer, Vicki. "From Segmented to Fragmented: Latino Media in San Antonio, Texas." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 78.2 (2001): 291-306. *ProQuest*. 18 January 2011.  
<<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=80872191&Fmt=4&clientId=113428&RQT=309&VName=PQD>>.
- Mayo, Eduardo Jiménez. "From Totonicapán to Texas: A Series." *La Prensa*. 4, 11, 18 April 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- "Mexicanos encabezan número de extranjeros que recibieron la residencia legal." *La Prensa*. 11 April 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- NAHJ Urges News Media To Stop Using The Term "Illegals" When Covering Immigration*. National Association for Hispanic Journalists. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.nahj.org/2009/09/nahj-urges-news-media-to-stop-using-the-term-illegals-when-covering-immigration/>>.
- Nasser, Haya El. "Arizona Law Adds a Census Hurdle – In Border State Where a Third of Residents are Hispanic, Fear Percolates." *USA TODAY* 25 May 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Nation's Population One-Third Minority*. Census. 10 May 2006. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb06-72.html>>.
- Neuendorf, Kimberly A. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002.
- Nishikawa, Katsuo, Terri Towner, Rosalee Clawson, and Eric Waltenburg. "Interviewing the Interviewers: Journalistic Norms and Racial Diversity in the Newsroom." *Howard Journal of Communications* 20.3 (2009): 242-259 *EBSCO*. C-N Lib, Jeff City, TN. 17 January 2011. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.

- Paulin, Lisa. "Driving Under the Influence of 9/11: Latino Marginalization Reflected in North Carolina Newspapers." *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2008): 1-43. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. EBSCO. 7 February 2010. <web.ebscohost.com>.
- . "In a Pickle: How Latino Newspapers Helped Fight the South's Antiunion Discourse and Won." *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2008): 1-36. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. EBSCO. 7 February 2010. <web.ebscohost.com>.
- Pérez, Roberto J. "San Antonio desaprueba Ley 1070 de Arizona." *La Prensa*. 16 May 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- "Piden reforma migratoria en la "Marcha de Cesar Chávez." *La Prensa*. 4 April 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- "Poll: Blacks, Hispanics rely on community newspapers." *PR Weekly* (2005): 7. *General OneFile*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 6 April 2010 <<http://www.galegroup.com>>.
- Portada*. *La Prensa*. 17 January 2011. <<http://www.laprensasa.com/2.0/1/1/Portada.html>>.
- "Presentan la campaña "Pídame mis papeles" para denunciar la ley de Arizona." *La Prensa*. 13 June 2010. <<http://issues.laprensasa.com/downloadable-issues.php>>.
- Presentation*. Agencia Efe. 6 February 2011. <<http://www.efe.com/quesefe/principal.asp?opcion=1&idioma=INGLES>>.
- Ryman, Anne. "Arizona Immigration Law Motivating ouths to Embrace Community Activism." *USA TODAY* 26 June 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- Rodríguez, Ilia. "Telling Stories of Latino Population Growth in the United States: Narratives of inter-ethnic conflict in the mainstream, Latino and African-American Press." *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* 8.5 (2007) 573-590.
- Rotter, Julian B. *The Development and Application of Social Learning Theory*. New York: Praeger, 1982.
- Santana, Maria Christina, and Ron F. Smith. "News Coverage of Hispanics Surpasses Expectations." *Newspaper Research Journal* 22.2 (2001): 94-105. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 6 April 2010 <<http://www.galegroup.com>>.

- Senate Bill 1070*. Arizona State Legislature. 7 February 2011.  
<<http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/sb1070s.pdf>>.
- Shore, Elena. "The Spanish-Language Press Delves into Racial Complexities." *Nieman Reports* 62.2 (2008): 50-52. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 6 April 2010 <<http://www.galegroup.com>>.
- SPJ Code of Ethics*. Society of Professional Journalists. 6 February 2011.  
<<http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp>>.
- Why NAJH Exists*. National Association of Hispanic Journalists. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.nahj.org/2009/06/why-nahj-exists/>>.
- Wentz, Laurel. "Print Sees Hope in Hispanics". *Advertising Age* 75.18 (2004): 78. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. Gale. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN. 6 April 2010 <<http://www.galegroup.com>>.
- United States Population Projections: 2000 to 2050*. U.S. Census Bureau. 17 January 2011.  
<<http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/analytical-document09.pdf>>.
- Urban, Peter. "Phoenix Women Testify Against Arizona Immigration Law." *USA TODAY* 10 June 2010. *NewsBank*. C-N Lib., Jeff. City, TN. 23 January 2011  
<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
- U.S. Census Press Releases*. United States Census Bureau. 6 April 2010  
<<http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/012496.html>>.
- USA TODAY Media Kit*. USA TODAY. 6 April 2010  
<[http://www.usatoday.com/marketing/media\\_kit/pressroom/audience.html](http://www.usatoday.com/marketing/media_kit/pressroom/audience.html)>.
- USA TODAY Online Subscriptions*. USA TODAY. 17 January 2011.  
<<https://service.usatoday.com/faq/utfaq.jsp>>.
- Vargas, Lucila. "Genderizing Latino News: An Analysis of a Local Newspaper's Coverage of Latino Affairs." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 17.3 (2000): 261-294. *EBSCO*. C-N Lib., Jeff City, TN 7 February 2010. <[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.
- Villar, Maria and Yvette Bueno. "A Frame for Health: A Comparison of English and Spanish News Stories and Ads." *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2006): 1-20. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. EBSCO. 7 February 2010.  
<[web.ebscohost.com](http://web.ebscohost.com)>.