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Attitudes Towards Latino Immigrants Expressed in the Online Media

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Abstract

The language used towards Latino immigrants expressed in the online media is a prevalent

occurrence that warrants a more detailed analysis. I used a total of fifty-four articles from Fox

New, CNN, MSNBC, Southern Poverty Law Center, National Immigration Law Center,

Immigration Advocates, Networks Liberty News, Minuteman Project, and American

Immigration Control Council. I analyzed the wording used by each source when they referred to

Latino immigrants. I analyzed my data further by distinguishing it into five categories:

Affirmative language, negative language, avoidance language, the use of linguistic devices, and a

category dedicated to the special circumstances around the recent influx of unaccompanied

minors at the United States-Mexico border. Pro-immigration websites to use the most affirmative

language and anti-immigration websites used the most negative language. Fox News, CNN, and

MSNBC were fairly neutral in their representation of immigrants, which is the opposite of my

original assumption and past research. With the rapidly changing time and internet capabilities, I

found that immigrant terminology is often avoided and the immigration process is used as a

proxy for immigrants. I also discovered that children were more likely to be involved in the

avoidance of immigrant terminology than any other groups. My analysis only scratched the

surface and has opened the door to numerous other research possibilities that can help us to

understand this occurrence better.

Keywords: Latino immigrants, immigrant terminology

<u>Introduction</u>

Immigration is not a new topic in popular media or in our everyday lives. For this particular reason, I have decided to dive deeper into how Latino immigrants are currently being presented in online news media in the United States. To take a closer look into how Latinos are affected by this 'othering,' I performed a discourse analysis of online news media and how it frames or words articles to portray a certain ideology. "Othering" is, "…any action by which an individual or group becomes mentally classified in somebody's mind as 'not one of us'" ("Othering 101", 2011). I also examined the use of linguistic devices including, but not limited to, satire, humor, and irony when referring to the immigration process. Public discourse is constantly changing, and each new analysis allows a different viewpoint to be brought to light. It was my intention in this analysis to study the online news media in order to find out if it truly is as independent or stereotypical in its portrayal of immigrants as many believe it to be. I decided to analyze three pro-immigration websites, three anti-immigration websites, CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC. Within each of the sources I began coding my data to look at five areas in particular: Affirmative language, negative language, avoidance language, the use of linguistic devices, and a category dedicated to the special circumstances around the recent influx of unaccompanied minors at the United States-Mexico border.

Racism is not a new invention nor is our rapidly changing society immune to it. The largest population group in the United States is white, and whites have remained the dominant race throughout history which it has led to racism and other exclusionary belief systems towards those who are not considered white by the majority (Kilty & Vidal, 2000). Tara Yosso defines racism as "the system under which daily racial insults or micro aggressions are perpetuated as entertainment [social media]" (Yosso, 2002, p. 52). Racism and indifference to people of color is

a very important topic when discussing previous literature. Many discourse analyses have highlighted the use of overt racism through the use of metaphors such as "immigrant as dangerous and destructive pollutant" (Cisneros, 2008, p. 570). However, it is my intention to look for the more covert, almost unseen stereotyping which is a form of racism. Covert racism is said to be used as a way to distort how Americans perceive race due to lack of knowledge on racial subjects (Coates, 2011). It is also important to note that there are many different forms that racism can take such as prejudice, racial assumptions, discrimination, micro aggressions, and stereotypes, just to name a few. Prejudice is when we judge people based on their race, ethnicity, or gender with no factual basis as to why; racial assumptions are a form of overt racism that are internally held assumptions; discrimination is when we treat members of other groups differently; micro aggressions are believed to be subtle, non-physical forms of aggressions that happen during interactions with people of another race or ethnicity, and stereotypes are a widely held beliefs or simplified assumptions of what it means to be in a particular group ("The seven," 2007). These metaphors and the racism associated with them almost always go unnoticed. They can be disguised by seemingly rational arguments that upon first glance are not questioned. With help from previous analyses I can look into the present day representation of Latino immigrants in the online media. This specific topic is something that has not been previously researched due to the explosion in the popularity of the internet within the past ten years. This analysis is an attempt to show how Latinos are affected by perceptions of the media and the unacceptance and undesirable treatment that ensues.

It is important to note a brief history of Latinos in the United States in order to better understand this issue as a whole. Past research has found that out of all the immigrants coming to the United States, Mexico has been the origin point for nearly one-fourth of all current

immigrants (Kilty & Vidal, 2000). In the 1940s and throughout much of the earlier part of the United States history, Latinos (or more specifically Mexican-Americans) were considered to be part of the white population according the Census Bureau (Kilty &Vidal, 2000). Despite what many might think, Latino or Hispanic is not a racial category but rather an ethnic one (Kilty & Vidal, 2000). In the 2010 Census Bureau, Latinos or Hispanics were described as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011, p. 2). The difference between ethnicity and race is often mistakenly interchanged among Latinos. This mix up in terms was created by the Media and their need to fabricate a generalized sub grouping of "Latinos" to make them an easier market. It is much easier to say "Latinos" and talk about the group as a whole rather than distinguishing by "Mexicans," "Puerto Ricans," etc. For the purpose of my analysis, I am going to begin Latino history in the United States at one of the earliest reports of Latino immigration. I am more specifically focused on Mexican immigrants due to that fact that many Latinos here in the United States are often homogenized into this subgroup, whether they are Mexican or not. For this reason, there is more information available on Mexican immigrants in the United States than other groups and it is much more easily accessed.

The United States Gold Rush was one of the first times that a large number of Latino immigrants were reported in the United States around the late 1840s, partially due to the U.S.-Mexican War that relinquished California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado to the United States (Gutierrez, 2012). Those territories were given to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and in return, all of the Mexicans residing in those territories automatically became United States citizens (Gutierrez, 2012). During the mid-1800s, Latino immigration was fairly low and constant until the rail system led to the need for immigrant

workers in the 1880s (Gutierrez, 2012). This was the first time that Latino immigrants were used for labor in the United States. During this time period, the number of Mexican immigrants in the United States rose from around 5,000 to 478,000 by 1920 (Gutierrez, 2012). When the Great Depression hit in the 1930s, close to 500,000 immigrants were forced to leave their homes and return to Mexico even though they were United States citizens (Gutierrez, 2012). By the time World War II started in 1941, immigrants were once again needed to fill positions of employment left open due to the war (Gutierrez, 2012). This time a federal program was implemented in order to bring workers from Mexico in 1942 titled the Bracero Program (Gutierrez, 2012). The Bracero Program was one of the first times that the Mexican border was opened since the Great Depression and continued until 1964 with a total of 5 million workers admitted (Gutierrez, 2012). This program and the fluctuating need for immigrant workers in the United States opened the door to numerous undocumented Mexican immigrants striving to receive the same opportunities of those who were granted permission to work under the Bracero Program (Gutierrez, 2012). At this point many employers began preferring the cheaper undocumented labor and the ratio of legal to undocumented became two to one (Gutierrez, 2012). What many people are unaware of is that sixty-nine percent of Latinos in the United States today are United States citizens (Kilty & Vidal, 2000).

Literature Review

Since its founding, the United States and its people have always been both fascinated by and fearful, of immigration (Cisneros, 2008). This fascination is often times overshadowed by fear in this new form of media. When fear of immigration overpowers fascination, racism or discrimination is often present in undetectable and very subtle ways that are not directly noted by the viewer (Yosso, 2002). Rather than being portrayed or communicated through word of mouth,

racism and unacceptance of immigrants has changed its expression onto written type or more specifically news type (Yosso, 2002). When dealing with racism and ethnic issues in the online world, they can be described as a "place where race happens" (Aldama, 2013, p. 89). This is alluding to the act of racism in the online realm. The internet is not immune to racism, and as Tara J. Yosso asserts, "the ideology of racism creates, maintains, and justifies the continual production of entertainment media" (Yosso, 2002, p. 53). Race offline is reflected in race online and for that reasoning everything must be scrutinized and analyzed.

The media is one of our main sources of socialization. As Yosso affirms, "The media serves as pervasive, relentless, life-long educators… [it has] a major impact in shaping beliefs, attitudes, values, perceptions, and 'knowledge,' and influencing decisions and action" (Yosso, 2002, p. 52). Social media depends on mobile and web based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user generated contents (Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre, 2011). With the explosion of the internet, online news media outlets have become increasingly popular and easy to access. The internet is arguably the fastest growing means of information and entertainment in our society (Aldama, 2013). In 2010, a study found that over sixty-seven percent of Latino families in the United States had some form of access to the internet (Aldama, 2013, p. 86). This number can be compared to seventy-six percent of non-Latino families that had some access (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

In his study, Otto Santa Ana performed a discourse analysis of print media in 1994 when anti-immigrant sentiment was beginning again and analyzed the media coming out of this sentiment and the metaphors that were used (Santa Ana, 1999). History really does repeat itself as we saw with the back and forth of needing/wanting immigrants during the 20th century. In one

portion of his study, Santa Ana found that most children in the United States did not know the basic history of the United States regarding the Mexican war and that over 80,000 Mexicans were actually native to what is now the southwestern part of the United States (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 192). History has been said to be written by the victors, and the deletions of common knowledge about Latino history in the United States is a manifestation of xenophobia. The victors of history are superior (White) and the losers (Latinos) are inferior. This can also demonstrate how people are so caught up in what is seen through their daily lives through all forms of socialization that they are often unaware of simple history. The media has a strong hold on how immigration is perceived by the United States public. "They [the media] provide us with definitions about who we are as a nation; they reinforce our values and norms; they give us concrete examples of what happens to those who transgress these norms; and most importantly, how they perpetuate certain ways of seeing the world and peoples within that world" (Jiwani, 2014). The internet affords us the opportunity to say what we want, and people often do not realize that media is not an unbiased place. Just as television news can paint a picture of the point they are trying to get across through the images they flash on the screen, so can online print media with their word choice.

When I compare my analysis on internet back to a study performed on another popular media outlets, television, author Angharad Valdivia notes the delicate relationship between the United States and Latinos (Valdivia, 2010). The United States uses immigrants for entertainment, but only when it is convenient. Yosso notes in her analysis on Latinos in television that Latino characters are most often seen breaking the law and pushing generalized assumptions about what it is to be "Latino" in the United States (Yosso, 2002, p. 56). When it is convenient, such as in Hollywood films or television, we love actors like Jennifer Lopez and

America Ferrera but when it comes to money and politics, immigrants or Latinos are seen as the enemy or outsiders (Valdivia, 2010). Americans base their beliefs to some degree on the images and information given to them through these outlets. Valdivia brings to light the notion that each popular media outlet (television, radio, news, internet, etc.) has a particular way of dealing with Latinos or immigrants (Valdivia, 2010). We have conflicting interests when it comes to how we frame or view things in our minds. The Latina actresses that we see on television are not the same as the undocumented women crossing the border to 'steal someone's job.' This is an example of how we use the immigrant frame to have a different meaning when it is convenient.

The most popular use of discourse methodology in previous media analyses is the use of metaphors. Cisneros alludes to the idea of metaphor in saying that "scholars have identified discursive connections between the rhetoric of immigrations and representations of other human problems such as crime or war" (Cisneros, 2008, p. 569). Metaphor is a device that allows people to understand something on a personal level by comparing it to something that is familiar (Cisneros, 2008). However, scholars have also noted that these metaphors can be used as a form of dehumanization of immigrant people (Santa Ana, 1999). Santa Ana specifically focused on the use of "immigrant as animal," which is to say that media discourse referred to immigrants as animals that could be corralled, baited, and lured just as animals would be (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 200). "[Governor] Wilson said he believed public benefits are a lure to immigrants and his intent was to discourage illegal immigration by denying them access to health care, education and welfare programs (22 August 1993: A–1)" (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 200). The use of metaphors in online news media is now the norm for how prejudice is communicated and how ideologies are maintained (Cisneros, 2008). George Lakoff found that the framing of immigrants by using terminology such as "illegal aliens" was a means to dehumanize immigrants and to push

economic concerns rather than humanitarian ones (as quoted in Cisneros, 2008, p. 571). As a society, Americans can relate to common threats such as war, disease, or invaders and therefore, immigrants can often be seen portrayed as the enemy, the contagion, or an invader (Cisneros, 2008). The American public might not understand legal terminology when it comes to immigration but they can better understand terminology that is used in their everyday lives.

Metaphors can also be a guise for racism. The unseen dangers to the everyday use of metaphors is that they often go unchallenged, and when that happens they become accepted as truths by the public (Cisneros, 2008). Plural studies have been completed on immigration in the public media, such as those by Santa Ana and Cisneros. Some of these metaphors appear with more frequency than others. In Santa Anna's analysis, the metaphor "immigrant as animal" was the most common (Santa Anna, 1999, p. 191). In Cisneros' analysis the metaphor "immigrant as pollutant" was the most common (Cisneros, 2008). Other common metaphors were identified such as "immigrant as danger," "immigrants as invaders," "immigrant as criminal," and "immigrant as infectious disease" (Cisneros, 2009, p. 572). There are two main metaphors that can narrow the focus of which immigration metaphor will be applied: Nation as house and nation as body (Santa Anna, 1999, p. 199). When the nation, as a whole, is seen as a human body then immigrants are seen as foreign bodies attacking the health of the whole, and when the nation is considered a house then immigrants are seen as trash or dirt that need to be cleaned up and taken out (Santa Anna, 1999).

There are numerous metaphors that are used to describe and frame immigrants. These metaphors can be attributed to the interlocking bond between media and the government (Albarran, 2009). In the *Handbook of Spanish Language Media,* the authors talk about how the United States media is often monopoly based and governmentally influenced in almost all that it

does (Albarran, 2009). In other words, the portrayal of metaphors and the overarching political

nature of immigration in the news is in part due to these reasons. Though metaphors were the

commonality for many of the previous discourse analyses, I have decided to look at the wording

and linguistic devices portrayed through media writing to help paint a clearer picture of what is

still a prevalent issue in the United States.

Method

To gather the data for this discourse analysis I used articles from three main news media

outlets: CNN, MSNBC, and Fox News. These three news outlets were specifically chosen to

meet my intended goal. I wanted news organizations that could fall into a right wing ideal, a left

wing ideal, and one in the middle of it all. The best suited for the right wing source was Fox

News. The contender who won the left wing source was MSNBC. Last but not least, I believed

CNN to be the neutral party. I chose these particular news organizations due to commentary that

I had heard from fellow classmates, colleagues and friends. I listened to their conversations about

which news organizations fell into which categories and by choosing sources that I also believed

to fall into these categories.

To find the pro and anti-immigration websites, I used the Google search engine and typed

in "pro-immigration advocacy websites" and "anti-immigration advocacy websites." I followed

the links until I found three of both pro-immigration and anti-immigration websites that were

useful for this analysis. I used articles from three different pro-immigration websites and three

anti-immigration websites. The pro-immigration websites that I selected were Southern Poverty

Law Center, National Immigration Law Center, and Immigration Advocates Networks. The anti-

immigration websites that were chosen were Liberty News, American Immigration Control

Council, and The Minuteman Project. These websites where chosen due to their articles

containing relevant material and length. On each website I went to the search bar and typed in

"immigration." The most recent and relevant six articles from each website were used. To

determine relevancy, I scanned through each article to try and assure they were at least one page

in length and discussed some topic on immigration. After selecting all the articles I began

analyzing them. Each article was dissected by underlining any immigration terminology used by

the source. For example, the most used terms were: immigrant, undocumented, illegal, illegal

alien, unaccompanied minor, and migrant. After I analyzed all the terminology I then began

counting the instances where each term was used, documenting them for each source. The totals

were originally analyzed by each individual article and source for a simple number and then all

articles were added together for a larger picture of the sources as a whole.

Findings

Affirmative language use

The term framing is something that is used to describe how a person or thing is portrayed

through words or "setting an approach or query within an appropriate context to achieve a

desired result or elicit a precise answer" ("Framing," 2014). These "frames" influence the

choices that people make and are created over a number of years and across multiple situations

(Kernochan, 2004). George Lakoff did a lot of work in the realm of framing and stated that,

"Communication itself comes with a frame. The elements of the Communication Frame include:

A message, an audience, a messenger, a medium, images, a context, and especially, higher-level

moral and conceptual frames. The choice of language is, of course, vital, but it is vital because

language evokes frames — *moral* and conceptual frames" (Lakoff, 2006, emphasis mine). To

identify frames, the informational content of news reports is less important than the interpretive

commentary. This means that the suggestive wording and subtle metaphors are more important

to pay attention to when identifying frames. This is especially evident in online news media which is full of metaphors, catchphrases, and other devices to provide a shorthand way suggesting what the media wants you to take away from a story. The specific wording used is one of the ways that online news media sets the tone for how the article is to be interpreted or framed. While analyzing fifty-four online media articles, certain patterns of word choice began to show themselves. In the articles by CNN, MSNBC, and Fox News the most frequent word to describe people who are not from the United States was the term "immigrant," appearing thirty-one times. The second most commonly occurring term was the term "undocumented," appearing twenty-seven times. These two terms accounted for forty-four percent of all terms used. See Appendix A.

I assumed upon starting this analysis that pro-immigration websites would use the most affirmative language to describe immigrants. The literal definition of affirmative is "positive" or "saying or showing that the answer is 'yes' rather than 'no'" ("Affirmative," 2014). When relaying that definition to the use of affirmative language, I am discussing only positive terminology that is used to portraying immigration in an accepting or uplifting manner. To confirm my assumption, I found that out of the thirty terms used in the articles, all were affirmative. The term "immigrant" was used twenty-six times, "undocumented" three times, and "migrant" one time. I considered these terms to be affirmative because they held no negativity in the usage. "Undocumented" fell in the same usage pattern of the other affirmative terms, and I warranted it to be more positive rather than negative. This data confirmed the original assumption that pro-immigration sources would use affirmative language by using it one-hundred percent of the time. Many of these website articles talked about the immigration issues in a neutral light that was neither positive nor negative. An example can be demonstrated in the

legalistic wording of an article by National Immigration Law Center that discussed the legal problems surround giving undocumented immigrants' driver's licenses (National Immigration Law Center, 2014, #2). However, the article read as more of a transcript of a court case rather than a news article. Some websites also used quotations from their audience as a means of using positive language. In an article by the Latin Post found on the Immigration Advocates websites, they used a quote from State assemblyman Marcos A. Crespo was used as a means to portray a more positive, humanistic side to immigration: "I don't think many understand the problems these kids confront. We listened to their stories, and it was heartbreaking" (Immigration Advocates, 2014, #5). In articles by the Sothern Poverty Law Center, topics such as guest worker programs, education expenses for immigrants, legal battles against discriminatory laws, and policy that could potentially help immigrants were covered in a similar way the quotations were used (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014).

In Santa Ana's analysis of the Los Angeles Times, he found that for all of the negative language there also existed positive quotations used in their broadcasts (Santa Ana, 1999). Santa Ana called these affirming quotations "biblical references," and they were used to show the immigrant as a human being who has rights and who should be treated equally (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 198). Santa Ana was vague in his definition of the word "biblical," but I interpreted it to be a stand in for morality. The biblical references he used referred to immigrants who were crossing into the United States out of necessity or in search for a better future (Santa Ana, 1999). In the pro-immigration articles this tactic was seen often in the way they would frame their use of words to elicit sympathy in the quotations that they would use. A few articles by The Southern Poverty Law Center discussed the education system and how it needed to be reformed in order to allow undocumented immigrants the ability to attend school without having to pay higher fees

and tuition rates (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). For example, one article was titled, "Expanding access to college is a win-win… Young people can now, not only dream about what they can become, but actually have a chance at achieving it" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014, #2). These types of articles tried to pull on the heartstrings of the readers in order to push a more affirmative view point and demonstrate that the people being referred to in these articles, undocumented immigrants, are more than just outsiders.

An author by the name of Frederick Luis Aldama during his research about Latinos in the media, noted how many of early Latino based websites would republish news articles from other major sources in order to cut costs (2013). This republishing was seen in a few of the pro-immigration websites. While scrolling through the articles particularly in the Immigration Advocates Network, I noticed that many were credited to a major news source. When I clicked on the article to read it, the link took me to the main news media website page (Immigration Advocates Network, 2014). The websites were very careful about which articles they allowed on their sites and exhibited care to avoid the use of negative immigrant language. Websites specifically designed to be read by Latinos, are more likely to be optimistic about what is being posted, do not hide behind wording, and are also more of a promotive news realm for Latinos (Aldama, 2013).

Negative language use

In examining the language of online news media. I found a lot of the negative language that I had originally thought that I would find. The literal definition for negative is, "harmful of bad" or "expressing dislike or disapproval" ("negative," 2014). For my purpose, negative language is any wording that can have a disapproving connotation and potentially have a harmful effect on immigrants. When I began my analysis the basic assumption was that Fox News and

the anti-immigration websites would use the most negative language when discussing immigrants. After analyzing the six articles from Fox News there were eight instances of the negative terminology "illegal immigrant." This data contradicted the original assumption that Fox would be more prone to using negative language, as MSNBC used the term seven times, and CNN used it six times. Quoting others was also another common occurrence in my sources. Out of the instances that "illegal immigrant" was used, almost all of them were used in the context of a quote. For example, the homeland security Chief Jeh Johnson was quoted in multiple sources regarding his comments: "Our message to those who come here illegal: Our border is not open to illegal immigration" (MSNBC, 2014, #4) or "We're going to stem this tide of illegal immigration" (CNN, 2014, #6).

When I analyzed Johnson's quotes beyond the face value of their negative wording, I found something interesting. Rather than singling out immigrants as people, he focused on the process of immigration as whole. I call this phenomenon emphasizing the process over the individual. Johnson generalizes the term "illegal immigrants" as to take away some of the negative connotation and subsequently some of the micro aggressions that can be inferred. Johnson's quote can be understood as a form of dehumanizing immigrants by separating the action from the one who performs the action. It is as if 'illegal immigrants' are not individual people so they are not considered important enough to be called out, or that he is hiding behind his language to avoid his critique. This passive generalizing that is seen in Johnson's wording is not something I am entirely sure about how to interpret. However, to better understand it would require a much more detailed analysis, which is not accessible in this study due to my time constraints

My original assumption that the right wing media would be more negative, however, was not completely debunked. Of the three news stations, Fox applied negative terminology in six reports and only twice in quoted material compared to MSNBC which used negative terminology in two reports and five times in quoted material. A quote by Jeh Johnson became the title of a Fox News Story; "DHS Chief: Zero Tolerance on Illegal Immigration, But Deportations May Take a While" (Fox News, 2014, #3). Rather than taking a negative stand towards immigrants in their journalism, Fox News used a government official as their voice. Fox News used a quotation from the head of homeland security in order portray a negative commentary without having to take the blame due to the fact that they did not use their own words. Out of all the options available for Fox News to use in a title, they took a negative statement and portrayed it front and center. Quoted language allows the audience of a particular source to express the viewpoints held by those of the majority group. This process often allows the marginalization of immigrants into a few generalized belief systems. One article by CNN consisted entirely of quotations of how their audience felt about unauthorized immigration: "We will stem this tide of illegal immigration after the election. The democrats need the illegal vote," "The next flood of children will come from China, India, South Korea," "Los Angeles, California is now Mexico's second largest city" (CNN, 2014, #6). Comments such as these hold an almost racist thought process that immigrants from all origins are seen as inferior no matter what their country of origin or skin color. Also, CNN did not have to say any of this negativity; they relied on their audience to say it for them.

Anti-immigrant websites were slightly more direct in their use of stereotyping. This allowed them to be much more obvious on their viewpoints of immigration. In an article by The Minuteman Project, the leader of this "movement," Jim Gilchrist, made blanket statements about

how allowing amnesty to the undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States

would allow them voting rights that would lead to the Democratic Party rule (Minuteman

Project, 2014, #3). It is a stereotypical assumption to label all Latinos as Democrats, even if

some are. This was a way of alluding to the social "othering" of a minority group: Latino

immigrants. Some immigrants are labeled with negative terminology that depicts them as

diseased and dirty, as a means of separating Latinos from the majority: "… [migrant children] in

unprecedented numbers are passing on contagious diseases" (MSNBC, 2014, #4). Liberty News

made numerous referrals to building a border fence to keep immigrants out and there language

can be referred back to Santa Ana's study of the metaphor "immigrant as animal." For example,

Santa Ana found the following quote in a Los Angeles Times article: "The truth is, employers

hungering for really cheap labor hunt out the foreign workers (9 June 1992: D–3)" (Santa Ana,

1999, p. 201). The majority of anti-immigration organizations used blogs or other opinion pieces

on their websites, as a means express the viewpoints they wanted to communicate.

When examining the anti-immigration websites, it seemed like a fair assumption for me

to consider the use of negative language to be the highest. I analyzed three different anti-

immigration websites with six articles a piece, and they seemed to affirm my suspicions. The

most common terminology used in the articles was some variation of the word "illegal," which

appeared twenty-two times. Variations included "illegal migrant," "illegal immigrant," or

"illegal." The second most common term was "illegal alien" used a total of eight times. These

two terms alone account for forty-one percent of all the terminology used in the anti-immigration

sources. Unlike the news websites, these were more openly overt about their use of negative

language.

When David Cisneros performed his analysis on metaphors used in both Fox News and CNN television broadcasts during the fall of 2005, he found that these news organizations were at the forefront of negativity in the portrayal of immigrants (Cisneros, 2008). More specifically, they used imagery to show immigrants as dangerous criminals or invaders, and for the purpose of his analysis as pollutants of the environment (Cisneros, 2008). During the television media broadcast that dealt with immigration, a picture would flash across the screen of piles of trash and similar representations while they were discussing the immigration topic (Cisneros, 2008). This allowed pictures to go along with the story, but they often had hidden meanings. At the time of his study, both of these news sources fell into my assumption that they would be more anti-immigrant. My research, however, has allowed me to see a different outcome. The news organizations were not as open in the negative language use as they were at the time of his study.

Avoidance language use

When looking at the terminology used by these online media websites one thing became quite apparent in nearly all of articles used. When describing a nonnative person in the United States, the majority of websites avoided any descriptive immigrant terminology if at all possible. They would talk about the immigration process as a whole but not immigrants specifically. Among all of the websites used, one problem that I ran across was that some articles - no matter where they came from - avoided using any descriptive language at all. The topic of immigration as a whole was covered rather than focusing on specifics. For instance, Southern Poverty Law Center article it discussed a winning court case against an anti-immigration law (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014, #3). However, it mainly focused on how the topic of immigration as a whole would be affected and did not discuss the specific immigrants. This created a challenge for the analysis of these articles due to the fact that there was no immigrant terminology for me to

analyze. Avoidance language was not seen in any other previous analysis which makes it something new to our current news media.

Santa Ana found that the term "immigrant" was often used in reference to the immigration process as a whole (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 198). This was seen in descriptions where immigrants were seen as armies and how they took a single person, an immigrant, and portrayed them as the entire army (Santa Ana, 1999). In my analysis I found that many of the news websites and the pro-immigration websites actually did the opposite. Rather than labeling immigrants with any specific terminology they would focus on immigration as a whole. An example of this can be seen in the article 'Guatemalan mother recalls terrifying journey north with young son' as published by MSNBC (MSNBC, 2014, #2). The entire article talks about the young mother and her struggles as she made her way to the United States. The article makes no mention of her immigrant status or the fact that she came into the United States undocumented. I could only gather that information due to the public outcry of all the children arriving at the border, which they discuss in the article. This was important for my finding because it showed that not only did they avoid specific immigrant terminology in the article but that they would rather focus on the life and struggles of these immigrants instead of just their immigration status. They only addressed the hardships she was escaping and her journey to the United States to be reunited with her family. In an article by Fox news titled 'LAPD to stop complying with most requests to detain people on possible immigration violations,' the author only talked about the policy as a whole and avoided mentioning anything about the immigrants themselves (Fox News, 2014, #1). In fact the only immigrant terminology used in the whole article was the word "immigrant," appearing once.

Linguistic Devices

While looking at the terminology used in these online news media websites, it is also relevant to look at how the terminology is expressed. Linguistic devices are a means by which wording can be used to disguise or assert as one could hear in everyday language. I have talked about the use of negative, positive, and avoidance language throughout these different articles but what I have yet to discuss is the sentiment behind the word choice. This analysis is completely subjective and the data could possibly be interpreted in different ways. The term "illegal immigrant" was used a total of seven times in MSNBC articles. While only two of those instances were quotations, they were expressed in a taunting manner and they came across as almost satirical. For example, in an article titled 'Sarah Palin: Impeach Obama over Immigration' out of MSNBC, the author makes jokes about those who made accusations regarding how the president is handling the border crisis: "If Obama were merely seizing on the crisis to shift agents from the border in order to usher a new wave of illegal immigration he's also doing a terrible job following through on his plan" (MSNBC, 2014, #1). This occurred similarly in other articles on MSNBC.

In anti-immigration websites, I noted that the writers were more overt in how they spoke about immigration. The language that was used came across as very hateful and racially charged. Words such as "threats," "illiberal," "destroy," "perfect storm," and "crisis" were seen across the sources and their articles. They focused more on fear tactics to push their opinions. An example of this was seen in a Minuteman Project article, "All of this corruption and violence is directly or indirectly due to the insatiable U.S. demand for drugs, particularly cocaine, heroin, and now methamphetamines… -hundreds of tons, of drugs, people, terrorists, potentially weapons of mass destruction or children…" (Minuteman Project, 2014, #6). The overall tone of the anti-immigration sources was condescending and full of hatred.

The pro-immigration websites on the other hand, appeared to be differently loaded or use judgmental language. Phrases such as, "… [Guest] workers often pushed into debt and exploited by employers" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014, #1) or "By breaking the vicious detention and deportation cycle…" (National Immigration Law Center, 2014, #3). While the articles had an overall neutral tone to their reporting, little word choices similar to those listed in the previous sentence began to appear when I started to look deeper. I also noticed that Pro-immigration websites tend to focus more on the legalities of the immigration process and like to use a lot of factual numbers. In the National Immigration Law Center articles, legalities such as DREAMers and deportation cases or problems with ICE were mentioned in five of the six articles (National Immigration Law Center, 2014). Subsequently, all six articles used from the Southern Poverty Law Center discussed immigration policy or law of some sort (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). For these reasons, language mainly came across as dry and very legalistic when reading through pro-immigration websites.

Language use when directed at children

An important topic surrounding immigration in the United States today is the exodus of South and Central American children arriving at the United States and Mexican border. This matter has been covered daily by almost all major and minor news outlets. Due to the prevalence of articles about this subject matter, I could not help but notice how news commentary was very careful in its use of negative language. Out of the all the articles, the use of neutral words "unaccompanied children" or "unaccompanied minor" were used thirty-four times out of the thirty-five times that children were being referenced. This data showed that when news organizations were dealing with something as fragile as children, regardless of their political views, they avoided using any immigrant terminology at all.

Children are seen as a vulnerable and delicate no matter what race or ethnic background, and this ideology was seen across almost every website article that I analyzed. In all but two articles, the increase in the number of minors showing up at the border was described using terminology that referred to them solely as children. This is not to say that the media totally ignored or did not report the anticipated fears of the "illegal" movement. News reports did mention concerns of disease and drugs. The children were mainly described using the terms "unaccompanied minor," "unaccompanied child," or "child." When trying to avoid direct terminology sometimes phrases such as "their children" would be used to show that they are not our children but rather someone else's. Many reporters avoided the use of a term like "deportation" and replaced it with more sensitive terms such as "return," "process," and "send them back." When they tried blaming someone for the children arriving in a nontraditional manner, the parents are labeled as culpable.

While the children are treated differently than their adult counterparts in regards to immigrant labeling terminology, they did not escape the subtle racism that accompanies the growing uncertainty surrounding their arrival. In many of the articles across the sources the arrival of the undocumented children was described with the word "crisis." There were also hints of racial fears that began showing themselves in the topics that were discussed in the articles alongside the children. In an article by MSNBC it highlighted the fact that these children were bringing contagious diseases that were spreading quickly. This article shed light on the growing tension that is surrounding this issue as a whole. The problem with the reporting on the issues surrounding the children is that it plays into the fears of the public. Wording such as "ill-equipped" and "outbreaks" are subtle devices used to push a racial assumption that these children

are dirty and disease ridden (MSNBC, 2014, #4). What is left out is the fact that many of these children are being detained in small, enclosed environments which are prone to spread diseases.

Every article that discussed the arrival of unaccompanied children gave a brief explanation of what was going on and why they were here. In an article published by CNN titled 'Obama seeks emergency immigration funds, more authority,' there is a good example of what is seen similarly across other sources. "Obama administration officials blame the immigrant influx on dire conditions in countries such as Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador that cause people to send their children on dangerous journeys the United States with smugglers who falsely promise the kids won't get deported" (CNN, 2014 #3). Similar statements are made across the sources and articles. This type of explanation process is something that was not seen when dealing with other immigration related topics; only with the children. When dealing with adult immigrants, the articles were written with the assumption that one already knows what is going on or the reasoning behind it. The articles regarding children do not allow for vagueness and offer a sympathetic background story of why.

Conclusion

Immigrants are never going to be a thing of the past; there are always going to be people searching for better lives here in the United States. For this reason, it is necessary to keep up on the current media discourse. In my analysis of nine sources and fifty-four articles, I tried to discover if the online news media was independent or stereotypical in its representation of Latino immigrants in the United States. Past research had focused on the use of metaphors and racism to build their case against American media, but I focused more on the specific wording involved. My findings led me to conclude that contrary to past research in this area, many of the news sources were actually not as biased and stereotypical as they were before. However, it is possible

that I did not perform the correct type of analysis to really argue that. Affirmative language use and negative language use were the two most common in my analysis. I also discovered two previously unanalyzed areas of study that were happening with the use of avoidance language and the language used towards the influx of unaccompanied children arriving at the United States border. Children were not labeled with traditional immigrant terminology but rather just as children, and many sources avoided any immigrant terminology at all and opted for using the whole (immigration) for the part (immigrant). This part for the whole was also seen as means to shift the blame of using negative terminology while still maintaining the prejudice that lies beneath. Although my analysis as a whole is subjective, I analyzed linguistic devices such as satire, humor, anger, etc., and my interpretations are simply that, interpretations.

While performing my analysis I found were many similarities and differences when comparing my finding to past research. For a starting place, it is important to note the changes in the use of media that have occurred in the years since the previous analyses were performed. Media is now more easily accessed due to cell phones and the internet, compared to previous studies which mainly relied on print or television. The previous analyses performed by Santa Ana and Cisneros portrayed news sources in a negative light. Contrary to their findings, my data suggested a different story. CNN and Fox news had been analyzed in the past and were found to be full of negative language and metaphor use. My analysis did not specifically focus on metaphor use, and I cannot make any comments in that area. However, my analysis of wording used towards immigrants showed that although Fox News and CNN had a higher number of instances of negative immigrant terminology, they were still relatively low compared overall. It is my hope that I, or someone else, may be able to perform another discourse analysis in another ten years to see how the data will have changed. Something else for consideration is that perhaps

the more subtle forms of racism are a necessarily tool when trying to navigate the current Latino culture. It is no secret that Latinos are one of the fasted growing demographics in the United States, and with the growth of people, corporations see the growth of their markets and money (Valdivia, 2008). Research has shown that Latinos have between $581 billion and $926 billion in purchasing power (Valdivia, 2008, p. 53). With such a large amount of 'new' purchasing power, it seems like a fair assumption that someone would not want to just throw their money away due to ignorance.

Along with the more interactive media forms, the news media has also become more interactive with its viewers. My analysis allowed me to see the use of audience quotations as a means of portraying the desired language that was wanted in an article. The use of quotations as a means of journalism is an interesting topic that warrants a more in depth study. Along with the use of audience quotations is the idea of the whole for the part analysis. This is where commentary is constructed in a way that focuses on the whole process, immigration, rather than the individual, immigrant. My data did not contain enough information to peruse this occurrence further, but it is definitely worth examing. Why do people feel the need to use the whole process in place of the individual? Is it something that is done consciously or unconsciously? There are numerous questions that are left to be answered in this area. Although my analysis focused on immigration, the possibilities are endless. Audience quotes are not limited by subject matter. My analysis simply touched the surface, and there are numerous possibilities for future studies.

The framing that is used in media and everyday life will continue to exist, regardless of the field of study, time, or region in the world. The frames that are used to portray immigrants are numerous, and there is no way to know how many there are. My analysis only touched on the issues regarding racism and its multiple manifestations through the use of framing. Micro

aggressions are a much more common occurrence than many would like to believe. They are subtle and can often times go undetected by even those who perpetrate them. The subtle forms of racism have taken over the more overt forms that were used in the past. In this process, these more subtle mannerisms often go unchallenged as was mentioned through Santa Ana's study with metaphors. Racism has not disappeared but rather changed its form. My data cannot specifically speak to how a larger study could potentially challenge these subtleties, but it would make for an interesting analysis. I feel as though my analysis was a stepping stone, that helped open people's eyes to fact that micro aggressions, stereotypes, and other forms of racism are still occurring in 2014, along with the fact that Latinos are slowly integrating themselves into the audience of these media outlets.

I had originally hoped to find the answer to the question of whether news websites be independent or biased, would pro-immigration websites be neutral and positive, and would anti-immigration websites really be a racially charged as people believe them to be. Allow me to answer my original question in a very quick commentary. After my analysis of Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC, I feel confident in saying that they seemed more independent than I had originally believed them to be. Fox News did fall a little more on the right wing ideal than the other two news sources, but CNN and MSNBC seemed equally matched for a middle ground representation of immigrants. Micro aggressions were noted, but not at the capacity I had assumed. As to the questions regarding the pro and anti-immigration websites, I feel that they can be answered with a "yes." Both sides used the belief systems and mannerism that I had originally assumed.

Appendix A

	Terms						
Sources News, Pro, Anti	**Immigrant**	**Undocumented**	**Unaccompanied Minor/Child**	**Migrant**	**Illegal**	**Alien**	**Other**
Fox News	9	-	9	1	8	-	2
CNN	19	17	11	2	6	-	3
MSNBC	3	10	13	6	7	-	4
News Total	31	27	33	9	21	-	9
SPLC	13	6	-	-	-	-	11
NILC	26	3	-	1	-	-	-
IAN	18	8	3	1	4	-	2
Pro-							

immigration Talk totals	**57**	**17**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**-**	**13**
Liberty News	**3**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**10**	**3**	**1**
AICC	**7**	**3**	**1**	**-**	**22**	**9**	**4**
The Minuteman Project	**2**	1	1	1	**13**	**5**	**-**
Anti-immigration Talk totals	**12**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**45**	**16**	**5**
Complete Totals	**100**	**48**	**38**	**12**	**70**	**16**	**27**

Key	SPLC- Southern Poverty Law Center	NILC- National Immigration Law Center
	IAN- Immigration Advocates Network Council	AICC- American Immigration Control

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