



The **Opportunity** Agenda

*Building the National Will
to Expand Opportunity in America*

Public Opinion and Media Analysis:

Immigration in Public Discourse



The **Opportunity** Agenda

**Mainstream Media Content and
Opinion Analysis**

**The Evolution of Public
Discourse on Immigration:
2006-2007**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The ideal of immigrant integration recognizes that immigrants have always contributed to an evolving American culture. To the extent that the public embraces a vision of an integrated American society—one that welcomes newcomers, recognizes their contributions, protects their human rights, and offers the assistance needed to make a smooth transition—integration policies, including a pathway to citizenship, will find favor.

In spite of the recent defeat of comprehensive immigration reform there is reason to be hopeful. Both editorially and in terms of news reportage, the mainstream print media is quite firmly in the integration camp. And on a pragmatic and intuitive level, most Americans choose a vision of integration over exclusion. The present task for immigrant rights advocates is to use strategic communications to build on that synchronicity so that the public will be more firmly on their side when policy debate again arises. Immigrant rights advocates can use their access to the media to present a clear vision based on the integration frame that puts the complexities of the policy debate into perspective.

Media Content Analysis: Major Findings

- In our last media content analysis spanning July 2004-January 2006 we concluded that the media frames were formed by two narratives: (1) the individual immigrant striver who by dint of hard work overcomes the odds; and (2) the immigrant “problem” (*i.e.*, the “tidal wave” of “illegals” crossing our borders). During the past year the frames have evolved to underscore the chasm between “real life” in 21st Century America and the policy debate “on the hill.”
- News Frame: The 21st Century American reality is that immigrants are integral to our economy, our communities, and our culture:
 - Editorially, every newspaper, including outlets in border states supported integration by way of comprehensive immigration reform, stressing the need to address the reality of so many immigrants living among us (*e.g.*, “Like it or not, the 11 million immigrants living here are part of American society”).
 - News coverage of the immigrants rights protests was overwhelmingly sympathetic and included quotes from immigrants in which the twin themes of the American dream and seeking opportunity were central. The descriptions of rallies and marches evoked quintessentially American images of protest.
 - A significant number of news stories emphasized the extent to which immigrant workers, both skilled and unskilled, were already integrated into, and necessary to, the nation’s economic engine.

- Although few in number, articles about integration policies and programs were optimistic in tone and presented alternatives to the negativity of anti-immigrant local laws.
- Stories about anti-immigrant local laws emphasized the negative passions such proposals stirred up in communities and gave the reader cause to question whether they were worth pursuing.
- News Frame: Shrill partisanship in Congress prevented this national problem from being solved:
 - Most of the articles about the 2007 Senate debate focused on the procedural maneuvers of senators either to bury the compromise bill or to keep it alive. A large number of senators were quoted (thirty-two in all).
 - Early in the debate, the anti-immigrant conservatives, claiming to represent “the American people,” seized the initiative away from the “grand bargainers” by having a strong, consistent, and aggressively promoted message—no amnesty for law-breakers.
 - Editorials and other opinion pieces were uniformly critical of the Senate for “ducking” a national problem.
 - Although quoted with some frequency, immigrants’ rights advocates did not present a unified core message that projected a clear vision of what they wanted. Most of their quotes were sideline comments about the “main action” in the Senate.

Public Opinion Analysis: Major Findings

- In our last public opinion analysis, completed in the spring of 2006, our major findings were: (1) The non-immigrant public had “mixed feelings” about immigrants; (2) anxiety tempered by familiarity led to contradictory attitudes on immigration policy issues; (3) immigration was not high up on the public’s list of concerns except in border states; and (4) there was some evidence of disquiet over the multicultural character of U.S. society. An analysis of polling done between March and August, 2007 shows that those findings are still valid.
- Mixed feelings persist. Those with generally favorable feelings towards immigrants still hold a 2 to 1 majority, but more negative feelings surface around specific applications.
- The belief that immigrants weaken the economy because they don’t pay taxes but use public services is still held by 70% of the non-immigrant public. A plurality of non-immigrant Americans spontaneously named “hurts American jobs” when asked what their biggest immigration concern was.

- The link between immigrants and crime has grown somewhat stronger as has the belief that “immigrants are making the social and moral values situation in the country worse.”
- Nevertheless, when presented with the stark choice between “a path to citizenship” and “deportation,” the public goes for the former by a 2 to 1 margin. Strong support for comprehensive reform that includes a path to citizenship crosses party, ethnic and demographic lines. A majority of voters do not see a reform that includes a path to citizenship as “amnesty.”
- A large majority (81%) agrees with the statement: “immigration is a critical problem that needs to be addressed this year,” but at the peak of the Senate debate only 15% named immigration as “the most important problem facing the country today.”
- The public is split 50-50 when asked whether they feel “the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values.” However, when asked in an open ended format what their main concern about immigration is, hurts American customs was named by only 10%.

Recommendations

Now is the time to prepare for the next national policy debate and the intensive media coverage the issue will generate. In addition, debate over local ordinances (both pro-and anti-immigrant) will continue. We recommend that immigrant advocates and their allies use this time to develop, test, and refine a proactive and coordinated communications strategy that takes full advantage of the media’s immigrant integration frame.

In order to reach consensus about core messages and a coordinated media strategy, it may be necessary to convene one or more gatherings to discuss the underlying values that are shared by immigrants rights advocates. We recommend, in addition, that immigration and refugee funders consider providing the resources to make such in depth discussions possible. The media placement of positive integration stories in both the print and electronic media should be a high priority, and funders should consider making resources available to adequately staff such an effort. Specifically, we recommend that the immigrant rights and integration field:

1. **Develop a more unified messaging strategy based on the integration frame.** Editorially and in terms of news reporting, the mainstream print media frame is that integration is a reality. On a pragmatic and intuitive level, most Americans choose a policy of integration over exclusion. Messages should build on the strong resonance of the integration frame. Even when asked about a specific policy issue or detail, advocates should always include a strong integration message in their response linking values with reality on the ground. For example:

“We do/don’t like policy X. Our immigration policies have to correspond with reality. Immigrants are, and always have been a part of our nation. Our workforce needs immigrants, and immigrants need a chance to come out of the shadows and be full members of American society. Giving them a sure path to earned citizenship is the best solution for the whole country.”

Understandably, arriving at a unified message is no simple task. Immigrant rights organizations are not in agreement on a number of fundamental policy issues. Some supported the “grand bargain” as a positive incremental step towards a better policy. Others opposed it. But without a unified message, the movement is at a big disadvantage when it comes to moving the national conversation in a more favorable direction. It is critical that a unified message be hammered out before the next Congressional debate.

2. **Identify and pitch stories about successful integration experiences.** These stories have traction, and local success stories should be pitched to regional and national news outlets. They illustrate how communities and American society at large benefit from welcoming newcomers, and challenge the negativity of the “immigrant problem” frame. They also steer readers away from the individual “immigrant striver” frame, that tends to give credence to the idea that success depends on individual responsibility alone. The public needs to learn about as many positive examples of immigrant integration as possible. For example:

- Stories about immigrants lining up to take English classes.
- Stories about how immigrants have saved dying cities from economic bankruptcy.
- Stories about how immigrants strengthen the nation’s economy.
- Stories about the participation of tens of thousands of non-citizen immigrants serving in the U.S. armed forces.
- Stories about immigrants and African Americans working together to solve community problems.
- Stories about government agencies and civic organizations reaching out to immigrants in their communities to build ties and address needs.

3. **Promote the voices of pro-immigrant civic leaders.** Local civic leaders (immigrant and non-immigrant) who have spearheaded integration programs or who have had positive experiences with immigrants are important voices to publicize. More quotes such as the one from the Mayor of Utica, New York—“In many ways we owe our survival to the refugees”—will go a long way towards strengthening the public’s pro-integration impulses. They underscore the idea that when the government meets its obligations by taking positive action, everyone benefits. These integration messengers should be identified and reporters should be steered in their direction. Assuming there is a critical mass of pro-integration civic leaders, an effort should be made to give them greater access

to the media on a collective basis (*e.g.*, through the public release of a joint statement to Congress).

The Evolution of Public Discourse on Immigration: 2006-2007

A MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION SCAN AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The ideal of immigrant integration recognizes that immigrants have always contributed to an evolving American culture, just as they have always learned and adapted to the rules, responsibilities, and benefits of their new home. Concretely, immigrant integration comprises a set of programs, policies and practices.¹ But it also communicates certain values and a vision for the future of the country. To the extent that the public embraces the vision of an integrated American society--one that welcomes newcomers, recognizes their contributions, and offers the assistance needed to make a smooth transition—integration policies, up to and including “legalization,” will find favor.

How the media tells a story (the media frame) exerts a powerful influence on public opinion. By closely examining media coverage and contemporaneous public opinion research, we can better understand the link between how the media frames the story and how the public views immigrants and the policies that affect them. Most importantly, we can use the findings to move the policy debate in our direction through strategic communications. Strategic use of the mass media is by far the most cost-effective vehicle for public education. Immigrants’ rights advocates will continue to have heightened access to the media as long as the policy debate remains alive. Smart communications between now and the next time immigration policy takes center stage can have an important, and possibly pivotal, effect.

¹ Our working definition of immigrant integration policies are those that ensure the fullest integration of immigrants into the fabric of U.S. society, including access to culturally and linguistically appropriate social services, access to English language classes, the ability to participate in the political process, interaction with the non-immigrant population, opportunities for economic security and mobility, etc.

The media's focus on the acrimonious and unproductive Senate debate during June of 2007 no doubt caused many Americans to conclude that the issue is so complicated, the passions so strong on both sides, and Congress so hopelessly deadlocked that a solution to "the immigration problem" is beyond reach. But in spite of the defeat of comprehensive reform in the last session of Congress, there is reason to be hopeful. Both editorially and in terms of news reportage, the mainstream print media is quite firmly in the integration camp. And on a pragmatic and intuitive level, most Americans choose a vision of integration over mass deportation (or attrition) in spite of the anti-immigrant movement's efforts to persuade them otherwise.

The present task is to use strategic communications to build on the synchronicity between public opinion and the dominant media frames so that next time the public will be more firmly on our side. Immigrants' rights advocates can use their access to the media to present a clear vision based on the integration frame that puts the complexities of the debate into perspective by communicating the big idea: Immigrants, regardless of their legal status, are part of us and, as one editorial put it, "America should be true to its decent, welcoming self."

MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

I. MAJOR FINDINGS

- In our last media content analysis spanning July 2004-January 2006 we concluded that the media frames were formed by two narratives: (1) the immigrant striver; and (2) the immigrant "problem" (i.e., the "illegals"). During the past year the frames have evolved to underscore the chasm between real life in 21st century America and the policy debate "on the hill."
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 - Editorially, every newspaper, including outlets in border states supported integration by way of comprehensive immigration reform, stressing the need to address the reality of so many immigrants living among us (*e.g.*, "Like it or not, the 11 million immigrants living here are part of American society").
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- Although few in number, articles about integration policies and programs were optimistic in tone and presented alternatives to the negativity of anti-immigrant local laws.
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- News Frame: Shrill partisanship in Congress prevented this national problem from being solved:
 - Most of the articles about the 2007 Senate debate focused on the procedural maneuvers of senators either to bury the compromise bill or to keep it alive. A large number of senators were quoted (thirty-two in all).
 - Early in the debate, the anti-immigrant conservatives, claiming to represent “the American people,” seized the initiative away from the “grand bargainers” by having a strong, consistent, and aggressively promoted message—no amnesty for law-breakers.
 - Editorials and other opinion pieces were uniformly critical of the Senate for “ducking” a national problem.
 - Although quoted with some frequency, immigrants rights advocates did not present a unified core message that projected a clear vision of what they wanted. Most of their quotes were sideline comments about the “main action” in the Senate.

II. SEARCH METHODOLOGY

Electronic searches were performed using the ProQuest, InfoTrac, and AP Multimedia Online databases. We searched twenty-four print media outlets (see Appendix I for list of outlets) using the search terms “immigrant” or “immigration” for three discrete time periods: May-June 2006, October-December 2006, and May-June 2007. We chose these periods in order to analyze differences in coverage between periods of high intensity (May-June of both years when immigration reform was being debated in Congress) and low intensity (October-December 2006).

The search terms returned 16,130 articles. We applied a random sequence generator to each time period to cull 2.5% of the articles in order to yield approximately 400 from which 100-150 usable articles could be drawn.

Upon reviewing the culled articles from the May-June 2007 period we discovered that very few pro-immigrant organizations were mentioned and no pro-immigrant advocates were quoted. In order to gain a clearer picture of how the immigrants rights

movement and its involvement in the reform debate were represented in the media, we repeated the search for June 2007 using the terms “pro-immigrant” or “pro-immigration” or “immigrant rights” or “rights of immigrants.”

The final number of articles included in the scan came to 140:

<u>Topic</u>	<u>No. of stories</u>
The Senate debate	45
Immigrants and the economy	20
Protest	16
Anti-immigrant local laws and activists	9
Human interest stories	10
Enforcement	5
Integration policies and practices	4
Immigrants and crime	2

III. TOPIC SUMMARIES

May-June 2006

THE SENATE DEBATE (13)

- **News reports (7)**

News coverage of the 2006 Senate debate focused on the split between “conservative Republicans” and everyone else (including the Bush Administration). On one side of the divide were Democrats, moderate Republicans and Bush who supported “comprehensive reform,” “a path to legalization,” and “earned citizenship” for the frequently cited figure of 12 million undocumented immigrants. On the other side were the “conservatives” who were determined to “derail” what they characterized as “an offer of amnesty for illegal immigrants.”

Between May 17 and June 23, 2006 our scan picked up seven news articles about the Senate debate. These relatively brief articles (840 words on average) do not mention the mass protests and give little space to policy experts or to advocates and activists on either the pro- or anti-immigrant side. “Earned citizenship” was defined vaguely in only one article: “citizenship privileges for illegal workers who pay fines, learn English and meet other requirements.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 5/17/06) None of them provide a historical context for the conflict or go into any depth concerning the policy choices at stake. Instead the reporters train their spotlight almost exclusively on the principal actors in the unfolding political drama.

In this drama, the Democrats and moderate Republicans who support “comprehensive reform” come across as ambivalent and cautious, while the conservative opponents come across as decisive and unyielding, even when they are in the minority.

Over the course of the debate, as reported in these articles, the initiative clearly passes from the pro's to the anti's.

a) Pro-reform quotes:

- “*There is concern. People are worried about things,*” said Sen. Mel Martinez (R-Fla.), who helped cobble together the bipartisan coalition behind the Senate bill. “But overall, things are holding together.” (*The Washington Post*, 5/18/06).
- “I’m *not willing to prejudge* the final product because of some provisions I don’t like,” said Sen. Robert Menendez (D-NJ). “At the end of the day, the question will be ‘Will there be a pathway to earned citizenship?’” (*The Washington Post*, 5/18/06).
- “Sen. Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, the second-ranking Democrat in the Senate, told ‘Fox News Sunday’ that he was ‘troubled’ by Sensenbrenner’s insistence that immigration legislation not include a path to citizenship. But Durbin, who will be one of the negotiators trying to forge a House-Senate compromise, *would not say* whether Democrats would walk away from legislation without such a provision.” (*The L.A. Times*, 5/29/06)

b) Anti-reform quotes:

- “Still, opponents of the Senate bill planned to keep offering amendments to water down the temporary worker and legalization provisions. ‘*We have only begun to fight,*’ said Cornyn, who supports a limited temporary visa program but considers the pending Senate bill an offer of amnesty for illegal immigrants.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 5/17/06)
- “House Judiciary Committee Chairman F. James Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.) *flatly said “no”* when asked on NBC’s ‘Meet the Press’ whether he would accept legislation that provided such a path to citizenship. ‘*Amnesty is wrong, and we should not pass it.*’” (*The L.A. Times*, 5/29/06)

c) Advocates:

Advocates were quoted in only one of the articles, and the quotes did not have a common theme. Instead, they communicated four disconnected voices motivated by their own single “interests.” At the end of a page-one *Washington Post* article about the Senate’s approval of two anti-immigrant amendments, the reporter wrote:

“Yesterday’s action amplified the grumbling of interest groups including political asylum advocates, gay rights organizations and the American Civil Liberties Union, all of which believe aspects of the bill forsake their causes. The director of the asylum program at Human Rights First said provisions designed to expedite the removal of illegal immigrants would hit political asylum seekers hard. The Center for

Human Rights and Constitutional Law in Los Angeles has released a compendium of criticisms: A provision that blocks legalization for future undocumented workers using false names and security cards would keep millions of future immigrants in the shadows; the three-tiered treatment of undocumented workers would rip families apart; and the judicial-review provisions would block access to the court system. The gay rights group Human Rights Campaign said the bill ‘fails to address the second-class nature of same-sex relationships.’ The ACLU has come out strongly against an employment verification system that would require all Americans—native-born and immigrant—to submit their names to two huge federal databases to verify their legal status before taking any new job. ‘It’s amazing that the provision of the bill that will touch every single American and will have more impact on their lives than anything else has received no attention,’ said the ACLU’s legislative counsel.”

- **Opinion (6)**

With one exception (“For Starters, build a wall,” by Jonah Goldberg, editor at large of National Review Online, *USA Today*, 5/25/06) the opinion pieces were what can be described as pro-reform and pro-integration, *not* anti-immigrant:

- In the immediate aftermath of the May 1, 2006 protests *The Baltimore Sun* editorialized in favor of “comprehensive immigration reform:” “Congress must act, and soon.” Observing the “strong public opinion on both sides of this issue,” the editorial urged Congress to “reach for the middle ground and come up with legislation that balances the needs of the U.S. economy...against national security...” The piece ended with an integration message:

“Like it or not, the 11 million immigrants living here are *part of American society*. Many are members of blended-status families – some legal, some not – and essential to certain sectors of the U.S. labor force. They own homes, pay taxes and have American-born children. They are not going to leave on their own and it would be impractical and prohibitively expensive to deport them. As the recent protest rallies illustrate, they are no longer willing to live quietly in the shadows of mainstream America, nor should they.” (*The Baltimore Sun*, 5/3/06)

- In an op-ed in *The New York Times*, David M. Sperling, identified as “an immigration lawyer,” wrote:

“As the national debate over illegal immigration reaches a fever pitch, it may come as a surprise to learn that legalization of undocumented immigrants from Latin America has been under way on Long Island for more than 15 years. Special immigration programs started in 1991 have provided work permits and green cards to tens of thousands of Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Hondurans on Long Island. *Their integration into the region’s economy* provides a glimpse of how legalization could transform the nation...When immigrants attain legal status everything changes. Emerging from the shadowy underworld of the estimated 125,000 illegal immigrants on Long

Island, legal immigrants have *become an integral part* of the region's economy." ("Legalize or Bust," *The New York Times*, 5/7/06)

- Cragg Hines, the Washington-based columnist for the *Houston Chronicle*, opined:

"Late last year, in a pre-Christmas fit to play Scrooge, the House passed a mean-spirited measure to make all illegal immigrants felons and to leave open the possibility that anyone who aided illegals--priests, doctors, maybe even check-out clerks--could face prosecution. And, oh, by the way, the House, wistfully recalling the Berlin Wall, wanted to throw up 700 more miles of fence along the U.S.-Mexican border. The Senate countered this week with 300 miles of fencing and 500 miles of vehicular barriers. That should be as galling to U.S. citizens as it will be to Mexico." ("Look what happens when Senate really works as issue," *Houston Chronicle*, 5/21/06)

- In an op-ed in *The Washington Post*, two economists from the Mercatus Center at George Mason University wrote:

"Beneath the surface of the immigration debate is a debate about shared *values*. If we look at just three of those values—the English language, family and hard work—we see a higher level of Latino assimilation than is often presumed. Despite claims to the contrary, census data show that most Latino immigrants learn and speak English quite well...For all the rhetoric on both sides, the evidence deserves a closer look. *Latino immigrants, like generations of immigrants before, are entering the mainstream of life in the United States*. Ours is the best country in the world at assimilating immigrants. This should be a badge of honor, and one that we wear proudly." ("Blending In, Moving Up," by Tyler Cowen and Daniel M. Rothschild, *Washington Post*, 6/12/06)

PROTEST (7)

Half of this batch of articles covered the 2006 May Day demonstrations, rallies and work stoppages. Their leads emphasized the size of the turnout and breadth of the movement:

- "Joining more than a million immigration-rights marchers in cities around the state and across the country, an estimated 100,000 predominantly Mexican-American demonstrators on Monday turned a wide swath of San Jose into raucous street theater, stepping forward to be recognized by America and insisting they be treated with respect." (*San Jose Mercury News*, 5/2/06)
- "Thousands of pro-immigrant protesters thronged Santa Ana on Monday, surging around the downtown Civic Center while a handful of counterprotesters stood on a corner shouting defiance." (*L.A. Times*, 5/2/06)

- “If congressional lawmakers needed any more proof of the urgent need for comprehensive immigration reform, they got it Monday when hundreds of thousands of immigrants around the country, many of them here illegally, ditched work and took to the streets to press for liberalized immigration laws.” (*Baltimore Sun*, 5/3/06)

All the news reports included quotes from participants in which the American dream and seeking “opportunity” and “a better life” were central themes:

- “When I became legal, everything changed. I was able to build my credit, start my company. A lot of people are in the shadows, but they need the light to make the business and *make the dream come true*.” (“Successful businessman, legal resident, husband and father of four children, all U.S. citizens,” *Baltimore Sun*)
- “Gauman, a housekeeper at a downtown hotel, who arrived in the U.S. illegally from Ecuador, said her dream of immigration reform centers on her 4-year-old daughter, a U.S. citizen by birth. ‘We want her to have what we never had. We want her to have a better education. We want her to do *something successful with her life*.’” (*Baltimore Sun*)
- “‘I’m here today because I want a green card,’ said Jessie E., a construction worker who lives in Union City with his wife and daughter. ‘I pay taxes, rent, bills. *I need opportunity for my life*.’” (*San Jose Mercury News*)
- “So I was glad, finally, to see a T-shirt that summed up the point of the rally: It was a hand-lettered shirt and it was on a girl maybe 13 years old who was standing with her family to the right of the stage as the speakers began. The shirt said, “*Don’t take my dreams away*.” (Commentary in *Chicago Tribune*)

The other half of this batch reported on the organizations and organizers behind the mass demonstrations and emphasized their goal of increasing political participation:

- “A day after bringing hundreds of thousands of marchers to Grant Park...organizers of Monday’s immigrants’ rights rally say the toughest challenges lie ahead...Juan Salgado, president of the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, said march organizers plan further promotions of voter registration and U.S. citizenship to increase political participation.” (“Marchers Plan Their Next Steps,” *Chicago Tribune*, 5/3/06)
- “Aiming to transform street passions into political power, organizers of recent immigrant rights marches Tuesday announced a national campaign to produce 1 million new citizens and voters by the November mid-term elections...In Los Angeles on that day, churches, union offices and community centers will be transformed into ‘immigrant justice action centers’ to pass out citizenship applications, register voters and offer phones for voters to call their elected representatives. Voter registration stations would also be set up on the streets,

organizers said.” (“Immigrant Advocates Turn Focus to Ballot Box,” *L.A. Times*, 5/10/06)

IMMIGRATION AND THE ECONOMY (3)

These articles emphasized the need for immigrant labor in specific industries, and the prevalence of undocumented workers in the U.S. workforce:

- One article focused on the need for immigrant labor in the restaurant and food service industries and quoted a National Restaurant Association spokesperson: “We already have a tight labor market that’s going to get tighter. What we *need* is an immigration system that recognizes that and meets that *need* into the future. Over the next 10 years, we are not going to be able to find the *necessary employees we need* for our industry from the existing labor pool.” (“Employers watch immigration debate: Some say temporary-worker program is not enough,” *Baltimore Sun*, 5/18/06)
- A short piece in the business section of the *Houston Chronicle* described the difficulties one employer had finding workers: “Cyndi Smallwood is looking for a few strong workers for her landscaping company. People with no fear of a hot sun who can shovel dirt all day long. She’ll pay as much as \$34 an hour. *She says she can’t find them.*” (*Houston Chronicle*, 5/27/06)
- An article about a *Boston Globe* analysis of recent public works programs (dormitory construction; jail construction) revealing “that of 242 workers on weekly payroll lists, more than a third appeared to lack legitimate Social Security numbers....The findings, though a small snapshot of the vast number of public projects undertaken throughout the state, suggest how *the use of undocumented workers has extended into almost every corner of the economy.*” (“Fake IDs are Rife at State Job Sites,” *Boston Globe*, 6/18/06).

ENFORCEMENT (3)

These articles cast a negative light on federal enforcement efforts either because they were ineffective, or because they had negative unintended consequences.

- A story in the business section about how recent federal sweeps impacted small immigrant-owned businesses that cater to immigrants: “Carlos Gonzalez said his sales are half of what they should be during the peak season...Across Houston, some small businesses that cater to the Hispanic immigrant community are *reporting a sales slump* that began last month after federal agents swept through pallet company IFCO Systems, detaining undocumented immigrants.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 5/24/06)
- “The Border Patrol doubled in size from 1995 and 2005, reaching 11,500 agents, but many experts and critics agree that *the buildup hasn’t done much*

good...Massey [a Princeton sociologist] said Border Patrol buildups gum up a cyclical migration among mostly Mexican men who usually stay a year or two and then return home. The buildups make them stay in the U.S. for fear they won't be able to return, and then have their families smuggled in to join them, he said." (AP, 5/29/06)

- A story about the ineffectiveness of clamping down on false identification documents: "Immigration officials said the fake document business has become *increasingly difficult to stop.*" (AP, 6/02/06)

ANTI-IMMIGRANT LOCAL LAWS AND ACTIVISTS (2)

Coverage of the activities of anti-immigrant groups was eclipsed by coverage of immigrants' rights protests and activities. Our scan picked up only one article focusing on the activities of an anti-immigrant organization (although quotes from spokespeople were sprinkled throughout coverage of the Senate debate) and only one article about a proposed anti-immigrant local law. Both articles drew attention to surrounding controversy:

- A 247-word article about the Minuteman Project's cross-country tour which "launched a caravan to the nation's capital from a heavily black neighborhood [in L.A.] where many residents shouted at the civilian patrol group to go home." Further, "the event provoked *screaming matches* about whether illegal immigrants were taking jobs from blacks or should be embraced as fellow minorities seeking a better life." (*Houston Chronicle*, 5/4/06)
- "A proposed regulation on hiring day laborers attracted about 100 people to the City Council meeting last night, with *speakers weighing in passionately* on both sides of the issue." (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, re Vista, CA, 6/14/06)

INTEGRATION (1)

We picked up only one article about immigrant integration having to do with access to emergency services, and its tone was decidedly positive:

- A story about how an Atlanta suburb is coping with foreign-language calls to 911: "The distraught caller didn't speak English, so Gwinnett 911 operator Michelle Harrington made an emergency call of her own. She clicked the 'Language Center' link on her computer and, within a few second, had an interpreter on the line. In a flurry of Spanish, the interpreter deciphered the problem: The caller's boyfriend had attacked her...The Monterrey, Calif.-based service offers interpreters around the clock in 156 different languages...Gwinnett operators use the service nearly 40 times a day on average." (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 5/15/06)

October-December 2006

HUMAN INTEREST (10)

Human interest stories were fairly numerous and were generally sympathetic. They tended to emphasize an integration theme. One article was a community-builder story about how immigrants brought life back to a dying city (Utica, New York). Examples:

- An in-depth 2,000-word story about two (legal) Dominican immigrants from New York City who worked on clean-up crews at Ground Zero and who are now suffering from severe health problems. The piece notes that, “The cleaners, mostly Polish and Latino immigrants, were already living close to the edge when the job began; by the following year, many were in crisis because of lost wages and poor health.” (“Lost in the Dust of 9/11,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10/14/06)
- A 1,500-word story titled, “Where Young Refugees Find a Place to Fit In,” about teenage refugees from Somali and Myanmar who are now star soccer players in a travel team based in Utica, New York. The article goes on to describe the role refugees have played in turning Utica around:

“In Utica, a robust influx of refugees over the last 15 years kept the housing and job markets afloat during tough economic times... ‘We were hemorrhaging,’ the city’s mayor, Timothy Julian, said in an interview. ‘Then the refugees started coming here and we got this new burst of life. In many ways, we owe our survival to the refugees.’” (*New York Times*, 10/21/06)

- A 500-word story about immigrants experiencing their first Christmas in America: “‘That America can have such a big Christmas shows what a great country it is,’ said Mamie Moore, a Liberian civil war refugee who came to Glen Ellyn in July with her 9-year-old son, Beyo. That’s not an uncommon reaction to an immigrant’s first taste of Christmas American-style, especially for people who come from non-Christian countries, said Annie Laven, director of refugee services for Catholic Charities’ DuPage County office.” (“First Christmas an eye-opener for immigrants,” *Chicago Tribune*, 12/22/06)

IMMIGRATION AND THE ECONOMY (7)

With the congressional debate on the back burner, stories about immigrants and the U.S. economy rose to the top. These articles, which do not distinguish between “legal” and “illegal” immigrants, emphasized the degree to which immigrants are integral to the economy, both in terms of their labor and skills, and their buying power.

- “There are *real labor shortages* in the fields and orchards of California. According to some grower organizations, California is *suffering from a deficit* of between 50,000 and 70,000 workers...” (Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10/5/06).

- “Latino households in San Diego County joined the ranks of homeowners in huge numbers during the first half of the decade... ‘The desire of Latinos to own homes has been there for many years, but the real estate industry is now recognizing that *a large majority of buyers is going to come from the Latino market.*” (Quote from founder of the National Assn. of Hispanic Real Estate Professionals, *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 10/8/06)
- “Venture capitalists hoping to strike it rich are increasingly betting on the entrepreneurial skills of U.S. immigrants—a melting pot that has already cooked up more than \$500 billion in shareholder wealth. *Immigrants launched nearly one in every five U.S. startups that relied on venture capital...during a 35-year period ending in 2005.*” (*Houston Chronicle*, 11/15/06)
- “The state, which *depends heavily on immigrant labor*, could see a nearly 23 percent jump in restaurant jobs in the next 10 years...census figures show that the number of young adults in the U.S.—a mainstay of the industry’s labor pool—is not growing fast enough to fill the jobs the industry anticipates it will have. So restaurateurs *look to immigration to fill the gap.*” (*Dallas Morning News*, 12/12/06)
- “It’s profitable to market high-profile mainstream toys to this [the Hispanic] community. In 2007, *Hispanics are expected to surpass African-Americans* as the minority group *with the most spending power.*” (*Newsday* 12/12/06)

ANTI-IMMIGRANT LOCAL LAWS AND ACTIVISTS (4)

This batch of articles emphasized the controversy surrounding local attempts to clamp down on undocumented immigrants:

- “The national immigration debate *rocked Escondido* on Wednesday night when the City Council passed a *highly divisive ordinance* that would prohibit landlords from renting to illegal immigrants.” (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, re Escondido, CA, 10/8/06)
- “The Manassas City Council requested [state] legislation that would strengthen the city’s ability to enforce single-family zoning districts....Byrne’s bill met *fierce opposition* from minorities, who said the measure would give the localities the right to discriminate.” (*The Washington Post*, re Manassas, VA, 12/7/06)
- “In a move bound to *spark controversy*, city officials in a south Orange County community have agreed to let property owners pay a security guard to patrol for day laborers who gather at the edge of a strip mall looking for work...A similar effort in Phoenix was *discontinued this month after protests.*” (*Los Angeles Times*, re Lake Forest, CA, 12/9/06)

ENFORCEMENT (2)

The 700-mile fence mandated by Congress earlier in the year was the subject of two articles:

- A news story filed in Calexico, CA reports on opposition to the fence “by an array of land managers, businesspeople, law enforcement officials, environmentalists and U.S. Border Patrol agents.” The article raises a range of questions about the wisdom of a fence, including cost overruns, the existence of more sophisticated and cheaper technology, the ecological effects on pronghorn sheep and jaguars. The last word in this 1,400 word article went to Tomas Herrera, the Maverick County (TX) sheriff, who was skeptical:

“‘A few years ago, they installed cameras and said the cameras would solve things,’ he said. ‘Those cameras can pick up a tick on a cow’s back. But when half the monitors are all busted like they are now, they don’t work.’ His prediction for how illegal immigrants would deal with the wall: ‘They will get ladders made out of mesquite and climb it.’” (“Fence Meets Wall of Skepticism,” *Washington Post*, 10/10/06)

- An editorial from *The San Diego Union-Tribune* expressing opposition to the fence:

“With apologies to Robert Frost, good fences may indeed make good neighbors. But they make bad public policy. Which is not to say that it cannot be politically advantageous for members of Congress to have their photos taken huddling around the president as he signs a bill providing for 700 miles of fencing on the U.S.-Mexico border. No doubt, these kinds of stunts can pay dividends at election time. But what they don’t represent—in any way, shape or form—is a solution to the country’s immigration crisis.” (“A step backward; Fences won’t halt illegal immigration,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 10/28/06)

SENATE DEBATE (2)

Two post-midterm election editorials, one from the *Miami Herald* and one from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, urged the new Democratic-controlled Congress to move forward on “comprehensive immigration reform.”

CRIME (2)

Two stories appeared a week apart in the *Houston Chronicle*:

- A 1,000-word plus article about the impact of illegal immigrant crime on Harris Co. (Houston): “The slaying of Houston police officer by Rodney Johnson by a Mexican national who returned here after being deported has cast another uncomfortable spotlight on the estimated 400,000 illegal immigrants living in the

Greater Houston metropolitan area....Still, academics who have studied the immigrant population for years caution against making sweeping judgments of a vast population segment they say is unfairly suffering public wrath for the actions of a few.” (“Getting a handle on illegal immigrant crime difficult; Numbers are sketchy, but some experts agree group adds strain.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 10/8/06)

- A 1,000-word plus article about an undocumented Mexican immigrant who murdered an ordained minister in Houston (also an immigrant): “Huang’s death shows how repeat criminals like Andrade evade deportation through loopholes in federal immigration law. This article quotes both NumbersUSA and the Migration Policy Institute:

“‘The bottom line is that people end up back on the street,’ said Rosemary Jenks, director of NumbersUSA, a Washington, D.C.-based group seeking to reduce illegal immigration. ‘And, there are few consequences.’”

“‘The vast majority (of illegal immigrants) obey the law,’ said Kathleen Newland, director of the Migration Policy Institute.’ They have an incentive to stay out of trouble because they are at risk of deportation if convicted of a felony.’” (*Houston Chronicle*, 10/13/06)

April-June 2007

SENATE DEBATE (30)

- **News reports (22)**

News coverage of the immigration issue during this period was intense and was dominated by the protracted Senate debate over “the grand bargain”—a compromise bill drafted by a small bipartisan group of Senators which combined tighter border security with a (long and arduous) path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. News headlines chronicled the grand bargain’s death by amendment as each attempt to build consensus was thwarted by the increasingly vocal and aggressive conservative opposition:

- “Senate Set to Slug It Out Over Immigration Bill” (*Wall St. Journal*, 6/2/07)
- “Immigration bill stalls Bush; Suffers big blow as Senate unable to cut off debate,” (*Sacramento Bee*, 6/8/07)
- “Immigration Overhaul Bill Stalls in Senate; Bipartisan Compromise Collapses,” (*Washington Post*, 6/8/07)
- “Deadlock in the Senate; Immigration Bill Fails Crucial Vote,” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/8/07)
- “Immigrant bill killed in divided Senate,” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/8/07)
- “Kennedy Plea was Last Gasp for Immigration Bill” (*New York Times*, 6/9/07)

...only to be revived in mid-June when the White House entered the fray promoting the bill as an “anti-terrorism measure”:

- “Immigration Bill has New Life in Senate; Parties Compromise on Amendments,” (*Washington Post*, 6/15/07)
- “Immigration bill passes key test in Senate, but hurdles remain,” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/27/07)
- “Immigration Measure Appeals Imperiled Again; Defeat of Amendments Briefly Raised Hopes,” (*The Washington Post*, 6/28.07)

...until it finally and definitively expired:

- “Immigration Bill Dies in Senate; Bipartisan Compromise Fails to Satisfy the Right or the Left,” (*Washington Post*, 6/29/07)

As in the 2006 debate, the principal actors in this drama were the lawmakers and the “grand bargain” itself which was repeatedly portrayed as “fragile” and “fraying.” Most of the articles were under 1,000 words in length and focused on the procedural maneuvers of Senators on both sides of the debate, either to bury the bill or keep it alive. A total of thirty-two different senators were quoted or paraphrased in this batch of articles, some on multiple occasions, with Senators Cornyn, Kennedy, Menendez, Kyl and Graham receiving the most ink.

Immigrant rights advocates were quoted in 10 out of the 22 articles, far more often than their anti-immigrant advocate counterparts. In fact prominent national spokespeople like Steve Camerota and Mark Krikorian were not quoted in any of the articles covering the debate itself. The quotes from immigrant rights advocates tended to be sideline comments about the “main action” in the Senate:

- “They’ll wait 10 to 15 years until we have another 12 million undocumented workers. Then they’ll complain like heck.” (*Washington Post*, 6/7/07)
- “We fear the result was a matter of politicians – particularly Republicans – not wanting to confront obstinate members of their own parties in order to let the majority’s will, and the people’s will, prevail,” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/8/07)
- And in fact his [Sen. Cornyn’s] actions all perpetuate a broken system. So if he is for comprehensive immigration reform. I wish he would get busy.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/9/07)

During the first weeks of June, immigrant rights organizations, sometimes referred to by the misnomer “pro-immigration groups,”² were portrayed as influential, united and supported by a nationwide grassroots movement:

² Repeatedly by The Washington Post’s Jonathan Weisman.

- “In 23 states, the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform, an alliance of immigrant-advocacy, religious and labor groups, ran ads, sent postcards and held rallies supporting action.” (*Wall St. Journal*, 6/2/07)
- “As officials in Washington discussed ways to revive an immigration bill stalled in the Senate, immigrant advocates moved forward on Wednesday with a new round of lobbying that they hope will lead illegal immigrants out of the shadows.” (*New York Times*, 6/14/07)
- “Spanish-language radio personality Eddie ‘Piolin’ Sotelo delivered to the Senate yesterday more than 1 million letters from U.S. citizens and legal residents supporting the measure, and Roman Catholic leaders launched a push to revive the bill.” (*Washington Post*, 6/15/07)
- “In a change of tactics from last year’s historic nationwide Latino rallies, supporters are converging on Washington this week highlighting specific immigrant issues that have broad public appeal, staging everything from White House prayer breakfasts to children’s marches.” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/20/07)

But as the bill “tilted to the right,” news reports began to focus on emerging splits and divisions:

- “Unlike the largely cohesive front lined up against the Senate bill, there is some division among immigrant advocates about whether the legislation is worth fighting for.” (*New York Times*, 6/14/07)
- “The strange alliance of business, unions and ethnic groups supporting the effort is increasingly fractured...Divisions within business, labor and immigrant rights groups have only grown over the past weeks. This unstable alliance has provided the muscle for every major immigration reform of the last four decades, and this one is no different.” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/27/07)
- “Pro-immigrant and ethnic groups could not deliver a unified message of support for the bill. They were deeply divided.” (*New York Times*, 6/30/07)

If there were divisions within the anti-immigrant movement, they did not find their way into the news reports included in this scan:

- “Conservative opponents vowed yesterday that [a final bill] will never happen. Two conservative pressure groups unveiled television and radio advertisements aimed at peeling Republicans from the coalition.” (*Washington Post*, 6/7/07)

- “Opponents have taken to calling the Senate bill ‘shamnesty’ or, in South Carolina, home to a key Republican supporter, Sen. Lindsey Graham, ‘Grahamnesty.’ They are continuing to hammer Republicans who support the Senate compromise. The group Grassfire.org is running a new ads...” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/20/07)
- “Conservative anger at the Senate immigration bill is at such a pitch that even Republican lawmakers re feeling the heat. Groups like NumbersUSA have been channeling that grass-roots fury and, in doing so, have leaped in size and are playing a larger role than ever before.” (*L.A. Times*, 6/24/07)
- “Some conservative groups have mounted an all-out attack on the legislation, which they view as nothing more than ‘amnesty’ that will spur more illegal immigration.” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/27/07).
- **Opinion (8)**

In May and June of 2007, our scan picked up eight opinion pieces focusing on the Senate debate, and all of them favored “comprehensive reform” and/or opposed anti-immigrant amendments. For example:

 - “The proposed reform would offer temporary legal status to the 12 million immigrants now here illegally. That’s essential. Critics call it amnesty, a free pass for lawbreakers. It isn’t. There’s no practical way to lock up or deport that many people. Legalization is the only viable option for changing the status quo. The long road offered to permanent residency and citizenship is itself a penalty for entering the U.S. illegally.” (*Baltimore Sun* editorial, 5/27/07)
 - “The problems with this [a guest-worker program] are moral and practical. Guest workers are a bad idea. Workers should not be treated as if they were factors of production such as steel or plastic. They are human beings. The best way to guarantee the rights and wages of all Americans is to give every immigrant the opportunity to become a citizen, with all the rights and duties that entails.” (E.J. Dionne, Jr., *The Washington Post*, 5/29/07)
 - “U.S. senators utterly disgraced themselves Thursday night when they failed to pass a crucial immigration reform bill—or even agree on a timetable for bringing the legislation to a vote. If they have any hope of redeeming themselves, senators must get back to work next week and send a comprehensive immigration bill to the House. Lawmakers get paid to solve national problems, not duck them.” (*San Jose Mercury News* editorial, 6/10/07)

- “It’s that crucial turn—from analysis to action—that Congress failed to make, as its bloated bill toppled into a ditch like a fat S.U.V. on a curve. At some point it will have to revisit the issue. Its solutions will have to correspond with the complex realities of global economic change, of a workforce that needs immigrants, of immigrants who need and deserve a clear, sure path to citizenship and of a nation that needs to be true to its laws and to its decent, welcoming self.” (*New York Times* editorial, 6/30/07)

PROTESTS (9)

In a reprise of the coverage from a year earlier, these articles covered protests, rallies, and the California-to-Washington, D.C. Dreams Across America caravan. The headlines portray an active and unified movement with a presence at both the national and local levels:

- “Rally Draws Thousands of Immigrants to Capitol; As Senate Debates Complex Bill, Some Cite Simple Rights” (*The Washington Post*, 6/3/07)
- “Putting Faith in Search for Rights; Clergy, Worshipers Join to Demand Immigration Changes:” (*Chicago Tribune*, 6/11/07)
- “Bay Area Group Aims to Restart Immigration Reform” (*San Jose Mercury News*, 6/12/07)
- “With Immigration Bill Stalled, Advocates Push Forward” (*The New York Times*, 6/14/07)
- “Immigrant Lobbyists Take the Train; Revival of Bill Draws Multinational Advocates to Capital” (*The Washington Post*, 6/19/07)

Quotes from participants echoed the themes of opportunity and a better life:

- “We want people to know we did not come here to steal jobs from Americans. We came to work hard and *make a life for our children*,” said Jose Rosa, 37, a father of six from El Salvador who waits tables at a Fairfax restaurant.” (*The Washington Post*)
- ““We are not asking for any amnesty. We are asking for a chance to come out of the shadows and show we are good people. We want to work honorably, live peacefully and *become integrated into this country*,” said Roberto, 28, a father of two from Guatemala. Both children had red, white and blue flags painted on their faces.” (*The Washington Post*)
- ““Immigrants are like anyone else—we *have dreams*, we have aspirations,” said Salvador Bustamante, who is going on the trip [Dreams Across America]. “We’re all *seeking a way to improve the lives of our families*.”” (*San Jose Mercury News*)

- “‘We are not criminals or bad people,’ said Liliana. We just want to work here and *provide for our children.*” (*The New York Times*)

IMMIGRATION AND THE ECONOMY (10)

Most of these articles highlighted the growing need for immigrants, both skilled and unskilled, in certain sectors of the U.S. economy:

- “Business owners are *screaming for workers.*” (Quote from member of Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce, *L.A. Times*, 4/9/07)
- “Those industries *badly need* immigrant labor, far in excess of government quotas for legal immigrants. ‘*We need a million-plus workers* added to our work force over the next five or six years.’” (Quote from Construction Industries Institute spokesperson, *The New York Times*, 6/3/07)
- “California faces a *shortage of college-educated workers* that could slow its economic growth, says a research institute that highlights two possible fixes—encouraging more residents to finish college while letting employers import more brainpower from abroad.” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5/24/07)
- “The H-1B visa, for ‘specialty occupation workers’ in high-tech fields such as medicine, computers and engineering, is capped at 65,000 a year. Many of those industries face a *shortage* of skilled American labor...The tens of thousands of H-1B rejects will constitute some of the world’s best and brightest, and America is foolish to block them from the U.S. economy...(Editorial, *The Washington Post*, 5/4/07)

Only two articles focused on the economic burden part of the equation, and in both instances the argument that providing government services to undocumented immigrants takes an unacceptable economic toll on the country was debunked:

- The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* ran an editorial in support of “comprehensive reform” (6/6/07) arguing that “it must squarely face the nation’s economic demand for foreign labor.” It went on to correct three “myths”, *e.g.*, “Myth: The cost of providing government services to illegal immigrants far outpaces what they may be paying in taxes. Reality: The cost of illegal immigrants on the American economy is probably small, most economists concur. It is certainly less than the contentious debate over their presence in the country indicates.”

- The *Sacramento Bee* carried a front page story (6/18/07) entitled, “Immigrant cost studies fan debate” about a Heritage Foundation study that claimed the taxpayer cost of “amnesty” for 12 million illegal immigrants could be as high as \$2.6 trillion by the time they reach their 80’s. Noting that the Heritage study quickly began to “ricochet among conservative talk radio, TV shows and on the Internet,” the article goes on to question the validity of the claim, quoting rebuttals from other studies and experts: “‘Those numbers are way out of whack,’ said Daniel Griswold, Cato’s trade policy director. ‘The answer is not to limit the number of workers in our economy.’”

ANTI-IMMIGRANT LOCAL LAWS (2)

The scan picked up two articles several days apart in the *Dallas Morning News* about a lawsuit brought by MALDEF and the ACLU against a law banning undocumented immigrants from private apartment complexes. The second article announced that the federal judge had issued a temporary restraining order against the town and included a quote from the decision: “The court recognizes that illegal immigration is a major problem in this country, and one who asserts otherwise ignores reality. The court also fully understands the frustration of cities attempting to address a national problem that the federal government should handle; however, such frustration, no matter how great, cannot serve as a basis to pass an ordinance that conflicts with federal law.” (*Dallas Morning News*, 5/22/07)

INTEGRATION POLICIES (3)

These articles featured local efforts to integrate immigrants into the mainstream:

- English language classes: “In a city where about 80% of residents do not speak English at home, the Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce has initiated a \$4.5 million campaign to get 50,000 residents to learn the language over the next four years.” The article describes the city’s billboard advertising campaign to encourage residents to learn English and its promotion of free classes at a community college. The campaign brochure is described as “culturally sensitive” and the community college chancellor is quoted as saying the campaign hotline “‘is ringing off the hook.’” (*Los Angeles Times*, 4/9/07)
- Identification cards: “The Board of Aldermen [of New Haven, CT] on Monday night made municipal identification cards available to illegal immigrants, in what city officials said was the first such program in the nation. The measure was approved by a vote of 25 to 1....City officials and immigrant rights advocates said they hoped the cards would give immigrants better access to city services and help the police confirm their identities should they become targets of crime.” (*New York Times*, 6/5/07)

- “Fair and Equal County for Immigrants” resolution: The Cook County Board approved a nonbinding resolution prohibiting county workers from asking for immigration papers during traffic stops or reporting suspected illegal immigrants to federal authorities. (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 6/19/07)

IV. ANALYSIS

1. The Role of Talk Show Hosts

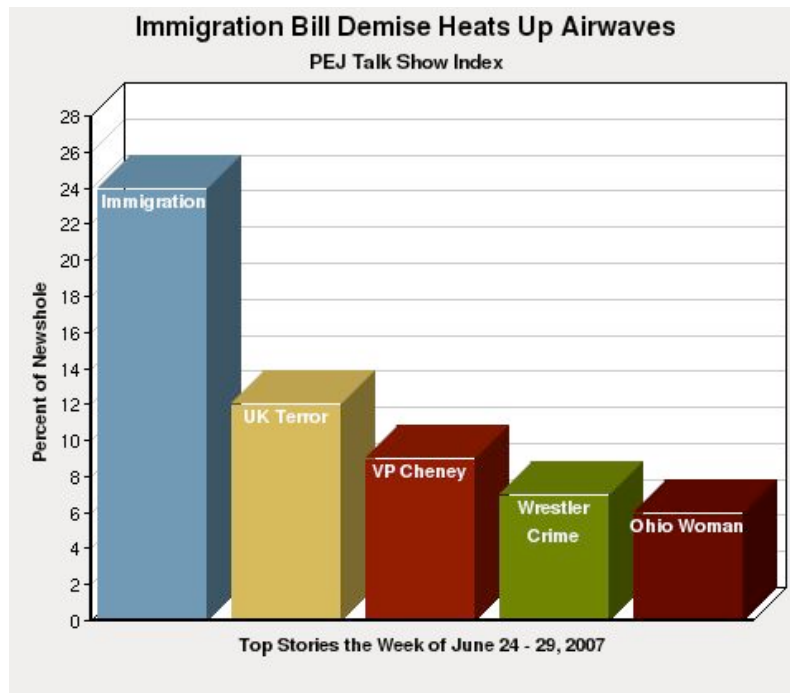
This media scan did not include radio and television. But no analysis can properly be made of the media’s coverage of the immigration debate over the past year without considering the role played by conservative talk show hosts. Some of them have taken credit for the demise of the compromise bill,³ and although there were clearly other factors involved, it must be said that talk shows played an important, and possibly pivotal, role.

The three biggest radio talk show personalities, Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity and Michael Savage, devoted an extraordinary amount of airtime to the immigration issue during May and June of 2007.⁴ CNN’s Lou Dobbs, who averages 1 million regular viewers⁵ spent more time on the bill than any other talk show host. According to the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism, during the week of June 24th 2007 the immigration bill occupied more talk show time by far than any other issue:

³ The day after the bill suffered a major defeat, radio host Roger Hedgecock, substituting for Rush Limbaugh, told his listeners that this was a case of “everyone on the talk show circuit talking about this issue in a way that has educated a larger percentage of Americans to what’s really at stake than the Senate is used to.”

⁴ Limbaugh and Hannity’s listenership is estimated at about 13 million each; Savage’s is estimated at 8 million. It’s estimated that about 20 percent of adult Americans are regular listeners of talk radio. Talkers magazine, “Top Talk Personalities,” Spring 2006, cited by Project for Excellence in Journalism, Pew Research Center for People and the Press

⁵ Ken Auletta, “Mad as Hell: Lou Dobbs’s populist crusade,” *The New Yorker*, 12/4/06.



While conservative talk show hosts hammered away with a coordinated message day after day, “there was hardly a peep from the liberal talk hosts including MSNBC’s Keith Olbermann, and talk radio’s Randi Rhodes and Ed Schultz.”⁶ The media frame for the 20 percent of adult Americans who are regular talk show listeners was therefore that they should be afraid, very afraid, because “illegal aliens” pose a threat to national security, to the U.S. economy, and to our very way of life. “Amnesty” for these “law-breakers” was out of the question. Immigrant rights advocates were also vilified. Dobbs, for example, called for “a crushing defeat for the pro-illegal alien lobby in its efforts to ram amnesty through the U.S. Senate in defiance of the will of the American people.”

2. The print media—a different frame

In our last media content and opinion analysis which looked at immigration coverage between July 2004 and January 2006, we concluded that the media frames were formed by two powerful narratives: (1) the immigrant striver; and (2) the immigrant “problem” (the “tidal wave” of poor, undocumented Mexican immigrants pouring over the border.) We posited that the dominant news environment was problematic for immigrant integration in several respects:

“The immigration ‘problem’ narrative reinforces fears about the breakdown of law and order, as well a competition for scarce jobs and social services. While the immigrant ‘striver’ narrative reinforces positive views about immigrants, it also suggests that ‘good’ immigrants can and should make it on their own, with

⁶ Mark Jurkowitz, “Did Talk Hosts Help Derail the Immigration Bill?”, PEJ Talk Show Index, June 3-8, 2007, www.journalism.org. In any event, liberal talk show hosts command a much smaller audience than their conservative counterparts.

little or no help from government or their native-born neighbors. This narrative may open minds toward positive immigration policies, but may simultaneously build opposition to services for immigrants...The most helpful narrative seems to be the ‘renewal’ narrative in which immigrants are shown to help energize declining urban centers, public schools, and economies.”

During the past year of intense policy debate and media coverage, the frames have evolved. In terms of both editorial policy and news reporting, the mainstream print media’s coverage illuminated the nation’s schizophrenic response to immigrants and immigration policy. The take away for the nation’s 55 million daily newspaper readers was the growing chasm between real life in 21st century America and the policy debate “on the Hill.” The mainstream media frames for immigrants and immigration are once again formed by two narratives:

1. **Integration is the reality:** Immigrants are here, they’re part of us, our economy would suffer without them, they go to school with our children, they’re learning English, border enforcement isn’t working, and anyway, bringing them “out of the shadows” would be good for national security. But...
2. **Congress is paralyzed** by partisanship and can’t get anything done.

The reality

Editorially, every newspaper picked up in our scan, including outlets in the border states of Texas and California, called for “comprehensive reform”—a euphemism for legalization—and criticized (and in some instances, excoriated) Congress for failing to act. The fact that pro-reform op-eds and columns grossly outnumbered anti-reform pieces was also indicative of an overall pro-reform editorial stance; we have to assume that many anti-reform, anti-immigrant op-eds were submitted, but the newspapers declined to publish as many of them.

The news reporting also underscored the “reality versus the Hill” theme. In this scan, many of the articles carried an immigrant integration frame:

- **The immigrant rights movement:**

The news coverage of the protests in both 2006 and 2007 was sympathetic. Unlike earlier coverage of pro-immigrants rights protests, there was no mention in any of the articles of protesters waving foreign flags, etc. As noted above, the quotes from protesters that were selected for publication used the language of inclusion: “We plan to stay. We are here to work hard and seek better opportunities for ourselves and our children.” The descriptions of the rallies and marches evoked images of other human rights demonstrators—quintessentially American images:

“Shortly after noon, about 30,000 marchers swelled San Francisco’s Market Street, filling it curb to curb...Many banged on drums and danced in the street, and a troupe of American Indian dancers in feather headdresses entertained the crowds.” (San Jose Mercury News, 5/2/06)

“Waving tiny American flags, a crowd of several thousand people—almost all of Central American or Mexican origin—rallied yesterday at the U.S. Capitol on a humid afternoon to call for immigration reform and demand a fair path to legalization for the country’s estimated 12 million illegal immigrants.” (Washington Post, 6/3/07)

- **Immigrants and the economy**

We found twenty stories about immigrants and the U.S. economy—far more than in our earlier scan (and second in frequency only to articles about the Congressional debate). They were also a different kind of story. In our last analysis, the business-oriented stories tended to focus on the individual immigrant striver who had succeeded against the odds in starting a successful business. This time, the stories emphasized the extent to which immigrant workers, both skilled and unskilled, were already integrated into the American workforce, and the need for a continuing influx of immigrants if the economy is to continue to grow. Many of the quotes came from industry spokespeople who were arguing for comprehensive reform, and while their motives arose from self-interest, their pro-reform, integrationist statements had credibility.

One of the human interest articles about teenage soccer players from Somalia was a very compelling story about immigrants’ contribution to economic renewal:

“Utica was once a bustling industrial hub, dotted by textile mills that hummed day and night and employed thousands of Irish, Italian, German and Lebanese immigrants...At its peak, in the 1950’s, the city had 125,000 residents, an Air Force base, and a collection of ornate buildings that belied its blue-collar roots. But as the textile industry crumbled and factory jobs migrated south, Utica lost half its population over 40 years, exhausted its finances, and stood perilously close to collapse. In recent years, though, an influx of refugees has helped stem the decline...’In many ways,’ Mayor Timothy Julian said, ‘we owe our survival to the refugees.’” (New York Times, 10/21/06)

- **Immigrant integration policies/programs**

Our scan picked up only four articles that were explicitly about integration programs or policies—three about government programs, and one about a program run by a Chamber of Commerce. Although few in number, the articles present the public with alternatives to the negativity of anti-immigrant local ordinances. An article about the Santa Ana, CA Chamber of Commerce’s campaign to enroll its huge Spanish-speaking population in English classes at a local community college is full of optimism:

“Many people were responding to the chamber’s appeal [to sign up for free English classes]. Eddie Hernandez, chancellor of the Rancho Santiago district, said a hotline highlighted in advertising ‘is ringing off the hook.’ The college district took more than 350 calls in the month since the campaign began, he said...Meanwhile the city of Santa Ana has applied for \$1 million in federal funds with the idea of using \$250,000 for English classes in its Federal Empowerment Zone, an impoverished area designated by the federal government for extra attention. Hernandez said that the city’s newest immigrants ‘need to learn English. The chamber has taken this to a different level by bringing in everyone to help.’”

- **Border enforcement and anti-immigrant local laws**

Even the articles about border enforcement and anti-immigrant local ordinances tended to support reform and integration. Virtually all of the border enforcement stories were about the futility of government efforts to “secure the borders,” whether through the construction of a fence, through more aggressive border patrols, or through workplace sweeps. Readers might well conclude that since exclusion doesn’t work, integration is the only realistic solution. The stories about local ordinances emphasized the negative passions and controversies such proposals stirred up in communities, and the successful lawsuits that have been brought against such measures. Readers might well conclude that repressive local laws are a bad idea and that “comprehensive reform” at the federal level is the way to go.

- **Caveat: Watch out for the crime link**

Although there were only two stories in this scan linking immigrants with crime, it is important to note that those kinds of stories cut against the integration frame, which is why anti-immigrant advocates are jumping on the issue (*e.g.*, Tom Tancredo’s trip to Newark, N.J. after the execution-style killing of three college students there).

Meanwhile, Up on the Hill

Paralysis in the Senate, despite the many months of debate, was the other principal narrative. Taken as a whole, the news stories about the convoluted Senate debate conveyed a drama of all-encompassing conflict in which individual senators played the major roles, and everyone else—Bush, administration officials, the advocates, policy experts—was a member of the supporting cast. An unusual number of senators had a piece of the action: In the batch of articles from June 2007, thirty-two different senators were either quoted or paraphrased, some on multiple occasions (the most ink went to Sens. Cornyn, Kennedy, Menendez, Kyl and Graham). The Grand Bargainers’ message was “the nation needs comprehensive immigration reform now.” The counter message carried by Cornyn and a few other conservative Republicans was: “No amnesty for lawbreakers.”

Reporters turned to immigrant rights advocates for comments on the unfolding drama in the Senate with some frequency. In order to understand the communications role advocates played during the Senate debate, we used new search terms for the June 2007 scan: “pro-immigrant” or “pro-immigration” or “immigrant rights” or “rights of immigrants.” Immigrant rights organizations were presented as players and were frequently mentioned in news reports of the Senate debate, particularly from June 7-9 when the compromise bill suffered its first demise. Advocates were quoted in ten out of the twenty-two news reports about the debate.

By and large, the advocates played the role of a Greek chorus. Most of their quotes were sideline comments about the “main action” in the Senate. For example:

- “They’ll wait 10 to 15 years until we have another 12 million undocumented workers. Then they’ll complain like heck. That’s why we’re trying to put out the word. The way this bill is currently configured, it’s not going to work...It just feels like we’ve been outmaneuvered here.” (*Washington Post*, 6/7/07)
- “We fear the result was a matter of politicians – particularly Republicans – not wanting to confront obstinate members of their own parties in order to let the majority’s will, and the people’s will, prevail,” (*Houston Chronicle*, 6/8/07)
- “Every single amendment they’ve faced are 30-second political ads waiting to be run in the next cycle. And they’ve had weeks of this stuff.” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6/8/07)
- “If this was the final bill, if this was going straight from the Senate floor to the Rose Garden signing ceremony, there would be full-throated opposition, but it’s not. We still have another chamber to go through.” (*Washington Post*, 6/26/07)

While it might have been unavoidable to comment on whatever the main action of the day was, whether it was the introduction of more “killer amendments” or the resuscitation of a seemingly doomed compromise bill, given the advocates’ access to reporters it would have been helpful if a more value-based, overarching integration message had made it through as well. Better coordination among the immigrant rights organizations on a unified message that stressed the reality and need for immigrant integration would have complimented and reinforced what the protesters in the streets were saying and might have steered reporters away from focusing on the growing differences among the organizations on the specifics of the compromise bill itself. To the extent possible, the image of a united front is always preferable to a splintered movement. Most importantly, such a message would have given the uncommitted public a clearer vision of what “comprehensive immigration reform” was really about. By tapping into the public’s pro-integration attitudes, more enthusiasm for a better bill might have been generated.

4. African Americans and immigrants

The mainstream print media showed little interest in the links between African Americans and immigrants. There were no articles in our scan that addressed the issue of competition between African Americans and immigrants for jobs (although there was one that quoted experts who rejected the possibility of competition between immigrants and “native born Americans”). Nor were there any articles discussing the potential for solidarity between the two demographic groups except for the brief *Houston Chronicle* piece about the hostile response of a “heavily black neighborhood” in LA to the Minuteman Project’s presence.

PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

I. MAJOR FINDINGS

- In our last public opinion analysis, completed in the spring of 2006, our major findings were: (1) The non-immigrant public had “mixed feelings” about immigrants; (2) anxiety tempered by familiarity led to contradictory attitudes on immigration policy issues; (3) immigration was not high up on the public’s list of concerns except in border states; and (4) there was some evidence of disquiet over the multicultural character of U.S. society. An analysis of polling done between March and August, 2007 shows that those findings are still valid.
- Mixed feelings persist. Those with generally favorable feelings towards immigrants still hold a 2 to 1 majority, but more negative feelings surface around specific applications.
- The belief that immigrants weaken the economy because they don’t pay taxes but use public services is still held by 70% of the non-immigrant public. A plurality of non-immigrant Americans spontaneously named “hurts American jobs” when asked what their biggest immigration concern was.
- The link between immigrants and crime has grown somewhat stronger as has the belief that “immigrants are making the social and moral values situation in the country worse.”
- Nevertheless, when presented with the stark choice between “a path to citizenship” and “deportation,” the public goes for the former by a 2 to 1 margin. Strong support for comprehensive reform that includes a path to citizenship crosses party, ethnic and demographic lines. A majority of voters do not see a reform that includes a path to citizenship as “amnesty.”
- A large majority (81%) agrees with the statement: “immigration is a critical problem that needs to be addressed this year,” but at the peak of the Senate debate only 15% named immigration as “the most important problem facing the country today.”

- The public is split 50-50 when asked whether they feel “the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values.” However, when asked in an open ended format what their main concern about immigration is, hurts American customs was named by only 10%.

II. ANALYSIS

Public opinion on a national policy issue like immigration does not generally shift markedly in the space of only one year, and in spite of the intensity of media coverage during the '06 and '07 Senate debates and the coverage of the mass immigrants' rights movement, that proved to be the case. This conclusion is based on our review of polling done during the period of March through July of 2007 (see Appendix II for list of polls).

1. Mixed feelings persist. Those with *generally* favorable feelings towards immigrants still hold a 2 to 1 majority, but more negative feelings surface around specific applications.

a. Is immigration is a good thing or a bad thing for this country today?

Gallup has been asking this question since 2001, and each time it has been asked, a substantial majority has responded that immigration is a **good thing** for the country. In June of 2006, a record 67% responded that it was a good thing. By June of 2007, good feelings had eroded somewhat:

	Good	Bad
June 2001	62%	31%
June 2002	52	42
June 2003	58	36
June 2005	61	34
June 2006	67	28
June 2007	60	33

The responses of blacks to this question continue to be slightly less favorable. In June 2007, 55% responded “good” and 36% “bad.” Hispanics responded 74% and 17%, respectively.

b. Would you say that, in general, immigration is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor bad thing?

When given a third choice (neither good nor bad), many move into the “neither” column, and both the “good” and the “bad” figures drop significantly. However, “good” continues to lead “bad” by about 2 to 1:

	Good	Bad	Neither
June 2007	45%	19%	33%

(NBC News/Wall St. Journal Poll)

c. Overall, would you say most recent immigrants to the U.S. contribute to this country, or do most of them cause problems?

The New York Times/CBS News poll has been asking this question intermittently since 1986. The results are noteworthy given that “recent immigrants” includes undocumented immigrants:

	Contribute	Cause problems	Both	DK
June 1986	34%	44%	7%	13%
June 1993	30	50	7	11
January 1994	29	53	8	8
December 2001	51	31	4	13
May 2007	57	28	6	8

d. Do you think illegal immigrants do more to strengthen the U.S. economy because they provide low-cost labor and they spend money, or do illegal immigrants do more to weaken the U.S. economy because they don’t all pay taxes but use public services?

The responses to this question have remained static over the past year and show that the belief that immigrants don’t pay taxes but help themselves to public services—a message that has been pushed by the anti-immigrant movement for many years—still holds sway with a majority of people.

	Strengthen	Weaken	Unsure
May 2006	22%	70%	7%
May 2007	23	70	8

(New York Times/CBS News Poll)

e. Do you think illegal immigrants coming to this country today take jobs away from American citizens, or do they mostly take jobs Americans don’t want?

Although there was a six-point shift in the past year in the direction of less fear, 1 in 3 non-immigrants do feel personally threatened in terms of immigrants and their own economic security. And among African Americans the fear is considerably greater: 1 in 2 feel that “immigrants are making the situation in the country worse” as far as “job opportunities for me or my family” are concerned. (Gallup)

	Take jobs Away	Take unwanted jobs	Both
May 2006	36%	53%	9%
May 2007	30	59	9

(New York Times/CBS News Poll)

The Pew Research Center got a similar response when it asked a nationwide sample what their biggest immigration concern was. Those who agreed that “immigration laws need to be changed this year or in the next few years” named “hurts American jobs” more than any other concern:

Hurts American jobs-34%

- Increases terrorism risk-20
- Contributes to crime-14
- Hurts American customs-10
- Other-15
- Don't know-7

(Pew, May-June 2007)

f. Are immigrants making the crime situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect?

The perceived link between immigrants and crime has grown stronger over time. This could be because the conservative “law breaker” language has had some effect, or because of several high profile media stories, or both.

	Better	Worse	No effect
June 2002	8%	50%	37%
June 2004	6	47	43
June 2007	4	58	34

(Gallup)

African Americans are more likely to respond that immigrants don't have much effect on the crime situation, with 3% responding “better,” 52% responding “worse,” and 40% responding “not much effect” in June 2007. Comparable figures for Hispanics are 11%, 41%, 41%.

g. Are immigrants making the social and moral values situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect?

In 2007, about 10% of the public switched from “no effect” to “worse” when it came to “social and moral values.” It is possible that this negative change reflects the increasing concern about crime.⁷

⁷ Gallup News Service's explanation for increased public concern about immigrants and crime, social and moral values, and the economy is rather vague: “There is little doubt that two factors are related to these more negative attitudes. First, there is the intense focus on immigration and its effects brought about by the debate on immigration reform legislation that was in full swing as these interviews were being conducted. Second, Americans are more negative in general these days than they have been—attitudes that, to a degree, affect many dimensions tested in polling questions.” Frank Newport, “Hispanics remain more positive than whites or blacks,” Gallup News Service, July 13, 2007.

	Better	Worse	No effect
June 2001	25%	26%	45%
June 2004	18	27	50
June 2007	19	37	41

Demographic differences: Overall, Hispanics are much more positive about the impact of immigrants than non-Hispanic whites or blacks. African Americans are more negative than whites about the impact of immigrants on the economy, but less negative than whites about the impact of immigrants on social and moral values or the crime situation. (Gallup)

2. Contradictory positions on policy issues

There were numerous polls taken during the months preceding the 2007 Senate debate, and in early May, the National Immigration Forum summarized the findings concerning responses to the dominant policy issue: legalization (integration) versus deportation (exclusion): “Despite all the millions of dollars spent trying to convince Americans that undocumented immigrants must be dealt with harshly, attitudes of the American people have not changed. Polls that have been released since November 2006 continue to show majority support for immigration solutions that include enhanced border security, workplace and employer enforcement, earned legalization for undocumented immigrants with a path to citizenship, and expanded visas for future immigrant workers and families.”⁸ When presented with the stark choice between “a path to citizenship” and “deportation,” the public goes for the former by a wide margin:⁹

a. “If you had to choose, what do you think should happen to most illegal immigrants who have lived and worked in the U.S. for at least two years—they should be given a chance to keep their jobs and eventually apply for legal status? They should be deported back to their native country?”

	Keep jobs	Deported	Unsure
May 2006	61%	35%	4%
May 2007	62	33	5

(New York Times/CBS News Poll)

This is the case in border states as well:

A March 2007 Field Poll of California voters showed that 83% favor the creation of a program that would allow undocumented immigrants “who have been living in the U.S. for a number of years an opportunity to stay in this country and apply for citizenship

⁸ “Polling Summary: Since 2006 Elections, Public Support High for Comprehensive Immigration Reform,” National Immigration Forum, May 2, 2007.

⁹ Even when the integration position is called “amnesty” a majority of 54% approves “if certain conditions are met” (background checks, pay fines, have jobs). Pew Research Center, May-June 2007).

if they have a job, learned English and paid back taxes.” A June 2007 poll of Texas voters by Baseline & Associates showed that 63% favor “creating a system that would provide illegal immigrants already in this country a chance to obtain legal status by registering with the government, paying a fine, passing a background check, and paying any back taxes owed.” This policy even found favor among Republicans (56% agreed).

But at the same time, the public takes a contradictory view when the question is posed as follows:

b. Should illegal immigrants be prosecuted and deported for being in the U.S. illegally, or shouldn't they?

	Should be Deported	Should not be deported	Unsure
May 2007	69%	24%	7%

(New York Times/CBS News Poll)

But an overwhelming majority thinks mass deportation is unrealistic and unachievable:

c. Regardless of how you feel about it personally, do you think that deporting all illegal immigrants who are currently in the U.S. back to their native countries is a realistic and achievable goal, or not?

	Is	Is not	Unsure
June 2007	13%	85%	2%

(NBC News/Wall St. Journal Poll)

Over the past year, support for comprehensive reform with a “path to earned legalization” has increased slightly:

d. Congress is considering several different proposals for immigration reform. If Congress was considering legislation which would do the following to create an earned legalization program:

- Provide resources to greatly increase border security;
- Impose much tougher penalties on employers who hire illegal workers;
- Allow additional foreign workers to come to the U.S. to work for a temporary period;
- Create a system in which illegal immigrants could come forward and register, pay a fine, and receive a temporary worker permit; and
- Provide these temporary workers with a multi-year path to earned citizenship if they get to the end of the line and meet certain requirements like living crime free, learning English, paying taxes,

Would you favor or oppose passage of this legislation?

Favor Oppose Unsure

July 2007	71%	23%	6%
April 2007	75	17	8

(National Survey on Immigration, The Tarrance Group)

Demographic differences: In April 2007, African Americans were slightly less in favor of the comprehensive reform proposal described above, with 70% in favor. Hispanics, like whites, were 74% in favor.

3. Importance of issue

In our last analysis, “the immigration problem” was not high on the public’s list of concerns, except in the border states. Today, the issue has moved up on the public’s agenda, although for the vast majority of Americans, it is not a top concern. (The minority who name it as their top concern are far more passionate about the issue, as the success of NumbersUSA and other anti-immigrant organizations in blocking comprehensive reform shows). When asked a direct question about its importance, a large majority agrees that it is “a critical problem”:

d. Immigration is a critical problem that needs to be addressed this year.

	Agree	Disagree
April 2007	81%	18%

(Tarrance Group and Lake Research Partners)

e. Compared to other problems facing the country, how big a problem is illegal immigration?

	One of the most important	Important	Not that important	Not at all
June 2006	32%	55%	10%	3%
June 2007	31	55	8	5

(Los Angeles Times/Bloomberg Poll)

In response to an open ended question, concern about immigration did increase during the period of intense debate, from a low of 6% in January 2007 to a high of 15% in June:

f. What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?

Top Mentioned "Most Important Problems" Facing the Country

Recent Trend

	Jun	May	Apr	Mar	Feb	Jan
	11-14,	10-13,	2-5,	11-14,	1-4,	15-18,
	2007	2007	2007	2007	2007	2007
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Situation in Iraq/war	34	33	33	35	38	36

Immigration/illegal aliens	15	11	9	8	5	6
Healthcare	9	8	10	8	8	8
Dissatisfaction with government	9	7	9	8	7	7
Fuel/Oil prices	7	7	5	3	3	1
Economy in general	6	6	8	7	7	4
Ethics/moral/religious decline	6	6	5	5	4	5
Education	5	3	5	4	3	6
Poverty/hunger/homelessness	5	6	4	5	3	5

(Gallup)¹⁰

By August 2007, the percentage of people who spontaneously offered immigration/illegal alien as the most important problem facing the country dropped a few points, to 12% (Gallup)¹¹ and it is likely that the percentage will continue its downward trend until immigration becomes front-page news again.

4. Disquiet over the multicultural character of U.S. society

The Pew Research Center has been probing this issue since 2002, and the overall percentages have not changed appreciably. When asked a direct question, half of public expresses concern. Note that the reported data was not broken down by race or ethnicity.

a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values.

	Agree	Disagree
2002	50%	50%
2003	46	54
2007	48	52

(Pew, Political Values Survey, March 2007)

However, in an open-ended question asked of those who believe immigration reform is needed about what their main concern is, “hurts American customs” was named by only 10%:

Hurts American jobs	34%
Increases terrorism risk	20
Contributes to crime	14
Hurts American customs	10
Other	15
Don't know	7

¹⁰ <http://www.galluppoll.com/content/?ci=27949>

¹¹ <http://www.galluppoll.com/content/?ci=1675>

(Pew, May-June 2007)

PROMOTING AN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION FRAME

Now is the time to prepare for the next national policy debate and the intensive media coverage the issue will generate. In addition, debate over local ordinances (both pro- and anti-immigrant) will continue. We recommend that immigrant advocates and their allies use this time to test, develop, and refine a proactive and coordinated communications strategy that takes full advantage of the media's current interest in immigrant integration.

In order to reach consensus about core messages and a coordinated media strategy, it may be necessary to convene one or more gatherings to discuss the underlying values that are shared by immigrant rights advocates and the issue of staff capacity. We recommend in addition, that immigration and refugee funders consider providing the resources to make such in depth discussions possible. The media placement of positive integration stories in both the print and electronic media should be a high priority, and funders should consider making resources available to adequately staff such an effort. Specifically, we recommend that the immigrant rights and integration field:

1. Develop a more unified messaging strategy based on the integration frame.

Editorially and in terms of news reporting, the mainstream print media frame is that integration is a reality. On a pragmatic and intuitive level, most Americans choose a policy of integration over exclusion. Messages should build on the strong resonance of the integration frame. Even when asked about a specific policy issue or detail, advocates should always include a strong integration message in their response linking values with reality on the ground. For example:

“We do/don't like policy X. Our immigration policies have to correspond with reality. Immigrants are, and always have been a part of our nation. Our workforce needs immigrants, and immigrants need a chance to come out of the shadows and be full members of American society. Giving them a sure path to earned citizenship is the best solution for the whole country.”

Understandably, arriving at a unified message is no simple task. Immigrant rights organizations are not in agreement on a number of fundamental policy issues. Some supported the “grand bargain” as a positive incremental step towards a better policy. Others opposed it. But without a unified message, the movement is at a big disadvantage when it comes to moving the national conversation in a more favorable direction. It is critical that a unified message be hammered out before the next Congressional debate.

2. Identify and pitch stories about successful integration experiences. These stories have traction, and local success stories should be pitched to regional and

national news outlets. They illustrate how communities and American society at large benefit from welcoming newcomers and challenge the negativity of the “immigrant problem” frame. They also steer readers away from the individual “immigrant striver” frame that tends to give credence to the idea that success depends on individual responsibility alone. The public needs to learn about as many positive examples of immigrant integration as possible. For example:

- Stories about immigrants lining up to take English classes.
- Stories about how immigrants have saved dying cities from economic bankruptcy.
- Stories about how immigrants strengthen the nation’s economy.
- Stories about the participation of tens of thousands of non-citizen immigrants serving in the U.S. armed forces.
- Stories about immigrants and African Americans working together to solve community problems.
- Stories about government agencies and civic organizations reaching out to immigrants in their communities to build ties, learn from each other, and address needs.

3. Promote the voices of pro-immigrant civic leaders. Local civic leaders (immigrant and non-immigrant) who have spearheaded integration programs or who have had positive experiences with immigrants are important voices to publicize. More quotes such as the one from the Mayor of Utica, New York—“In many ways we owe our survival to the refugees”—will go a long way towards strengthening the public’s pro-integration impulses. They underscore the idea that when the government meets its obligations by taking positive action, everyone benefits. These integration messengers should be identified and reporters should be steered in their direction. Assuming there is a critical mass of pro-integration civic leaders, an effort should be made to give them greater access to the media on a collective basis (*e.g.*, through the public release of a joint statement to Congress).

APPENDIX I

Media outlets included in scan

1. The New York Times
2. The Los Angeles Times
3. The Washington Post
4. The San Francisco Chronicle
5. The Boston Globe
6. The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

7. USA Today
8. Time
9. Newsweek
10. US News and World Report
11. The Associated Press Online
12. Houston Chronicle
13. Sacramento Bee
14. San Jose Mercury News
15. Miami Herald
16. Chicago Tribune
17. Chicago Sun-Times
18. Philadelphia Inquirer
19. Cleveland Plain Dealer
20. Dallas Morning News
21. San Diego Union Tribune
22. Baltimore Sun
23. Wall Street Journal
24. Newsday

APPENDIX II

Polls

Gallup Poll, March 2007

Gallup Poll, April 2007

The Field Poll, April 2007

Pew Research Center, April 2007, May-June 2007

The Tarrance Group and Lake Research Partners National Survey, April 2007

The New York Times/CBS News Poll, May 2007

NBC News/Wall St. Journal Poll, June 2007

Los Angeles Times/Bloomberg Poll, June 2007

CBS News Poll, August 2007



The **Opportunity** Agenda

Media Content and Public Opinion Analysis

**Bridging the Black-Immigrant
Divide**

BRIDGING THE BLACK-IMMIGRANT DIVIDE

A MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION SCAN AND ANALYSIS¹

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In his essay, “Bridging the Black-Immigrant Divide,”² Alan Jenkins, Executive Director of The Opportunity Agenda, observed that the public conversation about immigration policy as reflected in the mainstream media focused in part on the relationship between African Americans and immigrants:

“And much of that conversation was framed in terms of competition and conflict. That framing was no accident. The mainstream media have fixated on potential points of black/immigrant tension, looking for a conflict storyline. And that storyline has been amply fed by conservative anti-immigrant groups intent on driving a wedge between the two communities.”

In order to gain a better understanding of how this conversation was unfolding in the African American press and how that coverage might be influencing African American public opinion we conducted a media scan of eleven major black newspapers nationwide and looked closely at relevant public opinion research.

Media Content Analysis: Major Findings

- The immigration debate as it is being played out on the national stage is not a high priority for the African American press in terms of its regular news coverage.
- The competition and conflict frame is not a dominant frame in the African American press’ news coverage.
- Readers of African American newspapers are being exposed to a range of political views through the publication of thoughtful op-eds and columns by African American leaders and thinkers who are writing about the immigration issue as it affects African Americans.
- The African American press has shown interest in stories about:
 - Black immigrants and refugees from Africa and the Caribbean;
 - Shared injustices (police abuse, low-wage workplace conditions, discrimination);
 - African American local officials who take pro-immigrant stances.

¹ Prepared for The Opportunity Agenda by Loren Siegel Consulting, October 2007.

² Published on TomPaine.common sense, February 20, 2007

Public Opinion Analysis: Major Findings

- African Americans are more supportive of immigrant rights than whites when it comes to issues of discrimination, unfairness and injustice.
- African Americans are more fearful than whites of negative economic effects of immigration both on the country as a whole and on their own job opportunities.
- Longitudinal research suggests that African American public opinion is shifting in the direction of more negative attitudes and beliefs about immigration and immigrants.

Recommendations

1. Generate and submit op-eds from respected African American thinkers and leaders that respond to the African American public's fears and promote the shared heritage/common struggle frame.
2. Look for and pitch stories that show concretely how unity between immigrants and African Americans can lift all boats.
3. Use the African American press as a springboard for access to black websites and radio and TV shows.

BRIDGING THE BLACK-IMMIGRANT DIVIDE

A MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION SCAN AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

In his essay, “Bridging the Black-Immigrant Divide,”³ Alan Jenkins, Executive Director of The Opportunity Agenda, observed that the public conversation about immigration policy as reflected in the mainstream media focused in part on the relationship between African Americans and immigrants:

“And much of that conversation was framed in terms of competition and conflict. That framing was no accident. The mainstream media have fixated on potential points of black/immigrant tension, looking for a conflict storyline. And that storyline has been amply fed by conservative anti-immigrant groups intent on driving a wedge between the two communities.”

In order to gain a better understanding of how this conversation was unfolding in the African American press and how that coverage might be influencing African American public opinion we conducted a media scan of major black newspapers nationwide and looked closely at relevant public opinion research.

The National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) estimates the size of the black print media’s audience at 15 million.⁴ With an average age of about 44, readers of black newspapers are younger than mainstream newspaper readers, who average 55 years. Ninety percent of the black press audience is high school graduates, 6 in 10 having attended college.⁵

Much of the public conversation about immigration policy among African Americans during the period covered by our scan was taking place on talk radio. Arbitron, the giant media and marketing research firm, estimates that black News/Talk/Information programs capture 2.2 million African American listeners each week.

No study has been published on the role of black talk show hosts in the immigration debate, but according to Greg Johnson, marketing director of KJLH, a leading black radio station in Los Angeles, "It's definitely one of the hottest topics on talk radio I've ever seen." Johnson reported that after the mass demonstrations in May of 2006 the majority of callers to KJLH favored more conservative enforcement solutions to immigration, but said the station was getting callers on all sides: "Some are adamant to

³ Published on TomPaine.common sense, February 20, 2007, www.tompaine.com

⁴ That is the estimate of the major trade association of African American newspaper publishers. Subscriptions to African American newspapers, however, have been declining for quite some time. *Amsterdam News* subscriptions, for example, fell from 18,700 in 2004 to 13,175 in 2006. Annual Report on American Journalism, “The State of the News Media 2007” at www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2007 All the newspapers we scanned have websites, but it was beyond the scope of this study to look at online readership figures.

⁵ Ibid.

get them [immigrants] out; others say, 'let's work with them;' and others say 'let's figure out how to regulate it.'"⁶

A year later, progressive African American columnist Alberta Phillips who writes for the *Austin American-Statesman* observed that although African Americans are the most loyal supporters of the Democratic Party, “when it comes to the politics of illegal immigration, they often sound more like right-wing Republicans.”⁷ She described the sentiment on black talk radio: “The sentiment is strong and mostly one-sided: Illegal immigrants should not be rewarded for breaking our laws. And by any means necessary, including fences, the government must police and secure the border.”⁸

One prominent talk radio personality who has weighed in heavily on the black-immigrant divide is Warren Ballentine who bills himself as “the People’s Attorney.” Ballentine has a syndicated show that airs on XM’s “The Power” and other black-oriented stations and programs. He takes a strong anti-immigrant position. Appearing on CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight” in the midst of the Senate debate, Ballentine said: “My audience is very upset about this [illegal immigration]. Because it's destroying the middle class. They're taking construction jobs, they're taking trucking jobs.”⁹

The black print media, however, has not adopted this negative frame. While showing little interest in reporting on the national debate over immigration policy *per se*, the African American press is hospitable to commentary on various aspects of the immigration issue, and reporters are writing stories about shared injustices, whether at the hands of the police or the employer.

MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

I. MAJOR FINDINGS

- The immigration debate as it is being played out on the national stage is not a high priority for the African American press in terms of its regular news coverage.
- The competition and conflict frame is not a dominant frame in the African American press’ news coverage.
- Readers of African American newspapers are being exposed to a range of political views through the publication of thoughtful op-eds and columns by

⁶ Daniel B. Wood, “Rising black-Latino Clash on Jobs,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 25, 2006.

⁷ Alberta Phillips, “For blacks, immigration debate means a fight over value, values,” *Austin American-Statesman*, May 25, 2007.

⁸ Phillips also says blacks “have legitimate concerns that should be debated, not dodged or dismissed as racist.”

⁹ <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0706/12/ldt.01.html>

African American leaders and thinkers who are writing about the immigration issue as it affects African Americans.

- The African American press has shown interest in stories about:
 - Black immigrants and refugees from Africa and the Caribbean;
 - Shared injustices (police abuse, low-wage workplace conditions, discrimination);
 - African American local officials who take pro-immigrant stances.

II. SEARCH METHODOLOGY

We selected eleven African American news outlets based on circulation numbers and geographic distribution:

Chicago Defender
Atlanta Inquirer
Washington Afro-American
Philadelphia Tribune
Amsterdam News
LA Sentinel
Call & Post (Columbus, OH)
Bay State Banner (Boston, MA)
Michigan Citizen
Miami Times
Tri-State Defender (Memphis, TN)

Using the search terms “Immigrant” OR “Immigration” we used a random sequence generator to cull 15% of the articles returned to yield about 50 usable articles. The final number of usable articles included in the scan came to 43.

III. TOPIC SUMMARIES

May-June 2006

Commentary (8)

This batch includes two pieces by Jesse Jackson, both published in *The LA Sentinel* in two consecutive editions in May 2006. In the first, Jackson argued passionately for unity between blacks and immigrants emphasizing the common struggle frame:

- “Immigrants of previous generations, including African Americans, should see the new undocumented workers as allies not threats. They share with African Americans a history of repression, of being subjected to back-breaking, soul deadening work-or no work at all. ...People of color are

brothers and sisters under and of the skin, whether we are called undocumented 'Latino' immigrants or 'African Americans.' No human being is 'illegal.' All human beings have human rights." ("Si Se Puede means We Shall Overcome," May 4-10, 2006)

In the second, he rebutted several common myths about Latino immigrants, charged that "the truth is often distorted in ways that feed our divisions," and promoted a unity frame by reminding readers that the nation's immigration policy is racially and ethnically discriminatory:

- "In the current atmosphere, we ignore the many contradictions of our immigration policy. Cuban immigrants are invited into America, welcomed and subsidized. They are pawns in our continuing cold War face-off with Fidel Castro. Immigrants from neighboring Haiti are locked out and shipped back. Vigilantes hunt immigrants coming over the Mexican border. But the Canadian border is basically unguarded, and undocumented immigrants from Canada raise no interest and are never called 'illegals.' Yet, so far as we know, the terrorists coming over the border have come through Canada, not through Mexico... We need comprehensive immigration reform. One that removes the discrimination that embraces Europeans and excludes Africans, or hunts Mexicans and hugs Canadians. But we should remember that America is a nation of immigrants—that's a fact, not a legend." ("Immigration: Myths and Reality," May 11-17, 2006)

The LA-based columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson also had two pieces during this timeframe, both in the *Chicago Defender*. Hutchinson's columns focused on the political realities of immigration reform and only indirectly commented on the black/immigrant divide:

- Calling President Bush's proposal "a humane, balanced immigration reform law" he predicts that Republican lawmakers will pass it for purely political reasons—to win the Latino vote. "Why Republicans will cave on immigration reform," May 1-2, 2006)
- In his second column Hutchinson argued that bigger and stronger border fences and more agents have "not stopped thousands of desperate foreign workers from south of the border from getting in" nor have a few "showy raids" by Homeland security and INS done much to stop the flow. "The issue," he writes, "is still jobs and poverty... The millions who enter the U.S. legally or illegally come to work and escape poverty in their countries. Businesses, trade and manufacturing associations put the welcome mat out for them..." He concludes: "Bush's tough talk on border security might cool some of Congress' anger, but it's a fool's paradise measure that won't put a dent in the illegal immigrant problem." ("Bush's border militarization foible," May 22-23, 2006)

George Curry, the Editor-in-Chief of the NNPA News Service and BlackPressUSA.com used his column in *The Chicago Defender* to warn African Americans that their civil rights movement was being eclipsed by the immigrant rights movement. Comparing the huge turn-out for “Latino street demonstrations in more than 75 cities on April 10” with the small turnout of African Americans marching on the same day in New Orleans to protect the voting rights of displaced residents he wrote:

- “Let’s face it: There is eagerness on the part of many to focus on the growing Hispanic population and ignore the long-standing needs that Blacks are entitled to. It is our job, however, to stand up and be counted.” He calls for “Act II” of the civil rights movement. (“Another Day of Absence,” May 4, 2006)

News reports (5)

News coverage of the massive protests in May of 2006 was relatively sparse as was coverage of the immigration reform debate in Congress.

- **Protests:** An article in the *Amsterdam News* about the “Day Without Immigrants” focused on the role played by labor unions in planning and executing “the host of rallies, teach-ins, voter registration drives, boycotts, human chains and other activities from New York to Los Angeles. The article concluded with a quote from labor leader Hector Figueroa: “Noting rightwing opponents’ tendency to try to drive a wedge between the immigrants’ rights activists and the African American community by using the double-digit unemployment rate in that community as a justification for their extremist views, Figueroa concedes that it is important for everyone to see the immigrants’ rights movement as part of a continuum that includes the Civil Rights movement. He says, echoing a sentiment expressed by many labor leaders, ‘All workers suffer when one group of workers can be exploited.’” (“Labor’s role: A day without immigrants,” May 4-10, 2006)
- **Bush proposal:** Two papers published articles that treated the President’s reform proposal with favor. In *The Call & Post* reporter Ike Mgbatogu wrote: “President Bush gave a compelling speech to the nation on immigration reform Monday. He spoke forcefully and eloquently. Above all, he did not cave in to pressure from some in his party calling for jettisoning his controversial ‘temporary guest worker’ proposal to appease his conservative minions and begin to reconnect with his disenchanting political base.” (May 18-24, 2006). *The Amsterdam News’* Caribbean Update section carried an article quoting Rickford Burke, head of the Caribbean Guyana Institute for Democracy: “The president has set the tone for this debate, which is quite civil and humane.” (May 25-31, 2006)

October-December 2006

Commentary (3)

Rev. William D. Smart, Jr. of the LA Alliance for a New Economy and pastor of Faith Liberty Tabernacle published a piece in the *Sentinel* calling for unity among service industry workers:

- “African Americans once dominated the hospitality industry, but with the boom of immigrants migrating to the US in search of a better life for their families, blacks saw their numbers dwindle. Now, as hotel workers across the country demand better conditions, they are also joining with African Americans community leaders to insist that African Americans share the benefits of this effort to transform poverty-wage jobs into middle-class jobs...Both African Americans and immigrants have suffered under these conditions [low wage work and poverty]. It’s time for a change. With African Americans increasingly taking a leadership role in the battle for economic justice, the Black community as a whole is beginning to see some rays of hope. But this equality fight isn’t just a Black thing. It is something that unites all those seeking the betterment of our communities and this country.” (“Making Room at the Inn for our Community,” October 12-18, 2006)
- Beverly Julal and Clair Davis published an article entitled, “Nation enriched by its immigrants” in the Caribbean News! Section of the *Philadelphia Tribune* in which they criticized “anti-immigrant sentiments”: “The fact of the matter is that most immigrants do not take American jobs. The jobs that they fill are usually jobs that many Americans would prefer not to do or where labor shortages exist. A lot of them are farm workers. But even more importantly, many of them become entrepreneurs.” The article ended with a question and a plea: “Whose home is this anyway? History tells us that the only race of people that is native to this land in the American Indian. Others who call themselves Americans either migrated here willingly or were brought to this country in chains. Regardless of how we got here, we are all struggling to make a better future for ourselves and for our children. Can’t we all just get along?” (October 15, 2006)
- In his op-ed “Gangs and Street Power: The Facts and Faces of Gangs,” published in the *LA Sentinel*, writer/filmmaker Darryl James attacked the “misperception that African Americans either started gangs, or that they are the majority of gang members in the nation.” Citing U.S. Department of Justice statistics, he pointed out that forty-seven per cent of gang members were Hispanic compared to thirty-one percent African American—“And a huge percentage of Hispanic gangs are illegal aliens.” James continued, “Is this a statement to somehow indict Hispanics or illegal immigrants? No, but it is a statement to stop the wholesale indictment of young Black men, who are more frequently targeted and misidentified as gang members than any other ethnic group in the nation.”

News reports (8)

- **Caribbean Focus:** Two of the newspapers have sections devoted to the Caribbean, the *Amsterdam News* and the *Philadelphia Tribune*. This batch of articles contained two pieces from the *Tribune* about that part of the world. “Jamaican expatriates help homeland grow” was about the founding of the U.S. Diaspora Advisory Board; “Debating regional ‘brain drain’” focused on the fact that 40 percent of the Caribbean community’s most educated nationals have migrated elsewhere.
- **Labor Focus:** Two articles in the *Amsterdam News* reported on labor struggles. “Rights group sues USICE” reported on a lawsuit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of Latino workers in Georgia who were victims of a raid by federal agents: “The series of raids across several towns in at least three counties lasted several weeks. They were ostensibly intended to locate undocumented immigrants who work in a poultry plant. Hundreds of residents were traumatized by the raids.” (November 9-15, 2006) The second article had a common struggle theme: “The 5,500 Black and Latino workers who slave away in the world’s largest hog slaughterhouse have won a major victory.” In a description of a two-day walk out at Smithfield Packing the story pointed out, “Smithfield workers have long voiced outrage over harsh working conditions that included brutally fast production lines, crippling injuries and a climate that pitted Black workers against newly arrived low-wage Latino immigrants.” (December 7-13, 2006)

April-June, 2007

Commentary (7)

- A syndicated column by Bill Fletcher, Jr., the past president of TransAfrica Forum, was published in the *Chicago Defender* and the *Miami Times*. “Immigration broadening the reparations debate” gives an anti-imperialist analysis of migration from the Global South to western industrialized countries and stresses the communality between the descendants of African slaves and the victims of “gunboat diplomacy” in Latin America: “We, African Americans who support reparations for African Americans as a result of slavery and Jim Crow segregation, argue that central to this demand is the recognition that a fundamental wrong was done to us and that the damage has never been fully, or even significantly, repaired...The same question, albeit with different facts, applies when we are thinking about people coming from the Global South to the USA.”
- Judge Greg Mathis, national vice president of Rainbow PUSH published an op-ed in the *Miami Times* entitled, “Black people want to make a living.” It points to the rising unemployment rates in the black community and takes

issue with the guest worker proposal: “It comes as a slap in the face that many believe a guest worker program is the solution to the country’s worker shortage...The thinking behind the [guest worker] program makes sense – the U.S. wants to give those who come to our country an opportunity to earn a living and provide for their families. But what about Blacks, on whose backs the wealth of this nation was built?”

- “The immigration divide” by Lee H. Walker, president of The New Coalition for Economic & Social Change” was published by the *Chicago Defender*. In it, the author confronted the black/immigrant divide directly: “Moderate and conservative Democrats seem to be in favor of comprehensive immigration reform, while a smaller group of Democrats, including many Black leaders, are opposed...With respect to the racial dynamic, most Blacks in political and community leadership are opposed to immigration based on the conventional wisdom that the low skilled workers coming across the border from Mexico are taking jobs from Blacks and the poor. However, recent studies do not support this theory.” Walker argued that “the solution to Black’s economic woes is not turning back immigrants; it is equipping native Blacks with the basic skills and attitudes towards work that will enable them to compete. It is truer now than ever before that education is the best road to freedom...rather than relying on an abundance of low-skilled jobs.” He concluded that “Blacks should not feel threatened by low-skilled immigrants who arrive without even being able to speak the language. If we focus on education and entrepreneurship, we can thrive alongside the immigrants.”
- An editorial in the *Columbis Call & Post* observed that the issue of immigration “is a tangled one for all Americans – and particularly, in many ways, for African Americans.” It argued that the economic concerns of African Americans are legitimate—jobs in some industries are being shifted to immigrant labor. But it cautioned readers about aligning themselves with “nativists” like Pat Buchanan and Bill O’Reilly “who do not have the interests of African Americans at heart...African Americans have a legitimate interest in ensuring that a job market that could offer upward mobility in tough times, at least at the bottom, is not flooded by illegal labor designed to keep wages cheap. At the same time, we must be careful that we do not find ourselves aligned with those whose interests may be totally antagonistic to our own.”
- Marc Morial, President of the National Urban League, published an op-ed in the *Chicago Defender* following the demise of the “grand bargain.” Titled, “Failure of U.S. Senate to pass immigration compromise is blessing in disguise,” Morial argued that if passed, the legislation would have “undermined labor protections for all workers and would have exacted a great toll on an already frayed social safety net.” He explained that the Urban League’s greatest concern revolved around the temporary worker provision which would “produce a new class of exploited workers” and argued that

native American workers should have the “first right to jobs employers are seeking temporary visas for.”

News Reports (14)

- **Urban growth:** An article in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, “Immigrants keep metro population growing,” reports on a study by the Population Reference Bureau showing that but for the increase in immigrants, the populations of big and small metro areas would be shrinking. The article explains, “Many demographers associate shrinking populations with economic problems, typically poor job markets or prohibitive housing prices (sic)” and quotes William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institute: “A lot of cities rely on immigration to prop up their housing market and prop up their economics. But the article concludes with a quote from Steven Camarota (Center for Immigration Studies): “Don’t we have concerns about congestion and sprawl and pollution?” For a piece in the *Bay State Banner* the reporter interviewed people who congregated at the Butterfly Café, “the epicenter of a small but active community of Somali political refugees in Boston.” The article traced some of the history of the internecine conflict in Somalia and quoted a leader from the Somali Development Center: “We concentrate on the youth and women, emphasizing the great new opportunities they have in this country...”
- **Police shooting:** Two articles in the *Amsterdam News* covered the police shooting of an unarmed immigrant from Honduras. “A dreamer returns home in a casket” by Herb Boyd quoted Rev. Al Sharpton who delivered a eulogy at the funeral: “Rather than finding the American dream he experienced the American nightmare.” The second article reported on a meeting between the grieving family and the Bronx DA—“Arzu’s family, residents and local activists raise suspicions over the NYPD’s perceived tendency to favor killing young Black men, given the recent shooting of Sean Bell and many others before and since.”
- **Unfair policies and practices:** A number of articles described unfair and discriminatory practices. The *Amsterdam News*’ Caribbean Update section carried a story about a personal appeal by the Bishop of the Episcopal Church to President Bush on behalf of 101 Haitian migrants who entered the country illegally: “Returning the migrants to Haiti would be a cruel and unjust act.” The article makes the point that Haitians, unlike Cubans, do not benefit from the “wet foot, dry land” policy and are sent back despite their asylum claims. A *Miami Times* article, “Immigrants: Jailed like criminals,” describes the plight of Marlene Jaggernauth, “a 42-year-old single mother from Trinidad who has been a permanent citizen in the U.S. since the age of 12. Four years ago, she was pulled from her home and handcuffed in front of her four children for a crime [shoplifting] she committed in the 1990s.” The article quotes Cheryl Little of the Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center: “Immigrants represent the fastest growing prison population in the nation due to the current

immigration law....They have no rights and are often treated poorly and inhumanely.” A second *Miami Times* article focused on litigation against workplace English-only rules: “The number of charges filed with the federal EEOC alleging discrimination based on English-only policies is small, but six times as large as 10 years ago.” It cites a \$900,000 settlement against a New York-based geriatric center that barred Haitian employees from speaking Creole while allowing other foreign languages to be spoken.

- **Pro-reform public officials:** The *Miami Times* ran an article about County Commissioner Audrey Edmonson leading a delegation of members of the Miami Community Relations Board and leaders of local advocacy groups to Washington “to educate members of Congress about our community’s priorities for fair and just immigration reform.” Edmonson is quoted as saying, “The diversity that exists in Miami-Dade County is reflective of the future of our nation. We have and continue to benefit enormously from the great contributions of those who have migrated to our county. We are an example to the rest of the nation.” An article in the *Call & Post*, “Coleman meets with African immigrants,” described a lunch meeting at which Mayor Michael Coleman of Columbus hosted African community leaders to discuss their concerns. “With a trio of professors Malik Ba of Columbus State, Emeka Aniagolu of Ohio Wesleyan and Abdi Mahmoud with the Ohio Department of Education speaking for the group, it was suggested that something be done to ease the constant tension and antagonism plaguing African immigrants and American Blacks.” Columbus is described in the article as a “welcoming city” with a “jocular and popular mayor.”
- **Immigration policy debate:** There were only two news articles about the Senate debate. A 500-word piece in the June 8-10 edition of the *Chicago Defender* gave a straightforward report on the demise of the “grand bargain,” quoting Senators Reid and McConnell. An article in the June 14-20 edition of the *Amsterdam News* entitled “Immigration bill dumped, Labor ponders next steps” focused on the labor movement’s opposition to the guest worker program. It contained strong quotes from several labor leaders:
 - “We are a nation of citizens, not of guests.” Terry O’Sullivan, Laborers
 - “All workers deserve immigration reform that respects the fundamental American values of inclusion and democracy. While undocumented workers lack the path to participate in U.S. democracy and achieve the American dream, their unscrupulous employers play our dysfunctional immigration system for their own gain.” United Food and Commercial Workers Union statement
 - “As long as employers have access to a class of workers that they can prevent from exercising their rights by merely asking a simple question: ‘Do you have papers?’, the incentive to exploit will continue. One key to removing that incentive is to regularize the status of the undocumented

population through inclusive, practical and swift legalization.” Jon Hiatt, AFL-CIO

IV. ANALYSIS

1. News coverage—no dominant frame

In comparison with the mainstream media, the African American press devoted very little space to the immigration policy debate—with its emphasis on Hispanics in general and Mexicans in particular—in its news reporting in 2006-2007. Of the 27 usable news articles in our scan, only three covered the debate in Congress (and the coverage was perfunctory), and only two covered the mass immigrant rights demonstrations in May 2006. To the extent that immigrant issues received much attention, issues affecting immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean were more often the focus, *e.g.*:

- “Bishop calls for asylum for Haitians” (*Amsterdam News*)
- “Somali refugees congregate, caffeinate at Butterfly Café” (*Bay State Banner*)
- “Coleman meets with African immigrants” (*Call & Post*)
- “Jamaican expatriates help homeland grow” (*Philadelphia Tribune*)
- “Congolese man speaks out against immigration proposals” (*Chicago Defender*)

The competition/conflict frame was not dominant or even present in the news coverage of immigrants and immigration. The black-immigrant divide was alluded to in only one article—about the May 1, 2006 protests— in a quote from a Latino labor leader:

“Noting rightwing opponents’ tendency to try to drive a wedge between the immigrant rights activists and the African American community by using the double-digit unemployment rate in that community as justification for their extremely views, Figueroa [Hector Figueroa, Vice President of SEIU Local 32BJ] concedes that it is important for everyone to see the immigrant rights movement as part of a continuum that includes the Civil Rights movement. He says, echoing a sentiment expressed by many labor leaders, ‘All workers suffer when one group of workers can be exploited.’” (*Amsterdam News*)

There were no news articles that focused on or even mentioned the issue of competition for low-wage jobs.

Several articles did have a common struggle frame. The *Amsterdam News*’ coverage of the fatal police shooting of an unarmed Honduran immigrant in New York emphasized the solidarity between Sean Bell’s family, who were present at the funeral, and the family of Fermin Arzu, the immigrant who was killed. Another *Amsterdam News* article covered a two-day walkout over harsh working conditions in a Tar Heel, North Carolina hog slaughterhouse in which black and Latino workers united in spite of

“a climate that pitted Black workers against newly arrived low-wage Latino immigrants” to win major concessions from management.

It’s worth drawing attention to two articles that headlined the pro-immigrant policies of local African American political leaders. The *Call & Post* ran an upbeat story about Columbus Mayor Michael Coleman’s meeting with leaders of that city’s African immigrant community at which “it was suggested that something be done to ease the constant tension and antagonism plaguing African immigrants and American blacks.” Mayor Coleman’s “New American” initiative for “addressing the concerns of a city experiencing a migration boom” was favorably mentioned. An article in the *Miami Times*, “Edmonson takes immigration reform to Washington,” describes the efforts of Audrey Edmonson, an African American Dade County Commissioner “to educate members of Congress about our community’s priorities for fair and just immigration reform.” Edmonson is quoted as saying, “We have and continue to benefit enormously from the great contributions of those who have migrated to our country. We are an example to the rest of the nation.”

2. Commentary—confronting the black-immigrant divide

Almost half of the articles in our scan were commentary and unlike the news reports, many of these op-eds, columns and editorials confronted the black-immigrant divide directly. Overall, they tended to be thoughtful pieces that examined deep systemic causes and effects, and they are worth quoting extensively. The authors represented a range of opinion in the African American community, but none were stridently anti-immigrant and many promoted a common struggle/common heritage frame. These last included two op-eds by Jesse Jackson, a syndicated column by Bill Fletcher, Jr., and a column by Rev. William D. Smart, Jr., director of the LA Alliance for a New Economy and pastor of the Faith Liberty Tabernacle.

Jesse Jackson’s “‘Si Se Puede’ Means We Shall Overcome” argued forcefully for unity among all low-wage workers as the best strategy for raising everyone’s boats. He urged his readers not to blame immigrants for their economic problems and worries but to direct their anger at “global corporations” and their servants in Washington. He reminded readers of this country’s history of anti-immigrant anger and rhetoric and warned of new violence against immigrants. He pointed out that besides sharing common hopes and dreams (“a better future for their children”) African Americans and today’s undocumented workers “share a common heritage”:

“Less than ten percent of enslaved Africans ended up in the United States. The vast majority were shipped to Latin America and the West Indies. Numerous Asian workers were also brought to the Caribbean and Latin America to serve as cheap labor. People of color are brothers and sisters under and of the skin, whether we are called undocumented ‘Latino’ immigrants or ‘African Americans.’”

Fletcher's column, which ran in both the *Miami Times* and the *Chicago Defender*, also pointed out the common heritage of African Americans and Latinos in the context of colonialism's role in "turning nations of the Global South into nations of migrants." He observed that those who support reparations for African Americans base their argument on "the recognition that a fundamental wrong was done to us and that the damage has never been fully, or even significantly, repaired." The same logic, Fletcher wrote, applies to today's immigrants:

"We simply cannot pretend that people are coming to the USA because of the dream of golden paved streets. They are coming here in large part because their chance to live their own lives in their homes—where they would rather stay—has been undermined by what government after government in the Western world, including but not limited to the U.S. government, have done to these regions."

In "Making Room at the Inn for our Community" published in the *Sentinel Rev.* William D. Smart, Jr. celebrated a UNITE HERE victory for service workers at the Beverly Hilton and wrote:

"African Americans once dominated the hospitality industry, but with the boom of immigrants migrating to the US in search of a better life for their families, blacks saw their numbers dwindle. Now, as hotel workers across the country demand better conditions, they are also joining with African American community leaders to insist that African Americans share the benefits of this effort to transform poverty-wage jobs into middle-class jobs. Both African Americans and immigrants have suffered under these conditions. It's time for a change....This equality fight isn't just a Black thing. It is something that unites all those seeking the betterment of our communities and this country."

Some opinion pieces targeted President Bush's guest worker proposal for special criticism on the ground that if adopted, it would hurt African Americans. Marc Morial of the National Urban League published a piece in the *Chicago Defender* in June of 2007 entitled, "Failure of U.S. Senate to pass immigration compromise is a blessing in disguise." Expressing concern about the proposal that would allow U.S.-based companies to bring as many as 200,000 foreign-born guest workers a year into the nation Morial argued:

"Any effort to issue these temporary worker visas should be narrowly tailored and combined with a requirement that the nation's current workers—Black, white, Hispanic, Asian or Native American—be given the first right to jobs employers are seeking temporary visas for."

Judge Greg Mathis of SCLC's piece, "Black people want to make a living," was published in the June 6-12 2007 issue of the *Miami Times*. He conceded that the "thinking behind the [guest worker] program makes sense—the U.S. wants to give those who come to our country an opportunity to earn a living provide for their families" but pointedly asked:

“But what about Blacks, on whose backs the wealth of this nation was built? Much of this shortage of skilled workers can be blamed by the government’s inability to provide an adequate public education system that equally prepares young people for the college and the workforce. We got ourselves into the mess, and we need to get ourselves out of it. The guest worker program is one way. But Blacks should not be excluded from the solution.”

Several commentators urged readers to reject anti-immigrant ideas and to refrain from aligning themselves with those who do not have the interests of African Americans at heart. Lee H. Walker, President of the New Coalition for Economic and Social Change, published an op-ed in the *Chicago Defender* in June 2007 in which he observed that “it is a well known fact among Blacks that America’s free market system has had a longstanding preference for immigrant labor over indigenous Black workers” and that “immigration policy has always uncovered a form of discrimination and/or racism, and this present debate is no exception”:

“Now we are beginning to hear comments like ‘Blacks and whites will have to band together to protect our country from the immigrants.’ Unfortunately, I hate to admit that some Blacks are buying into this...The solution to Blacks’ economic woes is not turning back immigrants; it is equipping native Blacks with the basic skills and attitudes towards work that will enable them to compete. Education is the best road to freedom.”

In a thoughtful editorial published in mid-June 2007 during the height of the immigration debate, the *Call & Post* observed that “the issue of immigration is a tangled one for all Americans—and particularly for African Americans”:

“Contrary to what President Bush has said, illegal immigrants are working in jobs that Americans have always done: processing carcasses in meat-packing plants; working as roofers and other laborers on construction sites; performing landscaping services; working in hotels and restaurants of all types and sizes...during the rebuilding in New Orleans in the wake of Katrina, there were complaints that local African American workers were not being hired by contractors in favor of undocumented workers from across the border...At the same time, many African Americans may be uncomfortable with the attitude and language of some of the most strident opponents of the ‘grand bargain’ on immigration. Consider the words of conservatives such as Pat Buchanan and Bill O’Reilly...When these nativists speak, it is clear that they do not have the interests of African Americans at heart.”

PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

I. MAJOR FINDINGS

- African Americans are more supportive of immigrant rights than whites when it comes to issues of discrimination, unfairness and injustice.
- African Americans are more fearful than whites of negative economic effects of immigration both on the country as a whole and on their own job opportunities.
- Longitudinal research suggests that African American public opinion is shifting in the direction of more negative attitudes and beliefs about immigration and immigrants.

II. ANALYSIS

In July 2007 the Leadership Conference commissioned a series of four African American focus groups in Detroit and Houston. Participants included men and women from both blue collar and white collar backgrounds. Many of the findings were disturbing:¹⁰

- African American participants view immigrants as economic competitors who are taking jobs and lowering wages.
- In addition to economic pressures, African American participants report some cultural anxiety typically associated with more conservative whites.
- Stereotypes about immigrants persist, and the perception that immigrants unfairly take from the system is widespread.
- Participants do associate some good qualities with immigrants, but it comes mostly in the form of grudging respect and admiration.
- Participants in the African American groups believe that discrimination is alive and well in America and that African Americans are the most discriminated against. While they believe Latinos are the second most discriminated against they do not feel a sense of “shared” or “linked” fate and reject the idea that “we’re all in it together.”
- Participants want “tough enforcement” meaning tougher border controls, tougher enforcement of employment laws, and more stringent requirements for legalization.

Available quantitative public opinion research does not paint as bleak a picture, but does indicate that African American opinion is moving in the direction of the attitudes and beliefs uncovered in the focus groups. The data suggest that the negative frame of conflict and competition between blacks and immigrants, found in both mainstream media coverage and black talk radio, although not in the black press, is having an impact.

In March 2006 the Pew Research Center and Pew Hispanic Center published a report on their recent survey, “No Consensus on Immigration Problem or Proposed Fixes:

¹⁰ Unpublished Memorandum from Lake Research Partners, July 25, 2007.

America’s Immigration Quandary.¹¹ The survey analyzed the data by race and ethnicity and found that with only one exception, blacks either felt the same as whites, or they were more receptive to immigrant rights than were whites. The one exception was a question about jobs indicating that blacks were significantly more concerned about competition over jobs than were whites:

Q. Do you think that the immigrants coming into this country today mostly take jobs away from American citizens, or do they mostly take jobs Americans don’t want?

	<u>Take jobs Americans don’t want</u>	<u>Take jobs away from Americans</u>
White	65	25
Black	54	33
Hispanic	81	9

Blacks were more supportive of social services for “illegal immigrants” than whites, although a bare majority did agree that immigrants should be ineligible:

Q. Should illegal immigrants who are in the U.S. be eligible for social services provided by state and local governments?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
White	20	76
Black	43	54
Hispanic	64	33

And they were strongly in favor of public education for immigrant children:

Q. Should the children of illegal immigrants who are in the U.S. be permitted to attend public schools?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
White	67	31
Black	79	21
Hispanic	93	4

Blacks opposed a constitutional amendment barring citizenship to children of illegal immigrants by a 60% majority, compared to 47% of whites:

Q. Should we amend the Constitution to bar citizenship to children of illegal immigrants?

¹¹ “No Consensus on Immigration Problem or Proposed Fixes: America’s Immigration Quandary,” Pew Research Center for the People & the Press/Pew Hispanic Center (March 30, 2006), based on a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults 18 years of age or older conducted from February 8-March 7, 2006.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
White	47	50
Black	36	60
Hispanic	23	74

Responses to Gallup’s annual Minority Rights and Relations survey¹² indicate that black public opinion is gradually becoming more negative with respect to the effect of immigration on the country as a whole. Over the past seven years African American opinion has shifted 15 percent in the direction of support for decreasing immigration levels.

Q. In your view, should immigration be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Increased</u>	<u>Decreased</u>
6/07	29%	21%	46% ¹³
6/06	35	21	39
6/05	32	18	44
6/04	34	15	47
6/03	33	20	44
6/02	34	16	46
6/01	42	24	31

And an eight point shift in the direction of immigration being “a bad thing for the country.”

Q. On the whole, do you think immigration is a good thing or a bad thing for the country today?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>
6/07	55	36 ¹⁴
6/06	60	35
6/05	55	36
6/03	48	45
6/02	46	46
6/01	61	28

They are also becoming more fearful on a personal level. In 2007, eleven percent more blacks felt immigrants were hurting their job opportunities than in 2001.

¹² Based on nationwide sample of 2,300 adults, including over-samplings of non-Hispanic blacks.

¹³ In 2007 the responses of non-Hispanic whites were 35% present level, 12% increased, and 48% decreased; the difference between 46% and 48% is statistically insignificant.

¹⁴ White responses to this question were not significantly different from black responses. In 2007 59% of whites responded “good”; 35% responded “bad.”

Q. Are immigrants making job opportunities for you and your family better, worse, or not having much effect?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>No effect</u>
6/07	11	49	37
6/04	9	49	39
6/02	14	48	36
6/01	20	38	41

Over the same time span there was a 13% increase in the percentage of blacks who thought immigrants were having a negative effect on the economy overall.

Q. Are immigrants making the economy in general better, worse, no effect?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>No effect</u>
6/07	22	52	21
6/04	16	47	31
6/02	25	47	24
6/01	27	39	31

RECOMMENDATIONS

In spite of a declining readership since its heyday in the 1960s, the African American press is an important vehicle for communicating with a segment of the African American public—a segment which, according to the National Newspaper Publisher’s Association, is well-educated and civically engaged. Immigrant rights activists should develop and execute a proactive strategy to influence readers of the black press and use access to the press as a springboard for increasing their exposure on popular black websites and radio shows.

1. Generate and submit op-eds from respected African American thinkers and leaders that respond to the African American public’s fears and promote the shared heritage/common struggle frame.

Advocacy around issues affecting the African American community is a central mission of the black press. Advocates can take advantage of the willingness of these newspapers to publish thoughtful opinion pieces on the immigration issue—the more, the better. New studies that explain the actual economic impact of immigrants on the employment opportunities of African Americans should be summarized and clearly presented in op-ed form. Op-ed authors should include local black public officials like Mayor Michael Coleman of Columbus, Ohio who can explain why his city welcomes new immigrants. Advocates should pitch story ideas to columnists who are already syndicated and who adopt a common heritage/common struggle frame (*e.g.*, Bill Fletcher, Jr. and Earl Ofari Hutchinson).

2. Look for and pitch stories that show concretely how unity between immigrants and African Americans can lift all boats.

Our scan suggests that reporters for black newspapers are receptive to positive stories about real life cooperation between blacks and immigrants. Advocates should seek out and pitch story ideas that emphasize cooperation. The labor movement is good place to look, and African American labor leaders who are actively promoting cooperation would be good sources of information. Workplace struggles in which blacks and Latinos band together for a common purpose make the common struggle frame come to life and undercut fears of competition over jobs. Other areas where blacks and immigrants come together and fight for common goals, e.g., racial profiling and police abuse, environmental racism, health and education inequities, should be mined for story ideas and pitched to reporters.

3. Use the African American press as a springboard for access to black websites and radio and TV shows.

A critical mass of coverage and commentary in the black press will enhance advocates' access to more far-reaching forms of communication with the African American public. The Tom Joyner Morning Show, for example, has an estimated eight million listeners in any given week in about 120 markets where the show is syndicated.¹⁵ Joyner has a wide range of guests on his four-hour show, from entertainers to scholars, and would very likely be amenable to discussion of bridging the black-immigrant divide. Tavis Smiley's show on PBS is another obvious target.

¹⁵ Felicia Lee, "Building a Conversation, One Radio Show at a Time," *New York Times*, February 13, 2007. Joyner also presides over BlackAmericaWeb.com which he launched in 2001. The website is described as "a broad-based effort to become a timely and credible source for news and information covering all aspects of daily life, featuring a wide array of viewpoints and perspectives." <http://www.blackamericaweb.com/site.aspx/misc/aboutus>



The **Opportunity** Agenda

Media Content Analysis

Immigration Coverage in Spanish Language Print Media

MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

Immigration Coverage in Spanish Language Print Media

May 2006 – July 2007

By Elena Shore, Editor/Latino Media Monitor, New America Media

This report was commissioned by The Opportunity Agenda to analyze immigration coverage in Hispanic print media since May 2006.

I. MAJOR FINDINGS

- Hispanic media played a leadership role in mobilizing Latinos and advocating for their communities.
- Hispanic press coverage focused on human stories.
- The Hispanic press linked anti-immigrant messages to racism.
- The Hispanic press failed to respond in a clear, unified manner to the attacks on immigrants from conservative media.

II. SEARCH METHODOLOGY

Over the course of 15 months, beginning May 2006 through July 2007, I have monitored Hispanic print media for articles on immigration—both the stories that the mainstream media is not covering and unique ethnic media perspectives on larger stories. This monitoring consists of reading articles on the websites of an estimated 10 daily publications each day, 10 weekly newspapers each week, and another 10 publications through mail or email subscriptions. These stories are translated and summarized on the New America Media website.

In writing this report, I made a list of 175 stories that we monitored, translated, summarized or posted on immigration since May 2006. These came from 30 print media outlets: 20 Spanish-language, seven bilingual and three English-language publications. A list and brief description of the media outlets monitored is attached as Appendix I.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF ARTICLES

The sample broke down as follows:

<u>Type</u>	<u>No. of Stories</u>
News	97
Features	45
Broadcast	5
Op-eds, editorials, columns	27
Letters	1

The articles were then sorted into 15 topical categories:

<u>Topic</u>	<u>No. of Stories</u>
Hispanic Media as Civic Leaders	
Community Activism	11
Civic Participation	15
Political Criticism	9
Know Your Rights	6
Tracking the Anti-Immigrant Movement	
Tracking Anti-Immigrant Bills	26
Raids, Detentions and Deportations	18
A Look at Anti-Reform Latinos	3
The Racism Connection	11
Anti-Immigrant Messages in Media	5
The Spanish-English Debate	4
Tracking the Immigrant Rights Movement	
Perspectives on the Immigration Bill	5
Moral Argument/Role of Religion	7
Border Fence	2
Covering Protests	37
Human Stories	16

IV. TOPIC SUMMARIES

A. Hispanic Media as Civic Leaders

1. Community Activism
2. Civic Participation
3. Political Criticism

4. Know Your Rights

B. Tracking the Anti-Immigrant Movement

1. Tracking Anti-Immigrant Bills
2. Raids, Detentions and Deportations
3. A Look at Anti-Reform Latinos
4. The Racism Connection
5. Anti-Immigrant Messages in Media
6. The Spanish-English Debate

C. Tracking the Immigrant Rights Movement

1. Criticism of the Immigration Bill
2. Moral Argument/Role of Religion
3. Border Fence
4. Covering Protests

D. Human Stories

A. Hispanic Media as Civic Leaders

1. Community Activism

The Spanish-language press has a long tradition of community involvement that goes beyond its editorial coverage. Hispanic media have historically played a leadership role in its community, engaging in social activism and advocating on behalf of the rights of immigrants and Latinos. In the last year, the Spanish-language press was at the forefront of the immigration reform and immigrant rights movement.

Although this report focuses on Hispanic print media, the role of Hispanic radio and TV—which reach a larger audience than their print counterparts—cannot be underestimated.

- Hispanic media were key in mobilizing millions of people in the immigration marches in cities across the country. Spanish-language radio and newspapers called on immigrants and Latinos to take to the streets, wearing white T-shirts and waving American flags, to protest the Sensenbrenner bill in 2006 and to call for fair, comprehensive immigration reform and an end to the raids in 2007.
- Univision Radio's syndicated morning DJ Eddie "El Piolín" Sotelo led a caravan to Washington, D.C., in June 2007, carrying one million signed letters from U.S. citizens calling for immigration reform.
- Spanish-language newspaper publisher ImpreMedia and broadcaster Univision partnered with the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) and the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) in January in a citizenship campaign entitled "Ya es hora: Ciudadanía" (Citizenship: The time is

now). The campaign began its second phase in July, urging Latinos to vote in the 2008 elections.

- Following the defeat of federal immigration reform, Spanish-language newspapers have helped their communities navigate an increasingly anti-immigrant climate.
- The bilingual Georgia newspaper *Atlanta Latino* published a July 4, 2007 pocket-size guide to clearly explain Senate Bills 529 and 38, in order to prevent rumors and misinformation about the two new state laws that crack down on undocumented immigrants.
- The weekly Alabama newspaper *Latino News* started a community service campaign to give immigrants a more positive image in Alabama, from collecting trash along the river to visiting a senior citizens' home.
- Spanish community weekly newspaper *La Voz del Pueblo* in Lilburn, Ga., organized a series of neighborhood meetings to educate the community and quell panic.

2. Civic Participation

In addition to citizenship and voter registration drives, the Spanish-language press encouraged political activism and civic participation through editorials and features on voting, citizenship, boycotts, immigration reform provisions, sanctuary cities, anti-immigrant ordinances and the first presidential debate to take place on Spanish-language television.

- A May 3, 2006 editorial in the Los Angeles newspaper *La Opinión* reminds its readers of the motto from the national immigration marches: “Hoy marchamos, mañana votamos!” (Today we march, tomorrow we vote.) “The marches were good, but nothing supplants the power of the vote,” editors write. “Only then are immigrants truly integrated and able to affect change in the most direct way possible.”
- An August 2006 commentary in the Milwaukee newspaper *El Conquistador* calls on Latinos who participated in the marches to change strategies, and focus on financially supporting and electing a candidate who supports a pathway for citizenship for millions of immigrants. The commentary calls for donations to the campaign of Democratic candidate Bryan Kennedy to replace Republican U.S. Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner.
- A Nov. 6, 2006 report from the Dallas newspaper *Al Día* notes that immigrants across the country have a lot at stake in the Nov. 7 elections. “Latino voters have the same concerns as the rest of Americans: better education, health care, and

better opportunities for their families and communities,” Arturo Vargas, NALEO executive director, told *Al Día*, “Nevertheless, Latinos want their voices heard in this intense debate over immigration.”

- A November 2006 feature in San Diego’s *Enlace* newspaper interviews young Latinos who are voting for the first time because of immigration reform. “My mother cannot voice her opinion, but I can do it for her,” Sonia Salazar told *Enlace*. “And maybe I can help other families, too,” she added, reflecting the theme of Spanish-language ads that encourage those who can vote to do so for their families.
- A July 2007 editorial in Milwaukee’s *El Conquistador* calls on immigrants to use their remaining weapon—their economic power—to advocate for immigration reform by directing their purchases toward businesses that support immigration reform.
- An editorial in the July 9, 2007 edition of *Atlanta Latino* states that immigrants should understand the U.S. political system: Instead of marching, it says, what works in this country is voting, contributing to political campaigns, calling and writing representatives, and making it clear to anti-immigrant broadcasters that immigrants will boycott their products if they don’t stop promoting racist language.

3. Political Criticism

Through editorials and news reports, the Spanish-language press criticized politicians and organizations that did not support immigrant rights and immigration reform, including Republicans and Democrats, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and President Bush, among others.

- A January 25, 2007 editorial in *La Opinión* notes that while President Bush was speaking to the country about the importance of immigration reform, among other topics, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents detained some 700 people in various raids in Southern California.
- A June 29, 2007 editorial in the Dallas Spanish-language *El Diario La Estrella* blames the failure of the immigration reform bill on “the stubbornness of a Republican majority.” “The undocumented will continue in the shadows... until those anti-immigrant legislators are replaced by others with a more humanist stance,” the editorial states.
- A June 29, 2007 editorial in *La Opinión* blames “nativist” Republicans and “the ignorant populism of radical radio commentators.” But they also point out that some Democrats voted against reform, including several who switched their votes in the last two days. *La Opinión* also points a finger at the AFL-CIO, saying that,

“in rejecting the guest worker program, the AFL-CIO neglected to give the benefit of the doubt to a project that could have helped millions of exploited workers.”

4. Know Your Rights

Spanish-language newspapers informed their readers about their legal rights in accessing services and under new local ordinances that crack down on undocumented immigrants, as well as what to do in the case of immigration raids.

- A September 7, 2006 article in Chicago’s Spanish-language *La Raza* newspaper provides information about a new pamphlet to aid immigrants in accessing state services.
- A series of articles in *Enlace* in October 2006 clearly explains the provisions of the new rental law passed in Escondido. According to one article, “Latino leaders say their biggest worry is not the ordinance itself, but the lack of information about it, especially in Spanish,” which led to fear and misinformation.
- An April 2007 report from the Washington, D.C., Spanish newspaper *El Pregonero* tells readers what to do in the case of a raid: if you are arrested; if you are undocumented; if the police come to your house; if immigration agents come to your work; and if you are stopped in the street.
- A June 27, 2007 article from Fresno’s bilingual newspaper *Vida en el Valle* provides information about a legal advice hotline for Mexican immigrants.
- A July 30, 2007 article in *La Opinión* tells readers how to locate relatives who have been detained by ICE.

B. Tracking the Anti-Immigrant Movement

1. Tracking Anti-Immigrant Bills

Some 26 articles in the Spanish-language press focused on the growing number of anti-immigrant bills proposed in cities and states across the country. Most of these document the broader effects of these bills on all Latinos. Many point to the human effect of these ordinances, interviewing immigrants whose lives they affect, and showing that all Latinos—not just immigrants or undocumented immigrants—are impacted. Several articles also point out the economic impact as immigrants flee areas that have enacted such laws, such as Colorado and Farmers Branch, Tex.

- An October 19, 2006 article in *La Opinión* reports that Escondido was the first city in California to pass a measure prohibiting renting homes to undocumented

immigrants. According to one woman who spoke on condition of anonymity, all Latinos will be affected by this ordinance: even if they are legal, they may have a relative who is undocumented and that would be sufficient to be kicked out of their apartment, she said.

- A May 14, 2007 article in *Al Día* interviewed a man who was leaving Farmers Branch, Tex. after seven years, and held a garage sale hours after the measure passed in preparation for his family's move. "The hostility against Hispanics in Farmers Branch became more apparent with the ordinance, but it's been that way for a long time," he told *Al Día*. "Even if they don't enforce the law, the racism and scorn against Hispanics can only increase," he said.
- A June 28, 2007 article in Georgia's Spanish-language newspaper *Mundo Hispánico* reports that the new laws in Georgia will lead to greater racial profiling, increased fear among crime victims to seek help, and a negative impact on the state's economy as immigrants leave the state.

2. Raids, Detentions and Deportations

Eighteen articles from the Spanish-language press focused on immigration raids, detentions, or deportations. Several of these articles show the broader impact of raids on families, children, and the economy.

- A December 20, 2006 article from the San Antonio Spanish-language newspaper *Rumbo*, titled "The Raid that Changed Cactus, Texas," reports on a town that lost 10 percent of its population due to immigration raids, and is still reeling from the loss. The article describes the case of one pregnant woman who hid in her home for three days before coming out when she started having contractions. Volunteers at a local church brought her to safety. Her husband was one of the 295 persons arrested by ICE at the local Swift and Co. meatpacking plant. A spokesperson for the Church of St. Peter and Paul of Dumas told *Rumbo* Saturday that no representatives from Child Protective Services had shown up to look after the children of those deported.

Several articles document the fact that many of those who have been detained have no criminal record:

- A January 30, 2007 article in *Al Día* reports that a state program meant to stem drug and human trafficking is being used to deport immigrants after traffic stops. Of some 47 men, women and children held in a federal detention center in Dallas, 33 were victims of racial profiling after being pulled over by police for alleged traffic infractions according to the Mexican Consulate General.

The majority of articles about the detention of immigrants focuses on the poor, prison-like conditions of detention centers:

- A December 2006 article from *Rumbo*, titled “Bitter Christmas for Undocumented Children,” reports on minors who have to spend Christmas in a detention center in Nixon, Tex. Many of these young people came to the United States to escape violence and poverty, find a job, and often reunite with their families, *Rumbo* reports. But they often get depressed around the holidays because they believe they have failed.
- A February 13, 2007 article in *La Opinión* reports that more than 200 children of undocumented immigrants are living in jail-like conditions as their parents await deportation proceedings. Facilities like the T. Don Hutto Detention Center look like prisons, *La Opinión* reports, with high, windowless walls and razor-wire fencing. Children wear prison jumpsuits while guards stand watch. The federal government hired the Corrections Corporation of America to run the facilities in April 2006.
- A March 22, 2007 article in *Atlanta Latino* reports that immigrant detainees at the Stewart Detention Center staged a hunger strike to protest mistreatment and inadequate diet. One detainee who suffers from Parkinson’s Disease, diabetes, and HIV/AIDS told *Atlanta Latino* that it routinely takes two to four days to receive medical attention. Another man reported that no staff would help him when he had schizophrenic episodes.

3. A Look at Anti-Reform Latinos

Three articles look at the anti-undocumented immigration movement through the eyes of Latinos who oppose immigration reform.

- A feature article by Dennis Romero in the February/March 2006 issue of Los Angeles magazine *Tu Ciudad* examines the untold stories of Latinos who support a crackdown on illegal immigration.
- A May 2006 news report in *Vida en el Valle* interviews Latinos who are part of the anti-undocumented immigration group You Don't Speak for Me.
- A March 5, 2007 article in *El Diario/La Prensa* reports on The People's Alliance for Latino Advancement, a Latino group in Kansas that met with the Kansas Minutemen Civil Defense Corp. to discuss strategies to combat illegal immigration in the United States. Bob Hernandez, director of the Hispanic group, said Mexico should not be excused because it keeps salaries low and only serves the rich. “We want the U.S. to stop pandering to Mexico and for Mexico to take care of its people,” he said.

4. The Racism Connection

A recurring theme throughout a number of articles was the racism, xenophobia and bigotry behind anti-immigrant ordinances. This was reflected in reports on racial profiling, fears among whites of a growing Latino community, and numerous interviews with residents who called measures that crack down on undocumented immigrants racist.

In addition to these, eleven articles from the Spanish-language press made an explicit connection between anti-immigrant groups and racists.

- A July 2006 commentary in San Diego’s bilingual newspaper *La Prensa San Diego* is entitled “The Most Racist City in America - Hazleton, PA.”
- An April 2, 2007 article in *La Opinión* reports that, according to the Alabama-based Southern Poverty Law Center, existing guest worker programs resemble “modern-day slavery.” Workers accrue debts to recruiters before they come to the country, do not earn promised wages, live in deficient housing and receive threats of deportation if they complain, according to the report.
- A May 11, 2007 editorial in *El Diario La Estrella* argues that the Farmers Branch, Tex. measure banning landlords from renting apartments to undocumented immigrants has done nothing but stir up anti-immigrant sentiments and xenophobia.
- In an exclusive report for *El Diario/Prensa* on July 27, 2007, Cristina Loboguerrero reports that the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups are gathering in a public meeting with anti-immigrant groups in Morristown, N.J. to support the mayor’s ordinance that would train the police to act as immigration agents.

5. Anti-Immigrant Messages in Media

Only five articles show the role of the Spanish-language press as a watchdog of anti-immigrant messages in mainstream media, from Lou Dobbs to local radio shows. Several of these were written after the failure of immigration reform in the Senate.

- A March 15, 2007 editorial in *El Diario/La Prensa* protests as racist local radio show hosts the Jersey Guys, who called on their listeners to turn over suspected undocumented immigrants to authorities, in a campaign they called “Operation Rat-a-Rat/La Cuca-Gotcha.” “This type of public call for vigilantism is especially troubling in the context of the increasing hate-crime violence directed at Hispanics in New Jersey over the past two years,” editors write. *El Diario/La Prensa* reports having documented more than a dozen cases in which someone was attacked because they were Hispanic. “The Jersey Guys are not calling for this violence,” editors add. “But to dehumanize someone is the first step towards

condoning violence against them.”

- An editorial in the May 3, 2007 edition of *El Diario/La Prensa* criticized CNN for posting a link on Lou Dobbs’ page on its website that directed visitors to an anti-immigrant group in Hazleton, P.A. “If CNN, a division of Time Warner, one of the largest corporations in the world, wants to advocate measures that drive poor, undocumented families out of their homes, that’s the network’s editorial prerogative,” the editorial argues. “But helping to fundraise for these efforts steps over a line traditionally observed by news organizations. Shame on you, CNN. It is bad practice and bad politics.” After receiving criticism by the National Institute for Latino Policy, CNN agreed to take down the link.
- A June 29, 2007 article by Pilar Marrero in *La Opinión* reports that, in the end, the opinion of the majority of Americans didn’t matter. Other messages took on greater importance, she writes: the anti-immigrant rhetoric of a handful of Republicans and “the mistreatment of immigrants, day after day, on English-language radio programs, in the afternoons with Lou Dobbs on CNN and even in ‘moderate’ media.”

6. The Spanish-English Debate

Four articles took on the debate over assimilation and bilingualism, responding to comments made by Newt Gingrich, Arnold Schwarzenegger and others, and defending the use of Spanish and challenge notions of assimilation.

A comment by former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, in which he compared Spanish-speakers to those who live in a “ghetto,” prompted a sharp outcry in the Spanish-language press.

- An April 6, 2007 commentary by Sergio Alférez in *La Opinión*, entitled “The Idiomatic Ghetto,” argues that knowledge of Spanish or any other language saves us from a greater, spiritual “ghetto.” “The person who can watch and understand the (English-language) news on Channel 7, but prefers that of (Spanish-language) Channels 34 or 52, has access to an amplitude of opinions and internal enrichment that is infinitely superior to that of someone who can only understand one language.” The “ghetto,” he adds, is where U.S. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales lives, who, despite his clearly mestizo features, cannot communicate in Spanish with his peers in the Hispanic community.
- One week after Gingrich’s comments, Univision anchor Jorge Ramos wrote in his April 2007 syndicated column that the movement to make English the official language of the United States is “ridiculous.” “The United States is the only country I know where people are convinced that speaking only one language is better than speaking two or three.”

Calif. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's comment at the National Association of Hispanic Journalists' convention that Latinos should turn off their Spanish-language televisions and learn English also provoked strong reactions in the state's Hispanic press.

- A June 2007 editorial in *La Opinión* writes that the governor used the false argument that Latino immigrants don't want to learn English. In fact, the editorial notes, there aren't enough adult English classes to meet immigrants' demand for them. The editorial also defended the importance of Spanish-language media: “The governor doesn't know the United States' long history with media that inform and help numerous immigrant groups in their language, groups that have gone on to enrich this nation.”

One article takes these arguments a step further, examining the meaning of assimilation and challenging the notion that Latinos don't assimilate.

- Hiram Soto of *Enlace* writes in July 2007 that anti-immigrant forces used a common argument: the perception that Latinos are too different to assimilate, do not learn English, and are unraveling the fabric of the identity of a nation that was, ironically, created by immigrants. “Latinos are assimilating, but in their own way, keeping much of their identity,” he writes. “Tamales at Christmas. Turkey and menudo at Thanksgiving. English at work and Spanish at home.”

C. Tracking the Immigrant Rights Movement

1. Perspectives on the Immigration Bill

Several articles presented critiques of the Senate's immigration bill, reflecting the divisions among immigrant rights groups that came out on opposite sides of the bill.

- An editorial in the May 18, 2007 edition of *El Diario/La Prensa* argues that the Senate's immigration bill does not make progress toward reform, but merely replaces one set of problems with another.
- However, despite their criticism of some of its provisions, the majority of articles in the Hispanic press supported passage of the bill, arguing that many of its flaws could have been addressed and improved in the legislation process.
- Syndicated columnist and Univision anchor Maria Elena Salinas wrote an open letter to the U.S. Senate in June 2007, calling for senators to move forward with immigration reform and advising them on how to navigate the debate without being “blinded by irrational anti-immigrant forces.”
- A June 8, 2007 editorial in *La Opinión*, entitled “Painful Failure in Congress,” notes that the immigration bill had many flaws, but the attraction of a path to legalization was an important reason to keep the bill alive. “It's a sad day for

millions of families who hoped to stop hiding, to be able to earn a decent salary, to live without the fear of deportation and to be able to enter and leave the country. In short, to live a normal life,” the editorial concludes. “This is a painful failure because it doesn’t help anything, other than continuing with an unjust system that exploits the undocumented.”

- A June 11, 2007 editorial in *El Diario/La Prensa* argues that by winning this skirmish (and seemingly killing the immigration proposal), the Republicans have won a Pyrrhic victory by which they risk alienating a whole generation of Latinos—much like with Proposition 187 in California—and invigorating citizenship and voter registration efforts.

2. Moral Argument/Role of Religion

Two articles touched on a moral argument for immigration reform, calling deportations inhumane and reporting on marchers carrying signs that said, “No human being is illegal.” Six other articles explored the role of religious organizations in advocating for immigrant rights, from Catholic churches to Latino evangelical leaders that spoke out against deportations and offered sanctuary to immigrants including Elvira Arellano in Chicago.

3. Border Fence

Two other articles took aim at the border fence proposal, using cultural, environmental, pragmatic and economic arguments, and refuting the link between immigrants and terrorists.

- An October 2006 article in *Rumbo* reports that the proposed border wall would divide three Native American nations that live there, and thus have devastating cultural and environmental effects on the area.
- Univision anchor Jorge Ramos calls the border wall a “700-mile mistake” in his Oct. 4, 2006 syndicated column. Ramos uses three arguments: pragmatism, economics, and countering the terrorism/national security claim. It is a “supreme naivety” to think that a 700-mile wall would prevent a hungry young person from reaching the United States, he writes. The illegal immigration problem is economic; he writes: as long as there is unemployment in Mexico and jobs in the United States, they will come. “The American government is confronting the subject of illegal immigration as if it were a war, and it isn’t. Mexico is not at war with the United States; the immigrants who cross to the north are not al Qaeda.”

4. Covering Protests

Of the 51 articles tracking the immigrant rights movement, 37 covered the national immigration protests.

- On May 1, 2006, *La Opinión* posted as its front page a short statement: “We, the workers in the Hispanic media are immigrants. We are the children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren of immigrants. Our brothers and sisters are immigrants. To us, an America without immigrants is unimaginable: an empty page.” The statement appeared printed on a large white page, in Spanish and English. The same statement also ran in *La Opinion*’s sister newspaper, *La Raza* in Chicago.

D. Human Stories

The vast majority of articles from the Spanish-language press portrayed the human side of immigration, including interviews with people whose lives have been affected by immigration policy and anti-immigrant sentiments.

In addition to these, sixteen articles focused specifically on these human stories behind the raids, deportations, and immigration policies. Many of these centered on the experience of women, children, students, and families that were separated due to deportation.

- A May 17, 2006 article from *El Diario/La Prensa* reports on a group of Latina mothers whose children have been deported.
- In the November 2006 article “Love Unites Them, La Migra Separates Them,” San Jose Spanish-language newspaper *El Observador* reports on couples who have fallen in love and decided to marry, only to have one of the partners deported.
- A series of three articles from December 2006 in *El Diario/La Prensa* reports on the story of a young girl who was abused by coyotes and went missing for months.
- An April 2007 article from *La Prensa San Diego* tells the story of 16-year-old Leslie Muñoz whose parents were deported to Mexico. Now she takes care of her younger siblings while she balances bill paying, tax season, and mortgages with her honors classes.
- A May 28, 2007 article in *Al Día* reports that young undocumented college graduates can’t get jobs because of their immigration status. One young woman graduated last year from the University of North Texas with a 3.8 GPA and received 10 job offers for bilingual teaching positions. She could not accept any of them because she is undocumented. Students like Janet would have a chance to

become legal residents under the proposed Dream Act, *Al Día* reports.

V. ANALYSIS

Immigration coverage in the Spanish-language press reflected the unique needs of its audiences. The mainstream media frame of the “immigrant striver,” for example, was largely absent from Spanish-language articles—not because they were any less aware of these stories, but because they did not need to convince their own audiences of a positive image of the hardworking immigrant.

Spanish-language coverage of immigration issues responded to the unique needs of Latinos and immigrants, from informing them of their legal rights under new anti-immigrant bills to mobilizing people to march in immigration rallies.

1. Hispanic media played a leadership role in mobilizing Latinos and advocating for their communities.

The Spanish-language press was at the forefront of the immigration reform and immigrant rights movement, mobilizing millions of people to take to the streets in national immigration marches, urging immigrants to become citizens and register to vote, advocating on behalf of immigrants and informing people of their legal rights.

2. Hispanic press coverage focused on the human stories.

One of the ways Spanish-language print media framed the immigration debate was by showing the human side of immigration. Articles on raids, deportations, and immigration policy often included interviews with immigrants—both legal and undocumented—whose lives have been affected by them. Several feature articles focused entirely on these human stories. Interestingly, many of these centered on the experience of women, children, students and families.

3. The Hispanic press made a connection between anti-immigrant messages and racism.

Another recurring theme throughout a number of articles was the racism behind anti-immigrant ordinances. Some articles made an explicit link between anti-immigrant groups and racists. Many included interviews with residents who called the measures racist, or reported on incidents of racial profiling and other forms of discrimination surrounding immigration laws.

4. The Hispanic press failed to respond in a clear, unified manner to the attacks on immigrants from conservative media.

Despite the fact that they linked the anti-immigrant movement to racism, articles in Spanish-language newspapers did not present a clear, unified response to what they deemed racist messages.

“We Must Respond to the Lies” - An editorial in the July 27, 2007 edition of *La Opinión* presents a critical self-analysis of Spanish-language press coverage of immigration. “The defeat of the comprehensive and humane changes to immigration laws was the triumph of a deafening slander that never met much resistance,” editors write. “The marches were impressive; the collection of signatures demonstrated that getting out the vote is crucial for the future. However, there was no response to the hysterical lies promoted by conservative hosts on talk radio. The repeated lies—from comparing the law to an amnesty, to blaming undocumented immigrants for all the ills of society—were not challenged at the same level, and they convinced thousands to pressure their senators to reject reform. The lesson is that we must respond to these talk shows, unite in an effort to confront them concretely and not allow this to happen again.”

Hispanic media presented largely reactive coverage of immigration policy, showing how people were affected by the raids and deportations. They did not frame the debate in cultural terms, as did opponents of immigration reform.

Speaking at the National Council of La Raza’s 2007 conference in Miami, NCLR President and CEO Janet Murguía said, “We thought we were having a debate on immigration policy. But it was really a debate about who decides what it means to be an American.” While Latinos have been trying hard to be civil and fair, she said, “some of our opponents have taken a different tack,” using hatred and bigotry. “Take this statement, quoted in the Washington Post: ‘Man, I didn’t realize how many Mexicans there were here. If we don’t get control over this, pretty soon all of America will be outnumbered.’ That doesn’t sound like a policy debate to me. That sounds like fear, ignorance, bigotry, and hate.”

The Hispanic press did not, for the most part, reframe the debate as an inter-ethnic issue or focus on the ways immigration policies affect all ethnic groups.

Spanish-language coverage made the immigration issue broader than just about the undocumented—showing how it would affect all Latinos—but largely failed to widen the lens to include the struggles of other ethnicities, including the black civil rights movement.

There are, however, several notable exceptions to this:

- A series on black-brown tensions in Los Angeles by Pilar Marrero in the April 16-18, 2006 editions of *La Opinión* compared the struggles of blacks and Latinos.

- Spanish-language coverage of the national immigration rallies included the diversity of marchers, including African Americans, Asians and other non-Latinos.
- “Time for Another March on Washington” – An op-ed in the May 10, 2006 edition of *El Diario/La Prensa* calls on immigrants to lead a march in Washington for dignity, in the same spirit as the 1963 march led Martin Luther King, Jr. “Latinos, Chinese, Poles, Indians, African Americans, we are workers and we are brothers,” writes Machuca. “We are fighting together against discrimination.”

Only a handful of articles addressed the economic contributions of immigrants, countering arguments made by anti-immigrant groups that immigrants take the jobs of Americans or cost the state money in education, health and social services.

One of the few articles to address the economics of immigration was a May 6, 2007 article in *La Prensa San Diego* that reported that undocumented graduates could fill the shoes of retiring baby boomers.

The Hispanic press did not clearly convey the importance of immigration reform to the broader American public. This is, in part, because articles were directed at an audience that already supported immigration reform and, because most were in Spanish, were not accessible to the English-speaking public.

“Accepting Blame for Immigration Reform Failure” – A July 25, 2007 article in *La Opinión* reports on the mistakes made by groups that supported comprehensive immigration reform. According to Nilda Pedroza, spokesperson for Florida Republican Senator Mel Martínez, “We haven’t done a good job explaining to the rest of the country why immigration reform is important for them too.”

Recommendations for Advocates Working with the Hispanic Press

1. Reframe the debate.

Advocates must work with media, advocacy groups and strategists to develop a clear, unified message to respond to the attacks on immigrants from conservative media. In the immigration debate, advocates of reform must not only respond but must reframe the debate.

2. Present a unified front.

Advocates must work with media to develop a central message. One of the reasons many Democratic Senators voted against immigration reform in 2007 was the perception that Latino organizations were not united in their support for comprehensive immigration reform.

3. Integrate and participate.

Advocates must work with media to continue to support voter mobilization efforts and Latino participation in American civic, social and economic life.

4. Widen the lens.

To pass immigration reform, its supporters must win over the larger American public. Advocates must work with media to reframe the debate as inter-ethnic, showing the rest of the country that immigration reform is not just about Latinos, but affects everyone.

5. Make the economic argument.

The future of the U.S. economy depends on immigrants, and this economic argument has been largely absent from the national immigration debate. Advocates must work with media to show that immigration reform is not only a question of justice; it is also a question of economics. Its repercussions extend to all sectors of our country and our economy. Hispanic pollster Sergio Bendixen has been a key advocate of this economic argument, predicting that migrants will become the most important “commodity” of the 21st Century.

APPENDIX I

Al Día (Dallas) – Spanish-language daily sister paper of the Dallas Morning News
Atlanta Latino (Norcross, Ga.) – Bilingual weekly Georgia newspaper
Diario La Estrella (Fort Worth) – Spanish-language weekly sister paper of Star-Telegram
Eastern Group Publications (Los Angeles) – Bilingual weekly independent chain
EFE (nationally syndicated) – Spanish-language news service based in Spain
El Conquistador (Milwaukee) – Spanish-language weekly community newspaper
El Diario/La Prensa (New York) – Spanish-language daily newspaper (ImpreMedia)
El Mensajero (San Francisco) – Spanish-language weekly newspaper (ImpreMedia)
El Nuevo Herald (Miami) – Spanish-language daily sister paper of The Miami Herald
El Observador (San Jose) – Bilingual weekly independent newspaper
El Pregonero (Washington, D.C.) – Spanish-language weekly community newspaper
El Sentinel (Orlando) – Spanish-language weekly sister paper of Florida Sun Sentinel
El Tecolote (San Francisco) – Bilingual biweekly community newspaper
El Tiempo Latino (Arlington, Va.) – The Washington Post’s Spanish-language weekly
Enlace (San Diego) – Bilingual weekly sister paper of San Diego Union-Tribune
Hispanic Business (Santa Barbara) – English-language national monthly magazine
Hispanic Link (Washington, D.C.) – English-language national newsweekly
Hoy (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles) – Spanish-language daily (Tribune, ImpreMedia)
La Opinión (Los Angeles) – Spanish-language daily newspaper (ImpreMedia)
La Prensa (Riverside) – Spanish-language weekly newspaper (The Press-Enterprise Co.)
La Prensa (South Florida) – Spanish-language weekly newspaper (ImpreMedia)
La Prensa San Diego (San Diego) – Bilingual weekly community newspaper
La Raza (Chicago) – Spanish-language weekly newspaper (ImpreMedia)
La Voz del Pueblo (Lilburn, Ga.) – Spanish-language weekly community newspaper
Latino News (Gadsden, Ala.) – Spanish-language weekly community newspaper
Rumbo (San Antonio) – Spanish-language Texas newspaper chain (Meximerica Media)
Tu Ciudad (Los Angeles) – English-language magazine
Univision Online (nationally syndicated) – Columns printed in Spanish-language papers
Vida en el Valle (Fresno) – Bilingual weekly sister paper of the Fresno Bee
Washington Hispanic (Washington, D.C.) – Spanish-language weekly newspaper