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RHETORICAL DIMENSIONS OF MOVEMENT EMPATHY: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2006 IMMIGRATION MARCHES

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A CASE STUDY OF THE 2006 IMMIGRATION MARCHES

by

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RHETORICAL DIMENSIONS OF MOVEMENT EMPATHY:

A CASE STUDY OF THE 2006 IMMIGRATION MARCHES

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The immigration marches in the spring of 2006 immediately drew scores of headlines across the United States. More than 160 cities witnessed protest marches with a reported estimate of 3.5 to 5.1 million participants. Yet despite the massive and highly visible demonstrations at that time, protesters fell short of their goal of bringing about national comprehensive immigration reform. How did the actions of so many produce so little? What contributes to turning a manifestly visible protest into one that is marginalized and of little or no consequence, essentially rendering it an invisible incident?

I contend that rhetorical work is a force of mediation that can have significant impact on *Movement Empathy*. Movement Empathy occurs when a movement group becomes relevant to the mass media, opinion leaders, policy makers, and the public so that real policy implications become possible, even necessary.

To investigate this claim, this study examines the rhetorical presence of the 2006 Immigration Marches and how rhetoric can contribute to Movement Empathy. I performed a careful textual analysis of eight newspapers (four English language and four Spanish language) in four major U.S cities (Dallas, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Miami) to examine four textual dimensions conceptually related to Movement Empathy: tone, narrative, agency and values. Each of these dimensions was studied along a binary axis in an attempt to discover language patterns conducive to low vs. high Movement Empathy. I found that two cities saw low Movement Empathy and one had a mixture of high and low. Only Miami's coverage displayed significant levels of Movement Empathy.

I also discovered that each newspaper had unique rhetorical characteristics that produced a distinct flavoring for the city involved. In essence, the cities themselves, their histories and cultures, were refracted in the rhetorical characteristics of the reporting. I conclude from these observations that there exists a geocentric aspect to the news, one that mixes fact and interpretation with the history and values of the place in which the reporting is done. Simply put, *where* the news is reported can affect *what* news is reported and how.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: The Immigration Marches of 2006 1

Social Penetration vs. Movement Empathy 3

Mediating Forces 5

Rhetoric as a Mediating Discourse 7

The Rhetoric of Social Movements 13

Research Surrounding the Immigration Marches of 2006 14

Rhetorical Presence as a Mediating Factor 20

Historical Context of the Immigration Marches of 2006 22

Questions for Study 29

The Immigration Marches of 2006 as a Case Study 30

Chapter Two: Artifacts and Methodology 33

Rhetorical Dimensions 37

Conclusion 41

Chapter Three: Los Angeles and the Language of Tethered Journalism 43

The History of Los Angeles and the Hispanic Experience 45

Movement Empathy and *Los Angeles Times* 48

Personality-driven Coverage 48

Historical Emphasis 56

Dramatic Details 60

Conflict-oriented 63

Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *La Opinion* 66

Conclusion 69

Chapter Four: Miami and the Constitution of a Cosmopolitan Identity 72

Miami's History as the Immigrant Destination 74

Movement Empathy and the *Miami Herald* 76

Normalization of Protests 78
Religious Co-opting 82
International Appeal 84
Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *El Nuevo Herald* 87
Conclusion 90

Chapter Five: Dallas and Market-driven Localism 93
The Changing Face of Dallas 97
Movement Empathy and the *Dallas Morning News* 101
Student-dominated Coverage 103
Emphasis on Flags 108
Accentuating Divisiveness 111
Overlooking Federal Legislation 114
Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *Al Día* 117
Conclusion 120

Chapter Six: Chicago and a Culture of Midwest Conformity 123
Chicago and the Making of the Midwestern Attitude.............................125
Movement Empathy and the *Chicago Tribune* 129
Focus on Collateral Damage 131
Participants Cast as Others 134
Immigrants as Laborers 136
Emphasis on the National Anthem in Spanish..138
Outlier Articles and the Religious Connection 140
Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *La Raza* 142
Conclusion 147

Chapter Seven: Social Movements, Geocentricity, and the News 149
Overview 150
Implications 154
Next Steps 163

Conclusion 165

Bibliography 170

Chapter One: The Immigration Marches of 2006

> *"500,000 Pack Streets to Protest Immigration Bills; The rally, part of a massive mobilization of immigrants and their supporters, may be the largest L.A. has seen."*
> – *Los Angeles Times, March 26, 2006.*

The immigration marches of 2006 drew many headlines across the United States. In a span of roughly four months, more than 160 cities witnessed protest marches with an estimated overall number of participants ranging from 3.5 to 5.1 million (Bada et al. 2006). Yet despite the massive and highly visible demonstrations at that time, protesters fell short of their goal of bringing about national comprehensive immigration reform. How did the actions of so many produce so little? What contributes to turning a manifestly visible protest into one that is marginalized and of little or no consequence, essentially rendering it an invisible incident? Answering these questions might be found by examining how the rhetorical dimensions of a social movement affect its visibility within the political landscape.

Visibility permeates virtually every aspect of modern society. It drives the U.S. economy, its government, and its culture. For instance, consumerism, which is undeniably the fuel of the nation's capitalistic economic engine, is fundamentally rooted in a desire to be noticed by others (Wolff 2005). Whether it is posh, designer-label clothing, an ostentatious wristwatch, or a fully-loaded luxury vehicle, modern society is well-schooled in the subject of what to buy so that one's social status can be spotted by others. Visibility also lends power to a nation's government. Ruling authorities are dependent on being recognized (rationally and sometimes physically) by their citizens to maintain legitimate rule. Meanwhile, politicians crave to be acknowledged for their policy achievements because they understand that being central and significant in the public eye will increase their

likelihood of being re-elected (Corner and Pels 2003). And in polite society throughout history, those of an elevated social class yearn for recognition and visibility because it signals their caste position and, hence, their potential political influence. These phenomena were perhaps most evident in New York City before the advent of automobiles, when horse-drawn carriages would circle Central Park for the primary purpose of having its passengers be seen and thus recognized as part of the wealthy class (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992; p. 214-15). Likewise, box seats at the theatre hardly provide the best view of a stage production, but they also allow those seated in them to be looked upon readily by the hoi polloi below (New York TV Show Tickets 2013). Indeed, visibility is a business in which everyone holds stock, whether they are aware of their investment or not.

Those who engage in contentious politics are especially concerned with visibility. They recognize that interactions between protesters and authorities inevitably take place in the *public sphere*. That term was pioneered by Jürgen Habermas and denotes a social space where citizens come together as a public body to express their collective opinions that serve to legitimatize, or question, the authority of the state (DeLuca and Peeples 2002). The public sphere is therefore a place that mediates the private concerns of individuals (civil society) and the state, allowing contenders of all sorts to publicly and visibly challenge the status quo.

Over time, the public sphere itself has not remained static. What was once localized, immediate and direct is now distant and somewhat diminished (Koopmans 2004). The mass media in particular have transformed the dynamics of the public sphere. For example, it is the news media that now host the most relevant interactions between protesters and governmental authorities. For social theorist Habermas, this change limits public discourse

to topics and events that media corporations approve and validate. In essence, the media act as gatekeepers, determining what is worthy of visibility (news coverage) and what is not (Ryan 1991). As a result, the public is no longer co-present with protesters in the town square; instead, citizens become distant spectators whose opinions and discourses can be molded by mass media exposure (Koopmans 2004), or so it would seem.

Social Penetration vs. Movement Empathy

Recognizing the power and influence the mass media have over public mood, public opinion, and group mobilization (Entman 1990), it stands to reason that social movement organizers will yearn for media coverage so they can become visible in the public sphere and hence achieve what I call *social penetration*.

I define social penetration as the ability to be functionally recognized in the public sphere, a state achieved when the particular grievances, actions or demands of contentious groups are acknowledged by the mass media (significant presence within the news agenda) and, thereby, by opinion elites. Essentially, social penetration becomes a measure of how visible – how much space and time – certain contentious issues occupy in the public sphere.

In order for movement organizations to achieve social penetration, three elements become necessary: (1) people who have common sentiments, (2) a grievance requiring a remedy, and (3) an organizing mechanism. First, without people or political contenders, a movement will be unable to demonstrate legitimacy or social strength. People are needed to show that the issue being confronted is detrimental to the wider society and not just a preoccupation of one or two individuals. Second, a remedy or solution for the grievance ought to exist so that authorities can take measures to rectify the problem; otherwise, the

movement runs the risk of being marginalized. And finally, social penetration requires that the movement have an organizing mechanism, a structure that can provide direction for the movement's activities. After all, the media would dismiss a social movement that appears chaotic or dysfunctional; such a group would be seen as unable to influence its own members, much less others.

Without these three elements, social movements cannot achieve social penetration. However, for those groups who do meet these criteria, social penetration is not automatically guaranteed. For example, the mass media, as well as opinion elites, can affect movement groups via their gatekeeping function, choosing to recognize some while ignoring others.

What's more, even when a political movement is able to achieve social penetration, there are no assurances that their message will be delivered without distortion, particularly when they are challenging the status quo. As a result, social penetration is not an indicator of whether the discourse within the public sphere is advancing the cause of a group. Social penetration only addresses a group's presence within the public sphere, not its substance or its ability to command the narrative they want told.

If social penetration alone is not enough to bring about attitudinal or social transformation, what else is needed? What else explains the kinds of discourse needed to enhance the work of a social movement?

Movement Empathy occurs when a movement group becomes relevant to the mass media, opinion leaders, policy makers, and the public so that real policy implications become possible, even necessary. To be clear, Movement Empathy and social penetration are not identical. The former cannot be measured solely by objective standards relating to

the density of media coverage (as can social penetration). Instead, Movement Empathy is produced when the mass media recognize a social movement, call attention to its actions, views and goals, and when its coverage reflects the views of the movement without distortion. Movement Empathy can also be a function of public opinion polls, as when the results show support for a social movement's cause or issue. Other evidence of Movement Empathy includes changes in legislative agendas and attention to public policy alternatives produced by a social movement's work. And lastly, a social movement can achieve Movement Empathy when the amount of public spending increases for a given cause, a clear reflection of public and political support. When a social movement garners Movement Empathy, it has surely advanced its raison d'être.

As I see it, a key communication goal of social movements is to convert social penetration into Movement Empathy. How is that conversion brought about? The answer lies in some sort of mediating force that links social penetration to Movement Empathy. But how exactly does that happen? And when?

Mediating Forces

There are several key factors or conditions that can affect such a transformation. Financial capital (money) or social capital (people) can be leveraged to produce Movement Empathy since both get the attention of policy-makers. Money can directly impact politicians through contributions made to their campaigns, or indirectly by creating public awareness campaigns designed to influence their constituents. Most recently the National Rifle Association, for instance, has undertaken media campaigns as a way of lobbying Congress against stricter gun control measures in the wake of the Newtown shootings

(Simon 2013). Similarly, people affect Movement Empathy when politicians take notice of constituency concerns during their re-election campaigns. For example, the Gay Marriage Movement garnered increasing support from elected officials when public opinion polls revealed the public's, and presumably the voters', support for the Defense of Marriage Act (Somashekhar 2013). Another mediating force between social penetration and Movement Empathy can be a leader's charisma. The presence of a captivating figure means that social movements can work around standard media preferences; this occurs when audiences flock to hear the proclamations of these leaders in person or through some other direct means. Cesar Chavez, the leader of the Farm Workers Movement in the 1970s, was one such leader who successfully addressed groups directly, including Congressional committees, college groups, and gatherings of laborers (Hammerback and Jensen 1998). Rather clearly, an organization's mission can be described with less distortion and more clarity when the mass media are not reframing the message. Movement Empathy can also be fostered when a social movement's message is reproduced at a high rate. Reproduction is the extent to which others, such as authorities, opinion elites, and allies, advertently or inadvertently adopt a movement's message. And finally, a catalytic event can convert social penetration into Movement Empathy. Disruptive events (e.g. a sit-in) can create opportunities for social movements to take center-stage, commanding attention that allows them to control the media narrative.

Aside from resources, charismatic leaders, reproduction and catalytic events, what other forces help turn social penetration into Movement Empathy? I contend that rhetorical work is yet another force of mediation that can have significant impact on a Movement's Empathy. To investigate that claim, I have undertaken a study that examines the rhetorical

presence of social movements and how it, too, can contribute to Movement Empathy. Simply put, rhetoric can make or break a social movement.

Rhetoric as a Mediating Discourse

The rhetorical presence of a social movement consists of two dimensions: primary and secondary. The former is made up of rhetoric produced directly by the social movement itself. Examples of primary rhetoric are website content, press releases, speeches by group leaders, and leaflets or pamphlets. Secondary messages consist of third-party discourses produced by the mass media. TV news coverage or journalistic accounts about an organization's purpose or activities are prime examples of this secondary dimension. It should be noted that there is a reciprocal relationship between the two dimensions via a feedback mechanism (Koopmans 2004; p370), a mechanism that determines which of a social movement's primary messages are reported by – perhaps enhanced by – the media. Politicians, as well as the public, are exposed to these secondary messages and they react accordingly. The media, in turn, report these reactions to the activities they have described. Then, reciprocally, social movements may adjust their primary messages once again to elicit reactions better aligned to the movement's goals. My study examined this important secondary dimension of social movements, a function of the mass media not terribly well understood at present. Specifically, I looked at the rhetorical mechanisms of the mass media that impact a movement's Movement Empathy in both obvious and non-obvious ways.

Several scholars have previously undertaken studies of the mass media and social movements. Many of them have focused on the effect that mass media have on the public. McCombs and Shaw (1972), for example, put forth a theory known as *agenda-setting*. They

assert that when editors and newsroom staff choose which news stories to cover, they are actually shaping the political reality of the public, cueing them about the most important issues of the day. Audiences learn that the amount of information in a news story, and its position within the newscast or layout of the newspaper, speaks to the importance of that particular issue. Sociologist Mayer Zald (1996) ties the concept of agenda setting to social movements, noting that the amount of space given to an issue "is a function of the perceptions by media workers of both public interest and story importance" (p. 272). Here, salience is a product of media attention or media coverage, thereby indicating to the public the importance of the social movement's issues and activities.

Others have examined secondary messages by studying a process called *framing*. Gregory Bateson and Erving Goffman first introduced framing theory into the social science literature in the early 1970's. Bateson's conceptualization of a frame is based on two analogies: "the physical analogy of the picture frame and the more abstract, but still not psychological, analogy of the mathematical set" (Bateson 1972, p. 186). Goffman drew on Bateson's idea, introducing frame analysis as a "sociological art form" (Gamson 1975, p. 605). Frames, according to Goffman (1974), are defined as "principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (p. 10-11). Today, frame analysis has been applied on a more systematic basis to a variety of mass communications that call attention to questions of how issues are defined, how meanings are constructed, and what, if any, their consequences are for public opinion, political power and political reality (Entman 1993; Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2003; Gamson et al. 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Paletz and Entman 1981; Tankard et al. 1991; Cappella and Jamieson 1996, 1997).

Framing in social movement analyses initially focused on the movement itself rather than on the impact of mass media or news framing. This scholarship evaluated the participation and maintenance of social movements in terms of frame alignment, defined as the shared linkage between an individual and a social movement organization (SMO). That is to say: to what extent are the activities, goals, and ideology of an SMO congruent with an individual's interest, values, and beliefs? In this vein, Snow and colleagues (1986) have proposed four types of alignment processes: (1) frame bridging, (2) frame amplification, (3) frame extension, and (4) frame transformation, each of which became a strategy for internal organizational change aimed at bolstering a social movement. Researchers working in this area focus on linking public opinion clusters, clarifying the movements' frame or grievance, expanding the frame to recruit more members, and reframing old goals to maintain movement activity. This work popularizes framing in social movement analysis and allows for the introduction of the concept of master frames.

Snow and Benford (1992) first introduced the concept of master frames to argue that "active production of framing meanings creates master algorithms that constrain movement activities"(Ulsperger 2002, p. 388). They argue that in the absence of favorable political opportunity structures, master frames (a generic type of collective action frame that is wider in scope and influence) emerge that are sufficiently flexible and inclusive to allow numerous social movements to adopt and deploy within their own movement. Benford (1993) considers how master frames operate in this way as well as how such frames arise from engagement in specific movement activities. While these understandings shed light on the motivations behind and within social movements, they

offer little understanding of how the mass media use frames to communicate to the general public, much less how they help generate a "presence" within the public sphere.

The lack of attention to the role of the mass media by Snow, Benford and others is countered by the work of Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) and Gitlin (1980). The former suggest that SMOs need the news media for three major purposes: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement. With respect to mobilization, they write that movements need the news media to communicate with constituents who might not be touched by the group's outreach efforts. The media's role in validating the movement is critical in influencing authorities who must deal with the demands and claims being made by the group. The authors astutely point out that a "demonstration with no media coverage at all is a nonevent" (p. 116). And with regard to broadening the scope of the conflict, Gamson and Wolfsfeld suggest that enlargement shifts the power relations among the contestants.

Gitlin (1980) draws on his own experiences as a protester during the student protests of 1968 in his seminal work on social protest and the media. Through interviews with key activists and news reporters and a study of the media coverage, he found that the media emphasized certain themes and ignored others via the use of framing devices. He identified them as: trivialization, polarization, emphases on internal dissension, marginalization, disparagement by numbers, and disparagement of the movement's effectiveness (p. 27-28). Gitlin constructs a theory of news coverage as a form of anti-democratic social management, which he finds, for example, in the media treatment of the anti-nuclear movement and others.

Mass communication scholars McLeod and Hertog (1998) write about the news coverage of social protest and offer up a set of shared characteristics that the media uses

to create a protest story. They codified these characteristics into the concept of the "protest paradigm" which consists of the following categories: "narrative structures (news frames); reliance on official sources and official definitions; the invocation of public opinion; and other techniques of delegitimization, marginalization, and demonization" (McLeod and Detenber 1999, p. 5).

McLeod and Hertog (1998) argue that these elements work in conjunction to maintain and legitimize the status quo. For example, they suggest that select narrative structures or news frames are commonly used in news coverage of radical protest. They are the "crime story", the "riot", and the "carnival"; and they assert that the "debate" frame is less common. By utilizing or making one of these news frames more salient in the news coverage, a journalist can promote a particular interpretation or moral evaluation of the protest event.

Relying on official sources such as elected or public officials for quotes and story background has been a long-standing news norm. McLeod and Hertog note that this practice allows journalists to legitimize their story but also results in giving an account of the story from the perspectives of those in power rather than those challenging that power.

The protest paradigm also typically invokes public opinion to highlight the distinctions between protesters and the mainstream citizenry. These references are typically large generalizations about public opinion and public reactions to the protests, rather than true scientific reporting of opinion polls. Furthermore, the news coverage focuses more on the appearance and behaviors of the actors, frequently highlighting deviant activities and violation of laws.

Delegitimization, continue McLeod and Hertog, is the result of the news media not adequately explaining the purpose, meaning and context of the protest. This failure can lead the audience to view the protesters as irrational or ineffectual. The final characteristic of the protest paradigm, demonization, is manifested when journalists focus on the potential threats, danger, and negative consequences of a protest. Indeed, media can invoke a moral panic by exacerbating the violence or negative outcomes of a demonstration.

Numerous communication and sociology scholars, joining in the work of Gitlin, McLeod and Hertog, focus their work on the frames that are constructed by the mass media and disseminated to the general public about a given social movement. Some place images and photographs at the center of their research (Arpan et al. 2006; Gamson et al. 1992) while others examine content and text from sources such as newspapers, magazines, and television (McInerney 2006; Baylor 1996; Kensicki 2001; Kruse 2001; Ulsperger 2002).

Still other scholars have sought to answer this simple question: Why do certain events or actors get media coverage while others do not? Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) suggest that the answer is associated with news values, the gatekeeping function of the mass media, and fierce competition over the limited available space in the media. Others have looked to the characteristics of the protest events rather than to the media for the answer. These studies have identified a *selection bias* that determines why some events are covered and others are not (Earl et al. 2004; Oliver and Maney 2000). These biases included (1) event characteristics – the size of the event, its proximity to the news outlet, presence of counter-demonstrations and police, and violence; (2) news agency routines – sufficient time

being allowed for journalists to write stories before deadlines; (3) issue presence – salience of the issue prior to the event and level of discussion among elected officials; and (4) time – the day on which the event is staged, with Mondays being the day more likely to be covered. While these studies help better understand how and why social movements are covered by the news, they do not concern themselves with rhetoric.

The Rhetoric of Social Movements

As early as the 1940s, communication scholars began to inquire about the rhetoric of collective behavior (Gunderson 1940; Crandell 1947). However, the first significant article was published in 1952 by Leland M. Griffin in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (Griffin 1952). In his seminal work titled "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements," Griffin proposes that students confront several questions regarding their critical method and objectives to the study of movements. Focus, scope, method, criteria, process, and goals are areas in which he offers suggestions, and ultimately encourages rhetoricians to broaden study beyond the individual orator to the persuasive movement.

The political and social unrest of the 1960s brought about new forms of protest activity. Communication scholars, who were accustomed to studying public addresses consisting primarily of establishment speeches, were confronted with different rhetorical acts such as chants, folk songs and music, slogans, and sit-ins. These new forms also often included the use of profanity and non-verbal communication which were a distinct departure from the rational discourse that had dominated the field (Jensen 2006). As a result, this period ushered in studies of the rhetoric of agitation and confrontation (Scott and Smith 1969; Bowers and Ochs 1971). Simultaneously, research emerged that focused on Black

Power (Scott and Brockriede 1969; Carmichael and Hamilton 1967), major Black spokespersons (Breitman 1970), rhetoric of the streets (Haiman 1967), and the Anti-War Movement (Columbia 1968; Griffin 1964; Unger 1974).

By 1970, communication scholars returned to the debate over what constitutes a social movement, provoked by an article by Herber W. Simons (1970) and guided by Griffin's early article. The topic was fully addressed at a conference sponsored by the Speech Communication Association and resulted in the publication of those papers in a special issue of *The Central States Speech Journal* in 1980 (Stewart 1980; Andrews 1980; McGee 1980; Simons 1980; Zarafsky 1980; Cathcart 1980). These attempts to define social movements rhetorically produced notable works that have become standard references in the field (Jensen 2006).

Some of the most significant articles written by communication scholars on the rhetoric of social movements were compiled in 2001 in a volume edited by Charles E. Morris III and Stephen H. Browne. The second, updated and expanded edition was published in 2006 and has become a fundamental text for students of the subject.

Today, the Internet, social media and other technologies like Smartphones and tablets are impacting how social movements communicate and function, and contemporary scholars are now beginning to examine these effects on collective identity and operational structure (Van Aelst and Walgrave 2002; Scott and Street 2000).

Research Surrounding the Immigration Marches of 2006

The 2006 immigration protest marches, because of the large number of participants and national scope, has been the subject of several studies by scholars

interested in Latino political protest activities. Most, however, focus on the agents or participants of the marches and give little attention to the mass media or the movements' rhetorical dimensions.

Sociologists are drawn to the marches and what these events teach us about social movements and collective action. For example, Cordero-Guzmán et al. (2008) examine surveys taken by non-profit organizations just before the marches took place. They use these measures to deconstruct the networks and coalitions that served as foundations for the mobilization effort. Also focusing on the agents behind the marches, Martinez (2008) conducted interviews in Colorado with elected officials, leaders from organized labor and religious groups, and grassroots organizers working in the area of immigration rights. She concludes that considerable ethnic solidarity developed among immigrants and native-born Latinos as a result of the rhetoric surrounding the immigration debate. It was this solidarity among groups, she argues, that aided protest organizers to foment support for the collective action.

Anthropologist Leo Chavez (2008) theorizes about a Latino threat narrative that has surfaced in the United States and how the immigration marches reverberated this mindset. He writes that the *Latino Threat plot lines,* or themes, are "the construction of 'illegal aliens' as criminals, the Quebec model, the Mexican invasion and *reconquista* (re-conquest) of the United States, an unwillingness to learn English and integrate into U.S. society, out-of-control fertility, and threats to national security" (p. 23). Chavez also notes that the threat encompasses a narrative that Mexicans are taking American jobs and overburdening social services such as health care and education. Addressing the immigration marches, Chavez says that they "forced us to think about what unifies us as a

nation, what it means to be an American, and the emotional investment we have in quasi-sacred national symbols such as flags and anthems" (p. 174). As part of his analysis he includes an editorial written in the *Los Angeles Times* and another written in the *New York Times* but does not offer a broader analysis on how the mass media gave rhetorical meaning to the marches.

Legal scholars have also taken up the subject of the immigration rallies of 2006. In the Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, Johnson and Hing (2007) discuss how the marches may well be an "indicator of a new multiracial civil rights movement" (p. 101). These scholars only briefly mention how television and newspaper coverage featured images of the protesters. And they fail to offer any in-depth analysis of the media's account of the marches.

Political scientists have also largely ignored how marches and protesters are portrayed in the media, preferring to focus on notions of agency and participation. Barreto et al. (2009) recount the number of newspaper articles about the marches from a LexisNexis search, but they do not offer any information about the specific content of the articles. Their research focuses on the participants of the marches, whether they were limited to Mexican immigrants or if they were more widespread among Latinos. Likewise, Bloemraad and Trost (2008) focus on the participants by exploring the political socialization of the immigrant protesters. They determine that bi-directional socialization, parent-to-child and child-to-parent, is present among the protesters. Only Cohen-Marks, Nuño, and Sanchez (2009) shift the focus away from the protesters. Instead, they consider the effects the marches had on voter opinion. Using exit poll data gathered from more than 4,300 voters in three urbanized western counties (King County, WA; Orange

County, CA; Bernalillo, NM), they find that the immigration rallies failed to positively impact the White and Latino voters' perceptions of Mexican immigrants, with Whites shown to be more likely to have a negative reaction to the marches. In fact, they note that reported shifts in voters' views and perceptions of Mexican immigrants as a result of the rallies were always in the negative direction, although they varied according to local partisan vote patterns and levels of recent Mexican immigration. Variance also corresponded to voter's party identification, ethnicity and – to a lesser extent – nativity. They conclude: "Socioeconomic status and age significantly influenced the respondents' reactions to the demonstrations" (p. 709). But the authors fail to address the source that informed and elicited the reaction from the voters – television news, newspaper article, radio reports, or word-of-mouth. In the end, Cohen-Marks, Nuño, and Sanchez calculate that the protest rallies had a negative effect on voters' reactions but they do not offer any insight into the role, if any, that media or rhetoric might have played in shaping these negative opinions toward the marches and immigrants.

Very few communication scholars have selected the 2006 protest marches as a case study for research. To date, only two significant studies have been published on the subject of the mass media framing of the 2006 protest marches. The first is by a scholar with a doctorate in Spanish who is professor of Latin American Studies and who published on the subject of the marches and the mass media with a specific focus on Chicago. Aparicio (2010) writes of the competing narratives between English and Spanish-language newspapers in Chicago in their coverage of the immigration marches. Interviewing six of the city's journalists and conducting a content analysis of the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Sun-Times*, and *Hoy* (a Spanish-language newspaper), Aparicio found

differences within the coverage. English-language newspapers concentrated stories on the debates in Washington over the immigration legislation, while the Spanish-language media "focused much more significantly on local activism, families, deportations, and the larger national events and issues that would affect Latinos as an immigrant community" (Aparicio 2010, p.69). Additionally, she found that the number of Latinos/as quoted as a source of authority was far fewer in English-language news stories than in Spanish-language outlets, suggesting clear differences in the inclusion of Latino/a voices as experts on the issue of immigration.

The second study was authored by mass media scholar and sociologist, Douglas McLeod (2007), who examined the news coverage of a social protest to see if there was evidence of the protest paradigm. McLeod analyzed media coverage of the May 1st, 2006 immigration march in Los Angeles, California, also known as the "Day without Immigrants" demonstration. He found that the news coverage did not conform closely to the protest paradigm. Instead of using derogatory news frames, *Los Angeles Times* framed the protests as a "national celebration of positive energy" devoid of violence. Public opinion in news coverage was not invoked (and hence did not clearly indicate the deviance of the demonstrators); instead, the community was depicted as being in support of the protest. Nor were the protests overtly delegitimized or demonized. He attributes this finding to several factors, including the size and diversity of the march, the shared goal of the protest among immigrant groups and the wealthy elite, and the high percentage of Latino/Hispanic readership base of the newspaper he studied: *Los Angeles Times*. McLeod limited his analysis to a 4-day period, which included the day before the protest and the two days that followed, April 30, 2006 to May 3, 2006. Moreover,

McLeod did not include Spanish-language media or any of the news coverage of demonstrations that took place before the May 1st, 2006 event.

Very few studies have examined the rhetorical aspects or dimensions of the immigration marches of 2006. Pineda and Sowards (2007) focused on the flags the protesters displayed during the marches and concluded that flag-waving is a visual argument. The authors suggest that foreign flags offer different visual ideographs to anti-immigration groups than to immigrant rights advocates. For anti-immigration advocates, flags may represent “recent immigrants’ failure to assimilate, immigrants’ deviant cultural practices, and failure of law enforcement” (p. 164). In turn, those who advocate on behalf of immigrants’ rights see flags as a “visual ideograph that represents cultural pride, unity, and civic participation that creates space for cultural citizenship” (p. 164). Pineda and Sowards suggest that the tension between these opposite perceptions creates a framework for understanding flag-waving as a “refutative” process. While visual rhetoric is addressed in their argument, the mass media are not.

Communication scholar David Cisneros (2011) examines the rhetorical maintenance of U.S. identity and argues that the immigration marches of 2006 contest the meaning of U.S. citizenship. He concludes that a hybrid performance of citizenship was enacted through the marches, where protesters simultaneously drew undocumented immigrants into a national community who were enacting U.S. citizenship routines. These actions, he suggests, result in a rhetorical process of “(re)bordering” to produce a hybrid rhetoric of citizenship–one that incorporates the alien with the American. To Cisneros, the immigration marches of 2006, though fraught with drawbacks, “represent part of the contingent and ongoing process of constituting U.S. national identity” (p. 43).

While Cisneros' study addresses the discursive enactment of citizenship, it does not take into account the role that mass media might have played in this process.

While the 2006 immigration marches have drawn the attention of some scholars, we still know little about the rhetorical presence of the marches and, in particular, the rhetorical effects produced by the mass media. Much is still left to understand about the kinds of discourse needed to enhance the work of a social movement, work that allows social penetration to be transformed into Movement Empathy.

Rhetorical Presence as a Mediating Factor

While many scholars have studied the mass media and social movements, and while some have even focused on the rhetorical characteristics of the immigration marches of 2006, none have addressed the Movement Empathy of SMOs in the way I have done here. All too often, that is, too much emphasis has been placed on the quantity of media coverage (social penetration) generated, which does not in itself predict a movement's success or viability. In contrast, I contend that social movements are situated in one of four groups defined by their respective social penetration and Movement Empathy. The following matrix outlines each possibility and highlights examples drawn from recent social movements.

	High Social Penetration	**Low Social Penetration**
High Movement Empathy	Civil Rights Movement Tea Party Movement	DREAM Act Movement Voting Rights
Low Movement Empathy	Occupy Movement Immigration Rights Movement Global Warming	Food Movement Anti-Iraq War

As outlined in this table, an example of an SMO with high social penetration that did not produce high Movement Empathy is the Occupy Wall Street Movement. This movement initially garnered very little media attention when it first began in September of 2011, but that quickly changed. By October 9th of that same year, the Occupy Movement made up 10 percent of the national news sampled by the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. Occupy protesters got the media attention they so wanted, but that very coverage marginalized the group, providing almost no attention to why the protesters had gathered in the first place (Stelter 2011). The result was political marginality for the movement, leaving the public, policymakers, politicians and journalists to wonder if the movement was simply a "fad" (Sorkin 2012).

A review of the scholarly literature reveals that quantitative studies of mass media and social movements often fail to capture the <u>rhetorical</u> significance of news coverage. Such studies are often focused on counting specific number of news articles or identifying news frames within the coverage but rarely deal with their rhetorical subtleties (Barreto et al. 2009). And while other studies center on how SMOs and activists can create more effective media framing (Smith et al. 2001), they did not focus on "best practices," often doing little more than enumerating media frames my study, in contrast, attends to the rhetorical mechanisms that directly impact Movement Empathy. That is, I will focus on one

movement that had high social penetration but that failed to achieve widespread support at the time: the Immigration Marches of 2006. In doing so, I hope to sharpen our understanding of the overall rhetorical model that advances or retards social movements in general.

Historical Context of The Immigration Marches of 2006

The immigration marches of 2006 sought to bring about comprehensive immigration reform and to create a public outcry over the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 or House Bill Resolution 4437 (H.R.4437). Representative James Sensenbrenner, a Republican Congressman, who then served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, introduced the legislation, which in turn, reignited the long-simmering immigration debate. On December 16, 2005, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 4437, thereafter nicknamed the Sensenbrenner Bill. The general purpose of the bill was "to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to strengthen enforcement of the immigration laws, to enhance border security, and for other purposes" (*H.R. 4437--109th Congress: Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005*). But the bill also defined undocumented immigrants and labeled those who had aided them as felons, thereby criminalizing organizations and individuals who had provided humanitarian assistance to undocumented immigrants. That designation meant that family members and charitable workers, even those with religious affiliations, could face federal prison time for assisting the undocumented. The bill also granted state and local law enforcement agencies "inherent authority" to enforce federal immigration laws and required those agents to turn

over to federal authorities any undocumented immigrants they detained. In addition, H.R.4437 increased criminal penalties for document fraud (Siskind, Susser, and Bland 2005; Suro and Escobar 2006).

Not surprisingly, the House Bill was immediately opposed by a variety of immigrant, social justice, humanitarian, religious, and Latino organizations, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund, and the National Council of La Raza (National Council of La Raza 2005).

Even the Catholic Church spoke out publicly on the matter. Cardinal Roger Mahony, who led the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, sent a letter to President Bush in late December 2005, objecting to H.R.4437 because it would require Catholic Church officials to become "quasi-immigration enforcement officers." His letter stated in part, "Our golden rule has always been to serve people in need, not to verify beforehand their immigration status" (Gilchrist and Corsi 2006, p. 274-76). Also, during the Ash Wednesday Mass on March 1, 2006, it was reported that Cardinal Mahony condemned the Sensenbrenner legislation by calling it “blameful” and “vicious” and even vowed to encourage his 288 parishes within the archdiocese of Los Angeles to practice civil disobedience should the bill become law (Pomfret 2006). As Barreto, Manzano, Ramirez and Rim (2009, p. 747) argue, H.R.4437 became “a common enemy” for diverse organizational factions as “its expansive reach mobilized multiple constituencies.” Community-based organizations, churches, and the Spanish-language media became “primary agents” in providing organizational support and education for anti-H.R.4437

rallies and pro-immigration reform. Protests materialized in the winter of 2005 and increased in rate and scale into the spring of 2006.

One of the earliest sizeable rallies occurred in Chicago on March 10, 2006, drawing at least a hundred thousand participants (Newbart et al. 2006). Protesters marched from Union Park to Federal Plaza (The Kluczynski Federal Building), which housed offices for Illinois' U.S. Senators of that time, Richard Durbin (D) and Barrack Obama (D). Community activists and several politicians, including prominent Democrats Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley and Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich, welcomed the large crowd of protesters.

These public expressions of discontent were designed to pressure Senate lawmakers into addressing the issue of immigration in the United States and eliminating the more controversial aspects of the Sensenbrenner Bill, namely the criminalization of the undocumented. The Senate Judiciary Committee first met on March 2, 2005 to begin its "markup" work of the Comprehensive Immigration Reform proposal introduced by its chairperson, Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA). ("Markup" is the process by which congressional committees and subcommittees debate, amend and rewrite proposed legislation.)

The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 – also referred to as the Chairman's mark because the chair of the committee recommended it – included many of the immigration enforcement provisions and concepts taken directly from H.R.4437. But Specter's bill set up a new guest-worker program and established a new, "nonimmigrant conditional worker" status for undocumented workers who had lived and worked in the United States before January 7, 2004. A pathway to permanent lawful status for the

"nonimmigrant conditional workers" or those participating in the guest worker program was not part of the Chairman's markup.

By March 16th, the committee had dedicated five sessions to its markup work on the immigration bill, but Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN) had given the committee a deadline, requiring it to have the full Senate consider the immigration reform bill by Monday, March 27, 2006. Leader Frist warned that if the Chairman's mark did not find its way out of committee by the Monday deadline, he would invoke a rarely used parliamentary procedure to bypass the committee and introduce his own bill. But on March 16, just days after the Chicago march and well before the deadline given to the Judiciary Committee, Leader Frist introduced his own bill, the "Securing America's Borders Act" (S.2454). This bill contained punitive provisions similar to those from H.R.4437 and gave no mention of any guest worker program or pathway to citizenship; that is, it was an enforcement-only bill. Senator Frist's bill instantly became the legislation that was to be considered by the full Senate on March 27, 2006, and would remain so unless the Chairman's mark made it out of the Judiciary Committee before then.

Meeting the March 27 deadline became a seemingly impossible task; during the process of marking up Specter's bill, Republicans filed a total of 357 amendments. As one immigration legal center noted, "Many observers of this process believe that Republicans on the committee who opposed the original bill's temporary worker and conditional worker provisions filed the amendments as a clock-running ploy intended to prevent the committee from completing its work in time for the bill to be considered by the full Senate on March 27" (Friedland 2006).

Missing the deadline would mean that the Frist bill would be the legislation considered by the full Senate. But during the March 16 markup session, the committee unexpectedly agreed to meet again on March 27 to vote on compromise language–the very day that the Majority Leader had set to begin the immigration reform debate in the Senate. On March 27, the Senate began debating the immigration issue by considering Frist's bill, S. 2454. Chairman Specter offered his committee bill on March 30, 2006, and this substitute became the vehicle for the floor debate from that day forward. After two weeks of debate and after 234 amendments were filed, the motion to invoke cloture (end a filibuster) on the Chairman's mark failed on April 6, 2006. The bill essentially died.

The day the full Senate was to take up the immigration reform debate (March 27) was a date that would prove to be a milestone that spring. Immigration organizations wanted to send a clear message to Congress regarding the immigration reform legislation before that date. On the preceding Saturday before, March 25, the largest rally in Los Angeles' history came to pass.

At least a half a million marchers or more descended on the downtown area on the 25th and the protest event was dubbed "*La Gran Marcha*" (The Great March) by community organizers in the Los Angeles community. Protesters were encouraged to wear white t-shirts signifying peace and to wave American flags as a symbol of inclusion, although Mexican flags and those of other Latin American countries were also scattered about. Signs and posters, both professionally printed and hand-made, also blanketed the massive crowd.

The organized marches culminated on April 9 and 10 with rallies reported in well over a hundred cities across the country. Crowds in several cities were estimated to range

from 100,000 to over 500,000 people (Truax 2006a; 2006b). Dallas, for instance, a city with little history of Latino public protest, saw an estimated 350,000 to 500,000 protesters march to City Hall on April 9. And on that same day in Miami, where few Latinos of Mexican origin reside, the protest drew 3,000 to 5,000 people.

By May Day of 2006 (May 1st), the last of the massive marches took place with demonstrations occurring in New York, New York; Washington, D.C.; Las Vegas, Nevada; Miami, Florida; Chicago, Illinois; Los Angeles, California; San Francisco, California; Atlanta, Georgia; Denver, Colorado; Phoenix, Arizona; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The nationwide, coordinated event was called "A Day Without Immigrants" by its organizers. On this day, undocumented immigrants and those opposing H.R.4437 generally were asked to flex their economic muscle by not going to work and by not sending their children to school. It was a national call to boycott all aspects of commerce in which immigrants played a role. In Chicago, there was a 10 to 33 percent drop in attendance at predominantly Latino schools. In Washington DC, several restaurants shut down for the day. And in New Orleans, where a new influx of Latinos had arrived to work as laborers in the reconstruction of the city after Hurricane Katrina, construction businesses were closed for the day.

The May Day protests and boycotts received mixed reviews from leaders in the Latino community. For instance, Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa of Los Angeles described the “Day Without Immigrants” as “peaceful” and “very positive.” Others, however, like the Latino governor of New Mexico, Bill Richardson, expressed concerned that the wrong message was being sent about immigrants and their work ethic; he also stated that “(Immigrants) come to America to work, yet they’re not working.” He added that he

would, “rather see the individuals, all these demonstrations, going to congressional offices, pushing the Congress to act on immigration reform.” Richardson was joined by Republican U.S. Senator Mel Martinez of Florida who said that a boycott “is not the right way to go” (CNN.com 2006).

During the spring months of 2006, the news media reported an unprecedented display of Latino civic activism, one of the largest in the history of the United States. Images of protesters parading through the streets as parts of mass demonstrations were featured in major newspapers from Phoenix to Fort Worth to Fort Myers. Dramatic footage was captured by television news stations of hundreds of thousands of individuals participating in peaceful marches in virtually every major city in the country.

By the summer of 2006, though, the marches had subsided. On April 7, 2006, after intense bipartisan negotiations, Chairman Specter (R-PA) introduced the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 or Senate Bill 2611 as the Senate’s response to H.R.4437. The bill boasted bi-partisan cooperation, with support from Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) who signed on as a co-sponsor of the bill. On May 25, 2006, the bill was passed in the Senate with a vote of 62-36. But S.2611 was considerably different from the House version. Perhaps the greatest difference between them was that S.2611 proposed a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. for more than five years. In addition, undocumented individuals who had been living in America for two to five years would be allowed to stay for an additional three years and, after that, would have to apply for citizenship. Those who had been living in the United States for less than two years would be required to return to their home country under the bill’s provisions.

Because of the vast differences in the House and Senate versions of the bill, both versions stalled in conference committee and eventually died when the 109th Congress came to a close. In the end, all that was approved with respect to illegal immigration in 2006 was the construction of a wall between the United States and Mexico. The Secure Fence Act of 2006 (H.R.6061), sponsored by Congressman Peter King (R-NY), directed the Secretary of Homeland Security to build "physical infrastructure enhancements to prevent unlawful entry by aliens into the United States." The legislation, sponsored by a Congressman from a state that does not share a border with Mexico, mandated only 700 miles of double-reinforced fencing along the 2,000 mile-long southern border of the United States from California to Texas. The bill did not address the issue of immigration reform, work programs, or pathways to citizenship.

Questions for Study

My dissertation is inspired by America's long history of political protest situated within the public sphere (social penetration) and serving as an antecedent for attitudinal and public policy change (Movement Empathy). Specifically, I am interested in addressing three questions: (1) What rhetorical dimensions drive Movement Empathy? (2) How do rhetorical forces contribute to the conversion of social penetration into Movement Empathy? And (3) to what extent does the rhetoric of minority media (non-mainstream like Spanish-language media) echo or challenge the mainstream media norms central to Movement Empathy? In answering these questions, I hope to gain a better understanding of the role that rhetoric plays in the dynamic interplay between social penetration and Movement Empathy in social movements and collective action.

The Immigration Marches of 2006 as a Case Study

The immigration marches of 2006 make an excellent case study for my dissertation because they represent a movement with high social penetration and (conceivably) low Movement Empathy. Undeniably, local and national news outlets covered the marches, yet no significant outcome resulted and the lives of undocumented workers remained unchanged in the months and years following the protests. The Occupy Movement and the Global Warming Movement have met similar fates, but I've chosen the immigration marches because it responded to a unique set of circumstances. Unlike the Occupy Movement, the groups behind the Immigrant Marches of 2006 always had a clear agenda (Rushkoff 2013). The marches were organized with the primary goal of passing national, comprehensive immigration reform. It can also be said that the enormity and frequency of the protest marches drew local, regional and national media coverage on television and in newspapers over a distinct period of time. (In contrast, the Global Warming Movement did not have a clear ending date or a period of heightened protest.) Additionally, the passing of H.R.4437 in the Congress and the inevitability of the Senate taking up the bill created a critical discourse moment that made the immigration reform issue especially visible (Chilton 1987). More importantly, the immigrant marches of 2006 were not successful in gaining Movement Empathy at the time. The marches produced no legislative impact on immigration reform, although there was some minimal success in thwarting the "felony" aspect of the bill before Congress in 2006. And in contradiction to the movement's hopes, the marches also caused many municipalities and state legislatures across the country to consider legislation that addressed undocumented

immigrants. And while a majority of the nation's jurisdictions took a neutral position, many took a very tough stance on the undocumented, such as Arizona's S.B.1070 (Couch 2011). Collateral damage of this sort was definitely not part of the group's goals. On the federal level, President Obama continued to deport more undocumented immigrants than President George W. Bush did in his first term (Khimm 2012). And despite intense pressure from immigration rights groups pressing the President to sign an Executive Order, in July of 2012, Obama only issued a "directive" to address the DREAM Act – legislation aimed at protecting undocumented youth from deportation called the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals or DACA (Foley 2012).

I must note that a comprehensive immigration reform bill was passed in the U.S. Senate in June of 2013 (S.744) called the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act. This bill drew media attention because of its bi-partisan support in the Senate. Following the passage of the bill, the House failed at introducing a similar bi-partisan bill so House Democrats introduced a modified companion to S.744, HR15. No action has been taken on HR15 to date. This study does not address this recent development nor does it offer comparisons between the rhetoric surrounding the legislation of 2006 and 2013, but I do see this as an important area for future study.

There is also another reason I have chosen to study the immigration marches of 2006 rather than other movements with high social penetration and low Movement Empathy: the movement has tremendous cultural resonance with the Spanish-language media, thereby letting me examine their crucial, perhaps growing, ability to affect the nation's political dynamics. Because mainstream media typically do not address those who would most benefit from the movement, I can explore their differential impact on

the debate, thereby getting new insight into social penetration, Movement Empathy, and the needs of a minority community.

Chapter Two: Artifacts and Methodology

There are several places one could go to examine mediated discourse surrounding social movements. For example, television coverage of the 2006 marches was broadcast at both the local and national news levels; unfortunately, local news programming is not archived and retained by local affiliates for the purpose of academic studies (as a result, these news segments would have to have been collected at the time the marches occurred). National television news coverage of the marches is available, but it lacks specificity to cities beyond Los Angeles where the largest marches occurred. Another place one could look to study mediated discourse is broadcast radio. In many cities, local radio stations, in both Spanish and English, were widely reporting on the marches throughout the spring of 2006. However, audio broadcasts of the reporting, like local television coverage, are not comprehensively collected and archived. Indeed, a handful of broadcasts is available (either audio file or transcript), but the inventory is far from comprehensive, focusing just on Los Angeles.

My purpose in this study is to conduct a detailed examination of the rhetorical dimensions of media discourse surrounding the immigration movement, including both Spanish and English coverage and including a cross-section of cities where the marches happened. Local newspapers provide the best source for this endeavor. Local newspapers offer both a local and national perspective and, most importantly, issues dating back to 2006 are available for study. For this reason, I have chosen to use local newspapers as my database.

Having identified the data source, the next question to confront is which cities to focuse upon. Immigration marches sprang up in all parts of the country in 2006, including places with little or no history of Hispanic political action such as New Orleans and Charleston. Ultimately, I narrowed my examination of mass media coverage of the immigration marches to four cities: Los Angeles, Miami, Dallas and Chicago. These cities offer a good cross-section of the scope and breadth of the protest marches that took place and, furthermore, each provides a different historical context with respect to Latino protest movements. What follows is a brief description and rationale for the selection of each city.

- Downtown Los Angeles hosted the largest immigration march reported during the unrest of spring 2006, making it an epicenter of the movement. What's more, Latinos have a strong political voice in the city and have held seats at all levels of government from local (mayor) to state (state assembly and state senate) to federal (U.S. Congress). The Latino population is primarily of Mexican origin and affiliated with the Catholic Church.
- Miami only experienced a small protest, although the city is not unfamiliar with public displays of discontent, especially among Spanish-speaking Americans. Latinos from this city come from a very diverse set of Latin-American countries, with Cuba being the primary one.
- Dallas is a city with a limited history of Latino political protest but that has recently seen a surge in the number of Latinos residing there. The city has experienced this rapid demographic shift in a relatively short period of time, a

shift that has gained the region an additional Congressional seat during the 2010 redistricting process.

- Chicago is one of the first cities where an immigration protest march against H.R.4437 occurred, thereby connecting to that city's long history of social protest. It is also considered one of the most racially segregated cities in the country. In 2009, Cook County was home to over 1 million Latinos – a 10% increase over 1990 (Sandoval 2010).

While there were literally hundreds of cities where marches took place, these cities provide a good sample for my study. As for the newspapers within each city, I have chosen publications that target both mainstream and Latino audiences. What follows is a brief description of each paper followed by a table displaying more detailed information about size and circulation.

LOS ANGELES

- ***Los Angeles Times*** – First published in 1881 as the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, this publication became the leading daily newspaper in Los Angeles by the mid-1940s. Today, it is the largest metropolitan daily newspaper in the United States with a circulation of 1.1 million copies daily. The paper has four regional editions (Los Angeles Metro, San Fernando Valley, Orange County and Ventura County) and a national edition. In 2000, the newspaper's parent company was bought out by the Chicago-based Tribune Company, thereby severing all ties to local ownership.
- ***La Opinión*** – This Spanish-language newspaper was first published in 1926. Its founder, Ignacio E. Lozanao, Sr., was a Mexican national who "wanted to provide news of the native homeland as well as of the new country for the growing Mexican population in Sothern California" (Subervi-Vélez et al. 1994, p. 318). It is the largest daily Spanish-language newspaper in the United States and is distributed to over 6 counties in Southern California. It is the second-most read newspaper in Los Angeles behind the *Los Angeles Times*. *La Opinión* was one of the few newspapers to provide comprehensive coverage of the deportations and repatriations of Mexicans during the 1930s as well as the Zoot Suit Riots of the 1940s (Wikipedia).

MIAMI

- ***Miami Herald*** – The newspaper was first published in 1903 under the name *The Miami Evening Record*. In 1910, Henry Flager acquired the financially troubled publication and renamed it the *Miami Herald*. Today, it is the largest newspaper in

South Florida serving the counties of Miami-Dade, Broward and Monroe. The newspaper has received numerous Pulitzer Prizes for investigative reporting, commentary, and editorial cartoons, to name but a few (Wikipedia)

- ***El Nuevo Herald*** **–** The publication of a Spanish-language supplemental insert to the *Miami Herald*, named *El Herald,* began in 1976, and simply provided translations of the *Miami Herald* content. It was renamed *El Nuevo Herald* in 1987, and in 1998 became an independent publication. It is produced by the McClatchy Company, which also owns the *Miami Herald*. In 1998, the newspaper began providing original content, which then developed into it's own style and viewpoint (Vaughn 208).

DALLAS

- ***Dallas Morning News*** – Alfred H. Belo founded the newspaper in 1885 when he was unsuccessful in his attempt to purchase the *Dallas Herald*. Aside from being neutral in the presidential contest between Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater in 1964, the publication has endorsed every Republican candidate for president from Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush. Today, the *Dallas Morning News* is the only major daily newspaper that serves the Dallas area (Garrett and Hazel 2011).
- ***Al Día*** – This is the largest Spanish-language newspaper that serves readers in the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area. Founded in 2003, *Al Día* is a daily general news publication that also offers information on entertainment, sports, and lifestyles (Al Día 2011). The newspaper is considered the Spanish-language counterpart to the *Dallas Morning News* and is likewise published by A. H. Belo, Inc. (Wikipedia).

CHICAGO

- ***Chicago Tribune*** – Often simply referred to as the *Tribune*, this publication was founded in 1844 by James Kelly, John E. Wheeler and Joseph K. C. Forrest. Today it is the 8th largest newspaper in the county by circulation and is the most read newspaper in the Chicago metropolitan area. The newspaper's motto, "An American Paper for Americans" is symbolized by an American flag on the masthead (Wikipedia).
- ***La Raza*** – Founded in 1970, *La Raza* is the number one Spanish newspaper in circulation and readership in Chicago. The paper offers information on local, national and international news. It is published once a week on Sunday (La Raza 2011).

Table 1: Newspapers Used for Study

Newspaper	Primary Language	Size	Frequency	Circulation D=Daily W=Weekly Su=Sunday Sa=Saturday
LOS ANGELES				
Los Angeles Times	English	Broadsheet	Daily	(‘06: D-851,832; Su-1,231,318)
La Opinión	Spanish	Broadsheet	Daily	(‘06: D-123,447; Su-62,972)
MIAMI				
Miami Herald	English	Broadsheet	Daily	(’06: D-294,172; Su-390,171)
El Nuevo Herald	Spanish	Broadsheet	Daily	(’05: D-98,000)
DALLAS				
Dallas Morning News	English	Broadsheet	Daily	(’06: D-480,484; Su-649,709)
Al Día	Spanish	Broadsheet	Daily	(’07: D-122,710; Sa- 148,390)
CHICAGO				
Chicago Tribune	English	Broadsheet	Daily	(’06: D- 579,078; Su-957,212)
La Raza	Spanish	Tabloid	Weekly	(‘06: W- 190,544)

The time frame chosen for this study runs from December 1, 2005 (two weeks prior to H.R.4437 passing in the House) through May 31, 2006, several weeks after the large May Day marches.

Rhetorical Dimensions

Examining how rhetoric may impact Movement Empathy requires careful textual analysis. Specifically, I used the newspapers to examine four textual dimensions conceptually related to Movement Empathy. They are: (1) tone, (2) narrative, (3) agency and (4) values. Each of these dimensions was studied along a binary axis in an attempt to discover language patterns conducive to low vs. high Movement Empathy. Below is a chart that outlines each dimension and the rhetorical device presumed to contribute to Movement Empathy. This is then followed by a detailed description of the four dimensions.

Table 2: Rhetorical Dimensions and Low vs. High Empathy

DIMENSION	LOW MOVEMENT EMPATHY	HIGH MOVEMENT EMPATHY
1) TONE – general quality or style of writing	PRAGMATIC • listing of event characteristics • descriptive and/or chronological account of event • participants positioned as ordinary or undistinguishable	MORAL • expressions of righteousness or divine authority (religious claims) • emotional appeals (pathos) • participants characterized as heroic or extraordinary
2) NARRATIVE – representation of event	EPISODIC • spectacle-centric and event oriented • chronological descriptions • Casting problem as simplistic or in ideological terms	THEMATIC • outcomes and conditions oriented • report or account in more general abstract contexts • attention to or focus on underlying conditions
3) AGENCY – protester's capacity to realize power/change	PESSIMISTIC • emphasis on a few individuals (anecdotal) • outcome limited or no effect • participants cast as insignificant and/or antagonistic	OPTIMISTIC • emphasis on the collective (greater good) • outcome transformative • participants cast as empowered and influential
4) VALUES – demonstrator's qualities of mind and character	EXOTIC • unpatriotic with loyalty to a non-U.S. country (foreigner) • reference to speaking language other than English • participants cast as others (them)	CONVENTIONAL • patriotism and devotion to U.S. (American) • language references are of English, if even addressed • Participants cast as included (us)

(1) Tone. Social movement scholar James Jasper (1997) writes that, "Protest movements are a good place to look for collective moral visions, with the good and the bad they entail. In modern society, they are one of the few places where we can see people working out new moral, emotional, and cognitive sensibilities" (p. XII). Indeed, it is the feeling of "morality" that can work to bring together a protest group, an emotional solidarity that tags those outside the group as "unworthy, evil, or inhuman" (Collins 2001). However, when moral cohesiveness is lacking within a protest group, those participating in the collective actions can be described, as Randall Collins puts it, as

“excitement seekers, without commitment to the cause, just looking for an emotional good time” (p. 29).

Therefore, I suggest that if the *tone* of mediated discourse (media accounts of protest actions) is situated in pragmatic rather than moral language, the result would be low Movement Empathy because participants and the movement itself may be dismissed for lacking a moral imperative. For example, in the case of the immigration marches, if the media coverage describes the individuals who would be affected by immigration policy reform in the U.S. as simply “undocumented” or “workers,” this would signify a pragmatic rhetorical approach. On the other hand, if language such as “dignity” or “unjust treatment” is associated with the immigrant population, that would reflect a moral tone favoring the outcome desired by the protesters.

(2) Narrative. A key finding of research on news framing is that episodic news coverage (with a focus on event-oriented reporting) results in the audience failing to make connections between the cause and treatment of an issue, while thematic news coverage (when issues are placed in a more general or abstract context) results in the public being able to associate cause, treatment, and responsibility (Iyengar 1991). It follows, then, that on the rhetorical dimension of *narrative*, rhetorical work with an episodic slant, focusing on the spectacle (the specifics) of the protest event, would be conducive to low Movement Empathy because the public would fail to make the connection between the march and the issue the march is trying to bring to light. When the media focus on the underlying conditions that prompt the protest in contrast (i.e. by using a thematic approach) higher Movement Empathy can be expected.

(3) Agency. Kenneth Burke (1945) introduced the idea of dramatism as a criticism technique to explain motive. Language and thought, according to Burke, are modes of action that can be better understood using the pentad. *Agency* is one of five elements that make up the pentad, and it addresses *how* and *by what means* agents act. With this construct in mind, the third rhetorical dimension my study will investigate is *agency*. Specifically, this dimension reveals how the participants or organizers are described by the mass media; it relates not only to their own ability to act (how and by what means to act) but also the power they (participants) possess to change the conditions they are contesting. Pessimistic language associated with *agency* would not produce Movement Empathy because the protesters would be positioned as powerless and without means and thus would fail to capture the attention of the authorities capable of addressing the grievance at hand. Conversely, optimistic portrayals of the participants' agency (their ability to effect change) would increase their perceived Movement Empathy, making them a force to be reckoned with by those in positions of power (politicians and policymakers).

(4) Values. The fourth and final rhetorical dimension in my study focuses on axiology. Rokeach (1973) defines a *value* as an "enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (p. 5). Constructive rhetorical theory (White 1985) highlighted by identification (Burke 1950) suggests that when rhetoric summons a common identity into existence, it paves the way to persuasion. Thus, it follows that representations of shared values among protesters and/or among undocumented immigrants (as in the case of the immigration marches) would foster

identification, thereby signaling higher Movement Empathy. On the other hand, low Movement Empathy would result from media coverage that rhetorically positions protesters as possessing exotic values, values not shared by most people but restricted to sub-sets of society. Values can also be situated on a *them vs. us* binary. When protesters are portrayed as odd or foreign (not sharing "our" values), Movement Empathy will likely be low with protestors being dismissed as "others," concerned only with self-serving needs.

Conclusion

Movement Empathy is undoubtedly a desired outcome for SMOs, yet we know little about its potential rhetorical character. The immigration marches of 2006 were extremely visible in the mass media as thousands, even millions, took to the streets in cities across the country. Protesters gathered to shed light on policies affecting thousands of undocumented people living in the U.S., the very same people who live in the shadows, trying to remain invisible so as to avoid detection by the authorities. Ironically, these highly visible marches were ultimately rendered politically marginalized, much like the undocumented people they were trying help. There were no major policy shifts executed by legislators, and public opinion polls following the marches actually showed voters to be less sympathetic toward undocumented immigrants (Cohen-Marks, Nuño, and Sanchez 2009).

Perhaps the movement failed because the problem it was trying to remedy affected people who were not citizens and not eligible to vote, thereby leaving the organizers unable to use traditional forms of leverage to increase the group's social

penetration. Ideally, an SMO would be able to leverage political actors in order to advance that end but this was clearly not the case in the immigration marches of 2006. Movements, like this one, that are unable to capitalize on traditional electoral politics must rely on some other mechanism to achieve their ends. Rhetoric is one of the available mechanisms for such purposes.

My study carefully examines how the rhetoric of the newspaper coverage on the 2006 immigration marches affected the conversion of social penetration into Movement Empathy and why (and how) it may have failed to do so. With a better understanding of the rhetorical processes involved in such transformations, perhaps fewer movements will suffer the same fate in the future as did the marches of 2006.

Chapter Three: Los Angeles and the Language of Tethered Journalism

In spring 2006, hundreds of thousands of people poured into the streets of downtown Los Angeles rallying for immigration reform. The *Los Angeles Times* reported the event thusly:

> *The march that attracted an astonishing 500,000 people to downtown Los Angeles last month immediately drew comparisons to the 1963 March on Washington and to a civil rights movement reborn (April 5, 2006).*

Yet, a month later, that same newspaper reported:

> *Here, [Ventura Boulevard] it appears that the goal of the protests -- to demonstrate the economic might of the Latino community -- fell short. Here, the protests were met with detached interest, occasional hostility and widespread empathy but, more than anything, with a shrug (May 3, 2006).*

In the reporting of the immigration marches, the *Los Angeles Times* provides an account that on the one hand recognizes the historical significance of the events while on the other hand deliberately situates them as lackluster and inconsequential. Can we attribute this approach to media coverage as simply a result of journalistic norms or might something else be at work as well?

We know that journalists, and mass media systems by extension, use a set of rules for presenting politics in the news. Bennett (1996) asserts that political news content is influenced by normative orders: norms about the "journalism profession" like fairness, objectivity, accuracy, and balance (*journalistic norms*); "the normative constraints of the business side of news organizations" reporting stories efficiently and profitably (*economic norms*); and, "norms about the proper role of the press in politics," and society (*political norms*). While these norms might offer some insight into the Los Angeles coverage, they do not tell the complete story.

Other scholars have taken a broader approach to understanding media coverage

and have considered the role that media play as part of a larger communication infrastructure. Studying the city of Los Angeles through a project called Metamorphosis, Ball-Rokeach (2001) concludes that the media, including newspapers, make up a "storytelling system" that works to define urban centers. The key to building community, according to Ball-Rokeach, is a network of residents, community, organizations, and local media. Though comprehensive, this approach falls short of explaining what particular forces affect reporting itself.

The rich and complex history of the city of Los Angeles is something that scholars have yet to explore as a possible influence on media coverage. We have yet to ask if there are "historical norms" that might work to shape media narratives. Nor have scholars explored whether the history of a city can be a determinative force. Through a close reading and rhetorical analysis of the newspaper coverage using the four dimensions of Movement Empathy mentioned in Chapter 2, I have found that reporting of the immigration marches in Los Angeles were tethered to that city's complex, geo-ethnic history. Put simply: history abides and it affects the news.

This chapter begins with a brief history of the city of Los Angeles, with particular attention being paid to the events that chronicle the Hispanic experience. I will then discuss four findings that surfaced from the rhetorical analysis and how each is tied to a particular historical precedent. Finally, I will consider the importance and relevance of the historical norms of media reporting and what, if any, consequences result from what I have identified as the "historical determinism" bearing down on the reportage.

The History of Los Angeles and the Hispanic Experience

Los Angeles is a city rich in history. While it is surely an American city, it will forever be rooted in its Mexican ancestry despite the influx of other racial groups throughout the years. Founded in 1781 by Spanish governor Felipe de Neve, the territory became part of Mexico and later folded into the United States with the signing of The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (Griswold del Castillo 1992). Though officially incorporated as a municipality in 1850, it was not until 1886 that Los Angeles experienced its first boom, growth rooted in real estate speculation and fueled by the completion of the transcontinental railroad that brought settlers in from the east. By 1910, the film industry planted itself in Los Angeles, primarily because of the climate, and in 1920 it had become the financial capital of the West and home to the Los Angeles (now Pacific) stock exchange (Phillips 2001).

The tremendous population growth of Mexican Americans in the city over the next several decades amplified the tension between racial groups, particularly among Whites and Latinos. The Zoot Suit Riots of 1942 epitomized that tension when 300 Latino youth were rounded-up and arrested for a single murder that took place at Sleepy Lagoon. Targeted for the baggy suits they wore, seventeen of these youth were convicted. The rulings were eventually overturned, but a few months later a group of servicemen attacked Latinos and others dressed in baggy clothing. The incident became known as the Zoot Suit Riots and came to represent a profound racial divide in the city (Bruns 2014).

Later in the 1960s, the East L.A. High School Walkouts, also called the Chicano Blowouts, encapsulated the racial inequalities between Whites and Mexicans in the public education system. In 1968, a series of protests against unequal conditions in the Los Angeles Unified School District high schools took place. The group involved in

organizing the protests eventually formed an organization known as the Brown Berets, which stood up for Mexican-American political and social power in California and other states. The group is still active today and continues to focus on educational equality and the evils of police brutality. The Walkouts, as the 1960s protest were referred to, successfully brought about the changes in treatment the students were seeking, and this type of non-violent civil disobedience was added to the repertoire of social protest events (Garcia and Castro 2011).

In the arena of public policy, racial tensions in Los Angeles and across the state of California played out at the ballot box. Proposition 187, also known as the "Save Our State" initiative, demonstrated the ill-will confronting immigrants, especially those of Mexican decent. Proposition 187 was a 1994 ballot initiative designed to establish a state-run citizenship screening system and to prohibit illegal immigrants from using health care, public education, and other social services in California. Voters passed the proposed law as a referendum in November 1994 (Jacobson 2008). The law was challenged in a legal suit and found unconstitutional by a federal court, but it nonetheless reflected the state of racial relations in Los Angeles and beyond at that time.

Given Los Angeles' complicated, often uncharitable, treatment of people of Mexican heritage, coupled with their population explosion, it is not surprising that the city was host to the largest immigration march in the United States in 2006. Interestingly, there is some disagreement about how many participated in the march that took place in Los Angeles on March 25, 2006. Some say 500,000 took part while others claim it was closer to one million. It is likely that these numbers are contested because they represent not only the number of undocumented persons living in the United States but also U.S.

citizens supporting immigration reform. The marchers, and the marches themselves, flew in the face of anti-immigrant legislation being considered by the Senate at that time and they did so in a public and visual way.

The work of scholar Jürgen Habermas (1989) suggests that marches of this sort became folded into the "public sphere," with its calls for social justice and economic empowerment for those affected by the pending federal immigration legislation. However, when the newspaper coverage of these events is examined through the rhetorical lens of Movement Empathy, I find the past being featured just as much as the present.

Movement Empathy and the *Los Angeles Times*

A rhetorical analysis of the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 suggests that there is a fairly balanced mix of articles with low and high Movement Empathy. That is to say, articles comprising the coverage varied on this rhetorical dimension and did so throughout the timeframe of the study. The mix of low and high Movement Empathy was seemingly random. For example, when analyzing the rhetorical dimensions of tone, some articles were highly moral in their texture, highlighting the role of the Catholic Church and advancing a sense of righteousness. On the other hand, articles also presented a pragmatic perspective, focusing on the size of the marches and the types of flags being waved during them.

This mix of both high and low Movement Empathy typified the coverage of the *Los Angeles Times,* with rhetorical analysis revealing four prominent features in the texts: (1) personality-driven coverage, (2) historical emphasis, (3) dramatic details, and (4)

conflict-orientation. Individually, these characteristics provide insight into the rhetorical work being performed. Taken together, they suggest that the coverage of the *Los Angeles Times* is dominated by a distinct sort of determinism tied to the city's unique history.

Personality-driven Coverage

Los Angeles is the home of Hollywood, a place where celebrity is revered. This is where the "Walk of Fame" covers the sidewalks with names the public has come to recognize through decades of film and television consumption. Here, celebrity is not just honored; it is a way of life, it drives the economy, and it is an occupation within itself thanks to reality television. The newspaper coverage of the immigration marches takes a page from Hollywood's history, with a particular focus on two individual players or personalities: one Anglo and one Hispanic.

One frequently referenced celebrity character were Archbishop Roger M. Mahony, an Anglo priest who was the Catholic Church's highest ranking leader in the region during the period studied. Archbishop Mahony was reported as being outspoken on the topics of immigration and the plight of undocumented workers. In the initial coverage (early 2006) of the immigration protests, Archbishop Mahony nearly always appeared in articles dominated by expressions of righteousness and divine authority. An example of this sacred tone can be seen in a letter to the editor published on March 7, 2006. It reads:

> *History's moral tragedies were often accompanied by clergy who were timidly and quietly complicit with the destructive governmental policies of their day. Reasonable people no doubt differ on how to identify and solve today's moral issues. It is, however, unreasonable to claim that Jesus and the other prophets do not have something to say about a doomed, unjust, immoral war; state-sanctioned torture; deprivation of civil liberties; unconstitutional domestic*

spying; international silence in the face of genocide; the criminalization of both undocumented immigrants and those who serve them; state-sanctioned murder through the death penalty; marriage inequality; underserved public education; and children without healthcare. It is unreasonable for the IRS or any other governmental arm to censor or intimidate preachers who must keep faith with centuries of prophetic moral authority in offering criticism, alternatives and, at times, as Mahony wisely notes, a call for disobedience of unjust laws in the interest of obedience to a higher authority. ED BACON Rector, All Saints Episcopal Church Pasadena

The language used throughout this article, specifically expressions like "unjust laws" and "obedience to a higher authority," exemplifies the emotional and religious appeal often surrounding Archbishop Mahony's approach to the marches and the larger immigration reform debate. Other accounts reporting on the immigration marches and its organizers situate Archbishop Mahony squarely in the center of moral authority, with the Archbishop speaking on behalf of the Catholic Church and using clearly religious claims. An example of this tone can be found in an article published on April 3, 2006 and March 26, 2006:

Also Sunday, Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, the archbishop of Los Angeles, called on Roman Catholics in Southern California to observe a special day of fasting and prayer Wednesday in solidarity with undocumented immigrants and to pray for lawmakers as they debated immigration policy in Washington. Mahony is to celebrate a special Mass at noon Wednesday at the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels in downtown Los Angeles to mark the day. A spokesman said Mahony favored the Senate bill to create a guest- worker program and a path to legalization for undocumented immigrants, saying it was in line with the Church's call for a "just and humane" reform.

At a time when Congress prepares to crack down further on illegal immigration and self-appointed militias patrol the U.S. border to stem the flow, Saturday's rally represented a massive response, part of what immigration advocates are calling an unprecedented effort to mobilize immigrants and their supporters nationwide. It coincides with an initiative on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, spearheaded by Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, archbishop of Los Angeles, to defy a House bill that would make aiding undocumented immigrants a felony.

In the above passages, a moral or righteous tone is set through the use of specific language. Archbishop Mahony calls on a "special day of fasting and prayer" and "a special Mass" to mark the day of the congressional debate on the issue of immigration. These are phrases often attendant to religious events but they have been repurposed here for the immigration protests. The latter article notes that mobilization activities "coincide" with religious happenings, suggesting a shared and common purpose between the church and protest organizers.

These newspaper accounts, published when the immigration marches were initially taking shape, report on Archbishop Mahony's activities using language with high moral claims. However, in true Hollywood fashion, a plot twist develops when Archbishop Mahony, while still a central character in the narrative, begins to shift his appeals from the moral to the pragmatic. This shift coincides with a change in the approach taken by protest organizers as well. Initially, the organizers concentrated their efforts on public marches in the streets of Los Angeles. This changed by mid-April of 2006, when marches were replaced by a call for a massive boycott to take place on May 1 of that year. The *Los Angeles Times*, in keeping with its personality-driven coverage, reports on Archbishop Mahony's more pragmatic appeal to the public to not participate in the boycott for fear that workers would lose their jobs. Not only is Archbishop Mahony reported as being highly pragmatic, he is also presented as rather pessimistic, with participants having less capacity to realize a change in immigration policy. Here are examples of such reporting:

> *April 18, 2006 - Los Angeles Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, a leading voice for immigration reform, is urging immigrants and their supporters not to participate in a boycott of jobs, schools and consumer activity that some activists are organizing for May 1.*

Archbishop Mahony is described here as a “leading voice” in immigration reform but is also reported as urging the public not to participate in the May 1 boycott. This reporting suggests that dissonance is taking shape, with Mahoney leading one faction. His previous moral claims to participate in the marches coupled with his holy title in the Catholic Church gives his call for abstention heightened importance, one seemingly sanctioned by a higher authority.

In the following excerpt, Archbishop Mahony is configured as a major leader who previously “made national headlines” against the proposed immigration legislation but who is now publically disagreeing with the boycott strategy:

> *April 18, 2006 - The Roman Catholic archbishop of Los Angeles made national headlines last month when he said that he would direct his priests to defy proposed immigration legislation that would make felons of undocumented immigrants and those who help them. That bill was passed last year by the House of Representatives. But, in a statement released Sunday, Mahony called for "positive action" to drive the reform campaign forward, such as classroom and workplace discussions. "Personally, I believe we can make May 1st a 'win-win' day here in Southern California: Go to work, go to school and then join thousands of us at a major rally afterward," he said, noting that "people of good will" can disagree on reform strategies.*

Archbishop Mahony is portrayed here as charismatic as he puts forth a solution (as he sees it) that can satisfy those for and against the boycott. Throughout, he employs moralistic speech by describing organizers as “people of good will.” Such reporting positions him as a national leader who is acknowledging publicly that disagreements exist among the organizers, thereby calling into question that the immigration movement has a unified front.

On the other hand, the following excerpt shows Archbishop Mahony’s pragmatic appeal for students to stay in school and for workers to go to work, urging them to

participate in a large rally “afterward.” Archbishop Mahony is no longer making moral appeals; he is now urging students and workers to not participate in the May 1 boycott, thereby substituting the functional for the theological:

> *May 4, 2006 - The National Capital Immigration Coalition refused to endorse the boycott. In L.A., Cardinal Roger Mahony lobbied against it. "Go to work, go to school, and then join thousands of us at a major rally afterward," he implored.*

In this final passage, Archbishop Mahony is said to frame the boycotts as “counterproductive,” giving him a far more pessimistic attitude toward the protest effort in general:

> *April 29, 2006 - The two events represent somewhat of a split in opinion, with the Olympic march organizers supporting the worker and consumer boycott, and the MacArthur park activists taking a neutral stance. Some behind this march -- including Cardinal Roger M. Mahony -- oppose the boycott as counterproductive.*

Archbishop Mahony, who served as the spokesman for the Catholic Church in Los Angeles, thereby became a central character in the coverage of the immigration marches. His vocal pro-immigrant stance was initially laid atop his support of the marches but, later, he was cast as an opponent of the boycott of May 1, 2006. The former stance, portrayed by reporting featuring strong moral appeals, mirrors the city’s history of being highly open, willing to have Mexicans (and other immigrants) move into the city to build up its economic power and labor force. Mahoney’s latter, anti-boycott stance reflected a more pragmatic tone, again reflecting the history of a city that had long kept minority communities at bay.

Archbishop Mahnony was just one of the personalities at play in the coverage of the immigration marches. The other was Los Angeles’ Hispanic Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa. Villaraigosa emerged as a prominent personality in the coverage but unlike Archbishop

Mahony, Mayor Villaraigosa's appearance is primarily linked to the student walkouts taking place in high schools across Los Angeles.

The articles featuring Villaraigosa suggest that students have the ability to bring about change, an optimistic stance indeed. Villaraigosa, for the most part, urges students not to walk out of school and also recommends that students display American flags rather than those of Mexico or other Latin American countries. Villaraigosa's pleas to use the American flag reflect the struggle of Hispanics as both Mexican and American in a city where both identities flourish. Here are some exemplars of Villaraigosa's celebrity presence:

> *April 12, 2006 - At the modest candlelight vigil at La Placita Church on Monday night, attended by several thousand, most of the few Mexican and Salvadoran flags were rolled up at the request of Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, and Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa exhorted the crowd to "wave those American flags!"*

The above excerpt demonstrates how Villaraigosa and Cardinal Mahony share the celebrity spotlight. Additionally, Villaraigosa directs the crowd to wave American flags, thereby embracing American patriotism and American cultural identity, not their Latino heritage. In essence, is directing them to acculturate. This is a significant because Villaraigosa was a successful Latino leader, one who was elected to serve at the helm of city government and the first Latino to be elected for that position in modern times. It is ironic that he would ask students to undertake a new cultural identity.

In the following two articles, Villaraigosa's public comments do not stray from the topic of student walkouts. He avoids commenting on the larger issue of immigration reform, focusing instead on more local and specific issues:

> *April 16, 2006 - Elsewhere in the city Saturday, Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa again urged students to obey truancy laws and stay in school. At an aviation careers event at the Van Nuys Airport, the mayor reiterated his stand*

that students should do their protesting outside class time. "I want our kids in school," Villaraigosa declared -- twice -- to a crowd of several hundred adults and young people.

April 28, 2006 - Villaraigosa and other officials appealed Thursday for students to stay in school Monday. "It's very important to keep our kids in school and to make sure they get a good education, including on May 1st," he said, speaking first in English, then Spanish. "After school, they can join in the marches as is their 1st Amendment right." But some groups rejected such pleas, saying students have a moral duty to protest immigration legislation they feel is wrong.

Villaraigosa is not reported as having a position on the immigration marches. Instead, comments are kept to school children truancy, even though the immigration marches served as the impetus for the walkouts themselves.

In the excerpt below, Villaraigos does not comment on the larger immigration issue motivating the student walkouts but instead worries about the traffic gridlock to be expected. He avoids taking a public position on the immigration marches themselves, leaving it to his spokesman to comment on the Mayor's plans to avoid participating in them.

May 1, 2006 - Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and Cardinal Roger Mahony reiterated their plea that students not take part in the day's activities until after school. Villaraigosa also warned motorists to prepare for gridlock in the affected areas. "Democracy is not always convenient, and it's unavoidable that Angelenos will be inconvenienced by these protests," he said. A spokesman for Villaraigosa said the mayor has no plans to take part in the marches but will monitor them from City Hall. He was also scheduled to fly to Texas to urge National Football League officials to bring a team to Los Angeles.

Via such coverage, Mayor Villaraigosa emerged as a prominent figure in the immigration marches of 2006. The news coverage shows him urging the student protesters, primarily either Mexican immigrants or those having Mexican heritage, to conform to the American way, to stay in school, and to avoid making life inconvenient for those not participating in the protests (who, of course, were largely Anglo).

Villaraigosa thereby endorses tepid acts of protest to keep the social order intact and to avoid racial confrontation. As Mayor, he is given celebrity status on the immigration issue, but he, unlike Archbishop Mahony, refrains from taking a political position on the issue of immigration reform itself and is reported as having done so.

The newspaper coverage of the immigration marches was therefore personality driven, with Archbishop Mahony and Mayor Villaraigosa taking center stage. One was an Anglo, which harkens back to the land barons and businessmen who controlled Los Angeles at the turn of the century, attracting immigrants but marginalizing them at the same time. And the other was a Latino, the first modern-day Latino Mayor who, not unlike the city's first African American Mayor (Tom Bradley, 1973), is portrayed as working to calm racial tensions and improve race relations. The personality-driven coverage of the marches, then, is much like the personality-driven city of Los Angeles itself. Whether celebrity or politician or land baron, these personalities constitute a strong presence in the city's history, a presence that plainly surfaced in the mass media portrayals of the marches themselves.

Historical Emphasis

A second prominent characteristic of the Los Angeles media coverage of the immigration marches is its historical focus, with the protest marches being compared to with prior events related to immigrant rights. Specifically, references were frequently made to Proposition 187. Known as the "Save Our State" initiative by its supporters, Proposition 187 was a California state ballot proposition that denied certain publicly funded social and health care services to undocumented immigrants as well as preventing

their enrollment in tax-supported educational institutions like public schools (Alvarez and Butterfield 2000). The initiative was passed by California voters but later struck down by a federal court, which found the statute unconstitutional. Proposition 187 was a significant historical event across California and within Los Angeles in particular.

As a result of the ballot initiative, Los Angeles city politics was changed, with the city experiencing a major increase in minority voter registration. Applications for citizenship also increased dramatically at the Los Angeles district office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The monthly applications rose to approximately 25,000, nearly half from Hispanics (Alvarez and Butterfield 2000). Once given their citizenship, these applicants would be eligible to register to vote and participate in electoral politics. Assuming a significant shift in the number of Hispanic-registered voters resulting from the Proposition 187, it is little wonder that the media would make connections to that case when covering the immigration marches of 2006.

Evidence of coverage underscoring history is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> *March 28, 2006 - Nearly 40,000 students from across Southern California staged walkouts to protest proposed immigration legislation Monday, blocking traffic on four freeways and leaving educators concerned about how much longer the issue will disrupt schools. The protests are believed to eclipse in size the demonstrations that occurred during the anti-Proposition 187 campaign in 1994 and even a famous student walkout for Chicano rights in 1968.*

In this article, the immigration marches are directly compared to anti-Proposition 187 demonstrations as well as the "Blowouts" of 1968, where Hispanic students walked out of public schools. These two events are milestones in the history of Hispanics in Los Angeles, marking key moments when Latinos were at the center of political firestorms.

The Vietnam War is also significant for Latinos, as many were drafted to serve. In the following excerpt, the Vietnam War protests were added to the discourse, with the size of the demonstration being the primary element compared. Proposition 187 is noted here as well:

> *March 26, 2006 - Attendance at the demonstration far surpassed the number of people who protested against the Vietnam War and Proposition 187, a 1994 state initiative that sought to deny public benefits to undocumented migrants but was struck down by the courts.*

While the reporting here does not reference specific numbers associated with protests of the Vietnam War and Proposition 187, the assumption is that the numbers were considerable because of the subject matter of these protest. The reporting is quick to note that the immigration protests "far surpassed" these two events in the number of attendees.

Via this reference to Proposition 187, the report focuses on the flags being flown rather than the size of the protest. It also notes that more American flags are featured in the marches of 2006 than in the past protests against Proposition 187. This comparison provides a visual contrast between the two events, one being more "patriotic" than the other:

> *March 26 - In contrast to demonstrations 12 years ago against Proposition 187, Saturday's rally featured more American flags than those from any other country. Flag vendors were soon overwhelmed by demonstrators holding out dollar bills*

In the excerpt below, parallels are drawn between Proposition 187 and the immigration reform initiative, noting that they include the "same harmful language.":

> *May 2, 2006 - Leaders here in California remember Proposition 187 and its backlash at the voting booth all too well. Pushed by then-Gov. Pete Wilson more than a decade ago, the initiative included some of the same harmful language that Sensenbrenner and others in Washington now support. Nobody expected the impassioned and overwhelming response that Proposition 187 generated across the state and its long-lasting political consequences for California Republicans*

Here, the coverage underscores the historical significance of Proposition 187 and the political consequences it had on California partisan politics.

In this article, protest organizer Garcia draws a comparison between the immigration marches and the "Pete Wilson moment." The reporter builds on Garcia's point and, as in the preceding article excerpt, notes its political consequences for Republicans in the state:

> *April 11, 2006 - He said the protests reinforced a sense among many Latinos who voted for Bush that the rest of his party was not as friendly, particularly the House leaders who backed the felony provision for illegal immigrants. "The Republicans are creating a Pete Wilson moment," Garcia said, referring to the former California Republican governor who backed Proposition 187 to cut off benefits to illegal immigrants. The initiative was approved by a strong majority of the state's voters in 1994, though it was eventually overturned by a federal court. The active opposition to it, however, is seen as having helped turn California into a more reliably Democratic state. Though the protests Monday showcased immigrants' contributions to American society, another key constituency watched from the sidelines: business.*

The historical underscoring in the newspaper coverage, with specific emphasis on Proposition 187, positions the immigration marches as being a result of, and even a reaction to, a time when immigrants were seen as an economic threat to the prosperity of the state. The media's portrayal makes a clear connection to past events in the struggle for immigrant rights, suggesting that the immigration marches are part of a larger immigration movement beginning with the 1994 "Save Our State" initiative and continuing through the marches of 2006. The marches of 2006 are rhetorically bound to Proposition 187, as well as to the attitudes and actions resulting from the anti-immigrant legislation of the past. The media accounts of the 2006 immigration marches, in essence, are a look to the past as a means to understand, interpret and situate the present-day protests.

Finally, the rhetorical effect of the historical emphasis of the texts lessens the meaning and purpose of the immigration marches themselves. The reporting does not compare the emotional intensity of the protesters past and present. Instead, comparisons are limited to superficial matters of crowd size and number of participants. Readers are prompted to focus on the physical aspects of the events rather than on the substance behind the protest actions. Historical emphasis, in this case attenuates the significance of both the marches and the marchers, thereby undermining the movement's goals.

Dramatic Details

A third characteristic of the Los Angeles coverage is its emphasis on dramatic details. In particular, a focus on details was used to amplify the visual spectacle. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) note there are several characteristics that make up a model of the transaction between movements and media. They posit that in the movement-media transaction, "All actors must deal with the media's interest in spectacle" (p 125). The *Los Angeles Times* is no different. The reporting of the marches is done with a theatrical flair, highlighting aspects of the protests having little to no relevance to the purpose or rationale behind the marches.

For example, in the following excerpt the scene is described in detail from the flags waving in the air by marching participants to vendors lining the streets who are not formally part of the protest action:

> *April 16, 2006 - Downtown, American flags dominated the scene, though a number of marchers carried Mexican flags, and there were smatterings of those of Guatemala and El Salvador as well. Marchers carried signs in Spanish and English, and many at the City Hall rally addressed the crowd in both languages. Vendors set up shop on the sidewalks flanking Broadway, hawking food and flags and shouting encouragement. "It's been a peaceful and well-disciplined crowd,"*

said Los Angeles Police Capt. Andy Smith, noting that there were "more families and children than the students we expected."

Note that the coverage here even points out that the marchers carried signs, detailing that they are written in Spanish and English. Yet the reader is not told what specific messages are included on the signs. Offering such information could give context to the purpose and intent of the marchers, yet it is not reported. Instead, reporting is centered on the overall scene being played out. This is an important rhetorical feature because by focusing on the superfluous details, the reporting allows the reader to visualize the event as if watching it on television, all the while avoiding the real purpose and reason for the protest in the first place. The reader is led to believe that they know or understand the event, when in actuality they only know what it looked or sounded like.

Another example of how the coverage accentuates dramatic detail can be found in the following excerpt:

> *March 29, 2006 - More than 12,000 students across Southern California defied Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and school officials by participating in a new round of marches Tuesday, including one that blocked traffic on the San Diego Freeway in Van Nuys and a second in which protesters tried to stymie the Vincent Thomas Bridge in San Pedro…Bratton said about 100 students were cited for truancy in San Pedro on Tuesday. He noted that about 500 walked onto the Harbor Freeway as part of their protest. "That's not free speech; that's insanity," he said. Youths waving Mexican flags and wearing white T-shirts took to the streets for the second day running, though not in the large numbers that turned out Monday.*

This passage demonstrates how the coverage focuses on the spectacle surrounding the students' protest from blocking traffic (with particular roadways listed) to waving flags specifically identified as Mexican. The color of the T-shirts worn by the participants is even noted. These dramatic details of the events characterize the participants as radical, even militant, with their matching uniform of "white t-shirts." Radicalizing the

participants creates a psychological distance between the reader and the movement, making the protest actions less likely to win sympathizers.

In the following excerpt, the flair for the dramatic is evident in the way in which businesses are described as using "skeleton crews," and hospitals are described as preparing for overflowing emergency rooms:

> *May 1, 2006 - From Los Angeles garment factories to Sonoma County vineyards, California businesses spent the weekend preparing for today's marches and boycotts aimed at demonstrating immigrants' economic contributions. Restaurants and other retailers near a downtown Los Angeles march route and in heavily immigrant neighborhoods throughout the city posted signs saying they would be closed today. Companies that rely on immigrant workers made plans to get through the day with skeleton crews or to shut down altogether. Hospitals prepared to call in extra employees in the event that an anticipated influx of patients materializes at emergency rooms.*

The scene here suggests that the marches are expected to have real consequences on businesses' ability to remain operational and of emergency rooms' capacity to properly service patients. Dramatic details are given that accentuate the mayhem being created, while supporting facts are not provided. It is unclear from the article which specific businesses and hospitals actually reported probems, leaving the question unanswered as to whether this scene is manufactured drama or factual reporting.

An emphasis on dramatic detail and spectacle in the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage can be found throughout the time period examined for this study. Without question, Los Angeles is a city built on high drama and spectacle. The film industry and the movie stars, with their on-screen and off-screen dramas, created Hollywood and captured the hearts, minds and imaginations of people across the globe. Entertainment is therefore an important part of the city's history, and the newspaper coverage of the marches reflects that history. Emphasizing dramatic detail and spectacle also contributes to the

entertainment value the newspaper has to offer to its readership. Entertainment sells. As Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) remind us, some newspapers "are multimedia giants with worldwide reach; others are specialized and local. In some media organizations, the production of news is permeated by entertainment values, while in others, journalistic values are more dominant" (p. 120). The *Los Angeles Times* clearly emphasizes the former in its coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 and, as a result, the meaning and purpose of the marches is left unaddressed.

Conflict-orientation

The final characteristic emerging from the rhetorical analysis of the Los Angeles coverage is its conflict orientation. Heretofore, scholars have recognized conflict as a characteristic of media reporting devoted to movement coverage. As Gamson and Wolfsfeld write, "Spectacle means drama and confrontation, emotional events involving people who have fire in the belly, who are extravagant and unpredictable. This puts a high premium on novelty, on costume, and on confrontation" (1993, p. 125). These authors view confrontation as playing a role in the transaction between media and movements, specifically, because of its ability to attract and retain audiences.

Conflict highlighted in the Los Angeles coverage does not appear through descriptions of fist fights or other types of physical confrontation. In fact, McCloud (2007), who studied only the May 1st demonstrations, found an absence of visible conflict. He writes, "Derogatory news frames (e.g., police versus protesters, riot, circus, freak show frames), so common in past coverage of radical social protests, were notably absent from the *Los Angeles Times* coverage. Instead, much of the coverage was framed

as a national celebration of positive energy, devoid of violence, civil disobedience, and visible conflict” (p. 189). But my analysis shows conflict to be implied in the coverage, and especially manifested in contacts between protesters and police. This sort of conflict depicted often undermined the credibility of the protest organizers by focusing on internecine tensions.

For example, the following excerpt reveals conflict not between the marchers and the police but among the organizers of the marches themselves. This behind-the-scenes conflict is both dramatized and dramatic:

> *April 20, 2006 - Sharp divisions are emerging among organizers of the pro-immigrant rallies that brought hundreds of thousands of marchers into the streets across the nation, with two leading coalitions calling for starkly different approaches to the next major action scheduled for May 1. In separate Los Angeles news conferences Wednesday, the March 25 Coalition of 100 political and immigrant rights organizations reiterated its call for a boycott of work, school and consumer activity to demonstrate immigrants' economic power. But the We Are America coalition -- which includes the Roman Catholic Church and 125 labor, business and immigrant advocacy groups -- urged people to attend a rally after work and school.*

The coverage highlights conflict among the organizers, suggesting that there are separate “coalitions” in opposition of each other, thereby calling into question the shared values and goals of those engaged in the protest.

Another example of the invisible conflict can be found in the following passage. Here, the coverage suggests the Los Angeles County employees are at odds with administrators.

> *April 21, 2006 - Los Angeles County employees are being warned that they must obtain prior approval to participate in a May 1 nationwide boycott being organized by immigrant rights groups or face possible disciplinary action. "While we respect employees' free speech rights, it is important that we be able to maintain public services," read a memo sent this week to human resources administrators in all county departments. "Any employee who is absent on May 1,*

2006, without prior approval may be considered Absent Without Pay (AWOP) and subject to disciplinary action.

Nothing is reported about the number of employees wanting to take the day off, if any. Nevertheless, the coverage implies the existence of certain conflict between the administration and the employees. Furthermore, by reporting that those participating will receive "disciplinary action" suggests that participation is a deviant behavior undermining the established power.

Conflict among the African Americans and Latinos is also referenced in the newspaper coverage. The following example demonstrates how conflict among minority groups is heightened.

April 24, 2006 - Some African Americans allege they are being shut out of jobs and housing by Latino supervisors and landlords; others say their children are shortchanged in schools that once were predominantly black but now cater to Spanish speakers. Violence between blacks and Latinos in schools and jails has increased.

Stressing conflict among competing minority groups, specifically Blacks and Latinos, suggests little commonality existing between them. Furthermore, readers might imply from this passage that African American organizations would be against the movement, when, in fact, they stood in solidarity with immigrant rights groups.

Stressing, and in some cases implying, the presence of conflict reflects the history of Los Angeles and, in particular, the history of its minority groups. From the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943 to the Watts of 1965 to the Rodney King riots of 1992, unrest and conflict within minority communities is a saga that continues play out in Los Angeles. It is an important part of the city's history. The newspaper coverage of the immigration marches is in keeping with this tradition of unrest, highlighting conflict regardless if it is visible and real or manufactured and insinuated.

Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *La Opinion*

The Spanish-language newspaper in Los Angeles, *La Opinion*, tells a different story of the marches than that of the *Los Angeles Times*, with different characteristics being highlighted by the text. The Spanish-language coverage is not linked to the past but rather is a testament to the strength of the movement to the empowerment of the people, and to an optimistic look at the future. Instead of focusing on celebrity, the coverage has a greater focus on religious leaders and the role of the church. Furthermore, the coverage distinguishes the marches from the boycott, ties the marches to a national movement, and puts forth a call to action. I will briefly address each of these characteristics.

The Spanish-language media coverage of the immigration marches begins almost one month prior to the coverage of the *Los Angeles Times.* The coverage is less about celebrity and more about the leadership participating in the marches and the moral claims they are putting forth. Church leaders, Archbishop Mahony included, are pictured as active protestors, often carrying crosses or other objects with religious meaning. The church, as an institution, is portrayed as an ally to immigrants. Moreover, the church is shown as challenging lawmakers on H.R. 4437, vowing to defy it should it come law. The following excerpts are examples of how the newspaper reported on the church, as well as on other human rights groups, who supported the actions of the protestors (translated, see footnote for actual Spanish-language text):

> *February 3, 2006–Jesuit priests, human rights groups, and acquiantences of the members of the caravan will provide accommodations to activists participating in the march using their own resources.*[1]

[1] 3 de febrero, 2006–Sacerdotes jesuitas, grupos de drechos humanos y conocidos de los integrantes de la caravana proporcionarán alojamiento a los activistas que participan en la marcha con su propio recursos.

March 4, 2006–A group of bishops denounced this proposal. Mahony, leader of the largest archdiocese of the nation, went a step further this week. He promised to defy the law if approved. "I would tell all priets, deacons and members of the Church that we will not respect the law," Mahony said after a Mass on Wednesday in which he called for "making room" for immigrants.[2]

The coverage here is less about the church leaders themselves and more about what they as leaders are doing in guiding their congregations on the issue of immigration.

Initially, like the *Los Angeles Times*, articles in *La Opinion* report there being a division among community groups calling for a boycott. But the coverage changes dramatically and, eventually, articles are published suggesting widespread support of the boycotts. Each day leading up to the boycotts, the protests are portrayed as bringing diverse community groups together in solidarity. The following excerpt is an example of how the newspaper portrays people form all walks of life banning together in support of undocumented immigrants:

May 1, 2006 –Today's action - including marches and protests in some of the principal cities, including Los Angeles - is supported by Hispanic and non-Hispanic personalities from all sectors: politicians, professionals, businessmen, religion. And these Latino celebrities also want to say how they feel about the immigration cause, that they support the boycott.[3]

This coverage suggesting unity among organizers is decidedly different from the English language coverage where participation in the boycott is positioned as a wedge issue among the leaders of the immigration movement.

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[2] 4 de marzo, 2006–Un grupo de obispos ha denunciado esta propesta. Mahony, el líder de la arquidiócesis más grande de la nación, fue un paso más allá esta semana. Él prometió desafiar la ley si es aprobada. "Yo les diría a todos los sacerdotes, diáconos y miembros de la Iglesia que nosotros no vamos a respetar esa ley", dijo Mahony después de una misa celebrada el miércoles en la que llamó a "hacer espacio" para los inmigrantes.

[3] 1 de mayo, 2006–La acción de hoy – que incluirá machas y protestas en algunas de las principales ciudades del país, incluyendo Lo Ángeles – es apoyada por personalidades hispanas y no hispanas de todos los sectores: politicos, profesionales, empresarios, religiosos. Y las figures Latinas del espectáculo quieren también decir lo suyo en favor de la causa inmigratoria, apoyando el boicot.

Another unique characteristic of the Spanish-language media's coverage is the connection made to other cities across the United States. In other words, Los Angeles is not portrayed as different from other communities in expressing their support of immigrant rights. Cities like Chicago (March 11 & 14, 2006), Milwaukee (March 24, 2006), Tucson (January 30, 2006) and Miami (February 19, 2006) are reported as having immigration marches, suggesting that support spreads well beyond Los Angeles and the state of California.

Finally, the Spanish-language newspaper puts forth a call to action to its readers not found in the English coverage. *La Opinion* does not just report the marches taking place but urges its readers to participate. For example, on May 1, 2006, an article outlines specific details (start time, specific start location, phone numbers for additional information) of marches in Los Angeles, San Ana, and Palm Springs:

> *May 1, 2006–On Monday, 120 years after that event, many cities in the nation will become scenes for unpredcidented mobilization: immigrants in the country want to demonstrate their economic and labor power. Because of this, today thousands of protesters take to the streets for legal justice for those who believe that the common good is focused on employment and educational opportunities, and that it is time to stop ignoring the needs of the poorest and vulnerable in this society. March. In Los Angeles. When: May 1; 3:00 pm. Where: MacArthur Park. Marches in Santa Ana When: May 1; 3:00 pm. Where: Parque El Salvador, Santa Ana ends. Civic Center of Santa Anna. More information (714) 966-2787, (714) 554-3100. March in Palm Springs. When: May 1; 4:00 pm. Where: Church Our Lady of La Soledad. March in San Bernardino.Cuándo: May 1; 4:00 pm. Where: Statue of Martin Luther King Hall. March Perris.Cuándo: May 1; 5:30 p.m. Where: between Calle 6 and D.*[4]

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[4] 1 de mayo, 2006–Este lunes, 120 años después de aquel evento, muchas ciudades de la nación se convertirán en escenario de una mobilización sin precedents: los inmigrantes del país quieren demostrar su fuerza económica y laboral. A nombre de ella hoy miles de manifestantes salen a las calles en busca de una legalización justa para aquellos que creen que el bien común se centra en las oportunidades laborales y educativas, y que ya es tiempo de dejar de ignorar las necesidades de los más pobres y vulnerables de esta sociedad. Marcha. En Los Ángeles. Cuándo: 1 de mayo; 3:00p.m. Dónde: parque MacArthur. Marchas en Santa Ana. Cuándo: 1 de mayo; 3:00p.m. Dónde: Parque El Salvador, Santa Ana. Termina: Centro Cívico de Santa Anna. Más información (714) 966-2787, (714) 554-3100. Marcha en Palm Springs. Cuándo: 1 de mayo; 4:00p.m. Dónde: Iglesia Our Lady of La

A photo of protestors waving American flags exclusively accompanies the detailed information on the marches. The caption reads, "Hacerse ver y hacerse valer." (Be seen and be valued.) Granted, the newspaper does not specifically direct readers to go out and protest in the marches but does everything short of that. Readers are told where to go and what time to be there, and then they are reminded that being visible in this way make them especially valuable.

Generally speaking, my analysis shows the articles in the Spanish-language coverage to have high Movement Empathy, differing considerably from the English language coverage that had a mix of high and low Movement Empathy. The Spanish-language coverage gives currency to religious leadership over celebrity, portrays the boycott as uniting communities, ties the marches to a larger national narrative, and issues a call to action to its readers. The coverage is not bound to the city's history; instead, it gives an optimistic look toward the future.

Conclusion

History centers on the past but history can also be used as a mechanism to examine the present and even the future. Such was the case in news reports of the coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 in Los Angeles. The *Los Angeles Times'* coverage intimately connects to the city's history, using it as a lens to interpret and give meaning to the protests. I found four major characteristics to be present in my reading of the texts: personality concerns, the underscoring of history, dramatic detail, and conflict-

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Soledad. Marcha en San Bernardino.Cuándo: 1 de mayo; 4:00p.m. Dónde: Estatua de Martin Luther King del Ayuntamiento. Marcha Perris.Cuándo: 1 de mayo; 5:30p.m. Dónde: entre las calles 6 y D.

orientation. All of these characteristics are rooted in the city's unique history, thereby constituting a kind of historical determinism.

Understanding and recognizing the connection between the media coverage and the history of a city is important for several reasons. First, as groups begin to organize protest events, they can anticipate which historical events will be used by the media to situate and frame the coverage. Once identified, groups can then build messaging and talking points around the similarities or differences to these past events, allowing them to better control the media coverage they recieve.

Second, if protest organizations are aware of this connection, they can borrow visuals, strategies, and even personas from the city's history and use them to influence media coverage. For example, students protesting the high cost of college tuition could invoke images and symbols from the Chicano Blowouts. In such circumstance, they might consider putting high school students at the forefront of the protest, rather than college students. The media would be hard-pressed not to reference the Blowouts, as my findings show.

Knowing that historical determinism is at work in the media coverage of protest, social movement organizations can also identify which activities to avoid. For example, knowing that the media focus on one or two celebrity types because of its historical predisposition, protest groups should avoid trying to present a group of people, or a coalition, as the "leaders" of a movement. Instead, consideration should be given to highlighting just one or two individuals who can act as the face and or voice of the collective action.

The history of Los Angeles is a powerful and unique history. I found in studying the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 the language of journalism tethered to the past. But this backward-facing focus can help protest organizations achieve their desired outcomes. Historical determinism can provide social movement organizations insights to understand, speculate and even prepare for what is ahead. History abides, yes, but not necessarily at the expense of future opportunities.

Chapter Four: Miami and the Constitution of a Cosmopolitan Identity

Sociologists contend that human society is a system of *social interactions* consisting of transactions between culture and human organizations. However, social interaction is more than just acting; it is communicating. (Anderson and Taylor 2008). Social interaction may be simple (a word or a gesture) or complex (giving a speech or organizing a protest march). Social interaction is also subjective, highly influenced by the cultural history of the people and places where the utterances originated. Take for example, blowing a raspberry (also known as a Bronx cheer). The spluttering noise made with the lips and tongue usually signifies an expression of contempt. But in the city of Miami, the raspberry is given far grander meaning.

The "raspberry episode" took place at the Dade County clerk's office, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times*. Eileen Valdez, a worker at the office walked by the desk of another employee and "blew her a raspberry," spit landing on the cheek of the intended target, Nekesis Paschal. Valdez claimed the gesture was innocent and apologized, but nonetheless the spitting incident escalated into a clash of ethnic groups. Paschal accused Valdez, a Hispanic, of attacking her because she had missed work the previous day to participate in a protest to call attention to the plight (economic and political) Blacks faced in the area. Ultimately, the spat between coworkers warped into a bigger debate centered on the tense racial relations between Blacks and Cubans in South Florida.

The *Los Angeles Times* wrote in its March 23, 1997 column: "In any other American city, a spitting incident might be dismissed as a silly office spat between co-workers. But not here." Miami is different. But what exactly makes Miami such a unique

place that a blowing a raspberry leads to a contentious transaction about ethnic groups and their various sensitivities? Could Miami's economic and immigrant history along with its geo-ethnic makeup be so potent that every issue (political, economic or cultural), no matter how large or small, has ethnic implications? From my rhetorical analysis of the immigration marches of 2006, I find this to be true. Miami has a unique multicultural identity that permeates throughout the public sphere and within social interactions, all of which affects political realities.

Author and journalist Tom Wolfe described Miami as "a melting pot in which none of the stones melt. They rattle around." Wolfe is illustrating what scholars refer to as multiculturalism. Unlike cultural assimilation, where a person or a group's culture changes to align with those of another dominant group, in multiculturalism a subculture maintains its uniqueness among other subcultures (Modood 2010). Others writers and scholars, like Portes and Stepick (1993), have described Miami similarly. They regard Miami as "the nation's first full-fledged experiment in bicultural living in the contemporary era" (p. xi). Cities such as Los Angeles and New York have large, immigrant, Spanish-speaking populations like Miami, but these metropolises are melting pots rather than cultural mosaics. Indeed, Miami is not a "microcosm of the American city" (Portes and Stepick 1993, p. xi); rather, its character is uniquely shaped by the arrival of Cuban immigrants and the city's resulting embrace of multiculturalism.

But how might this multicultural Miami identity act as an influential force on news reporting? My rhetorical analysis using the four dimensions of Movement Empathy noted in previous chapters, reveals that it does, with reporting by the *Miami Herald* reflecting both the city's multiculturalism and the construction of its identity:

Cosmopolitan Miami.

This chapter begins with a brief history of Miami, with attention being given to the post-World War II period when the city's ethnic makeup significantly changed due to an influx of primarily Cuban immigrants. I will then discuss three prominent features that surfaced from my rhetorical analysis, followed by a brief analysis of the Spanish-language newspaper coverage and how it compares to mainstream reportage. Finally, I will consider how, in reflecting multiculturalism and a cosmopolitan identity, the news reporting of the immigration marches avoids smothering the movement's goals. Indeed, the reporting actually amplified the protest movement's story through a sympathetic identity formation.

It is important to assess the rhetorical effects of reporting, especially when it is significantly influenced by a city's framework, whether political, economic, ethnic or otherwise. After all, when a city is in the midst of unrest, the public naturally turns to the mass media to understand what the conflict is really about. The news reporting presents facts and arguments that audiences will then use when forming their attitudes and opinions about the subject matter, a process that sometimes results in public opinion being influenced or even manipulated. If protest movements are looking to generate sympathy among the public, understanding this relationship between a city's identity and the way news is reported is vital. In the case of Miami, the multicultural makeup of the city and the creation of a cosmopolitan identity by the mass media led the audience to actually sympathize with the activists, a significant effect indeed.

Miami's History as the Immigrant Destination

Long before Miami became a major U.S. city, it was domesticated by the Tequesta Indians who built settlements along Key Biscayne as well as on the banks of the Miami River. In the 16th century the Spanish annihilated the Indians through war and disease, giving the former control of the region from 1784 to 1821, with the exception of a 2-year British interregnum. In 1821, the United States purchased the land from Spain for five million dollars, land which eventually became the state of Florida. Shortly thereafter the Seminole Wars began, the longest and bloodiest Indian War in American history. A Second Seminole War followed and established Fort Dallas along the north bank of the Miami River. The Third Seminole War, lasting from 1855 to 1858, discouraged settlement in Miami with few families occupying what became modern day Miami (George 2015).

Julia Tuttle is often referred to as the “mother of Miami” (Weiner 2010) because she convinced a railroad tycoon, Henry Flagler, to expand his Florida East Coast Railway to the region. The railroad brought economic development by way of new cities and resorts all along the rail line. The city of Miami was incorporated in 1896 just months after the first train entered that fair city. Before and after World War I, tourism boomed mainly due to the efforts of Everest G. Sewell, who headed the Miami chamber of Commerce. Sewell spearheaded a tourist campaign that is credited with creating “Millionaire’s Row,” a stretch of upscale homes along Brickell Avenue. By the 1920s, Miami was booming, with the population increasing by 440 percent from the previous decade. A land boom in the 1920s was short lived, and by 1926 speculators began leaving the region. And although Miami was not crippled by the Great Depression of the 1930s,

New Deal programs brought needed jobs and new public buildings such as schools, fire stations, and post offices (George 2015).

After World War II, many U.S. veterans who trained in Miami as part of the U.S. Navy stayed in that area, and by 1950 the city had just over 170,000 residents. But it was Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba that marked a major milestone in Miami's history. Refugees escaping Castro's Marxist government fled to Miami, dramatically changing the ethnic makeup of the city. The first wave came from the Cuban bourgeoisie, highly educated individuals who had successful business careers in their home country. Their arrival transformed the city of Miami, revitalizing older neighborhoods and spawning economic development. Additionally, the recent arrivals did not assimilate into American culture; instead, a Cuban "community" was born and thrived as new waves of exiles arrived. "Freedom Flights" sponsored by the United States from 1965 to 1973 brought approximately 150,000 Cubans to America, most of whom stayed in Miami.

By the 1980s, the population of Cuban refugees in the county reached well over half a million, and refugees from other Latin American countries, influenced by the Cuban immigrant successes in business and politics, soon made southern Florida their destination as well. For example, Haitians poured into the city and gave rise to Little Haiti, a neighborhood in northern Miami. Immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America gave Miami the "persona of a new Ellis Island" inhabited by people who had left their troubled home countries in search of a better life (George 2015). The demographics of Miami were forever changed as a result. Today, Hispanics make up a majority of the population, persons mostly of Cuban descent but derived from many other Latin American nations as well. Together they comprise multicultural Miami, "one of

America's most vibrant, colorful communities" (George 2015). Understanding Miami's immigration history is critical to unraveling the rhetorical work produced in the artifacts studied here, artifacts heavily shaped by the newspaper's audience – the people who encompass all that is Miami.

Movement Empathy and the *Miami Herald*

Rhetorical analysis of the *Miami Herald's* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 suggests that a great majority of the articles presented attributes of high Movement Empathy; they are characterized by a moral tone, thematic narratives, an optimistic sense of agency, and concentration on conventional values (see Chapter 2). Although the news coverage in Miami devoted to the marches was limited (producing the smallest number of texts examined for this study), it was nonetheless the only city of the four examined for this study that presented texts with high Movement Empathy for both the English and Spanish newspapers. That is, its media coverage was highly sympathetic to the movement's goals irrespective of the language used in reporting.

Typically, Spanish-language media cater to Spanish-dominant audiences who are especially likely to remain segregated within their own immigrant communities. Thus, sympathetic coverage of ethnic minorities protesting immigration legislation within these publications is not surprising. However, in English-language media, often the dominant media source in a market and one that appeals to a broader audience, sympathetic rhetoric about a social movement is less likely to be found. In the case of Miami, however, the *Miami Herald* was overwhelming sympathetic to the immigration reform movement. It was the only city in my study where an English language publication behaved so

sympathetically, thereby providing evidence that Miami's multicultural persona permeates the entire city, not just in the Spanish-language-dominant areas.

Using the characteristics of Movement Empathy as a guide to studying the texts of the *Miami Herald*, three key features in the texts were revealed: (1) normalization of the protests, (2) religious co-opting, and (3) internationalist appeals. These three rhetorical qualities work in combination to paint a picture of a Miami that embodies a unique identity, one that is fulsomely cosmopolitan. I will discuss each rhetorical quality and then show how the resulting cosmopolitism has both social and political impact.

Normalization of Protests

For a city as diverse and as heavily populated by Latinos as Miami, a reasonable assumption would be that the protests against H.R.4437 in that city would have drawn large and vocal crowds. Instead, the marches attracted only a modest number of participants compared to other cities in the United States with large Hispanic populations. Miami's immigrant history helps explain why. Much of Miami's Latino population was derived from refugees who fled their home countries for a variety of reasons, but mostly in search of asylum. Latin American countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, and Haiti, to name but a few, have complicated histories of political unrest and public protest. For many of those fleeing these countries, demonstrating against government policies (political and economic) was a commonplace instinct. Protests against H.R.4437 in Miami would not be considered novel to them; they would be considered an everyday fact of life.

The *Miami Herald*, in reporting on the immigration marches of 2006, consistently acknowledged such expectations, often noting that Hispanics come from troubled countries. For example:

> *December 22, 2005 - "Many people here in the United States are seeking refuge from an unjust economic and political system in the world and are only coming here for the survival of their families and communities," said Jonathan Fried of We Care of South Dade.*

Here, the newspaper takes into account the experiences of its readers, noting that those who have come to America are "seeking refuge." In essence, the coverage acknowledges the audience's cultural history, thereby adding a kind of existential sympathy to the coverage. The end result was that readers were justified in feeling that they could trust the accounts, with the media demonstrating a keen understanding of the meaning behind the events. It is also important to note that the media invoked a rhetorical device known as "identification." Rhetorician and philosopher Kenneth Burke (1950) describes how rhetorical strategies that invoke "identification" rather than "persuasion" are "key" to discursive exchange. The discourse in this case fosters trust through identification, forcefully suggesting that the audience's cultural history made their experiences different from those of Hispanics in other parts of the country. The media portray the audience as *multinational*, and as persons intimately familiar with protest. Acknowledging their normative experience as refugees from turbulent Latin American countries thereby lent the reportage special credibility to potential movement sympathizers.

The media coverage in the *Miami Herald* also normalized the protest by emphasizing an identity that was uniquely Miami. An example of this feature can be seen in the following excerpt:

> *April 2, 2006 –It's not surprising that in South Florida, where 62 percent of the population is Hispanic, there was no such massive demonstrations. There was no need for it: In Miami, politicians and the media almost unanimously reject draconian measures such as turning all undocumented workers into criminals. They understand, rightly, that the only way to reduce the flow of immigrants will be to help narrow the income gap between the United States and Latin America.*

This news article states that, with regard to the protests, "there was no need" in Miami for extravagant actions because "*they understand*." The text here positions those living in Miami as having an especially deep comprehension of the issues surrounding immigration, so much so that they could reject "draconian measures" and therefore moderate their participation in the protests.

In the following excerpt, that same supposition is put forward:

> *March 28, 2006 – Protesters alarmed by draconian immigration measures simmering in Congress poured into the streets of America's immigrant-minded cities. Except for one particular immigrant-minded city…South Florida's schools and streets stayed quiet.*

Miami is linked here to other American cities that are "immigrant-minded," but at the same time Miami is set apart because the protests there were largely non-existent. South Florida is reported as being above the fray: different from other parts of the country and guided by its own sociological personality. Furthermore, as noted above, for immigrants in Miami, protesting is a typical way of voicing discontent. For Miamians, protest is not novel, so the drama of the marches requires no extra dramatization.

What is interesting about this news coverage is that even though the reporting acknowledges that very few, and rather small, protests had erupted in Miami, the texts overwhelmingly possessed the characteristics of high Movement Empathy on all four rhetorical features examined. For example, in the following excerpt, *Miami Herald* writer Laura Morales, while reporting on the immigration marches, tells the story of Leonardo:

> *April 2, 2006 – Leonardo is a 24-year-old Mexican immigrant who spends long, backbreaking days working on construction sites. He then rushes to his South Miami-Dade home to freshen up before zipping over to Miami Dade College, where for the past five years he's been working on a computer science degree. "I can't study full time, because I'm illegal," said Leonardo, who did not want his last name use because of his immigration status."*

The article goes on to say that Leonardo is among the participants who gathered at a rally at Bayfront Park. The tone of the writing is sympathetic, describing Leonardo as a hardworking construction worker who wished he could be a full-time student. The reporter puts forth an anecdotal narrative that is far more thematic than episodic, with a focus on the underlying conditions that undocumented immigrants face daily. The writing stirs an emotional response and concludes with the following:

> *At the rally, Miami City Commissioner Joe Sanchez told the crowd that the City Commission will vote next Thursday on a resolution backing immigrant rights and the Senate bill. The resolution will be forwarded to lawmakers in Washington.*

Like so many of the other articles featured in the *Miami Herald* during the spring of 2006, the excerpt above provides an optimistic perception of the protestors' agency (protestors' capacity to realize power/change). Reporting the Commissioner's promise that a resolution will pass and be forwarded to Congressional leaders suggests that the rally had produced positive outcomes, even if they were relatively subtle outcomes.

Ultimately, the result of coverage with high Movement Empathy means that protestors were neither ignored nor marginalized. Instead, the media invites the reader to have a more supportive attitude of them. As a result, my analysis found the immigration protests were <u>normalized</u> within the news coverage by acknowledging (1) that the Hispanic residents of Miami originate from troubled Latin American countries where social protest is not uncommon and (2) by asserting that Miami is distinct from other

immigrant-minded cities, thereby creating a unique public space where protest was deemed unnecessary. But this minimal public outcry did not mean that the immigration movement lacked support.

Instead, the coverage in the *Miami Herald* was overwhelmingly sympathetic to the demands of the protestors and actually called for immigration reform, thereby building the movement's power-base. Such an approach is also referred to as "in-gathering" which, according to Gronbeck (1973), is one of six rhetorical functions fulfilled by the rhetoric of social movements. Bringing together a group of like-minded citizens who are ready to discuss the issue, participate in a protest march, and encourage others to stand-up for a cause, is what occurs during the in-gathering phase. The *Miami Herald* helps perform this function via the rhetoric of its news coverage and the immigration movement itself was the resulting beneficiary.

Religious Co-opting

Another strong textual feature that emerged from my rhetorical analysis is the presence of moral claims, assertions often directly linked to Biblical stories and religious imagery. The effect is what I call religious co-opting. By this I mean that the news coverage of the immigrant experience (by way of the protests) is so strongly infused with religious parables that the moral dimension of the protests was highlighted – by the reporting, not by the protestors themselves. Via such strategies, the immigrant struggle essentially ascends to a holier status, wrapped in moral righteousness but also equipped with political impact.

The most prominent analogy used in the coverage of the immigrant struggle was its comparison to the Christian plight of Mary and Joseph seeking shelter on the eve of the birth of Jesus. Even though the organizers used the Christ birth story to create a political spectacle, the reporting goes beyond describing the scene in pedestrian ways. For example, the following excerpt describes how the protesters symbolically reenacted the story of Mary and Joseph, but then extends the analogy by describing the protesters' interactions with others quite removed from the orchestrated scene:

> *December 22, 2005 – Armed with rattles and tambourines, the pro-immigration advocates sought to bring home to Republican Sen. Mel Martinez and Democratic Sen. Bill Nelson that immigrants, much like Mary and Joseph, are just looking for a place that will take them in…The group's initial welcome, at least from building security guards, was much like the scorn Mary and Joseph must have faced.*

The reporting here begins with the mention of the Mary and Joseph story, which is presumably how the protestors where hoping the journalists would frame the narrative, a possibility increased by the signs they bore as part of their protest. But then the reporting goes much further, describing the interactions with the security guards as exemplifying the same "scorn" that Mary and Joseph had faced. The news coverage takes the Christmas story the protestors had adopted and uses it as a framework to construct the rest of the protest march's reportage.

Another example of the Mary and Joseph story emerging in the coverage can be found in the following excerpt from on a statement issued by Archbishop John C. Favalora:

> *April 7, 2006 – A statement by Archbishop John C. Favalora will be read Sunday from the pulpit of the archdiocese's 115 parishes, comparing immigrants to Joseph and Mary when they sought shelter and asking South Florida Catholics to pray for "justice" for migrants. "In this season of Lent, we remember our Savior, born into poverty, whose parents were refugees in the land of Egypt, who extolled the good in the Samaritan and the foreigner," noted Favalora's statement*

obtained Thursday by The Miami Herald. "I urge you at the parish level to lend your voices, your prayers and your actions to the cause of justice for immigrants." The statement marks the first major involvement by South Florida Catholic church leaders in the ongoing immigration debate marked by acrimony in Congress and massive marches in other cites. The Miami archdiocese has helped organize local small-scale rallies in recent weeks.

Here, the newspaper notes the recent involvement of the Catholic Church and quotes the Archbishop's comparison of immigrants to the story of Joseph and Mary "when they sought shelter." The journalist could have vaguely reported that Archbishop Favalora was calling for justice for immigrants. Instead, the journalist directly quotes the Archbishop's statement and includes his analogy between the Christmas story and the immigrant experience. This reporting focused expressly on the religious parable, thereby characterizing the immigrant movement as having a higher purpose, well beyond the scope of immigration policy itself.

Ultimately, religious co-opting of this sort results in coverage that is sympathetic to the protest movement in an almost binary sense. By situating immigrants as divine, those who are unsupportive of immigrant reform can only be considered immoral, if not evil. There is no gray area here, only black and white. Rhetorically, this trope works to simplify the complicated issue of immigration reform and encourages, perhaps even demands, that readers choose one side over the other.

Internationalist Appeal

The final feature found in the coverage was an attempt to characterize the fight for immigration reform as more than just a Mexican issue. Much of the national debate surrounding immigration policy had consistently recognized that the overwhelming

majority of immigrants in the United States without legal documents had originated from Mexico. Congress had entertained discussions, for example, about building walls between the U.S. and Mexico during the floor debates of 2006. Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy contributed to that conversation by saying, “Rather than confront the structural causes of undocumented immigration, Congress has repeatedly attacked the symptoms of this disease: building more fences and placing more agents at the U.S.-Mexican border, and imposing more restrictions on immigrants' legal rights” (Kennedy 2006). The Secure Fence Act of 2006, which passed in October of that same year, approved the construction of a 700-mile barrier along the Mexico-United States border, yet another example of the immigration policy debate squarely focusing on the interplay between Mexico and the U.S. While a great number of immigrants do indeed arrive in the United States through the southern border, many arrive by other means as well, and in other areas of the country too – areas like Miami.

The news coverage of the *Miami Herald* did not conform to this Mexico-centric bias. Rather, the reporting painted the scene in broader brush strokes, thereby giving the immigration marches a more international appeal. An example of this feature is evident in the following excerpt:

> *December 22, 2005 – Meanwhile Nelson, who is running for reelection, seems to be walking gingerly around immigration issue and has yet to commit to a bill. “We have always tried to welcome people from around the world who share our ideals…but now we have millions undocumented immigrants –and there's no way to immediately evict so many workers from our economy,” Nelson stated in a press release.*

Democratic Senator Bill Nelson is quoted here from a press release in which he describes immigrants as being “from around the world.” The coverage specifically highlights his comments about the immigrants themselves instead of the Sensenbrenner Bill (H.R.3347)

that had passed the House of Representatives a few weeks earlier and was headed to the Senate for consideration. Furthermore, Mexico is not even mentioned in the excerpt provided from the Senator's quote.

Even when the *Miami Herald* is not quoting politicians, its coverage of the immigration marches still had an international slant. In the following excerpt, for example, the journalist, in an effort to explain the rationale behind the immigration marches, acknowledges the multicultural makeup of Miami:

> *March 28,2006–Immigration activist Jack Lieberman said about 500 protesters gathered in front of Miami's federal immigration headquarters on Thursday, nearly all of them from the Haitian community. "Not many Latinos. I was surprised." But many of Miami's immigrant communities are nested comfortably within their own peculiar policies. Miami's Cuban exiles have the wet-foot dry-foot demarcation. Meanwhile many Hondurans, Nicaraguans and Salvadors (sic) have their own special exception, living in South Florida under a perpetual "temporary" status as refugees from natural disasters.*

In addition to Cuban immigrants, the article referenced here identifies refugees from a number of troubled Latin American countries including Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Mexico is conspicuously missing from the list. The internationalist perspective found throughout the coverage emulates the ethnic makeup of Miami itself, clearly setting the city apart from other regions of the United States. Furthermore, by broadening the scope of the debate beyond the U.S.-Mexico axis, the reporting suggests a more cosmopolitan perspective of the immigration issue, one that involves multiple nationalities and, equally important, multiple economic interests. Rhetorically, the movement is thereby given a transnational platform capable of appealing for support to global constituencies rather than just local ones. On such an international stage, the immigration policy debate can take on new dynamics, inserting power (capitalism and nation-level institutions) as well as culture into the debate discourse. Such language

means that H.R. 4437 is transformed into a global issue rather than just an American one, a strategy which undercuts the provincialism of the movement's detractors.

In summation, my rhetorical analysis found that the texts of the *Miami Herald* have three prominent features: (1) normalization of the protests, (2) religious co-opting, and (3) internationalizing of the issue. Working together, these strategies combined to construct an identity for Miami that was unique from the other cities studied. As a result, one finds less emphasis on the U.S.-Mexico relationship and greater exposure of how the immigrant experience resembles a religious pilgrimage, a journey in which multiculturalism, not assimilation, is embraced. A cosmopolitan Miami is constructed from such discourse, one that is free from overt prejudices and provincial thought and where worldly ideas – cultural, economic and political – can become a reality.

Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *El Nuevo Herald*

The rhetorical analysis of the Spanish-language newspaper in Miami, *El Nuevo Herald*, revealed that the coverage of the immigration marches was similar to that of its English counterpart: both favoring high Movement Empathy. The news reporting of *El Nuevo Herald* mirrored the English newspaper especially on the trope of "internationalism," with the exception of some Associated Press articles (with bylines from outside of Miami and Florida). Overall, the marches were characterized as being about more than just a U.S.–Mexico dynamic; they were said to center on immigrants from around the globe, with an emphasis on Latin America home countries. In the following excerpt (translated, see footnote for actual Spanish-language text), the journalist describes those attending the rally as coming from a variety of countries:

> *February 199, 2006–Approximately 300 people from Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Mexico and other countries listened to speeches in Spanish and English before marching through the center of the city to protest against the federal plan, that according to immigrant group activists would affect approximately 11 million undocumented workers that reside in the United States*[5].

In the Spanish-language reportage, one finds recognition of immigrants from Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Mexico and other countries who collectively form the group of participants at the protest rally. What's more, this international outlook is evident throughout the time period being studied here. Here is another example of coverage that highlights a more worldly perspective of immigrants:

> *April 1, 2006–"We hope it is massive, very significant, massive and not just Hispanics participate because immigration in this state comes from many countries. It is a global immigration," Bugani told EFE*[6].

While this quotation refers to the state of Florida, practically speaking it is really about the Miami-Dade region where a huge number of immigrants reside. Overall, the Spanish-language coverage alludes to a broad range of countries that echoes the multiculturalism of Miami. The result is that Miami is said to have a more "international" perspective on the debate of immigration reform, an emphasis also found in the coverage in the *Miami Herald*.

In addition to being more internationally focused, *El Nuevo Herald's* coverage asserts that Miami immigrants also differ in their political attitudes, especially when compared to immigrants in other cities. The following excerpt attempts to explain these differences:

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[5] 19 de febrero, 2006–Aproximadamente 300 personas de Colombia, Cuba, Haití, México y otros países escucharon discursos en español e ingles antes de marcha por el centro de las ciudad para protestar contra el plan de ley federal, que según defensores de los grupos inmigrantes afectaría a los alrededor de 11 millones de trabajadores indocumentados que residen en Estados Unidos.

[6] 1 de abril, 2006–"Esperamos que sea masiva, bastante significativa, multitudinaria y que acudan no sólo los hispanos porque la inmigración en este estado proviene de muchos países. Es una inmigración global", expresó Bugani a EFE.

March 29, 2006–"Keep in mind that in Florida all federal and state representatives hold positions in favor of immigrants, and that makes immigrants feel protected. In Miami-Dade there is no opposition to immigrants," said Guarioné Diaz, executive director of the Cuban American National Council. In fact, unlike the west coast of the nation, Florida is one of the states where immigrants in general and Hispanics in particular, has a strong presence in politics, the economy and society, making them feel more secure in their lives and feel more understood.[7]

Immigrants in Miami are described here as "feeling more understood," with their elected leaders and representatives standing with them in support of immigrants' rights. Reporting the immigrant struggle in this manner can surely cultivate feelings of empowerment in the target audience. Additionally, the news coverage promotes self-efficacy by describing Hispanics as having "a strong presence in politics, the economy and society." Such news coverage reaffirms the upward mobility that many immigrants have achieved in the United State in general and Miami in particular.

Fueling the confidence of immigrants while positioning the immigration struggle as more than just a Mexican immigrant issue, forges an identity that is unique to Miami: a cosmopolitan Miami that recognizes the many contributions that immigrants from around the globe make to American society. *El Nuevo Herald* affirms who the readers are and then compliments them on their achievements.

Conclusion

By April of 2006, protests against H.R.4437 (the federal legislation criminalizing

[7] 29 de marzo, 2006 "Hay que tener en cuenta que en la Florida todos los representantes federales y estatales mantienen posturas a favor de los inmigrantes, y eso hace que los inmigrantes se sientan protegidos. En Miami-Dade no hay oposición a los inmigrantes", consideró Guarioné Díaz, el director ejecutivo del Consejo Nacional Cubano Americano. De hecho, al contrario de la costa oeste de la nación, la Florida es uno de los estados donde los inmigrantes en general, y los hispanos en particular, tiene una presencia más sólida en la política, la economía y la sociedad, lo cual hace que se sientan más seguros en sus vidas y se sienten más comprendidos.

undocumented immigrants) had occurred in cities across the United States, including Miami. Unlike the protests in other cities where demonstrators showed their solidarity with everyone wearing white T-shirts and waving American flags, Miami's marches were considerably different. The *Miami Herald* described them as "colorful":

> *Framed by skyscrapers and a bright blue sky, the flags of Mexico, Honduras, Columbia and other Latin American countries flapped alongside of American flags to make a colorful tableau (April 2, 2006).*

Why were protests in other cities, like Los Angeles and Chicago, literally draped in American patriotism and witnessing crowd conformity, while gatherings in Miami were painted with multicolored flags from Latin American countries? If Hispanics from cities across the nation were protesting together in solidarity against the federal legislation being debated by Congress, why did Miami's reporting stray from the pack? Is it possible that the Miami protests had a unique identity and, as a result, that the movement was reported differently? Could it be that the city's economic and immigrant history, along with its geo-ethnic makeup, produced a uniquely Miami narrative?

In Miami, the newspaper coverage of the 2006 immigration marches recounted details of the protest events and of the people who participated in them. But the news coverage also did something else; it revealed something special about the city itself. The reporting rhetorically formed an identity for Miami, an identity different from other Latino-dominated cities. At the core of this unique identity is Miami's rich and diverse cultural makeup. In essence, the city becomes a tapestry in which each thread represents a Latin American country with a unique history of political protest.

This sort of rhetorically constructed identity resulted in a Cosmopolitan Miami, where the news reporting normalized the protests, co-opted religious meaning, and

reflected an international worldview. All of this makes sense since Miami is a city with urbane attitudes about immigration policy and where immigrants wield power, politically and professionally. And most importantly, Cosmopolitan Miami appears to influence how the news itself is reported, a powerful political outcome indeed.

Both the *Miami Herald* and El *Nuevo Herald* feature news stories predominantly falling into the category of high Movement Empathy, meaning that the articles overwhelmingly embraced the protesters' goals. This is a significant finding because the protests in Miami were small in size and few in number, leaving many to assume incorrectly that there was little support for the immigration reform effort in 2006. In fact, the rhetoric of Cosmopolitan Miami shows that a limited public outcry against H.R. 4437 does not mean that public support was lacking for the immigrant movement. Instead, such a matter-of-fact approach shows that normalization of the protests was a central part of that identity.

Miami's immigrant history and its geo-ethnic makeup served as the foundation for this cosmopolitan identity. But a question that comes mind is whether or not this identity is fluid or consistent across other Latino-related issues. For example, normalization of trade between Cuba and the United States seems inevitable with the recent announcement from President Obama that the U.S. will reopen its Cuban Embassy (Fabian 2015). Will Miami maintain this cosmopolitan identity on the issue of re-establishing full diplomatic ties with Cuba? Or will its cosmopolitan identity take on more parochial characteristics? Just how enduring the Cosmopolitan Miami identity will be remains to be seen. But in the case of the 2006 immigration marches, it was rock solid indeed.

Chapter Five: Dallas and Market-driven Localism

It is a habit, a ritual, really. On Sunday mornings millions of Americans reach for their newspaper. The stories that fill the pages reflect the news of the day, events that are happening around the world and around the corner from readers' homes. Countless factors influence what ends up on those printed pages. For example, current events dictate content, from mass shootings to tumultuous weather to political corruption to athletic triumph; these happenings of the day dutifully grace the pages of periodicals so that readers will stay up-to-date with what is going on around them. Other media also influence what is reported. Journalists monitor competitors' coverage, hoping to downplay being scooped or to delve further into an issue or scandal. Citizens and community groups can also have bearing on what makes the news, as do advertisers whose dollars are the lifeblood of the industry. Many acknowledge that one of the more powerful forces that determines what is news and what is not are editors, those individuals who are in charge of a publication's actual content. But editors and citizens are people; competing media outlets are places; and events and advertisers are tangible entities. What about influences that cannot be seen or touched? Could an "invisible hand," for example, influence what and how stories are told?

Adam Smith used the metaphor of an invisible hand to describe the natural force that guides free market capitalism (Smith 1904). Through competition for scarce resources and participants acting in their self-interest, the invisible hand would lead to an exchange of goods and services that would benefit society, a natural phenomenon not requiring interference from government. The invisible hand, according to Smith, would guide market participants and thereby guide the economy. But is it possible for this

invisible hand to touch other aspects of society outside of production and investment – aspects such as the news? More pointedly, could the market economy, aside from advertising capital, have any bearing on how news is reported, or in the case of the *Dallas Morning News* and the immigration marches of 2006, how it is *not* reported?

Protest marches against federal immigration legislation had spread across most of the country by March 2006. The *Dallas Morning News* was slow in reporting on the immigration protests in comparison to other newspapers across the United States. Radio, television and newspapers, in Spanish and English, began documenting protest demonstration events as early as December 2005 when the House of Representatives in the nation's capitol approved H.R.4437. But, in Dallas, news of civil disobedience and uprising in the city's leading daily newspaper lagged that of other outlets. Whereas in Miami the first newspaper reports of immigration marches appeared just before the end of 2005, it was not until late March 2006 that *The Dallas Moring News* premiered its first article on the subject, some three months later than Miami's. The piece was titled "Thousands protest bill targeting illegal immigrants" and it appeared in the Saturday, March 25th edition on page 7 of the "A" section of the publication. The placement of the article fell short of a prime location in the newspaper, and the text itself highlighted much of the chaos that the protest marches were causing rather than focusing on the substance and purpose of the protest. A sub-headline read, "In Phoenix, 20,000 stop traffic at senator's office," which underscored the inconvenience being caused by the protestors.

What might account for the newspaper not covering the national immigration protests sooner? Why focus on the collateral damage caused by protests instead of the motivation behind the uprising? My analysis found that in addition to being slow to

report on the demonstrations, the Dallas reporting was also contextually different from other major Latino cities in America. One such delineating characteristic was that the *Dallas Morning News* coverage was primarily focused on local events in the Dallas area, nearly exclusively on student walkouts taking place in high schools across the city. In the spring of 2006, countless high school students had walked out of their classrooms in protest of H.R.4437 and proceeded to march in unison to public spaces such as public parks and Dallas' City Hall. The walkouts continued for days, then weeks. Coverage of this youth movement dominated the pages of the *Dallas Morning News*, making it the primary narrative about the immigrant struggle during the spring of 2006. As a result, the broader story of comprehensive immigration reform protests and the public policy debate around it were largely dismissed by the Dallas daily.

Obviously, one would expect the *Dallas Morning News* to cover local Dallas events; it is, after all, the city's most widely circulated daily newspaper. However, because it is a dominating force in the market, does this give the publication the right to feature local coverage at the expense of major national events, particularly when that news affects Latinos across the United States? Is it an acceptable practice to acknowledge some contentious issues while discounting others entirely? Who or what allows these decisions to be made?

We are left to question what explains a hyper-local approach to media coverage at a time when major national immigration policy was being debated in Congress and when protest marches of historical proportion were being enacted across the United States? What might contribute to the Dallas daily newspaper taking such an "isolationist" approach? Could the invisible hand of Dallas' market economy have closed its fist

around the immigration protests, limiting the depth and breadth of the news coverage?

In just over a decade, dramatic demographic shifts have been experienced in Dallas County. Hispanics, as a percentage of the total population, have grown by almost 10%. That represents an increase of over 335,000 Hispanics from 2000 to 2014 (Workforce Solutions for North Central Texas 2014). These dramatically changing demographics potentially undermine the political and economic power structures long established in Dallas. Growth, after all, can challenge the status quo. For Latinos, with growth comes opportunity as they run for political office and ascend the fiscal ladder of business and financial prosperity, challenging norms and long-held caste systems. Demographic shifts also can affect investment, production and distribution of goods and services. In short, growth changes the market.

Using the four dimensions of Movement Empathy, my rhetorical analysis reveals that the reporting by the *Dallas Morning News* of the immigration marches can best be characterized as market-driven localism: featuring local events driven by underlying market forces.

This chapter begins with a brief history of the city of Dallas, with particular focus on the demographic shifts the city has experienced (namely the large increase in Latinos living in the metropolitan area). I will then discuss four findings that surfaced from the rhetorical analysis and how each incorporates market-driven localism. I will also provide a brief analysis of the Spanish-language newspaper coverage in Dallas' *Al Dia* and evaluate how it compares to the mainstream English coverage. Finally, I will consider the importance of the media' reporting style and what, if any, consequences can result from it.

Understanding how market forces influence news reporting is critical to deconstructing the storylines presented by the media. Armed with such knowledge, audiences can be better equipped to question not only the perspectives presented within a news story but also the criteria used to determine which stories make the printed page. In the case of Dallas, if the market is influencing the kind of news consumed by the audience, then important narratives that threaten or challenge the economic system can be marginalized or even ignored. The market could, in essence, limit the topics that are introduced into the public sphere, thus limiting the vitality of debate needed to maintain a healthy democracy.

The Changing Face of Dallas

Since it was founded, the city of Dallas has been at the center of business and commerce in Texas and the surrounding region. Prior to being officially incorporated into a city on February 2, 1856, a settler named John Neely Bryan established a trading post in an area that turned into present-day Dallas. He considered the area near the Trinity River (known as the Three Forks) as an ideal place for a settlement. Bryan believed that a trading post in that location had three advantages: 1) it would benefit from the vast open land available; 2) there were Native American Indians living in the region with whom trading could be transacted; and 3) the proximity of the Trinity River meant that settlers and commerce could descend upon the area easily (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas County* 2015). His assessment was right. Soon after Bryan's initiations, the Preston Trail, which extended down to Austin in Central Texas, passed through the area, bringing a steady flow of people and commerce. By the time Texas was annexed by the Union in

1845, Dallas was a well-established settlement, with residents supporting the move to join the United States. However a short time later, in 1861, Texas seceded from the Union and entered the Civil War. Volunteers were sent to fight but the city itself was far from the battles taking place during the war and the city suffered no damage as a result (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas County* 2015).

During the Reconstruction Period and well after the end of the Civil War, the railroads brought another burst of economic growth to Dallas. In 1873, the city became the intersection point of two major Texas railroad routes, the north-south (Houston and Texas Central Railroad) and the east-west (Texas Pacific Railway), thereby securing Dallas' economic future and its position as a commercial center of the region (McElhaney and Hazel 2015). The railroad also brought about significant population growth as former slaves and settlers moved south after the war. The combination of more people with increased access to commerce and raw materials such as grains and cotton positioned Dallas as a hub for business and a promising place for investment and continued growth. Dallas prospered primarily from cotton, the region's principal cash crop, and from leather and buffalo hide trading (*United States History, History of Dallas, Texas* 2015).

By the turn of the century Dallas had established itself as an epicenter of business and trade and it continued to attract investment, workers and construction. The first skyscraper west of the Mississippi was built in 1907. The fifteen stories of the Praetorian Building gave Dallas even greater notoriety as a major city. Soon, Dallas commodities expanded to include jewelry, books, wholesale liquor and drugs, while it continued to dominate as the leading inland cotton market. Economic success, coupled with

annexation of surrounding areas, resulted in huge population growth. Dallas' population of 42,638 in 1905 more than tripled to 150,000 residents by 1910. Dallas was transforming from an agricultural market into an economic center of banking, insurance, fashion and retailing (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas, TX* 2015).

Despite the city's financial prosperity, ethnic minorities such as blacks and Mexican Americans were impeded from making economic progress. They continued to be disfranchised by poll taxes imposed by the state legislature in 1902. The same was true for poor whites, but greater limitations were placed on minority populations thanks to Jim Crow laws that made racial segregation legal. During this period and throughout history it is difficult to enumerate exactly how many Hispanics resided in Dallas and Dallas County because, until the 1960s, Mexican-Americans were listed as white and not counted as a separate ethnic group. Census records of 1893 indicate that Mexican traders were operating in the Dallas area that year, and the first Hispanic resident of Dallas County was recorded in 1850. The railroads brought Mexican railroad workers to Dallas along with settlers in search of jobs in the agricultural industry. The Mexican Revolution, which started in 1910 and continued into the 1920s, also prompted a flow of Mexicans into the area. From 1920 to 1930 the Mexican-American population of Dallas County increased twofold from 2,838 to 5,901 (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas County* 2015).

In 1930, oil was discovered 100 miles east of Dallas, marking the first Texas oil boom and putting Dallas at the financial center of the oil industry for Texas and Oklahoma, further solidifying Dallas as a hub for big business and commerce. Soon after, Dallas was selected as the site of the 1936 Texas Centennial that brought about the construction of fifty new buildings in Fair Park, along with 10 million visitors. Dallas

continued to prosper after World War II, and by the 1950s and 1960s major technology companies like Texas Instruments headquartered there. The construction of the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport in 1974 further attracted businesses to headquarter in Dallas, once again highlighting the city's position as a center of national financial and business (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas, TX* 2015).

On November 22, 1963, America was forever changed by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy at Dealey Plaza in downtown Dallas. The assassination of an American President was a defining moment in Dallas' rich history, and resulted in anger toward the city and its officials. Dallas was blamed for the assassination and much effort was made for redemption. However, it took decades and the creation of "America's Team," the Dallas Cowboys, for it to finally arrive (Goodwyn 2013). In 1989, the Texas School Book Depository where Lee Harvey Oswald fired the fatal shots, opened as a museum to commemorate the President's life and his accomplishments (*The Handbook of Texas, Dallas, TX* 2015). At the 50 year anniversary of Kennedy's assassination, Mayor Mike Rawlings said, "We were all very young … our lives, our hopes and dreams in front of us. Dallas was very young as well, barely a century old. And given the nature of youth we all felt invincible. Well, it seems that we all grew up that day, city and citizens, and suddenly we had to step up to trying to live up to the challenges of the words and visions of a beloved, yet now late president" (Speech excerpts: Mayor Mike Rawlings, historian David McCullough 2013).

As Dallas "grew up," it experienced change not just in how outsiders viewed the city but also in the demographic makeup of the city itself. The once predominantly Anglo society that was so distinctly depicted on the long-running television show *Dallas*,

was being gradually overtaken by new Hispanics moving into the area. The shift was dramatic. Hispanics as a percentage of the total population grew by almost 10% in Dallas County. That represents an increase of over 335,000 Hispanics from 2000 to 2014 (Workforce Solutions for North Central Texas 2014). In the city of Dallas, Hispanics went from being 36% of the population in 2000 to 42% of the population just ten years later (Census 2010). Dallas continues to drastically change demographically even today. Hispanics now constitute 70 percent of the students enrolled in the Dallas Independent School District (Dallas Independent School District 2014-2015). Soon, Texas will be more heavily populated by Latinos than Anglos. Dr. Lloyd Potter, the Texas state demographer states, "Our projections show that sometime in the next five to 10 years, there will be more people of Hispanic descent in Texas than there are non-Hispanic whites. If you look at kids 18 and younger, there are already more Latinos than non-Hispanic whites" (Young and McNeill 2011).

Dallas' history positions it as a mecca of finance and industry in the region. As the city experiences major demographic shifts, it raises the question of how its market notoriety will be affected. Is this status at all threatened, or does diversity offer more opportunity? How does Dallas' economic oligarchy react, if at all, to these demographic changes? Might these market influences affect those who report the news and how they report it? My findings suggest that they do.

Movement Empathy and the *Dallas Morning News*

A rhetorical analysis of the *Dallas Morning News'* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 suggests that there was precious little Movement Empathy in the

coverage. That is to say, nearly all of the articles in the timeframe of the study had (1) a pragmatic tone, (2) narratives focused on episodic events, (3) pessimism about the protest actors' abilities to achieve their goals, and (4) attribution of exotic (un-American) values to the participants of the marches. Of the few articles that displayed rhetorical characteristics with high Movement Empathy, Latina columnist Mercedes Olivo wrote most of them. Her columns were often optimistic about movement outcomes, and her value-centered tone was present throughout her writing. Olivo's articles stood apart from the rest of the Dallas reportage studied here.

My analysis found four prominent themes in these texts: (1) student walkouts dominated the coverage, (2) a great deal of emphasis was placed on flags, (3) accentuation of divisiveness among the protestors was highlighted, and (4) failure to highlight H.R. 4437 legislation was emphasized. Each of these characteristics provides a greater understanding of the overall rhetorical work being performed by the newspaper. When all are taken into consideration, one find a study focus on Dallas-area events and a dismissal of mobilizations in other parts of the country. Too, the coverage rejected the political strength and agency of the protest movement as a whole.

It is important to consider the effects the invisible hand can have on coverage in media markets generally and in Dallas' specifically. To be clear, the market is more than the audience consuming the news or even the geographic boundaries of the marketplace. It also includes the economic foundation on which monetary wealth is created and maintained. What's more, the vitality of the market can be affected by how much the public is informed on a variety of issues – from finance to public policy and even to entertainment. Such stories reinforce the current market structure, thereby letting the

establishment maintain control of wealth and political power. The news, in short, can aid and abet capital.

Student-dominated Coverage

As marches and protests spread across the United States demonstrating discontent with H.R. 4437, Hispanic high school students in Dallas decided they wanted to vocalize their opposition to the legislation. But rather than participate in public marches being organized within the community, students decided to take a more controversial approach. They borrowed from the repertoire of Chicano activists of the late 1960's – blowouts. These stratagems later became known as "walkouts." Students of the Los Angeles Unified School District, as noted in Chapter 3 of this study, left the classrooms during the school day to protest inequities in public education. In Dallas, high school students exited classrooms in protest of H.R. 4437, a spontaneous move that caught school administrators, police, and protest organizers by surprise (Yan, Hobbs, and Meyer 2006; Barberena, Jimenez, and Young 2014). The youth in Dallas had seen reports of other student walkouts taking place in California to protest the criminalization of undocumented immigrants and, with little forethought or planning, but with the help of the social media website MySpace.com, they left their Dallas classrooms and marched to a local park. As the walkouts continued into the following day, the students marched to City Hall where, ironically, the governing body had no jurisdiction over the legislation the students were protesting (Barberena, Jimenez, and Young 2014).

The news of student walkouts in Texas, California, and other states was capturing headlines but none as emphatically as the *Dallas Morning News*. In fact, coverage of the

Dallas students' protest during school hours dominated much of the coverage about the immigration issue itself. In contrast, the community organized marches in Dallas, where members of LULAC and other local Hispanic organizations had planned demonstrations, were given little notice by the newspaper. Instead, the news stories of students defying authority and leaving classrooms, and the implications of such actions, became the primary narrative of the *Dallas Morning News'* coverage.

Coverage of this sort fell plainly in the low Movement Empathy category (with the noted exception of the writing by columnist Olivo). It emerged in several ways, including by casting the student participants as antagonistic delinquents, implying that they possessed no ability (agency) to bring about social change. The following excerpt from March 29, 2006, squarely positions the protestors as lawbreaking truants:

> *No doubt many protesters who cut classes were motivated more by the lure of a sparkling spring day than by high-minded civil disobedience. We trust that all of them are prepared to face the standard school discipline, and we would expect administrators to apply the rules as with any other truancy.*

Not only are the students here described as juvenile delinquents who are breaking the law, but it is also insinuated that the protestors were not even protestors but were, in fact, just looking for an excuse to leave the classroom. Suggestions that the students were unaware of the walkout's purpose and underlining meaning surely belittles them while also marginalizing them, an unhappy duality indeed.

In other coverage, columnist Mark Davis, a *Dallas Morning News* weekly commentator and a news/talk radio personality, completely dismissed the relevance and emotional power of the high school walkouts. In his March 29, 2006, weekly column titled, "Student protests aren't 'civics' lessons, and laws aren't made to be broken; says MARK DAVIS" he decries the actions of the students:

Before we tackle immigration laws, let's address the young scofflaws who say they were driven by their passion to skip school these last couple of days. Every last one of them should have faced detention or worse: It was truly depressing to see the condoning shrug of schools across North Texas as thousands of kids spat on truancy laws to play protest games. For every student who may actually know the name of a congressman who might affect these issues, there were 100 who felt the adrenaline rush of a free day to skip class.

Davis' writing seems designed to fuel anger within his readers. He is clearly contemptuous in his descriptions, calling the students "scofflaws" and arguing that the school districts are giving a simple "shrug" and not properly disciplining the students for their actions. The provocation continues when he suggests that the students "spat" on truancy laws. Davis also uses language that evokes an image of disdain and disrespect for authority. He also describes the protests as "games," suggesting that the walkouts are childish and inconsequential. As Aristotle (1991, p. 143) suggests, there are three forms of belittlement: contempt, spite and insult. Davis rhetorically performs two of the three forms in his reporting. He evokes contempt by suggesting that the students are defying authority (by spitting on it), and he insults the students by suggesting that they are simply playing games. In the end, his belittling assigns no value to the actions of the students, no importance, and therefore no worth or consideration. This approach is punctuated with his suggestion that the great majority of students were not marching with purpose and intent but instead feeling the "adrenaline rush of a free day to skip class."

Those questioning the motivation of students who walked-out were not limited to journalists and other adults. The newspaper also published editorials from youth who opposed the walkouts. These students did not walk out with their classmates and the newspaper highlights their views prominently. The following excerpt from March 30,

2006 is taken from an editorial written by a non-participating student, and it appears first in a pair of articles written by youth on that day, one anti-march and one pro-march:

> *As I sat around and debated with my peers about the walkouts this week, I realized the protesting was heading in a wrong direction. Not only is the movement uninformed and disorganized, but is also has spiraled into vandalism and violence.*

Strategically speaking, noting the existence of peer-disapproval discounts the movement's credibility from within. Furthermore, the non-protesting student makes a direct association between the protestors and "vandalism and violence." Yet aside from jumping into fountains at city hall, there were no actual reports of vandalism or physical altercations among protesters filed with the police. To suggest that criminal activity was deliberate and planned ahead of time essentially characterizes the protesting students as conspirators willfully committing crimes, persons with no regard for the rule of law, a core value of American society. Once the protestors are characterized in this anti-American way, a reader is entitled to dismiss any legitimate reason they may offer for engaging in protest.

The student-dominated coverage in the *Dallas Morning News* also included commentary by teachers and administrators. Some viewed the walkouts as teaching moments but many more were reported as being critical of the students' actions. For example, in an editorial on March 30, 2006, educator Marty Walker calls the walkouts a bad idea and expresses sadness and disappointment with the student actions as reported by the newspaper. Walker specifically comments about a flyer distributed by the student organizers as follows:

> *A printed copy of the fliers, distributed to thousands of youth, is a true demonstration in itself – a demonstration of why these students need to be in school, not as the flier says, "Go to **skool**, but do not go in to **skool**."*

The educator points out the misspelling and then continues to suggest that the youth were looking for a "free day from class." The students are portrayed here as not having a clear understanding of the actual public policy that has sparked the protests locally and nationally. After all, how could they understand complex immigration issues when they cannot spell a basic word in English? In an article printed that same day, another instructor, Helen Bradley an Advanced Placement government teacher from Irving's Nimitz High School, is quoted as saying:

> *When my students descended upon downtown Dallas to participate in the latest round of protesters, my government students expressed concern about whether or not some of the protesters even understood the issues being debated at the state and national level," Ms. Bradley wrote in an e-mail Wednesday. "My students want to educate fellow students on their community on the issues.*

While Ms. Bradley recognizes the teaching moment created by the walkouts, she nonetheless confirms the claims that many students did not know the reasons for leaving, much less understanding the legislation that served as its catalyst. By printing such criticisms of the student's attitudes and actions, the newspaper again undermines the social consciousness of the protestors, further making them seem ignorant and immature.

While some of the *Dallas Morning News* coverage of the walkouts mentioned H.R. 4437 and the larger immigration debate, the specific actions (unlawful and destructive) of local high school students largely grabbed its attention. In broader terms, the publication suggests that these disruptive students, though a nuisance, would have no bearing on the marketplace. Neither the students nor the larger issue they are protesting are a cause for concern, the newspaper implied, thereby affirming that the monetary machine would keep churning.

Emphasis on Flags

A second prominent characteristic of the Dallas media coverage was its emphasis on the flags being waved or held by protestors. Such coverage emphasized episodic characteristics of the protests and, specifically, its spectacle-centric nature, a clear sign of low Movement Empathy (see Chapter 2). The flags, of course, were not the reason for the protest, nor did they speak to the underlying conditions that brought the protestors into the streets. Instead, the flags were symbols and, in the context of the marches, merely represented the home countries of immigrants who had come to the United States. Nonetheless, instead of being seen as non-American, they were framed as un-American.

The *Dallas Morning News* consistently highlighted the flag issue. For example, in the follow excerpt from March 26, 2006, the description of the flag held up by the protestor is specific:

> *Baltazar Ortega pressed his face to a Mexican flag someone handed him before the rally started. "I love my flag," he said. "It's a source of pride for me. It's my first time holding a flag in my hands." Dozens of flags from many Latin American countries fluttered in the wind as speakers took the stage.*

The speaker refers here to the Mexican flag as "my" flag, thereby implying that his allegiances were with Mexico, and not the United States. The description of the scene also suggests that the protesters had deeper connections to other Latin American countries than to the U.S. In a sense, then, the values of the protestors are presented as exotic and non-conventional, another key characteristic of low Movement Empathy.

The reporting does not end here, however, but also includes critical commentary. The newspaper features opinion writers who chastise the protestors for their use of non-American flags in the demonstrations. Ruben Navarrette, a regular contributor to the *Dallas Morning News* and a person of Mexican-American heritage, comments

disapprovingly on the flags by the protestors, beginning his April 2, 2006 article with this:

> *As a Mexican-American, on this issue I come down on the American side of the hyphen. I think that students demonstrating immigration issues this week made a huge mistake by hoisting Mexican flags and that – as a rule – people who demand rights form one country shouldn't wave the flag of another. It's bad manners and even worse civics.*

What protestors call an expression of pride in their originating culture, Navarrette calls a "huge mistake" and "rude." He discounts any symbolic meaning the flags represent to the protestors themselves and any connection of that meaning to the legislation proposed to criminalize undocumented people. Navarrette frames the issue as a simple one: either you are loyal to the United States or you are not. Ignored here are the more complex aspects of race and nationality and any interplay that displaying flag has on people's feelings of self-worth. In other words, a flag can be a symbol of national pride but it can also be a display of confidence and respect for one's home country as well as one's personal identity. The coverage of the *Dallas Morning News* never captured this complexity but implicitly treated the waving of the flags of foreign countries as an ideological proclamation undermining American values.

This sort of coverage was destined to anger many Americans, including those who consider themselves Mexican-Americans. The following excerpt from April 4, 2006 is an example of how such an offense can be framed:

> *At pro-immigrant demonstrations across the nation in the last week, the waving of the Mexican flag has sparked incendiary emotions among U.S. citizens, including Mexican-Americans. If immigrants want legalization in the U.S., some say, they should logically raise the Stars and Stripes high.*

Here the newspaper reports that the Mexican flags on display during the protests sparked "incendiary emotions," yet the writer offers little explanation as to why the

displays might do so. Instead, the article says that waving the American flag should have been a more logical choice, and, implicitly, a more "American" choice as well.

The subtext of reports on the waiving of Mexican flags is that the protestors are outsiders (foreigners) who do not want to assimilate into American culture, that they are a threat to the American way of life. The following excerpt printed on April 1, 2006, illustrates such refrains:

> *Thousands of high school students clogged downtown streets Friday during a third day of protests against proposal that call for a crackdown on illegal immigrants. Chanting "Viva Mexico!" and waving Mexican flags, the students converged on a plaza to join a rally of several hundred others honoring Cesar Chavez Day.*

Here, we find the flags being flown against the backdrop of student protestors shouting in Spanish ("Viva Mexico!"). Not only are the students not holding American flags, they are not even speaking English! Such pronounced emphasis on flags within the news coverage helps to differentiate those who are respectful of the American marketplace, its values and structure, from those who ignore the basic norms of conducting business.

Accentuating Divisiveness

A third characteristic of the Dallas coverage is its emphasis on the divisiveness displayed by demonstration organizers, or what I term the "protesting class." A dominating narrative put forth by the newspaper finds a distinct lack of uniformity among the protestors. They are reported as being at odds with one another on issues large and small, from fundamental strategic questions (such as whether a large-scale boycott should be undertaken), to less important logistical issues (such as what happens once the

marchers reach their destination). This division among the protestors is consistently underscored throughout the coverage whether reporting on student walkouts, larger community protests, or the events taking place nationally.

On March 30, 2006, the *Dallas Morning News* featured two stories written by students, one of whom opposed the walkouts (a perspective more prominently featured in the layout) and one of whom supported it. Even within the editorial written by the high school student who participated in the walkouts and supported the acts of civil disobedience, divisiveness among the participants was brought to light. The student, Rebecca Ibarra, a senior at Nimitz High School, wrote as follows:

> *Everything seemed to be going pretty well, until people started going inside City Hall and disrupting the place. I was disappointed with my classmates for not being able to control themselves and peacefully protest this heartless bill. I was angry to see them go inside City Hall and act like immature little kids. We were supposed to show our discipline and protest, not riot. 3/30.06*

This article purports to be favoring the student walkouts – in keeping with coverage that is fair and balanced. However, even here the disorganization and lack of cohesiveness among the participants is noted. The writer calls members of her own group "immature" and explains that their actions upon arriving at City Hall were not sanctioned by the students who had planned the protest. The rogue participants, she notes, were acting on their own accord and expressly opposed to the group's own goals, an admission that surely undermines the protest at large as well as the narrative favored by the students who arrived at City Hall. Students jumping into the fountain at City Hall and loudly entering the government building ended up dominating the coverage, which provided yet another nail in the protest's coffin.

Reporting about divisiveness also stretched to allied groups who would likely support the protestors' actions. The *Dallas Morning News* ran several stories about tension between blacks and Hispanics, for example, further suggesting that these minority groups were unable to come together in solidarity. This can be seen in an excerpt from April 6, 2006:

> *Meanwhile, organizers are fending off all sorts of distractions, or what they call "side issues" – from a potential rift between blacks and Hispanic on the topic of immigration to the issue of which country's flag will be flown the highest at Sunday's rally... "This is going to be a difficult city to get black people, who're being very selfish and looking down their noses at Mexicans" to turn out for an immigration rally, said Mr. Johnson, who plans to share some nonviolent techniques this wee with rally organizers. Truth is, no one can deny that blacks and browns have had their differences in Dallas in recent years as the Hispanic population began to swell and old black neighborhoods and schools were transformed, seemingly overnight. That social and cultural tension has led to political confrontations, most notably on the school boards, where Hispanic leaders have begun to assert their newfound clout by pressing for stronger bilingual education and other programs.*

The reporting here highlights the differences among the respective minority groups rather than addressing their common struggle for income equality and access to quality education. By not acknowledging their shared struggle, the newspaper undermines any potential allegiance between the two groups, keeping them at odds with one another and weakening their political muscle.

In the infrequent coverage by the *Dallas Morning News* of immigration marches taking place outside of Dallas itself, the focus continued to be one of dysfunctional leadership. An example can be seen in an Associated Press article published on April 20, 2006:

> *Organizers of the movement that has led hundreds of thousands of immigrants onto the nation's streets are divided over their next big protest – a May 1 boycott urging workers and students to stay home.*

The struggle of organizers to choose between (1) promoting a boycott or (2) marching together is a struggle that appears in the reportage of other cities studied in this project as well, but the *Dallas Morning News* emphasized it, calling the leadership deeply "divided," implying both a strategic and a philosophical disparity. Such a portrayal clearly lessens the credibility of the movement. The leaders are painted as indecisive and lacking solidarity, weakening any political clout they may have garnered via the record-breaking number of participants taking part in the marches themselves.

Even after the boycott was instituted, the focus on divisiveness continued. In the following excerpt, which ran on May 2, 2006 (the day after the boycott), its outcome is called into question:

> *But at the end of the day, even many participants and civil rights experts were not entirely clear on what was accomplished by Monday's "Day of Action" – an economic boycott that came less than a month after the largest march in Dallas' history….Gustavo Bujanda Jr., a Dallas-based marketing specialist who supported some of the first rallies, said the net result of Monday's action was "more polarization."*

The boycott is reported here as having created more contention than harmony, and this is typical of the newspaper's coverage. Tension and rifts were accentuated, unity and cohesion understated. Rhetorically, this works to lessen Movement Empathy and to hearten those concerned with any negative economic impact on the city of Dallas.

Overlooking Federal Legislation

The final feature of the Dallas coverage is its absence of detail on the federal legislation lying at the center of the immigration debate. References were occasionally made to the Congressional bill, but the descriptions were vague and provided no specifics about the complex components of the resolution in question.

An example of the how the coverage temporizes things can be seen in this excerpt from May 2, 2006 taken from an article titled "Immigrants show their clout, but will boycott help or hurt?":

> *It shut down restaurants, slowed construction projects and brought thousands out to rally against proposed laws that would criminalize illegal immigration…Political analysts say the U.S. lawmakers galvanized the immigrant rights movement by passing a bill that would make felons of illegal immigrant and those who help them.*

This article focuses on the boycott that took place in Dallas but gives little detail about the reasoning behind such actions. In fact, H.R. 4437 is not specifically mentioned, nor does the article say which governing body passed the bill (the House or the Senate). It also fails to give a timeline for when the bill will be taken up for debate. The *Dallas Morning News* devotes a hefty-size article to coverage of the boycotts, yet it offers little understanding of *why* the boycott was needed in the first place.

In articles focusing on the Dallas high school walkouts, one also find a lack of detail about the federal legislation. In a featured article that includes photos and specific descriptions of the student walkouts, the writer barely touches upon the legislation. The article dated March 29, 2006 reads:

> *Students are again marking their opposition to proposed federal legislation that would make illegal immigration a felony…Legislation approved by the House would make it a felony to be in the U.S. illegally.*

There are only two short references to H.R. 4437 in the entire article, and they are noted in the excerpt above. The immigration bill is never specifically named nor does the article offer details aside from the criminalization aspect of the legislation. In contrast, the newspaper elaborates other important details such as the exact number of students from each school who participated in the walkouts. It also provides anecdotes about specific

students, in some cases giving their name, age, school and a brief quote on their reaction to the walkouts. Still, very little detail is offered about the legislation itself which was, of course, the key reason for the walkouts. Leaving out such context is a glaring oversight. Its omission makes the protestors appear less deliberate in their actions and confused in their motivations as well.

In the following excerpt from an article dated March 28, 2006, the authors also leave out critical information about the legislation, including its very name:

> *Gustavo Jiminez (sic), 16, conceived the rally Sunday morning while browsing the popular Web site. He saw a California girl's posting about legislation to make it a felony to enter the country illegally or to help illegal immigrants….In what some Internet users are calling a "Net-roots" effort, a 24-hour blitz of activity by youthful organizers inspired as many as 4,000 Dallas-area students to walk out of school Monday and assemble at Kiest Park and City Hall, protesting the legislation that would crack down on illegal immigration.*

In describing the legislation thusly, the journalists repeatedly use the term "illegal" instead of "undocumented," the adjective currently preferred by immigration activists. The word "illegal" is widely used in the news coverage of the *Dallas Morning News*, and could be construed as coded language. That is to say, one could interpret "illegal" here to mean a person rejected by the greater society, an "other" not abiding by the rule of law and thereby jeopardizing the social order. Using the label "illegal" also devalues the worth of the individual it describes, one who is worth less than a person who is legal. So instead of calling the legislation in question by its bill number, H.R.4437, or by its official name "The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005," general descriptions are used, descriptions accompanied by dismissive and coded language.

In summary, my analysis of the *Dallas Morning News* coverage found it to be

dismissive of the protest and its actors. Rhetorically speaking, protestors were positioned as unimportant or irrelevant (students wanting to skip class), outsiders with un-American values (waving flags from foreign countries), unorganized and divided (in-fighting with the movement), and rising up witlessly against unspecified legislation (failure to offer specifics of proposed law).

The *Dallas Morning News* coverage was also bound to market-driven localism, exclusively focusing on events in Dallas while dismissing mobilizations in other parts of the country. Additionally, the newspaper rejects the political strength and agency of the protestors and the immigrant community. This kind of reporting serves to reinforce and maintain segment class structures and to assure Dallasites that the economic applecart will not be overturned by the protests. As a result, the economic oligarchy is kept in place and the system maintained. In a market that is dramatically changing demographically (via an increased number of Latinos), this could prove to be more challenging in the future but, in 2006 at least, the hounds were kept at bay.

Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *Al Día*

Analysis of the Spanish-language newspaper in Dallas, *Al Día*, revealed something that made Dallas distinctive relative to the other cities examined in this study. The Dallas Spanish-language news coverage of the immigration marches was a mix of articles with both low and high Movement Empathy. No other city had such a mix. All of the other Spanish newspapers that were analyzed featured articles reinforcing the marches. What accounts for the difference in Dallas? Many of the Spanish-language articles having low Movement Empathy were pieces that had been translated from, and

had appeared in, the *Dallas Morning News* itself. This ability to share content is due to the fact that the same company owns *Al Día* and the *Dallas Morning News*. The A.H. Belo Corporation owns several brands in the Dallas market including the *Dallas Morning News*, dallasnews.com, *Al Día*, *Briefing*, *FD*, GuideLive, *neighborsgo,* SportsDay and others. This unique dynamic resulted in Dallas being the only city in this study were the Spanish-language newspaper both supported and undermined the protests.

Like the English language coverage in Dallas, the Spanish newspaper portrayed immigrant rights groups who organized the marches and protests as being rife with infighting. However, unlike the English coverage, the division being reported was not centered on what would best suit the movement strategically (marches vs. boycotts). Instead, the lack of unity was described as much more visceral. The following excerpt is an example of the type of conflict reported (translated, see footnote for actual Spanish-language text):

> *April 12, 2006 – Two days after the protest in favor of the undocumented in Dallas, the Citizen Network group, which claims to represent the political interests of the Mexican community in the city, complained of being sidelined from the list of speakers at the rally on Sunday.*[8]

This type of petty infighting got considerable attention in the Spanish coverage, thereby undermining the protests' purpose and giving the impression that the organizing groups saw the demonstrations as an opportunity to self-promote rather than to stand in solidarity with the immigrant community. For the cynical, such reportage calls into question the motives of those directing the marches, a narrative driven by the conflict within the event rather than by the conflict for which the protest was created. The result is low Movement

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[8] 12 de abril, 2006 – Dos días después de la protesta a favor de los indocumentados en Dallas, el grupo Redes Ciudadanas, que dice representar los intereses políticos de la comunidad mexicana en la ciudad, se quejó de haber sido marginado de las lista de oradores del mitin del pasado domingo.

Empathy, with the underlying conditions which formed the basis for the marches being passed over.

Another characteristic that surfaced in the Spanish coverage was its emphasis on the outcomes associated with the protest marches, much of which featured negative consequences for those participating in the marches. Headlines such as “They fear losing their jobs if they march” (Temen perder sus trabajos si marchan – 5/1/06) and “The boycott could cause dismissals” (El boicot podría causar despidos – 4/19/06) were published and (accurately) outlined the concern of many. These worries, as it turned out, were not unfounded. The following excerpt reports on how workers were negatively affected by their participation and it appeared with the headline “Migrants fired for joining marches” (Despiden a migrants por unirse a marchas):

> *April 12, 2006 – Fifteen Mexican workers were thrown out of their meat packing jobs after attending a protest event last month in defense of immigrant rights.*[9]

While many stories showed that participants were being negatively affected by their participation, the lawmakers who were at the center of the immigration debate did not feel any effects according to the newspaper. In the following excerpt, *Al Día* reports on the effects of the marches on Congressman voting on the immigration reform bill:

> *April 29, 2006 – After the megamarch on April 9, journalists from The Dallas Morning News asked several congressmen who oppose the legalization of nearly 12 million undocumented immigrants if the protest had changed their position. Legislators said no.*[10]

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[9] 12 de abril, 2006 – Quince trabajadores mexicana fueron echadas de sus empleos en un frigorífico luego de asistir el mes pasado a un acto de protesta en defensa de los derechos de los inmigrantes.

[10] 29 de abril, 2006 – Después de la megamarcha del 9 de abril, periodistas de The Dallas Morning News preguntaron a varios congresistas que se oponen a la legalización de los cerca de 12 millones de inmigrantes indocumentados si la protesta los había hecho cambiar su postura. Los legisladores respondieron que no.

The reporting here accentuates the notion that the marches are insignificant, having no effect on a key player in the immigration reform game. This display of low Movement Empathy was typical of Dallas' Spanish-language reporting.

To be sure, some of the reporting in *Al Día* showed high Movement Empathy. Many articles outlined the specifics of the immigration bill itself, which was the antecedent of the protests and the high school walkouts. The following excerpt is an example of the level of detail sometimes offered in the Spanish-language coverage:

> *March 27, 2006 – The bill HR 4437 seeks to give power to local police departments to use federal immigration law sanctions against the undocumented, criminal charges against individuals or organizations assisting immigrants, among with other measures. The proposal was accepted by the House of Representatives and will be put to a vote in the Senate in the coming weeks.*[11]

The House Bill is specifically named here, a description given as to the nature of the legislation, and a timetable is provided as to when the vote would take place. Additionally, the coverage notes which legislative body will be taking the bill into consideration. Rhetorically, reportage of this sort stresses the underlying conditions of the movement, thereby giving it both context and legitimacy.

The mix of high and low Movement Empathy in *Al Día* is a unique feature. No other Spanish-language newspaper in the study shared this trait. As noted before, this can partially be explained by Belo's ownership of <u>both</u> the English- and Spanish-language dailies. However, the simple fact that this dynamic exists in the Dallas market says something about the city and how media maneuver within the environment. In this case,

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[11] 27 de marzo, 2006 – El proyecto de ley HR 4437 pretende otorgar el poder a los departamentos de policías locales sanciones las leyes federales de inmigración contra los indocumentados, cargos criminales contra las personas u organizaciones que asistan a los inmigrantes, entre otras medidas. La propuesta fue aceptada por la cámara de representantes de ley será sometida a votación en el Senado en las próximas semanas.

one company is practically able to monopolize the information market, with the mainstream media (*Dallas Morning News*) influencing and shaping the content of the niche media (*Al Día*). In essence, the print media market in Dallas is controlled by one force, thereby driving narratives that can acknowledge movements or ignore them, a force that gives it great power over readers' perceptions and, potentially, their values as well.

Conclusion

Dallas is often referred to as "The Big D." It is home to America's team, the Dallas Cowboys, and it has a reputation for being the epicenter of business in the region and throughout Texas. It was also home to large protests during the Spring of 2006, protests aimed at bringing awareness to federal legislation that addressed the issue of illegal immigration and undocumented migrants. The Dallas coverage of these protests was primarily focused on local events, as one might expect. However, the focus on students walking out of local high schools dominated the coverage to such an extent that it overshadowed the national narrative of the protests, protests the likes of which had never been seen before. One could argue that the *Dallas Morning News* took a national issue and localized it and, as a result, made the immigration debate seem less expansive and less deep was well.

I posit that the rhetorical approach taken up in Dallas is best described as market-driven localism, a condition that aims to maintain the status quo and that is reluctant to accept change in the marketplace or anything that undercuts current economic and political arrangements. Moreover, the focus on local events creates a demand for even

more local coverage. A looping effect is created, where the market produces both the product and the demand for that product. This approach also puts Dallas at the center of the "universe," for lack of a better word, with the city occupying center stage and with outside events only being relevant when they reinforce this Dallas-centric paradigm.

It is important to understand and recognize the ways in which markets can influence the media. Stories can be highlighted that reinforce the economic power structure and with stories that threaten it being ignored. Rhetorically, movements and counter-movements can be silenced via such a narrow perspective. This kind of selectivity undertaken by the "market" leads to less robust debate about important issues of the day. Market-driven localism, as in the case of Dallas, limits what news is put forth, how it is presented, and ultimately, how it is consumed. Such processes should be challenged to allow for more voices to enter the public sphere. Only when all sides are heard and debated can a more informed society be realized. This is especially true when people's rights, peoples' dignity, and people's livelihood hang in the balance.

Chapter Six: Chicago and a Culture of Midwest Conformity

The information found in a newspaper on any given day can influence readers in a variety of ways. Advertisers might be able to get them to purchase their wares, while a restaurant review might dissuade them from enjoying an evening out. A human-interest story might warm their heart, while an opinion editorial might make them turn a cold shoulder. In the reporting of current events, we expect that readers will become better informed on a particular issue and perhaps get involved in some way. And we presume that when conflict is covered by the news, political or otherwise, the audience will be invited to take a position, feel more empathy toward one side or another. Overall, we can think of these outcomes that result from being exposed to news as creating a more informed society, one poised to act or somehow to be changed for the better. But what if the news has the opposite effect? Can we imagine news reporting where the outcome is to quell social change? How might reporting help to maintain the status quo in their community? Moreover, can the manner or style in which the news is reported promote social conformity?

Social psychologist Herbert Kelman (1958) described three types of conformity: compliance, internalization and identification. He posits that while the processes are different, the outcome is the same: the individual conforms to the expectations of a social role. Ultimately, conformity is largely driven by prevailing social standards and practices. So it stands to reason that different geographic areas of the country would cultivate different social norms. In Chicago, for example, conformity can be dictated by what might be called a "Midwestern sensibility."

Bill Hemmer, a former CNN anchor, is among those who have attempted to characterize the Midwestern sensibility when he says: "I don't know what that is or how you define it, but I am certain it has something to do with how you relate to other people. Despite the amount of technology that continues to surround our lives, in so many ways the success or failure of an individual is dependent upon how they interact with others" (Keel 2005). It is this Midwestern sensibility, this instinct to cooperate and interact with others, that underscores the need for conformity and a desire to maintain social order.

The Midwestern call for conformity originates, ironically, from the region's diversity. There is a vast array of cultural diversity in the Midwest, customs and traditions that were products of agrarian resistance, the formation of labor organizations, and the influx of immigrants from regions across the United States, Europe and Africa. It is the variety found in the Midwest that "encourages a veneer of public culture that tends to downplay diversity while it highlights superficial conformity" (Sisson, Zacher, and Cayton 2007, p. XXIV). This need for conformity permeates the Midwest, especially in Chicago, the most populated city in the region.

Simply put, Midwestern conformity consists of a system of linked values, customs, and practices that conserve and maintain certain patterns of social interaction. This leads to an important question: Can a culture of conformity be so prevailing that it acts as a mediating force for how the news is reported? My rhetorical analysis of the news coverage in *Chicago Tribune,* using the four dimensions of Movement Empathy as noted in previous chapters, suggests that it can.

This chapter begins with a brief history of the city of Chicago and the Midwest, with particular focus on the events that reflect the prevailing culture of conformity and

the desire to maintain social order. I will then discuss four findings that surfaced from the rhetorical analysis, each of which fosters conformity. I will also provide a brief analysis of the Spanish-language newspaper coverage found in Chicago's *La Raza* and evaluate how it compares to the coverage in the *Chicago Tribune*. Finally, I will explore what, if any, consequences result from a news operation that reflects and promotes a Midwestern culture of conformity.

It is important to understand how a culture of conformity could affect the news because perceived threats to the natural order of things could lead to reporting that is dismissive or even demonizing. Under such circumstances, social movements challenging the social order can be disregarded altogether, never finding their ways into the stories that land on the desk of a news editor, much less into the pages of the newspaper. The presumption of conformity is that the way things are (the social contract) is the way things should be. And yet news reporting that is overly conformist can be detrimental to democracy and an open society, where a freedom of beliefs and a wide dissemination of information is presumed. Too much conformity potentially weakens us as a community, as a society, and as a nation, stifling our ability to adapt to a world of changing demographics and political landscapes.

Chicago and the Making of the Midwestern Attitude

Chicago's history provides insight into how a culture of conformity arises and how it has been subtly reinforced throughout the years. The city's origins can be traced back more than two centuries, when French explorers took interest in the region.

Although Jean Baptiste Point du Sable is credited as the founder of Chicago in the 1780s, the region had been settled and used by indigenous peoples decades before. The Algonquian Indians, including members of the Mascouten and Miami tribes, were among the many groups that traversed an area situated near key waterways linking Canada to the Gulf of Mexico (McCafferty 2003). Among the earliest Europeans to explore the area was a group of seven Frenchman, the most notable being Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet. Under the rein of Louis XIV, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Joliet, an experienced map-maker, successfully traveled across the Chicago portage in 1673 to investigate the continent (Cheng 2003), but it was French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle who placed the name "Chicago" (actually spelled Checagou, the Indian word for stinky onion) in a report in 1680. La Salle was referring to the area between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River (McCafferty 2003).

After the Revolutionary War, the United States took control of the region around the mouth of the Chicago River, even though the Native Americans fought against the settlers to maintain control over the land. Fort Dearborn was built in 1803 as a military post for U.S. forces in the area, and rebuilt after Indians destroyed it in the War of 1812. Chicago the "town" was incorporated in 1833 and was granted its city charter in 1837. By 1840, the town of 350 had exploded to a population of over 4,000 (Keating 2012). Soon after, roads were built to move harvests to the shipyards where boats took the produce to New York City. By 1848, the first rail line into Chicago was built, making the city *the* transportation hub of the United States, with goods traveling by rail, water, and roads. This development ushered in new jobs and a new wave of population growth fueled by

immigrants, especially skilled workers from European countries such as Germany, England, Sweden and the Netherlands.

Chicago was becoming a very diverse city of laborers and, by the mid-1850s, saloons became the center of social life for male workers. Stern morality groups having Protestant backgrounds criticized the Irish Catholics and German immigrants for congregating at saloons and, in an effort to restore moral order, formed the Know-Nothing Party. In 1855, they elected Levi Boone as mayor and he banned the sale of liquor and beer on Sunday. While the action eventual sparked the Lager Beer Riot, it was an example of local leadership attempting to maintain moral and social order (Duis 1999).

Additional skilled immigrant workers flooding into Chicago, coupled with a rise in industrialism, brought about a structured division of labor with a clear divide between working wage-earners and company owners. Tensions grew and eventually came to a head on May 1, 1886. The clash was referred to as the Haymarket Riot, although no actual riot took place. Union workers striking in favor of an 8-hour workday had gathered at Haymarket Square when a bomb went off, killing seven police officers and four civilians. The violence was attributed to an anarchist group believed to support revolution aimed at establishing a socialist economy (David 1958). The incident led to anti-union sentiment, with police raids targeting labor activists and disrupting labor meetings to find those responsible for the bomb. Eventually, five men were sentenced to death for the killings, although the actual bomb-maker was never identified (Adelman 2010). In the end, the Haymarket Riot solidified Chicago's standing as a "cradle of organized labor" in the United States (Blackwell 2011, p. 22). And although to some person protesting

workers might have appeared disorderly, in actuality the labor movement was quite structured and organized, with defined roles within the movement and within the workplace. Skilled workers honored the roles of apprentice vs. master within the labor force, underscoring the importance of order and conformity.

In the 1920s, organized crime took hold of Chicago. Gangsters like Al Capone controlled business and local government officials through kickbacks and violence. Although criminal, the mobsters' activities maintained social order in which territories where established for various activities from bootlegging to gambling to prostitution (Blackwell 2011). By the 1950s, political machines took the place of organized crime as overseers of social order thanks to politicians like Mayor Richard J. Daley. He took office in 1955 and succeeding in building a political structure to control the outcome of local elections, ultimately giving him a stronghold over the entire county.

It was under Richard Daley's term as mayor that the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago took place. It prompted a confrontation that became a milestone event in the city's history. The politics surrounding the 1968 nomination for the democratic presidential nominee was extremely divisive thanks to the Vietnam War and President Lyndon B. Johnson's policies surrounding it (Mailer 1968). Peace activists were drawn to the convention because of the delegate vote and the national media attention that came with it. "Law and order will be maintained," vowed Mayor Daley in the weeks leading up to the convention. To keep this promise, he called up 5,000 National Guard troops to support the almost 12,000 police force (*All Politics: The Nation - Dementia in the Second City* 1996). Despite Mayor Daley's effort to promote conformity and acceptance of the civil democratic process of electing the Democratic Party's nominee, violence broke out

between the police and the activists who were protesting outside the convention hall. Injuries were sustained on both sides. Interestingly, in the aftermath, local citizens from Chicago who understood the Midwestern ways were not blamed for the clashes. Instead, out-of-town extremists and provocateurs were held culpable.

Today, Chicago is recognized worldwide for its unique architecture, its contribution to food pop culture (Chicago-style pizza and hotdogs), and its unique public art like "The Crown Fountain" and "Cloud Gate" (nicknamed the "Bean") in Millennium Park. But the city of Chicago also embodies an age-old Midwestern sensibility that values orderliness and conformity. The struggle to maintain and promote these values is interwoven throughout Chicago's rich history, a mentality which holds that society prospers when everyone follows the rules and behaves appropriately. But what happens when the social contract is ignored or broken? Can a culture of conformity be so strong that it permeates all aspects of social life? Moreover, can this culture serve as a mediating force in how the news is reported and, as a result, in how social change does or does not occur?

Movement Empathy and the *Chicago Tribune*

A rhetorical analysis of the *Chicago Tribune's* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 finds low Movement Empathy throughout the news coverage during the period of study. The newspaper articles demonstrated rhetorical characteristics that, for the most part, encompassed a pragmatic tone, put forward narratives focused on episodic aspects of the marches, described the protest actors in ways that minimized their ability to achieve their goals, and that portrayed them as foreign, as outsiders. It should be noted

that there was an exception to this pattern. Articles that featured religious leaders or church activists had more attributes associated with high Movement Empathy, but only a few such articles were published. These outlier articles featured a moralistic tone, with expression of righteousness or divine authority being mentioned. These articles were more thematic in the protests' narrative representations, often focusing on their underlying conditions. Finally, these religious-focused articles were more optimistic and portrayed the protesters as an integral part of the community.

My analysis revealed four prominent rhetorical features that demonstrated low Movement Empathy in the texts of the *Chicago Tribune*. They are: (1) a focus on the marches' collateral damage, (2) protest participants being cast as non-Midwesterners, (3) the undocumented and immigrants in Chicago portrayed as members of the labor class, and (4) great attention being paid to how the American national anthem was used by the protest organizers. All of these rhetorical features appear to stem from a Midwestern culture where nonconformity is frowned upon. It represents a set of values that celebrates law and order, the maintenance of social roles, and opposition to anything that might threaten those conditions.

It is important to consider the influence that a culture of same-mindedness can have on news reporting, particularly in a city like Chicago where conformity and order have had such historical purchase. It is a city built upon the notion that society must maintain order so that social and economic prosperity can prevail. When agitators or activist groups call this belief system into question, as did the immigration rights protestors, there are rhetorical costs to pay – news coverage undermining the fundamental goals of the social movement.

Focus on Collateral Damage

In a city as large as Chicago, it is important that people are able to move from one place to another without disruption. Whether it is by way of public transportation or via a private vehicle, residents take part in a complex system of highways and byways to get from home to work and back home again. Keeping people and commerce moving, after all, is an important factor in any healthy economy. Under such conditions, there is an order to things, even during the peak of rush hour when things seem out of sorts. The immigration marches of 2006 upset the delicate balance of this order by blocking streets and by gathering together thousands of people who would otherwise be pursuing their daily routines elsewhere. In the reporting of the immigration marches, the *Chicago Tribune* was quick to inform the public of the disruptions being caused by the protesters. Some might argue that reporting of this nature was a vital public service, a way of warning commuters of inevitable trouble that lies ahead. However, that same coverage can also be a way of dismissing other important aspects of the marches, such as their very rationales in the first place.

The following excerpt from March 11, 2006, is an example of how the reportage focused on the disruption being caused by the immigration marches:

> *But the event shut down traffic in parts of the Loop, and snarled the evening commute as marchers competed with office workers for space on jammed trains and rerouted buses.*

Here, blame for the disruption is squarely placed on the protesters, with no mention of the underlying conditions that prompted the march. I describe this rhetorical feature as a focus on the marches' collateral damage. The peripheral problems created by

the marches versus the problems that caused the marches in the first place. The following excerpt is from April 28, 2006, published just days before the anticipated demonstrations set for May 1st, and with no framing of the larger public policy issues at stake:

> *Chicago police are expecting as many as 300,000 demonstrators Monday at an immigration rights rally downtown, but officials said they are hopeful the event will be orderly. However, even if all goes as expected, authorities said Thursday that they anticipate traffic gridlock in the Loop, crowded train stations and street closings that could change from moment to moment.*

Notice here that officials, recognizing the commotion that the marches will cause with respect to traffic, express hope that the rally will remain "orderly." While the word "orderly" can be interpreted as a euphemism for non-violence, it can also represent a Midwestern sensibility with penchant for conformity.

Other collateral damage that surfaced in the newspaper coverage included the "consequences" faced by protestors taking part in the demonstrations. Among those consequences were the loss of jobs and possible deportation, an example of which can be found in the following excerpt from March 17, 2006:

> *More than two dozen workers at a Bellwood factory say they were fired for taking part in last Friday's immigration rights rally that drew up to 100,000 supporters to the Loop.*

The article from which the above text derives does not warn of job loss. It reports that that has already happened. Such reporting could easily discourage participation of persons in any future protest actions given the dire consequences detailed here. School-age participants, who are not threatened by job loss because they had not yet entered the labor force, are also put on notice when warned of potential truancy violations, as seen in the follow excerpt form April 14, 2006:

Across the country, workers and students have paid a price for attending the immigration rallies that recently have swept the nation. They have lost jobs or been cited for truancy for joining the hundreds of thousands who have protested federal legislation that would crack down on illegal immigrants.

This article notes that students have been "cited" for taking part in the marches, almost suggesting that participation is somehow unlawful – at least to those who are under-age and who are required by law to be attending school. Whether student or worker, that is, the outcome is the same: participating in the marches will produce negative consequences.

Even worse consequences are reported for those who participated, or who were considering participating in the marches: actual deportation. In the following excerpt from April 20, 2006, the *Chicago Tribune* writes about a reported connection between federal immigration raids and intimidation to keep immigrants from taking part in the marches:

Immigration authorities arrested Chicago employees of a manufacturer of crates and pallets as part of a nationwide crackdown on the hiring of illegal immigrants, officials said Wednesday…Labor organizers in Chicago accused federal authorities of timing the raids to intimidate immigrants who have recently joined massive marches in Chicago and other U.S. cities to support illegal immigrants.

The consequences of participating in the marches, such as job loss, truancy tickets, and deportation, are touched upon frequently in the newspaper coverage. After all, what better way to keep and promote social order than by highlighting all that can go wrong when it is not honored? Yet, whether the reporting of collateral damage of the immigration marches is a public service or a means of keeping citizens informed, it nonetheless draws attention away from (1) the reasons behind the marches and (2) the

very issues at stake. Ultimately, when the goals of the protests are skipped over, the result is reporting with low Movement Empathy.

Participants Cast as Others

Another characteristic of the Chicago coverage was the casting of protest participants as aliens, that is, those taking part in the marches were contrasted to average, law-abiding citizens. The deviant behavior of the protest participants were frequently attributed to outsiders who do not respect or understand the social contract recognized by proper Midwesterners, persons who understand that law and order must take precedence and that people must conform to their place in society.

Furthermore, the newspaper coverage often called into question the participants' patriotism, asking whether – as foreign immigrants – they were able to truly assimilate into society and abandon their allegiance to their home countries. An example of this type of coverage can be found in the follow excerpt from May 6, 2006:

> *In following the illegal immigration debate, however, I cannot help but question the spirit of those who support legalizing illegal immigrants when they march with flags of other nations, or when they raise funds for this cause by singing America's national anthem in a language other than the national language, or are quoted in newspapers referring to a foreign land as their home country. Do you want to be an American or a foreigner with American citizenship?*

The raising or waving of a flag is portrayed here as an act that symbolizes political loyalty and community obligation. What's more, as the above passage demonstrates, there is an understood belief that Americans only fly one flag, that of the Stars and Strips. Ultimately, the reporting suggests that there is more to being an American than simply getting citizenship documents. Being an American also requires buying into a system of

beliefs and values. Outsiders may become citizens of the United States, but it isn't until they learn to conform that they become true Americans, or so the coverage in the *Chicago Tribune* implies.

The reporting also reflects an anti-illegal immigrant sentiment, a call for undocumented immigrants to return to their home countries regardless of how long they have lived in the United States, what their level of education might be, or what their contribution to society might entail. The premise here is that undocumented immigrants have broken the law, a federal law, and therefore should be punished for doing so. The following excerpt from a commentary published on March 14, 2006, reflects this sentiment and it can be found throughout *Chicago Tribune's* conformity-embracing the coverage:

> *Illegal immigrants need to go home. Not because we don't like them, and not because they aren't good people. And not because they are different from us. America welcomes diversity, and we have communities of people from all over the world. Illegal immigrants need to ho home because they broke our laws. They came to this country illegally. They lied about themselves and used forged documents, which is a felony. They took jobs they were not entitled to, and they did not play be the rules that millions of legal immigrants chose to respect.*

This excerpt highlights the Midwest's emphasis on law and order and the importance of maintaining social order, an alignment in which everyone knows their place within the social strata. For the undocumented, such commentary suggests that returning to their home country is the only safe and proper option and that being on the streets protesting for rights that they have no legal claim on is both immoral and impractical.

Another example of protest participants being portrayed as culturally alien can be found in the following excerpt form April 11, 2006:

> *But the marches also appeared to feed a backlash among those Americans who view illegal immigrants as lawbreakers demanding rights to which they are not entitled.*

Much like the commentary noted previously, those who did not participate in the protest marches were invited to question the fundamental legitimacy of the undocumented immigrants' claims. In a place like Chicago, where order and conformity are cherished, protesters are seen as distant members of the moral and societal hierarchy.

Immigrants as Laborers

The reporting on the immigration marches suggests that the larger society (those conforming to the social contract) do not favor undocumented immigrants being given legal status because it undermines the premise on which the contract itself is built – a respect for rule of law. If not allowed to change the social contract, where then can the undocumented find a place in society? The reporting of the *Chicago Tribune* finds only one such place – on the bottom rung of the working class. The following excerpt form May 1, 2006, describes the kinds of occupations that would be affected if immigrants took a day off from work to participate in the marches:

> *If all goes according to plan, hundreds of thousands of immigrants across the country will take Monday off from work to give the rest of us a taste of what life would be like without them. While they'll be visible at dozens of marches and rallies, including one in downtown Chicago, their absence from the workplace is meant to make a greater impression. Factories won't function, lawns won't be mowed, tables won't be bused and hotel beds won't be made.*

One could argue that in this report, the journalist is merely listing in an objective way the vast number of jobs undertaken by the undocumented. But one could also make the case that the listing of jobs highlights the menial, low-level skills they possessed and, hence,

the kind of work being done by them. Such descriptions subtly minimize their contribution to society and further marginalizes their calls for legitimate (legal) status and respect for their individuality.

The reporting I examined also ignores any cultural or intellectual contributions of the undocumented. Instead, as can be seen in the excerpt below from April 10, 2006, the undocumented are categorized as low-level workers doing jobs that serve the middle and upper classes – the very persons protected by the traditional notions of Midwest conformity:

> *Legislation that would criminalize immigrants criminalized their parents who have worked hard here, toiling in factories, cleaning houses, picking fruit. The students view any measure that would denigrate their parents as also denigrating their contribution.*

Undocumented workers are not described here as contributing to high culture such as art, dance, music or theatre. Instead, they are positioned as one-dimensional, part of the low-skilled labor force needed to keep the economic engine running smoothly. Too, the paper reports that in order for the division of labor to remain in balance, the undocumented must confine themselves to their place within the established social order. This isolationist sentiment runs throughout the coverage, but is best represented in the following excerpt from May 2, 2006:

> *"I don't think this is going to do them any good," said Paxon, of Crystal Lake, predicting the rally would backfire against those seeking to legalize millions of undocumented immigrants. "I think most people are happy that they're here, but want them to be out of sight and out of mind."*

The reporting here underscores a hierarchy in which everyone knows their place, a place where order is expected, respected, and to which everyone adheres. The protestors' calls for the legalization of undocumented immigrants threatens to disrupt this long-standing

social contract between the labor and investment classes. The Chicago newspaper constantly reinforces this agreement, thereby reinforcing the existing system and highlighting the long-standing and subservient role of the undocumented worker.

Emphasis on the National Anthem in Spanish

The final predominant feature revealed in the coverage I studied was a focus on the American national anthem. In Chicago, the immigration marches were highly organized by various community and church groups in the region. They were also well-attended, particularly the march that took place in the early part of 2006. Chicago had, in fact, set the bar high, being the first major city to make national headlines because of the size of its immigration march. To sustain community interest, activists began looking for creative ways to foster continued wide-scale engagement. One idea was to translate the American national anthem into Spanish and to have Hispanic celebrities take part in a recording of the song. The organizers thought that this would symbolize a deep connection between undocumented persons of Latin American origin and their new home country, the United States. Instead, it had the opposite effect, an effect the newspaper repeatedly reinforced. The follow excerpt from April 26, 2006, is a typical example of how it did so:

> *A plan to enlist Mexican pop diva Gloria Trevi, reggaeton star Tito El Bambino and other Latino musicians to record a Spanish language pop version of "The Star-Spangled Banner" is being touted by organizers as a way immigrants can show their devotion to their new country. But like most every aspect of the immigration debate, the symbolism is in the ear of the beholder. The idea of the nation's anthem in a foreign tongue is beginning to elicit a chorus of dissonant voices.*

Clearly, the move to translate the American national anthem into Spanish was reported as an attack on American values rather than a demonstration of "devotion." In fact, when the controversy over the Anthem was pared with the waving of Mexican flags, Anglo reactions were visceral and they were reported as such. The following excerpt from April 26, 2006, exemplifies the tone of such coverage:

> *"It's one thing to wave a Mexican flag at a restaurant or at your house. It's another thing when you bring it into the public discourse," said Joseph Turner, executive director of Save Our State, a California nonprofit group that opposes illegal immigration. "When you come to our country, you'd better adopt our values, our culture, our customs and our language. Period."*

The quoted speaker, although from California, clearly reflects a Midwestern sense of conformity. His comments reflect a mindset that finds it unacceptable to display a non-American flag and that one who does so is challenging the status quo. This thinking calls on immigrants to assimilate or to be viewed as a threat to the American way of life.

Flags are one thing but language is an even more fundamental way in which people communicate. In changing the language of the national anthem, the organizers confirmed prevailing fears that immigration protestors wanted more than legal status for the undocumented; they wanted to actually *change* America in fundamental ways. The following excerpt is another example of the "anthem issue" becoming a perceived threat, and of how fundamental question of allegiance were thereby brought to the surface:

> *"As part of these demonstrations, a new version of our national anthem, "the Star-Spangled Banner," has been produced – in Spanish," Alexander said. "We wouldn't recite the pledge in French, or German, or Russian, or Hindi, or even Chinese. And we shouldn't sing the national anthem in Spanish, or any other foreign language."*

The protest organizers believed that singing the nation anthem in Spanish would show a deep connection to American culture. This was not the case. Instead, the

newspaper reframed the translations as attacks on core American values, a vivid demonstration of undocumented immigrants' refusal to play by the rules. In the United States, the Anthem is sung in English and not Spanish. Those are the rules and the newspaper reports them as such. In the end, the coverage surrounding the national anthem issue produced especially low levels of Movement Empathy and, in addition, produced dramatic examples of how close to the surface issue of social conformity still are in the nation's breadbasket.

Outlier Articles and the Religious Connection

As described earlier, some articles featured in the *Chicago Tribune* did, in fact, elicit high Movement Empathy. These were outlier articles and did not comprise a majority of the coverage. But the articles did share a common feature: They inevitably referenced religion or clergyman in the body of the text. Most notable was the tone of such articles. Unlike most of the articles examined, those with religious references had a more moralistic tone, including expressions of righteousness or divine authority. The following excerpt from April 11, 2006, exemplifies this finding:

> *Hours later, Latino Catholics held a prayer vigil to support a small group of priests who are fasting, not just to grow spiritually during Lent, but to show solidarity with immigrants who come to this country for work and food…. "I wanted to fast to remind myself that I should be spiritually hungry for God," he said. "But I'm also fasting for the people in my parish. This is the reason why they come here. They come because they're hungry."*

The newspaper reports here that, by fasting, priests are making the connection between God and the plight of immigrants. This connection puts immigrants on high moral ground and folds them into a group sharing common American aspirations of hard work and of

providing food for their families. The immigrants are cast here as being enveloped in American culture, not apart from it nor opposed to it either.

Another example is taken from April 24, 2006. Here, quotations from religious leaders are reported, all of which contain highly evocative appeals:

> *Hoping to heal what they called the nation's "deep wounds" over the issue, Chicago-area religious leaders joined with hundreds of immigration-reform activists Sunday to call for an end to laws that they say have torn apart families and destroyed aspiring students' dreams. "Today, we are under one banner of love, one banner of justice, one banner of humanity," said Rev. Claudio Diaz, director of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago's office of Hispanic ministry.*

Emotional appeals of this sort are complemented by negative consequences of failing to reform the immigration system, one of which is the "torn apart family" Focusing on these conditions and outcomes produces a narrative with high Movement Empathy even if that effect is inadvertently produced at times.

While these religiously tinged articles only comprised a handful of texts produced during the period of study, they are worth noting because of their clearly divergent characteristics. Clergy, by virtue of who they are and what they represent, are able to frame the debate (and are reported as doing so) as a fundamental human struggle rather than merely an immigration issue. This results in rhetorical outcomes that are more in line with the movement's goals of instituting immigration reform that would legalize millions of undocumented persons.

In summary, my rhetorical analysis found the texts of the *Chicago Tribune* to have four prominent features: (1) a focus on the marches' collateral damage, (2) protest participants being cast as non-Midwesterners, (3) the undocumented and immigrants in Chicago being portrayed as members of the labor class exclusively, and (4) great attention being paid to how the American national anthem was used by protest

organizers. These each contributed to the overall low Movement Empathy found in the press coverage studied. However, articles that incorporated religious figures did much the opposite, resulting in much more sympathetic treatment of the movement and its participants.

The four prominent features act together to reinforce a culture of order and conformity, a culture that seems tied to a Midwestern sensibility. The coverage of the immigration marches featured in the *Chicago Tribune* gave considerable attention to the negative outcomes of the marches, even as it provided scant attention to the underlying conditions that prompted the protests in the first place. Indeed, "immigration reform" is often mentioned in the paper, but context for the reform and why reform is even needed, is rarely discussed. Ignoring the causes for the marches means they can be dismissed as deviant forces threatening the current social order but, also, that the social contract needs no remediation. But the depth and breadth of the immigration marches in Chicago suggested otherwise, no matter how ardently the *Chicago Tribune* wished such questions would land elsewhere.

Spanish-language Newspaper Coverage – *La Raza*

The Spanish-language newspaper coverage in Chicago differed considerably from its English counterpart. *La Raza* exhibited high Movement Empathy throughout its coverage of the immigration marches, with four prominent rhetorical features emerging from my analysis.

The first feature is related to multiculturalism. The Spanish-language newspaper took a much broader approach to the immigration issue. While the *Chicago Tribune*

primarily associated immigrants with Latin American countries, specifically Mexico, the articles in *La Raza* took a wider perspective that included immigrants from non-Latin American countries like Ireland. The following excerpt is an example of how a broadly multicultural approach was used to discuss the issue of immigration (translated, see footnote for actual Spanish-language text):

> *March 5-11, 2006 – Lawless is an Irish businessman with eight years of being in Chicago, he owns Oak Irish bar and is the president of the group Chicago Celts for Immigration Reform. That night he explained how there are employers who have been here more than 20 years without being able to return to Ireland to even bury their parents, because they won't allow them to reenter the United States. He also said that "there is many Irish immigrants, Mexicans, Asians, who are hard workers, who look after their own, who do not receive welfare money and pay their taxes."*[12]

Not only does *La Raza* identify non-Latino immigrants in its coverage of the immigration marches, it also shows them to be leaders of the movement. The result is a more global approach to the immigration policy debate. Additionally, broader coverage of the issue could make the newspaper's readers, presumably Hispanic, feel less targeted by Congress and by those participating in the policy debate. The general market media, in contrast, had placed so much emphasis on undocumented immigrants hailing from Mexico, that some might have felt that the movement's rationale was limited to the plight of Latin American immigrants exclusively.

Another distinguishing feature of the Spanish-language news coverage was that it had far more specific information regarding HR 4437, whose passage initiated the very

[12] El 5-11 de marzo – Lawless es un empresario irlandés con ocho años de estar en Chicago, dueño de bar Irish Oak y presidente del group Chicago Celts for Immigration Reform. Esa noche explicó cómo hay empresarios que llevan aquí más de 20 años sin poder regresar a Irlanda ni siquiera para enterrar a sus padres, porque no les permitirían reentrar a Estados Unidos. También dijo que "hay mucho inmigrantes irlandeses, mexicanos, asiáticos, que son trabajadores esforzados, que velan por los suyos, que no reciben dinero de la asistencia social y que pagan sus impuestos".

first protest marches in late 2005. The *Chicago Tribune* did not offer the same level of detail on the proposed immigration bill and even less mention of which specific House members were taking it up in Congress. The following example demonstrates the contrasting level of detail offered in *La Raza*:

> *March 5-11, 2006 –The first to speak were the organizers of the event, like Gabe Gonzalez, Director of Campaign Coalition: "The anti-immigrant policies are hurting families and communities, unfortunately the political climate created by the House bill HR 4437, represents a threat not only to the undocumented, but for those who they are in contact with immigrants.*[13]

Here, the House bill is specifically named as well as the direct effect the bill could have on people regardless of their immigration status. At other times, the coverage was even more detailed, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> *March 5-11, 2006 – Just this 2nd of March, the Senate began to debate Bill HR 4437, "the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act" sponsored by Representative James Sensenbrenner (R-WI). It was approved by the House of Representatives this past December 26 but still needs the Senate's okay. There are also several other immigration reform bills. Most immigrants in Illinois view favorable the bill by Senators Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Jon McCain (R-AZ) because it provides options for legalizing immigrants already living and working in the US. It also promotes a program for 400,000 guest worker permits.*[14]

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[13] El 5-11 de marzo – Los primeros en hablar fueron los organizadores del evento, como Gabe González, Director de Campaña de la Coalición: "Las políticas antiemigrantes están lastimando familias y comunidades, desafortunadamente el clima político creado por el proyecto de ley HR 4437, representa un amenaza no solo para los indocumentados, sino para aquellos que están en contacto con los inmigrantes.

[14] El 5-11 de marzo – Justamente este 2 de mazo el Senado empezó a discutir la propuesta de Ley HR437 o de "Protección Fronteriza, Antiterrorismo y Control de la Inmigración Ilegal" , que impulsa el congresista Jame Sensenbrenner (R-WI). Esta fue aprobada por las Cámara de Representantes el 16 de diciembre pasado, pero aún necesitaría el visto bueno del Senado: además de que existen varias otras propuestas de reforma migratoria. La mayoría de inmigrante de Illinois ven con Buenos ojos la propuesta de los senadores Robert Kennedy (D-MA) y John McCain (R-AZ), porque da opciones para legalizar a aquellos inmigrantes que ya viven y trabajan en los EE.UU. y promueve un programa de 400,000 permisos para trabajadores visitantes. El Senado estría aprobando una ley a fines de marzo, según confirmaron varias Fuentes a La Raza.

Note, too, that the above coverage mentions the author of HR 4437, its author, Congressman James Sensenbrenner – a Republican. Additionally, information is provided on alternative immigration bills being debated in Congress and the authors who have brought them forward. Thus, not only does the Spanish-language newspaper cover what specific piece of legislation is being protested and who sponsored it, it also offers an alternative policy that readers can rally behind. Such coverage gives hope to readers whose lives are directly affected by the immigration policy in question, a salutary effect indeed for the movement.

A final characteristic that surfaced in the Spanish-language newspaper was its coverage on future activities. That is to say, *La Raza* included news coverage about the organizers' next steps subsequent to the marches. The following excerpt is an example of reporting that emphasized the movement behind the movement:

> *May 14- 20, 2006 – Karla Avila, Director of the New Americans Initiative ICIRR, we intervened saying "we are waiting d what will happen in Washington. We believe that the best pattern to encourage the community is through citizenship and voter registration, which is why we are gathered here today to announce our strategy is that starting this summer and autumns will conduct an intensive campaign of naturalization, which we will launch on July 1, and where we have a massive citizenship workshop and a celebration for those new citizens who have helped in the last years.*[15]

Including coverage about future activities means that the movement is not tied to a single protest event but is connected to a larger mission of influencing public policy well into the future. This kind of reporting can also promote aspirational attitudes among

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[15] El 14-20 de Mayo – Karla Ávila, Directora de la Iniciativa Nuevos Americanos de ICIRR, intervino diciendo "estamos a la espera d lo que va a pasar en Washington. Nosotros creemos que el mejor patrón para animar a la comunidad es mediante la ciudadanía y el registro para votar, por eso hoy estamos reunidos para anunciar nuestra estrategia y es que a partir de este verano y otoños se llevará a cabo un intensiva campaña de naturalización, la cual lanzaremos el 1 de Julio y en la que tendremos un taller masivo de ciudadanía y una celebración para todos aquellos nuevos ciudadanos que hemos ayudado en él ultimo años.

the audience. Reporting on the future could mean, for example, that a plan is in place to broaden the political field, to go beyond the protest marches themselves. Ultimately, only so many protest marches can be organized before participants are unable to recreate the fervor felt during the early, organizing actions. Eventually, people will lose interest if they are not presented with a strategic plan for the future and *La Raza's* coverage helps to offset such lethargy.

Overall, the coverage of *La Raza*, Chicago's weekly Spanish newspaper, produced considerably higher Movement Empathy than that found in the *Chicago Tribune*. *La Raza* provided readers with a broader perspective of the immigration issue's human dimensions and provided practical details on the bills debated in Congress, something that was lacking in the English coverage. Moreover, the Spanish-language news coverage provided a peek into the future, an attractive place where readers (and the undocumented) could envision themselves. *La Raza* covered the marches, as did the *Chicago Tribune*, but the Spanish-language paper did so using a wider lens that enlarged the issue being discussed, broadening the social movement and its effects considerably.

Conclusion

The *Chicago Tribune's* coverage of the immigration marches of 2006 reflected a provincialism that can best be described as uniquely Midwestern and uniquely conformist – a mentality highlighting social order. This kind of reporting, influenced by the need to keep things as they are, can easily quell political action instead of promoting it. It can celebrate the status quo and push back change and it can minimize or even marginalize a

social movement instead of shining light on the injustices the movement seeks to redress and the social transformation it seeks to effect.

Frankly, social movements face a nearly impossible task when confronted with a culture so dedicated to maintaining conformity. If movements are challenging a political or economic power structure or long-standing roles within a society, chances are, more often than not, they will fall short of their goal unless they can get outside help. News coverage of a social movement can help that cause but it can also trivialize the actions of protesters in so many ways. News can focus on peripheral things like traffic jams and the consequences of participating in a demonstration, thereby ignoring the painful, underlying conditions the protests are meant to highlight. Such coverage can limit the effectiveness of social movements and turn its readership against it entirely. Simply put, when publicly challenging long-standing social norms, a movement can pay significant rhetorical costs, costs often observed in a region's news coverage.

The challenge faced by change agents is to transform a society that celebrates – and protects – things as they are. My analysis suggests that turning to a higher power by getting religious organizations and clergy members involved is one way of breaking through the rhetorical clutter. Change can be realized, that is, but it may require an endorsement from the highest of all authorities, the Deity itself, although it must also be said again that a sympathetic newspaper publisher can also be helpful.

Chapter Seven: Social Movements, Geocentricity, and the News

In the fabric of American life, the threads of social protest are deeply woven throughout, from beginning to end. Some protests have been so powerful that they have helped define eras in U.S. history, such as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Martin Luther King delivered his famous "I have a Dream" speech calling for racial justice and equality. Other protests, on the other hand, have silently faded away, only vaguely recalled, or eventually been forgotten entirely. We are left to ponder why some social protests have historical stamina while others do not. Is remembrance affected by whether or not a movement has achieved its goals? If not, why do some social movements reach their desired goals while others fall disappointingly short?

A wide-range of factors can contribute to the outcome or impact of a social movement. Scholars have often turned to media coverage as a possible catalyst for producing such effects. However, many researchers have concentrated on the amount of coverage given rather than the rhetorical dimensions of the coverage itself. In this dissertation, I note that media coverage of a social movement contributes to its social penetration, a measure of how much space and air-time certain contentious issues occupy in the public sphere. For those social protests fortunate enough to capture the attention of the media, there are no guarantees that the news coverage will help the protesters achieve their goals. In fact, quite the opposite can result. News coverage can work against the goals of a movement by questioning its objectives, undermining its leadership, or by

simply focusing on all of the peripheral activities of the protest rather than on the issue at the heart of the unrest. Therefore, social penetration is largely a measure of quantity, not of quality, and quality of news coverage, it would seem, is highly important indeed.

In order for a movement to advance its goals, I argue that social penetration is in part determined by the relative Movement Empathy contained in the reportage. There are many mediating forces that can work to produce such empathy. There are tangible realities, like resources and charismatic leaders, that can play a role, but there are also intangible forces as well. In this study, I suggest that rhetoric can act as a mediating force to convert social penetration into Movement Empathy and, hence, into movement outcomes.

Overview

This study examined newspaper reporting from four distinct cities: Los Angeles, Miami, Dallas and Chicago. I examined the newspaper coverage associated with the 2006 Immigration Marches along four textual dimensions conceptually related to Movement Empathy. These dimension were: tone, narrative, agency and values. Each of these characteristics was studied to discover language patterns conducive to Movement Empathy. Upon reviewing the English-language media coverage of the four cities, I found that two of the cities saw low Movement Empathy and one that had a mixture of high and low. Miami was the only city in which the media displayed significant levels of Movement Empathy.

I also found that each newspaper had unique rhetorical characteristics that produced a distinct flavoring for the city involved. In essence, the cities themselves, their histories and cultures, were refracted in the rhetorical characteristic of the reporting. In

Los Angeles, for example, I found journalism tethered to the city's history of celebrity and cultural diversity. In Miami, the saga of the Latino political refugee contributed to the coverage's relative cosmopolitanism. In Dallas, market-driven localism bore down on the coverage and, in Chicago, a Midwestern cultural sensibility of orderliness and comity permeated how the movement was reported. What follows is a brief summary of the findings for each city.

In Los Angeles, the coverage of the *Los Angeles Times* was typified by a mixture of high and low Movement Empathy. Four prominent features were found in the texts: (1) personality-driven coverage, (2) historical emphasis, (3) focus on dramatic details, and (4) conflict orientation. Taken together, these characteristics revealed reportage that was linked to the city's rich history, suggesting a kind of historical determinism at work. The Spanish-language coverage in *La Opinion*, on the other hand, consisted primarily of articles featuring greater Movement Empathy. For example, the coverage had a focus on religious leaders and the role of the church and it distinguished the protest marches from the organized boycott even as it showed unity among the movement organizers. Additionally, the Los Angeles reporting linked the marches to the broader, national immigration movement and directed the audience to calls for action ranging from contacting elected officials and participating in marches to wearing an identifiable t-shirt.

In Miami, rhetorical analysis of the *Miami Herald* revealed three key features: (1) normalization of the protests, (2) religious co-opting, and (3) an internationalist appeal. These qualities combined to construct a cosmopolitan identity that was uniquely Miami's, where multiculturalism, not assimilation, was embraced and considered an asset. Miami was the only city studied where both the English and Spanish-language newspaper

coverage featured articles characterized by high Movement Empathy; that is, the Spanish-language newspaper, *El Nuevo Herald,* reported on more than just a U.S.-Mexico immigration dynamic and pointed out the positive contributions of the immigrant community. Such coverage forged an identity unique to Miami, a diverse and immigrant-focused identity.

The articles published in the *Dallas Morning News* contained relatively little Movement Empathy and featured four prominent emphases: (1) local student walkouts dominated the coverage, (2) a great deal of emphasis was placed on the flags displayed at the protests, (3) accentuation of divisiveness among the protestors was mentioned constantly, and (4) little attention was given to the Congressional legislation being taken up in Washington. These characteristics suggested the influence of a market-driven localism that rejected the political strength and agency of the immigration protestors, particularly on the national scale. The Spanish-language coverage in Dallas from *Al Día* was the only Spanish newspaper in the study containing a mixture of high and low Movement Empathy. Importantly, I noted that the English and Spanish-language newspapers in this city were owned by the same corporate entity and, often, the same articles would appear in both publications (although translated into Spanish for *Al Día)*. Spanish-language articles with low Movement Empathy portrayed the movement activists as lacking unity and even fighting among themselves, and the reportage highlighted for its readers the negative consequences of participating in protest marches. Those Spanish-language articles containing high Movement Empathy provided readers with considerable detail on the legislation being debated in Congress, and stressed the

underlying conditions that sparked the protests, thereby giving both context and legitimacy to the movement's demands and actions.

In Chicago, my analysis of the *Chicago Tribune* revealed four prominent textual features producing rather low Movement Empathy in the coverage: (1) a focus on the marches' collateral damage, (2) protest participants being cast as non-Midwesterners, (3) the undocumented persons and immigrants in Chicago being portrayed as members of the labor class, and (4) excess attention being given to the use of the American National Anthem (translated into Spanish) by the protest organizers. These characteristics suggest an influential culture at work in which nonconformity is frowned upon. In contrast, the Spanish-language coverage from *La Raza* featured articles with high Movement Empathy. This latter coverage portrayed immigrants as more culturally diverse and it also offered greater detail on the Immigration Bill at the center of the protest. Furthermore, the Spanish-language newspaper reported on the promise of a brighter future resulting from comprehensive immigration reform.

The newspapers in all four cities reported on the immigration marches of 2006 and yet each left a unique rhetorical footprint. Clearly, these differences were not due to deceitfulness or an attempt to disingenuously cover the protests. On the contrary, the reporting in each of the cities was highly professional. However, different versions of the truth emerged from each city that sprung directly form the unique sociology of the cities themselves. I conclude from these observations that there exists a geocentric aspect to the news, one that mixes fact and interpretation with the history and values of the place in which the reporting is done. Simply put, *where* the news is reported can affect *what* news is reported and how.

Implications

This geocentricity of the news is not a completely foreign construct. We instinctively recognize, after all, the influence that places of origin can have on other aspects of human life. For example, when strangers meet and converse for the first time, one often asks the other: "Where are you from?" This question is asked because we instinctively recognize that where a person is from says something about them – about their culture, values, and linguistic and artistic expressions. If *place* can have an influence on individuals and their thinking, feeling and behaving, why would we not expect it to have similar affects on news coverage? Still, we do not know at present whether the news is affected by a geocentric culture or if it helps to create it. Distinguishing between cause and effect will surely require further study.

Nevertheless, recognizing the mere existence of news geocentricity has implications for groups having a stake in the outcome of social protests and collective action, a well as in the reporting of same. Organizers of social protests, journalists, ordinary citizens, and politicians can all benefit from having a better understanding of how geocentric forces affect the news.

Organizers of social protests, for example, could use such knowledge to improve external public communication. Instead of trying to create a new historical narrative around the current protest, they might consider looking to the past. Identifying and incorporating local historical events into their message could prove highly beneficial. For

example, instead of marching to city hall or protesting in front of a congressperson's office, repairing to locations of local historical importance might be considered – particularly if they have some connection to the issue being confronted. Such an approach might be met with resistance (as the conventional wisdom is to protest at the site of the current grievance or in lawmakers' chambers) but that resistance, too, could be used to focus attention back on the new issue itself.

For example, a social protest calling for a city to adopt a policy of prevailing wages in its public contracts would normally take place at city hall, the space where policy makers vote on the subject. However, geocentric understandings might well suggest alternative locations. Organizing a protest at an historical site intimately related to wages or workers could be beneficial as, for example, at a union hall where workers gathered during the Depression looking for work, thereby highlighting the city's history of supporting fair wages. In short, social protest organizers are likely to benefit considerably when artfully co-opting historical narratives integrally related to the movement's present-day goals and manifestations.

Additionally, my research suggests that injecting a religious dimension into a protest can also be beneficial for a social movement. I found, for example, that when religious leaders were mentioned in the newspaper articles, or when a symbolic religious action or gesture was employed as part of the protest, the resulting news coverage showed considerably more Movement Empathy. The motives of religious figures or church members acting upon their faith do not appear to be challenged by journalists, thereby providing a kind of "Trojan horse" for movement organizers.

This latter finding challenges many of the claims put forth by conservative politicians and pundits about the media, who often accuse the press of being hyper-secular and lacking a moral compass in their reporting, paying little or not attention to the spiritual needs of society. Furthermore, journalists are accused of being too politically correct as well as having a faith-deficit. I found rhetorical evidence challenging these assumptions. Religious leaders and the faithful were overwhelmingly treated with empathy in reports of the movements, with their participation being neither politicized nor demonized. Instead, church leaders were treated as credible voices in the debate over immigration reform. While this study did not carefully examine the photographs contained in the coverage, religious images were often published alongside reporting describing the views of religious leaders. In particular, Christian symbols such as crucifixes and images of Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared in the reporting. Ultimately, participation by clergy and other religious persons in the protests appeared to favor the protestors – at least rhetorically. For those agents of change seeking to influence media reporting in their favor, this finding could prove highly useful indeed.

However, incorporating a religious component into a social movement's messaging might become challenging, particularly when the issue at hand runs counter to some religious faiths. For example, protests in support of a women's right to choose might not easily generate religious support and may even inspire the church to become an opponent. No social movement organizer wants to generate counterproductive media coverage, after all, so all such religious appropriations must be handled carefully. Nevertheless, I found that religious figures generated more Movement Empathy than one might have expected when it came to the immigration marches of 2006.

Journalists are another group that can benefit from the findings of this research. Previous scholarly work recognizes that certain norms help shape reporting, ranging from stories that overwhelmingly uses state-based viewpoints (vs. opposition voices), to normative economic constraints demanding a profitable news product. However, my findings also suggest that provincialism can influence press behavior. Hyper-localism, that is, can have both positive and negative consequences depending on the topic of the news story and the location from which the reporting originates.

For example, the Black Lives Matter movement is "an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise" (*Black Lives Matter* 2015). In areas with high concentrations of African Americans and a history intertwined with the Black experience (such as Detroit or Birmingham), the news coverage of Black Lives Matter protests might well differ from coverage in a place like Salt Lake City, where few African Americans live and where the footprint of black history is small. As previously stated, this is not to suggest that the news media purposely report inaccuracies or falsehoods. To the contrary, each newspaper reports facts as they are understood by those in the newsroom: at the same time, though, all such reporters live within their own geographical and cultural histories whether they are aware of these predispositions or not. Because reporting always depends on context, becoming more self-reflexive can surely help a reporter do his or her job better and, sometimes, greater Movement Empathy may result from such introspection.

Journalists and editors should pay attention to geocentricity and be able to recognize its impact on their writing so that, at the end of the day, fair and balanced reporting is produced. They should also take pains to ensure that local perspectives

complement national ones rather than drown them out entirely, particularly when it comes to contentious issues. While it is important for reporting to link national events to local happenings to make pressing issues relevant to local readers, journalists must be careful to not lose sight of broader issues when a national policy debate ensues.

This study also encourages journalists to rethink the manner in which protest events are reported and to understand that coverage of peripheral happenings – like traffic and road closures – is likely to produce low Movement Empathy. Without question, newspaper editors may intend to provide a public service for its readers when letting them know which streets or highways should be avoided because of a collective action taking place. On the other hand, those who occupy the newsroom should be aware that such reporting has rhetorical – and political – implications. Monitoring how much attention is being paid to central vs. peripheral issues in a social movement relates directly to the ethics of journalism.

The findings of this research can also have implications for regular citizens seeking to better understand the world around them by becoming better informed about current events. For those who consume news by reading the local newspaper exclusively, this research should give them pause. My findings suggest that where a person lives may well affect what they will learn from reading the newspaper. Readers in Miami, for example, may come away with a far different interpretation of events than, say, those living in Dallas, despite the fact that the newspapers in each city have reported on the same issue. If citizens are armed with an understanding of geocentric news effects, they can seek to broaden their news consumption routines to include publications from different regions of the country. Thanks to the advent of the Internet, this kind of trans-

spatial news access can be had with little hindrance. A decade ago, accessing publications from other states, regions or countries would surely have proven more difficult. Today, many diverse news sources are quite literally a click away. Having said that, though, it is also the news consumer's obligation to make multiple clicks when trying to understand a pressing social issue.

Citizens can also use this research to become more critical of the news they consume each day. For example, those living in Dallas might question reporting on a national issue that is too localized. In Los Angeles, they might question coverage that is too personality-driven. In Miami, they might question coverage that is too internationally focused and, in Chicago, they might question coverage that spends so much of its time focused on non-conformity.

Ultimately, citizens must demand from news content creators that coverage be more policy-based rather purely theatrical. Let's take for example, the recent protest at the University of Missouri, where college students wanted to bring attention to the lack of action taken by their university's administration to address racism on campus. Citizens would have been better served if the event's news coverage had paid more attention to the policies and enforcement protocols that led to the protests rather than concentrating on the political strategies designed to attract media attention. In this case, much of the political theatre was generated by a photograph (and an accompanying Tweet) of the University's football team showing solidarity with the student protestors who identified themselves as the Racism Matters Movement. While ultimately the theatrics, as some news analysts have noted, likely contributed to the student protest being thrust into the national spotlight (and eventually led to the resignation of the university's president), it

did little to highlight the specific policies the students were protesting. The Racism Matters Movement may have achieved their desired goals, but a more informed citizenry probably did not result from the process. While citizens were generally informed about the issue at hand, the information they received was superficial and ignored the long-standing practices and racial attitudes at the root of the problem. If citizens begin to demand more in-depth coverage of complex social problems, newspaper publishers will surely take notice if they expect to stay profitable.

Another important constituency that can benefit from the findings of this study are elected officials and political leaders. Each time such policy makers pick up their local paper, they may in fact be accessing misinformation about their constituents. This study finds, for example, that the news can “hail” some perspectives while completely ignoring others. It is not prudent, and perhaps even politically unwise, for government officials to assume that the news reveals all there is to know about an issue or that the coverage is balanced, especially as it relates to social movements. In two of the four cities studied, that is, the Movement Empathy found in the newspaper articles was quite low, a mix of low and high empathy in a third city, and high in only one city. As a result, political leaders must become more diligent in finding out <u>on their own</u> how the public feels about a particular issue. Accessing news coverage from other regions of the country and of the world should be as important to local official as it is to national leaders.

Political leaders might also be careful when participating in, or condoning, collective actions associated with highly controversial issues or with strategies and tactics that are too militant for the average citizen. This study suggests that newspaper coverage of the immigration marches often featured narratives about infighting among organizers

and others forms of conflict within the movement. Additionally, much coverage was dedicated to the social disruptions created by the marches. If a politician is primarily committed to maintaining law and order, participating in a social protest may well run counter to that goal because of the news coverage, regardless of how noble the social cause or issue might be. Obviously, this study only addressed the immigration marches of 2006, but my findings reflect other research that note a similar media emphasis on internal dissension within movements (Gitlin 1980). Because of local news protocols, then, public officials should assess how much political capital they can spend on a movement at any given time in any given place.

Social movement organizers, journalists, citizens, and public officials can all benefit from this research. While much of what has been outlined above are prescriptions to improve Movement Empathy, my findings can also be useful to those trying to quell the voice of social change. For example, for publications that are constitutionally opposed to collective actions, editors can devote a significant amount of coverage to the public disruption being created by the protest, thereby avoiding the appearance of being opposed to a movement's mission.

Furthermore, when reporting on a social movement of national scope, reporters can over-report on local protests, even when they are smaller in scale and magnitude. Such an emphasis could especially undermine collective actions when a local organization engages in behaviors not sanctioned by the national movement. A hypothetical example of this would be as follows: A movement organization of national scope is trying to bring awareness to police brutality. They organize peaceful demonstrations throughout the country but a group in one community clashes violently

with police during a demonstration. Coverage found in that community would naturally report on the violence of the local protest and ignore the national story where violence was not experienced. In addition, journalists in that local community might rely heavily on statements by government officials and other authorities to make sense of the situation, thereby giving considerable attention to those questioning the purpose and intent of the protests. Furthermore, the coverage could primarily focus on the local violence that erupted, and say little about why the protestors had gathered in the first place. Focusing on the spectacle rather than on substance is a simple example of how journalists can report on social movements without contributing to Movement Empathy.

It should be noted that the Spanish-language media in my study did not behave in the same manner as the English-language media. That is, I found little evidence of geocentricity in the Spanish-language media and considerably more Movement Empathy. Perhaps this means that niche media have greater ability to focus attention on particular selections of reality – in this case on happenings relevant to the Latino community. Additionally, the ethnic media in all of the cities, with the exception of Dallas, provided thorough and comprehensive coverage of the immigration reform issue being debated in Congress. More often than not, the specific legislative bill at hand was identified along with the names (and sometimes the photos) of Congressional leaders who had taken public positions in favor of, or in opposition to, the legislation. In short, the Spanish-language media acted like niche media even though, technically, their corporate overlords were hardly "niche" players.

To be sure, as the Latino population continues to rapidly grow in the United States, so will the number of media targeting them in order to capitalize on their

consumer buying power. These niche media will grow in prominence (along with the Latino population) and will eventually challenge English-oriented media for their ranking position in the market. In fact, in some markets with high concentrations of Latinos this is already happening. In overall market ratings, Spanish-language media are improving market share and in some cases out-performing English-based media in these majority-minority areas like New York, Los Angles, and Miami. In some places, Univision (a Spanish-language television network in the United States) is even reaching first-place rankings for individual programs. The changing demographics of the marketplace, globalization, and the rise of social media are working in tandem to change what sort of news is being consumed. How these changes affect news content is left to be determined.

Next Steps

This dissertation set out to better understand how social protests convert presence within the public sphere (social penetration) into an antecedent for public policy change (Movement Empathy). I found that the rhetoric of news coverage acted as a mediating force capable of turning the former into the latter. Furthermore, I discovered that geocentricity drove the news coverage to a surprising degree. While these findings are important, there is still so much that needs to be explored.

This study was limited to examining only the newspapers' verbal texts concerning the immigration marches of 2006. Photographs and their accompanying captions were not included as part of this study. Future research should surely examine the photography, captions and other graphics included in the news stories about the immigration marches. A study of the visual rhetoric would really help us understand the kind of response (emotional

or intellectual) photo editors were trying to evoke in its readers and, perhaps, how the local citizenry responded to the marches. It would be interesting to learn if these strategies promote Movement Empathy and whether various cities differed in this regard.

Future study should also include additional non-mainstream newspapers, such as alternative publications, LGBTQ focused publications, and other non-Hispanic ethnic newspapers when studying movement coverage. In the present study, the findings about Spanish-language media are not surprising but we are left to wonder if displays of Movement Empathy were higher or lower in other ethnic and niche publications (such as those targeting African-Americans). A study of additional publications' coverage of the 2006 immigration marches would provide much needed understanding of such cross-movement effects. After all, African-American publications are not considered part of mainstream media, but neither do they have a strong connection to the Latino immigrant community and so we are left to ask: Is Movement Empathy contagious?

Today, many newspapers have online versions of their publications, giving them the ability to reach audiences across the country and the world. As printed newspapers decline in popularity and as audiences become more transnational, will geocentric effects continue to be seen in future protests? Furthermore, as the rise of citizen journalism continues, studies should examine if these writers are also influenced by regionalism. That is, is hyper-localism found among non-professional journalists who post their stories directly on the Internet (without the filter of paid advertisements and copy editors) or are they more "global" in their approach? Is it the corporate nature of large publications that contribute to the geocentric nature of the news or is it the case that all of us are "locals" at the end of the day?

Another aspect that deserves further research is the intersection of religion and social movements. While my study found that religious participation in collective action led to greater Movement Empathy, this was limited primarily to those of the Christian faith. Research surrounding the "hailing" of other religious sects, such as Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, and Hindi, demand that we ask if the same rhetorical influences on Movement Empathy applies when non-mainstream religions become the focus of attention.

Finally, future studies should examine other periods when immigration legislation and reform were on the national agenda. In June of 2013, for example, the US Senate passed a comprehensive immigration bill, S. 744. It was passed with the support of Republican and Democratic senators who came together to author the bill. (They became known as the "Gang of Eight.") In contrast, such bi-partisan support was not something the 2006 immigration bill enjoyed. Although the House version of Senate Bill S. 744 did not pass in the House of Representatives, it did spark protests at that time, although they were surely not equivalent in size or scale to those in 2006. Studies should examine the media coverage of the 2013 protests to see if news reports at the time revealed as many geocentric effects as did the 2006 news stories examined in my study.

Conclusion

This study began with a simple question: "How did the actions of so many produce so little?", a reference to the 2006 immigration marches. My intent was to understand what factors turned a manifestly visible protest into one that was effectively marginalized, of little or no consequence, even invisible to many. The 2006 marches were, after all, the largest protests in the history of the United States and yet nothing of legislative consequence was

produced from them. Could the participation of hundreds of thousands of non-voting persons (non-eligible immigrants) have contributed to such lethargy and to policy makers' unresponsiveness to the movement's demands? It is true, of course, that politicians cannot be held accountable by non-citizens who are ineligible to vote, especially by those who lack the documentation needed to be legally recognized in the United States. Still, does the protestors' extra-legal status tell the whole story? What other factors might have influenced the views of politicians and the public about the legislation for immigration reform in 2006? I set out to answer these questions and ultimately found the answer in rhetoric itself.

Specifically, I looked at the media coverage of the marches, closely examining the newspaper reporting in four major cities having significant Latino populations. I found that the protest marches received a surprising amount of media attention in all of the locales studied. This meant that the immigration reform movement had high social penetration, making it an excellent case study to examine.

And yet I was left with a quandary. If the newspapers had extensively covered the protest events, why did public opinion turn against those fighting for immigration reform? Why was high social penetration not converted into Movement Empathy? I found that how reporters wrote about the issue explained the major discrepancies noticed.

I found that there were strong geocentric aspects of the news coverage in each of the cities studied. In other words, I found that rhetoric matters. Despite the great many articles written about the protests, how a reporter told the story was of great consequence, that *what* was said was far more important than the *number of times* it was said. I also found that Movement Empathy is a non-trivial issue for increasing the number of supporters

(consensus mobilization) and for turning those supporters into activists (action mobilization).

When journalists publish articles demonstrating high Movement Empathy, they enhance the work of a movement and that is especially true when they deliver the social movement's message with little distortion. Such coverage is critical to social movement organizers working to bring attention to, and to fix, a wrong in society. But trapped as they are by their powerful, often unnoticed, geocentric biases, journalists do not always become the benefactors a movement needs.

The Temperance Movement, the Abolition Movement, and Women's suffrage are examples of social movements that took far too many years to reach their desired goals. Public opinion is a temperamental and fickle thing. Issues that are at the top of the news agenda change from one day to the next, usually without notice. That is, on Monday the public might be concerned with too many undocumented workers crossing into the United States from Mexico and hence support the building of a wall between the two counties. On Tuesday, they might be demanding that Congress introduce legislation to prevent Syrian refugees from settling legally in the United States, altogether forgetting about their neighbors to the South. As a result, trying to influence public opinion is often an elusive and expensive task. The media can help with such matters but sometimes they do and sometimes they do not

Today, protests are becoming commonplace and newsrooms are shrinking – more protests but fewer journalists to cover them. Social movement organizers can no longer rely on traditional media to comprehensively cover their actions in hopes of garnering

public attention. Movements must turn to new media but they, too, are not unproblematic.

Social media allows movement organizers to by-pass traditional media (such as television, radio and newspapers) and let them speak directly to the public (or to small slices of the public). Instead of relying on the mass media to report protest events, organizers can mobilize their own teams of content creators to generate digital stories, blogs and social media posts. They can Tweet, Periscope, Facebook, Instagram, Snap Chat, and so forth. They can write about what is happening, post photos of current events, and livestream video of the situation as it is happening – real-time "journalism" that is completely controlled by the movement organizers but without the imprimatur of Big Media Inc.

The Black Lives Matter Movement is one such organization that has strategically used social media to mobilize its existing supporters and to generate persons sympathetic to their cause. More and more social movement organizers are recognizing the power of social media, not just to disseminate important information but also to organize and mobilize supporters. They post updates about events, create on-line user groups, and use social media to create a space where the issue in contention can be debated – a virtual public sphere with boundaries imposed exclusively by the organizers who have created it. Social media are not some imaginary wave of the future. They are *here* and they are here *now*. Movement organizers must learn how to navigate in these waters where new apps are changing how we order pizza, buy a car, book a flight, and participate in public debate. It remains to be seen, though, if such home-grown modalities will provide the legitimacy for movements previously afforded by mainstream journalists.

Without question, we live in a world where technology is changing the American experience and that protests and collective action will always remain a slice of that experience. Protest is a storied part of America's past and will no doubt be a part of its future as well. But even though protest events generate news, simply generating more news is not enough. It is the content of the news, its rhetorical dimensions, that ultimately help or hurt a cause. It is the news that converts social penetration into Movement Empathy and, hence, that increases a movement's ability to influence public opinion. Understanding this interplay of forces is critical to generating the public and political support a movement requires and, hence, of giving voice to those who have little ability to directly influence the political process. For all of these reasons, how a movement makes news will continue to be a vital question for all those concerned with justice, with equity, and with democracy itself.

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