The Construction of Latino Immigrant Families in U.S. News Media: Parents’ Responses and Self-representations

Jason Edward Miller
The Construction of Latino Im/migrant Families in U.S. News Media: Parents’ Responses and Self-representations

by

Jason Edward Miller

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: S. Elizabeth Bird, Ph.D.
Heide Castañeda, Ph.D., MPH
Karla Davis-Salazar, Ph.D.
Rita DeBate, Ph.D., MPH
Karen Besterman-Dahan, Ph.D., R.D.

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DEDICATION

To my husband, John, who has supported me in all of my endeavors for the past 12 years and who has always been my fiercest supporter and advocate.
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ABSTRACT

Latino im/migrants are often portrayed in negative and stereotypical ways in mainstream U.S. media. This dissertation utilizes Ethnographic Content Analysis to analyze news segments about Latino im/migrants from Fox News, MSNBC and Univisión between 2010 and 2012 and digital storytelling with a group of Latino im/migrant parents in central Florida.

First, I questioned if a Spanish-language news media source constructed Latino im/migrant family-focused stories differently than mainstream English-language sources. Utilizing Critical Race Theory as a theoretical lens, I conclude that English and Spanish-language news stations portray Latino im/migrants in different ways. Fox News portrays Latino im/migrants in a generally neutral or negative tone, MSNBC offers a generally neutral or positive tone, and Univisión offers a generally positive tone. Moreover, Fox News generally frames Latino im/migrants as a “problem to be solved” with the implied solution almost always being deportation or exclusion. Univisión generally framed the global, neoliberal, capitalist system that creates the need for mass migration as the “problem” and identified activism and social change as the “solution.” These analyses are supported with evidence from stock video footage from segments that often dehumanizes im/migrants as well as use of rhetoric during segments (namely phrases like “illegal” and “anchor baby”).

Second, I questioned if, when offered the opportunity to represent themselves, would Latino im/migrant parents construct images of parenthood that both acknowledge and transcend the mainstream news media discourse? I conclude that the digital stories Latino im/migrant parents created in 2009 represent a broader, fuller picture of Latino im/migrant parenthood and
that these stories rely more heavily on lived, narrative experience even after considering the change in format from news segment to digital story. Digital stories provide an effective vehicle for conducting participant observation and ethnography. Moreover, I argue that digital storytelling has the potential to be effective in increasing voice and building capacity for positive social change.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Francisco sat next to me staring at a blank Word document on the computer screen, pondering what to write next. He turned to me and very quietly said:

“How can I capture in words what it was like to cross—to go for days without water? To be lied to by coyotes? To finally find water in a horse trough and to be on my knees gulping it down like an animal? This isn’t what I want for my children.”

He stared off into the distance and then, slowly, he turned and began hunting and pecking at the keyboard in front of him with his index fingers. Francisco, like many other Latino im/migrants to the United States, came here with hope for a better life for himself and for his family. Unable to read or write in Spanish and unable to speak English when he arrived in the U.S., Francisco has now been working on learning both Spanish and English for several years. In a short period

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1 There is a robust debate in scholarly and activist circles as to how best to collectively describe individuals who migrate and immigrate. *Migrant* is generally used to describe people who participate in temporary, often circular migratory patterns (often for economic reasons) and who plan on returning to their home country. *Immigrant* is often used to describe people who move to a new place with the intention of staying in the receiving country. Throughout this text, I have chosen to use the more inclusive term im/migrants to describe the population in my study. I do this for several reasons: first, the term is more inclusive; second, both migrant and immigrant parents participated in the creating digital stories; and finally, the news segments analyzed generally did not specify if the subjects of the segments were migrants or immigrants.
of time, he’s accomplished a significant amount of work. It is here, at a literacy academy in urban central Florida, that I met Francisco to listen to his story and to help him craft it into a digital story he could share with others. He and the other Latino im/migrant parents who participated in my digital storytelling project each had a story to tell about their lives as Latino im/migrants and as parents --stories full of their hopes and dreams and the bittersweetness of leaving their homes to start a new life far away.

Verónica, who never directly shared her own migration journey with me, was much more comfortable at the computer. She had a cell phone and had more experience typing. Even though Verónica had been in the U.S. for about the same amount of time as Francisco, their acculturation levels were vastly different. She had more years of formal schooling in Mexico and came from a middle class family, and that seemed to ease her cultural transition compared to Francisco. However, both Francisco and Verónica were routinely confronted with the realities of what it meant to be a transnational Latino im/migrant living in Florida. Both primarily consumed Mexican-origin and U.S.-origin Spanish language media (music, television, news, etc.), ate a diet that prioritized “Mexican” foods, and spent a considerable amount of money, time, and effort to maintain ties to their families in Mexico. Other than their migration from Mexico to the U.S., their lives are effectively similar to those of any other working class parents in any U.S. neighborhood: they wake every morning to fix breakfast; they hurry their kids off to school; they go to work, where they labor long hours and receive insufficient appreciation for their efforts; they rush to pick up their kids from child care; they eat dinner and fall asleep at night, dreaming of a better life for their children than they themselves had had.

But this is not the Latino im/migrant parent we usually see when we turn on the TV to watch the evening news on major networks. These mainstream news broadcasts about
im/migrant families typically feature a news anchor wearing a suit on a soundstage in front of a blue screen. Above the anchor’s shoulder is a box featuring stock video clips that often consist of faceless, brown-skinned men climbing over tall wire fences. The images are frequently filmed at night and an infrared camera is often used. The few visible faces, defined by the lens of the camera, are set with eerily glowing eyes. The men will brandish guns or knives and they are often depicted as running or scurrying away, like so many vermin fleeing when a light is turned on. The images quickly cut to heavily armed police wearing mirrored sunglasses and bulletproof vests overlooking newly arrested and handcuffed Latino men (again—there are rarely images of women). It is only then that your ears perk up and realize that the story is actually about Latino migrant kids using a school bus. These juxtapositions frame not only the stories, but our national debate about Latino im/migrants—indeed the entire debate about “immigration reform” is arguably a code-word for Mexican im/migration or perhaps more recently expanded to include other central American countries such as Honduras. Or as some, like anthropologist Leo Chavez, might frame it: the Mexican invasion (Chavez 2001; Chavez 2013).

Many of these English-language stories feature voiceless Latino im/migrants—figuratively and literally. So-called “talking heads” and pundits converse with each other while silent images of migrants hover in the background of the screen. Im/migrant families are dehumanized and shadowed not only in their graphic representation, but are also stripped of their own voices, rendering them unable to communicate with the audience. The perspectives of the mostly white and mostly male anchors and guests are privileged for the listeners while the perspectives of migrants themselves are diminished. Anchors use framing to establish themselves as “American” while im/migrants are identified through a variety of means as “other.” However, this is no simple other but rather a quiet, dangerous subaltern that is to be feared by the
mainstream American. Pundits subtly (and sometimes overtly) remind the audience that illegal aliens from the south are a pressing problem and the underlying message is that the audience should be afraid. Even more dangerous is the pregnant Latino mother who is about to “drop anchor” in the United States—the very embodiment of everything most feared by those who define their lives in terms of hegemony. Is it any surprise that most individuals who identify as Latino and primarily speak Spanish in the U.S. turn to Spanish-language media? (Suro 2004)

It is within this context that my research is situated, as I seek to explore both the way Latinos are represented in news media, and the way they choose to represent themselves, when given the opportunity to do so.

**Statement of the Problem and Rationale**

According to the 2010 census, individuals who identify as “Hispanic” made up 16.6 percent of the U.S. population. These 50.5 million individuals represent more than half of the total growth in the population between 2000 and 2010 (2010 U.S. Census). Latinos represent an ever-growing segment of media consumption via a variety of formats such as television and movies, radio, print and the Internet. More than 700 U.S.-produced Spanish-language newspapers and radio stations serve this population, in addition to six Spanish-language television stations (Chura 2005). Television in particular is a powerful tool at reaching Latino and Spanish-language media consumers. The two largest Spanish-language television stations in the U.S., *Univisión* and *Telemundo*, reach more than 86 percent of all U.S. Latinos (Reynolds, et al. 2005; Rodriguez 1999). In terms of news viewership, Latinos turn to national network news and local news equally, to the exclusion of other sources such as print or radio.

A 2004 study by the Pew Hispanic Center found that 88 percent of Latinos interviewed watched television news programs (Suro 2004). The study shows that while monolingual
Spanish speakers rely on Spanish-language media, bilingual speakers use a mix of English and Spanish-language media to receive their news. It is interesting to note that while the study did not explicitly ask for immigration status, the author concluded that immigrants are more likely to receive their news from Spanish-language sources. In particular, this study also highlights both the importance of Spanish-language news media and the perception that English-language news is biased.

“Moreover, Latinos have strong views about the roles the news media play in society. The vast majority of Latinos, including those who only get news in English, view the Spanish-language media as an important institution for the economic and political development of the Hispanic population. Meanwhile, Latinos are broadly concerned that the English-language media contribute to a negative image of Latinos among English-speaking Americans” (1).

The study goes on to state that 44 percent of interviewees stated that English-language news contributes to a negative opinion of Latinos amongst non-Latinos in the U.S. Those respondents’ perceptions match existing research.

As I discuss in my literature review, news and other media contribute to framing and prioritizing issues like Latino migration by using certain words, images, and sounds, by identifying how these three elements are juxtaposed, and by how often they feature stories on Latino migration. Much of the scholarly literature I review describes how Latino im/migrant families are generally portrayed in negative ways. The effects of news and other media on Latino im/migrant families can be significant, ranging from experiencing implicit bias to overt discrimination or even violence. Obviously, media outlets are not singlehandedly responsible for any effect, be it positive or negative. However, they play an important role in our society and
must be considered for their role in setting discourse and prioritizing social issues – the well-established “agenda-setting” function of news.

In my dissertation, I use an anthropological and ethnographic approach to explore the relationship between U.S. media representation and personal experience of migration. In doing so, I examine how Latino im/migrant parents work to produce their own media as a counterpoint to the mainstream U.S. news media landscape within which they live. Their stories offer a stark contrast to the typical, English-language news media portrayal of Latino im/migrant families.

**Structure of the Dissertation**

My dissertation draws on two separate pieces of research that nevertheless speak to each other. The first is a digital storytelling project that grew out of a year of participant observation with Latino im/migrant parents at a literacy academy in urban central Florida. Originally, I partnered with the literacy academy with a series of research questions about Latino im/migrant parent involvement with their children’s education. My original dissertation proposal included a PhotoVoice component. I distributed disposable cameras to parents and asked them to take photographs of what it meant to be an involved, Latino migrant parent. After developing the pictures, I interviewed several of the parents using the photographs they had made. However, it became clear within a few interviews that the staff at the academy and the participating parents did not find that question or method particularly interesting. Beyond this, the parents did not care for the low quality of the disposable cameras and most of the parents seemed puzzled as to what I wanted them to do even after the Academy administrator and I both gave instructions and answered questions on several occasions. Recognizing I was headed in the wrong direction, we worked together to develop different research questions that were of greater interest and importance to the parents. What we developed was a digital storytelling project that allowed the
parents to use their new English skills and also develop computer, media, and storytelling skills with the goal of using the videos the parents produced in advocacy work. The stories range in topic: one focuses on lessons a grandmother taught the filmmaker, who now teaches those same lessons to her own daughter, another on the challenges of being divorced across a national boundary, and another speaks to the power of Latina Mothers and the ability to work together. The process collectively allowed parents to explore their own identity as im/migrants and choose how they would represent their own lives on video.

Second, I used ethnographic content analysis to examine how Latino im/migrant families were portrayed on mainstream news media, focusing specifically on three national television news stations: Fox News, MSNBC, and Univisión—a Spanish-language network. News programs were searched for references to Latino im/migrants and then analyzed qualitatively to better understand how the networks use a variety of words, images and sounds to frame Latino im/migration and Latino im/migrant families.

The digital storytelling project began (and finished) first due to reasons outlined later in the dissertation. The idea for the media analysis came near the conclusion of the digital storytelling project, and was developed as a way of grounding and contextualizing the participatory work in the media landscape in which the parents were working to create their own stories. While the two research approaches are clearly topically related, I also argue that they are more deeply related in terms of methodology and analysis. The digital storytelling research component becomes a form of audience study wherein individuals who are members of a marginalized group are themselves asked to make media fully understanding that the media they create will, in turn, be influenced by the mediascapes they inhabit.
For ease of the reader, I present the product of these two approaches non-chronologically in this dissertation. By presenting the work in this manner, I believe the results are clearer and that readers will better understand how I use my survey of the scholarly literature to formatively ground both research approaches.

To that end the dissertation is composed of four remaining chapters. Chapter 2 offers a review of the scholarly literature, focusing on two bodies of literature. First, I discuss broadcast news media portrayals of Latinos including a brief history of Latinos in U.S. media and news, the role of Latino journalists, the use of framing devices such as dehumanizing words, including illegal aliens and anchor babies, and concluding a discussion of the “Latino threat narrative,” as developed by Chavez (2013). Next, I focus on the anthropology of media and journalism and provide some theoretical grounding to the study of news specifically in the context of Latino im/migrants.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of my ethnographic content analysis research concerning Latino im/migrant families. It begins with a general discussion of the method and then continues to more specifically refer to my own data collection, analysis, and findings.

Chapter 4 documents the digital storytelling project, the methods used and the results of the project. In addition, it also provides a discussion of unique ethical considerations for undertaking this sort of research project with Latino im/migrants.

Finally, Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results from both the ethnographic content analysis and the digital storytelling project, allowing for comparison of the results together. I revisit my specific research questions, speak to the effectiveness of the methods used, and offer possible directions for future research. I conclude with a short reflection on the project and the challenges of engaging in dissertation research that is non-traditional in several ways.
Research Questions

Throughout the project, my research was informed by two central research questions and associated sub-research questions. First, does a Spanish-language news media source construct issues relevant to Latino im/migrant families differently than mainstream English-language sources. In order to explore this question, I address the following sub-research questions:

a) What is the tone or nature of coverage of im/migrant issues in each type of news media?

b) What are specific examples of rhetoric, imagery, and sound used to discuss migrant families in each type of news media?

c) Do the two types of news media use the rhetoric of illegality differently and is there a difference between how and when the two types of news media use particular pieces of framing rhetoric, such as *illegal* and *undocumented*?

Second, when offered an opportunity to represent themselves, do Latino im/migrant parents construct images of parenthood that both acknowledge and transcend the mainstream news media discourse? In exploring this question, I use the digital stories produced by parents to ask:

a) In what ways is digital storytelling an effective ethnographic approach to understanding the lived experience of im/migrant parents?

b) Can digital storytelling be used as a vehicle to increase voice and build capacity for positive social change in a community?

Together, these two questions and related sub-questions help me explore this complex system of framing, othering, and agency, showing ways in which people might be empowered to strengthen their own voices.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In situating my research within the larger body of scholarship regarding Latino media representations, my analysis is guided by three overarching themes.

First, I explored scholarship focused on representations of Latino families in U.S. media, with particular focus on news. This would give me important historical context for understanding how the stories captured in my own ethnographic content analysis work had evolved, especially important given Couldry and Curran’s (2002) caution that those whose perspectives are portrayed represent those whose perspectives are privileged. This presents a way to uncover power relationships embedded in media; thus Critical Race Theory and the notion of framing provide theoretical scaffolding to explore this issue.

Second, I was interested in the notion of illegality and how other scholars had operationalized and dealt with this idea in their work. This was a particularly interesting time to engage in this work given that the Associated Press was actively discussing if its stylebook would be changed to remove mention of “illegal aliens” – a change that ultimately was adopted in 2013. One anthropologist in particular, Leo R. Chavez, has given considerable attention to these issues and developed the so-called Latino Threat Narrative to describe how notions of illegality and citizenship are used to create discourses about Latinos and Latino migrants. I found Chavez’s work to be a particularly strong theoretical lens through which to understand illegality and Latino media portrayals.

Finally, I wanted to delve deeper into how other scholars had understood the sociocultural role of media, particularly journalism. Much of this literature comes from outside
anthropology. However, I also want to heed Elizabeth Bird’s (2010) call for a more thoughtful engagement of anthropology with journalism. I agree with Bird that anthropologists have much to contribute to this conversation in terms of how mediated imagery develops, flows, and is understood by audiences.

I end this chapter by identifying opportunities for my own research and how the results of this literature review inform my subsequent research steps—namely my ethnographic content analysis of selected Latino U.S. news media.

**Latinos in U.S. Fictional Media**

Latino faces have never been prominently featured in broadcast media. Numerous studies of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s have examined the dearth of Latino bodies on television (Dávila 2002; Gerbner and Signorielli 1979a; Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez 1980; Greenberg and Brand 1994; Greenberg, et al. 2002; Heeter, et al. 1983; Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994; Portales 2000; Seggar 1981). Gerbner and Signorielli (1979a) found just 2.5 percent of all characters on TV between 1969 and 1978 were Latino. For 30 years, the percentage of Latino bodies found on television hovered around two percent with the number visible during prime time being even smaller (Lichter, et al. 1991). The number of other minority characters has risen over time. For example, in that same time period, the number of African American faces rose from around eight percent to over 17 percent by 1992 (Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994:24) Indeed, communication scholar Angharad Valdivia goes as far as to argue that media in the United States “was that of a binary composition—black and white” (2010:4). This focus on seeing African American faces as diversity continued to hide the faces of other minoritized groups such as Latinos, Native and Asian Americans. In the 1980s the so called “decade of the Hispanic” led to a greater niche
marketing effort which saw more Latinos being featured in advertising and other media outlets (Dávila 2012). However, exposure was still limited.

Valdivia (2010) utilized a type of meta-content analysis to compare how several scholars explored notions of Latino portrayal on U.S. television (in particular) and in other media. In this work, she struggled with identifying Latino representations for several reasons. First, it is challenging to define who exactly is Latino. Nationality is often not mentioned or present and skin color–based “guessing” is also not a reliable approach (77). Often, researchers rely on code-last-names like Garcia or Gutierrez to signal ethnicity, but researchers’ definitions and measurement of ethnicity vary widely. Some note that semiotic markers may be used to covertly signal Latino-ness; Valdivia points to a VW commercial featuring green Beetle taxis (found in Mexico City) as an example of a intended “covert” message to Latino audiences (76).

Setting aside these methodological challenges for a moment, many Latino characters seen on television represent stereotypes or caricatures that frame Latinos in explicit ways that serve to other them from a more “mainstream” white audience -- for example, characters who have darker skin, heavy accents, and are consciously descriptive of their nationality. Many other scholars have reached similar conclusions through content analysis of fictional portrayals of Latinos on U.S. television (Gerbner and Screen Actors Guild 1993; Gerbner and Signorielli 1979a; Greenberg and Brand 1994; Lichter and Amundson 1994; Lichter and Amundson 1996; Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994). For example, a study commissioned by the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) points to stereotypical Latino portrayals as poor/low socio-economic status, lazy, criminal, patronized, and untrustworthy (Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994).

One of the archetypes of Latino characters is that of criminal. S. Robert Lichter and Daniel R. Amundson researched portrayals of Latinos in U.S. television from 1950-1990
(Lichter and Amundson 1994). They found that “Hispanics” appeared infrequently on U.S. television and when they did they appeared in low status roles with a lack of personal character, or were often cast as violent criminals. Moreover, they found that the growth of reality TV shows (such as COPS) had dramatically increased the number of portrayals, but that these were almost entirely of Latinos as violent criminals. In 1996, they updated their study, using content analysis of broadcasts during the 1994-1995 season, including almost 6,000 characters on 139 television programs. They found 133 Latino representations (about two percent of all of the representations). When separating reality programs from fictional ones, they found a slight drop in the number of Latino characters who were portrayed as violent criminals, although 15 percent had committed a crime (Lichter and Amundson 1996:4). Moreover, only one in 10 Latinos were seen in professional or business occupations (compared to one in four white characters). Surprisingly, they found that the percentage of Latino portrayals on reality shows had actually decreased, although the number of reality characters who portray criminals is still much higher than the actual, national average (2). A report from the National Council of La Raza found that for every 100 “good Hispanic” characters on TV there were about 75 “bad Hispanics” (Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994:27).

While Lichter and Amundson did not code specifically for gender, gender plays a particularly important role here. Much of Gerbner and Signorielli’s work has examined gender and they have repeatedly found that there is a dearth of Latino women on U.S. television (Gerbner and Screen Actors Guild 1993; Gerbner and Signorielli 1979b). When Latina women do appear, they are generally represented as passive women who defer to men or “fiery” Latin women who need to be tamed by a man. Clara Rodríguez describes these two roles as Madonna (a virginal character who is innocent and passive) or Whore, who is hot-blooded and sexy
(Rodríguez 1998:75). Basinger (1993) traces the origin of these dualistic stereotypes both in U.S. and in Mexican media and ultimately states that the stereotype of “good girl” and “bad girl” is deeply rooted in western society and can be seen in virtually all portrayals of women regardless of ethnicity. While this may be true, it does not explain why there are so few representations of Latina women or why there are virtually no roles for them on television that are outside this strict dichotomy. For example, Rodríguez points out that we virtually never see a Latina mother—especially one who is not a criminal (Rodríguez 1998:76).

This lack of Latina mothers leads to a lack of Latino families. Surprisingly, I was unable to find any study that looked specifically at the portrayal of Latino families on TV. None of the major studies of Latino representations on U.S. television considered portrayals of family. This represents a significant hole in the scholarly literature and an opportunity to deepen our understanding of these kinds of portrayals. Perhaps a male researcher-bias coupled with a lack of representations of Latina women has caused this oversight. Regardless, ethnographic studies of family portrayal could produce interesting results that would provide insight into how these families are portrayed on fictional television. Certainly, there are more Latinos on television than ever before and shows like Ugly Betty, George Lopez, and Devious Maids are making those portrayals more common. However, there continues to be a lack of Latino families and those families that are present often continue to fit into stereotypes.

Anthropologist Arlene Dávila (2002; 2008; 2012) has written about the relationship between Latinos and advertising media, having conducted participant observation, content analysis, interviews and focus groups with Latino audiences. She concludes that while U.S. Latino audiences appreciate the increase of representations, they find many of those representations problematic. Dávila has frequently referred to this as part of the “whitewashing”
of Latinos in the U.S. today—visible in the myriad ways middle class Latinos are marketed to and wooed by corporations as new market segment whilst simultaneously distanced from less economically privileged (and often darker-skinned) Latinos (Dávila 2008).

**Latinos in U.S. News**

Navarrete and Kamasaki (1994) argue that, while most broadcast media represent fictional characterizations, social scientists should be interested in how news media represents minoritized groups. “News programs by definition are supposed to portray reality, while much of the other media is fictional in nature. [News] help[s] shape public opinion on policy issues—and may have an even greater effect on policy makers” (25). This call to focus on how Latinos are featured as news content (and also as news producers in the form of journalists and TV news hosts) is important to social scientists because it mirrors the lack of Latino faces in fictionalized programming. Greenberg and Brand (1998) found that even though Hispanics accounted for up to 65 percent of the population in the news regions they analyzed, less than 10 percent of the stories were about Hispanics. Even more telling is that 42 percent of those stories that were included were sports stories, many of which only qualified because they contained a Spanish-origin surname (9).

América Rodriguez has created, perhaps, the most detailed history of Latino representations in U.S. news media. In her work, *Making Latino News* (1999), Rodriguez traces the origins of Latino representations in U.S. news to U.S.-based Spanish languages newspapers of the mid 1800s through the 1970s. She goes on to document the impact first of radio and then of television on Latino audiences, ultimately laying the foundation for the birth of Spanish-languages television stations like Telemundo and Univisión. Rodriguez defines “Latino news” as fundamentally a product of Latino culture (i.e. something that is made primarily for Latino
consumption) that utilizes culturally produced symbols, subjects, and meaning making and is produced by Latino news sources (1-2). For Rodriguez, Latino media consumers desire to see themselves in the media they consume. She provides a theoretical context to her work that is rooted both in cultural factors and economic analysis. In other words, increasing market share driven by increasing numbers of Latino media consumers has largely driven the growth in Latino news in the U.S. Here, Rodriguez relies on Ien Ang’s (1991) notion of audience abstraction.

“The Latino audience is not the men and women who consume news media, but rather the purposeful abstraction that constitutes the economic foundations of Latino journalism—the audience that is bought and sold in the marketplace. This audience is a social and cultural and economic construction… it is both the purpose and the product of Latino news making.” (Rodriguez 1999:5)

For Rodriguez, Latino news is both a mirror reflecting Latino culture and also simultaneously working to craft what that culture is. It contains deeply engrained cultural, political, and economic values that reflect the local context as well as the transnational Latino diaspora. To that end, race, ethnicity, and class play central roles in crafting the message and content of media. Central to Rodriguez’s argument is a media sphere that is produced by and for U.S. Latinos who live in this globalized diaspora. In this culturally specific sphere, Latino newsmakers experience a significant degree of power and control in how they craft their message and content. However, this is not the case when Latino journalists work in non-Latino dominant news outlets.

As I have outlined above, Latinos are rarely featured in news stories by non-Latino U.S. news media and they are even more infrequently seen as journalists in those settings. 18 percent of news stories were identified as “Hispanic-focused” by Heeter, et al. (1983) with the vast majority of stories focusing on crime. Scant attention was given to stories focused on minority
rights issues during the same time period. By 1976, there were zero Latinos out of the 85 TV network news journalists (U.S. Civil Rights Commission 1977). By 1993, Latino journalists made up 1.5 percent of the reporters on network news (Gerbner and Screen Actors Guild 1993). The report goes on to mention that of that 1.5 percent, only 0.3 percent were news deliverers and Latinos were not cited at all as sources or authorities. Greenberg and Brand (1998) concur with these findings noting that less than 2 percent of newscasters were Hispanic (6).

However, those journalists who are Latinos are potentially quite distanced from the Latino individuals they write and report about, being separated by education and class backgrounds from the bulk of the Latino audience (Rodriguez 1999:47). While this may speak to education and class background being more important than ethnic identity, it still raises an important concern regarding the way news is produced, who is producing news and how audiences receive news. On this point, Valdivia also notes that we must consider that “[journalists] are not at liberty to cover whatever they want, however they want to…” when we examine the content that individual Latino journalists produce (2010:44). This trend does not appear to be changing. In 2008, the American Society of Newspaper editors documented that more journalists of color left the profession than entered it.

Of those journalists who are Latino, many experience challenges in the newsroom related to their ethnicity and the kinds of stories they are given.

“Hispanic reporters face unwarranted challenges of their latitude and credibility as professional journalists … considered lacking the acumen to write about issues other than ethnic problems or strife, they are also perceived as too partial for ‘objective’ in-depth reporting about educational, economic, or the type of policy issues of importance to their community” (Ericksen 1981:307)
While Latino reporters’ work is overtly scrutinized based on their ethnicity, white reporters are free from this level of doubt about their credibility; indeed they are often perceived to be more objective because they lack both ethnic and class ties to those on whom they report. These unspoken organizational rules work to privilege whiteness, while signaling to the audience that the news they watch is fair and unbiased. Far from being bias-free, this news would be more aptly described as hegemonic. This has real policy implications, as Clara Rodríguez (1998) notes: “The virtual absence of Latino “newsmakers” in broadcast news undermines the credibility and prestige of Hispanics seeking to influence public policy” (16). Latino voices are silenced and control of the message is lost.

So, what kinds of stories do make it on TV about Latinos? Unfortunately, “Latinos are almost invisible… [however] when they do appear, they are consistently portrayed more negatively than other racial and ethnic groups” (Rodríguez 1998:13). The trend on television news largely mirrors what we see in fictional television. Carveth and Alverio (1996) conducted content analysis of news stories on ABC, CBS, and NBC during 1995 and found that only one percent of news stories featured Latinos or Latino-related issues (2). They identified four main categories of the approximately 121 stories they identified: crime (19 percent), immigration (21.5 percent), affirmative action (22.3 percent), and welfare (8 percent) (10). They go on to state that unlike other issues discussed, Latino pundits or experts on Latino issues were rarely interviewed or consulted on screen. They also note that Latino bodies only appear in about half of the stories about Latinos. Carveth and Alverio conclude that the dearth of Latino bodies on network TV is a type of symbolic annihilation; Latinos are systematically absent from television news and thus their bodies are framed as the opposite of whiteness and all of the values that whiteness implies.
Rodríguez (1998) notes that such stories identify Latino bodies as being full of problems. These are seen as inherent, such as poverty, violence, and lack of education, and also as problems for “mainstream” white society. By focusing on problems, but ignoring contributions, creative and cultural activities, U.S. television news media present a lopsided Latino body that takes, but does not give (15). She goes on to critique this as the presentation of Latino bodies as objects rather than subjects for the news. Save for token representations, Latino bodies are absent, broken and in need of fixing by others (16). Rodríguez concludes that “if the few Hispanic characters in the media are found disproportionately in the less successful, more evil, negative, and stereotypical roles, then the media may be contributing to prejudice and discrimination against Latinos by reinforcing derogatory stereotypes” (18). This, coupled with the absence of Latino bodies in general, makes it even more unlikely Latino issues will be brought up for fair discussion in policy arenas. Navarrete and Kamasaki (1994) reach a similar conclusion noting “the failure to balance these negative portrayals with positive Latino role models or accurate information about the condition of Hispanics, promotes opinions about Hispanics that are inconsistent with the facts” (22).

**Critical Race Theory and Framing**

Thus far, I have considered stories largely created by non-Latino entities. However, there is also a growing amount of research that explores the effects of Latino-created content on audiences (Nielsen 2009; Nielsen 2010; Rodríguez 2007; Santa Ana 2002). These scholars see a distinct contrast between the ways that majority and Latino minority media frame and discuss Latino issues. For example, Nielsen (2013) used Critical Race Theory (CRT) in understanding how news media help inform social identity by exploring structural racism in mainstream media and contrasting that with Latino-oriented newspapers. Nielsen shows how Latino-oriented
newspapers and television programs use a “counternarrative” as described by CRT. This narrative begins with the lived experiences of Latinos themselves. She synthesizes four “key points” of CRT in her application of the theory to Latino media based on the work of other scholars in the area (46-47). First is an acknowledgment that racism is real and that “neutrality, colorblindness and meritocracy are all questionable constructs” (Pizarro 1998:22). Second, real-life stories of actual people of color, told by those people, can “cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority” (Delgado and Stefancic 2001:144). Third, whiteness is seen as normative by those who make and distribute media as well as those who consume media. Those who are not white are not defined by who they are but what they are not (Delgado and Stefancic 2001:76). Finally, interests of minority groups are more likely to be discussed and considered relevant when the issues at hand are perceived to affect the majority (Delgado and Stefancic 2001:16-20).

All this contributes to how stories about Latinos are framed. Entman (1993) defines framing as “call[ing] attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions” (55). Nielsen (2013) argues that Latino content producers frame their stories in different ways, focusing upon Latino bodies and telling Latino stories with their own voices and in doing so fundamentally change the discourse in both micro and macro ways. In other words, they challenge the hegemonic discourse by showing Latino bodies, but allowing Latinos to talk for themselves and, in doing so, thrust those issues into a larger policy sphere. Nielsen (2013) points to three specific studies as examples of how framing can work.

In the first, Rodríguez (2007) conducted a content-analysis using framing as a theoretical lens with 42 news articles from mainstream, African American and Latino newspapers
concerning the 2003 report showing that Latinos had surpassed African Americans as the country’s largest minority group. She found that Latino newspapers were more likely to construct articles that centered on the challenges and opportunities present in such findings, while the mainstream newspapers focused on conflict and hierarchy of minority populations. The Latino-produced counternarrative was not counter-hegemonic, but instead provided greater body, voice and context to the narrative.

Next, Nielsen refers to her own research using framing analysis in the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinión* concerning immigration reform in congress (Nielsen 2009). She analyzed over 300 articles concerning immigration reform from the two newspapers between 2006 and 2007. She found that language use and fear were two important framing devices used by the papers. Language use was particularly interesting in terms of word choice as symbolic metaphor. The *Los Angeles Times* used the word *immigrant* interchangeably with the word *Mexican* in 49 percent of the articles. However, in *La Opinión*, *inmigrante* (immigrant) was used as an umbrella term for immigrants not tied to a specific country. “*La Opinión* used *inmigrante* as a synonym for *trabajadores* or workers” (50). Even more telling was that the *Los Angeles Times* used the phrase *illegal immigrant* in 78 percent of their stories and also reduced this phrase to simple *illegals* in many stories. Nielsen found no uses of this phrase at all in *La Opinión* that instead utilized the phrase *inmigrantes indocumentados* (undocumented immigrants). I’ll speak more to the linguistic specifics of *illegal aliens* in the next section, but its usage here represents a framing that appears to deeply other and dehumanize those bodies to which it refers, while *La Opinión* constructed a counternarrative which consistently sought to portray real people in rich context. Nielsen ultimately concludes that Los Angeles Times built a narrative of fear by portraying
Latino immigrants as “other” and as a harbinger of crime, a fundamental change to U.S. culture and a source of job loss. In contrast,

“La Opinión’s counternarrative carried frames of multicultural solidarity… that portrayed proposed legislation as the source of fear and pointed to political action against the bill as part of the solution. Only La Opinión’s coverage reflected immigrants as contributors to U.S. culture and addressed U.S. Latina/o political mobilization as a rising power (Nielsen 2013:51).

Finally, Nielsen refers again to her own work concerning frame-based content analysis of now Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor’s nomination process (Nielsen 2010). Nielsen argues this is a particularly good application of CRT because Sotomayor represents an intersectional case, being the female child of low-income, Puerto Rican parents. Intersectionality here refers to the potential for several facets of identity to intersect—the potential to be discriminated against based on her gender, ethnicity, and class background. Nielsen compared 124 articles from two newspapers, the New York Times and El Diario-LaPrensa between Sotomayor’s nomination in May 2009 until one week after she was sworn in in August 2009. Nielsen concludes that the two newspapers framing of Sotomayor is “directly opposite,” with the New York Times framing Sotomayor’s diversity “as a burden, showing Sotomayor as biased toward Latina/os, and questioning whether she could ‘overcome’ her ethnicity to be an impartial justice” (54). In contrast, El Diario-La Prensa framed Sotomayor’s diversity as advantageous to expanding the court’s ethos and highlighted Sotomayor’s impartiality (54). Here, Nielsen describes the counternarrative in El Diario-La Prensa positioning Sotomayor as a “wise Latina” using Sotomayor’s own phrase (55). Nielsen connects Sotomayor’s narrative here back to CRT by pointing to the importance of context. The New York Times often used that two-word quote...
of Sotomayor to describe how she had an undesirable “fiery, Latina pride” that would bias her on the bench (55). However, the complete quote, in context was carried in El Diario-La Prensa and, far from showing her as purporting bias, showed her concern for intersectional framing and the lived, narrative experiences CRT draws our attention to.

A particularly interesting consideration here is Spanish-language news programs produced by Latino enterprises. While I have referenced these before, they are worth further consideration here before moving on. Abrajano and Sungh (2009) undertook content analysis of both English and Spanish language news coverage of immigration issues. They ultimately conclude that Spanish and English-language news organizations discuss immigration in different ways, with Spanish-language news programs ultimately portraying immigration in a more positive light. Moreover, they find that Latinos who watch Spanish-language news are more knowledgeable about and have a more favorable opinion of undocumented migrants than Latinos who watch English-language news (23-24).

Branton and Dunaway (2008) also explored the differences between Spanish and English-language news—specifically newspapers—using content analysis, and also cite the importance of framing and agenda setting in terms of the economic reality of newspapers. They state that “economic motives of Spanish-language and English-language news organizations are likely to produce significant differences in their news coverage of immigration” (1007) in order to appeal to their audiences. They ultimately conclude that Spanish-language media include more stories that are more favorable to immigrants than do English-language newspapers because each type of news outlet seeks to supply news based on the demand of the consumer and this constant use creates a narrative that influences both beliefs and behaviors of Spanish speaking and English speaking audiences (1020).
“Illegal” Aliens

The term *illegal alien* and its history are an important consideration in how media construct Latino migrant identity. One of the earliest references to the term in print comes from Sir William Blackstone’s 1765 *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. In the first volume, Blackstone offers many ways of dividing people under the law. He describes those who are aliens and those who are natural born subjects of the king and the rights and privileges of each under British law (Delgado and Stefancic 2001:144). Blackstone draws on the Latin term *alienus*, meaning foreigner, as the basis for the use of alien to describe a non-British citizen. This usage is also laid into the 1790 U.S. Naturalization Act which limits naturalization to aliens who are free and white and is subsequently also used in 1798 in the U.S. Alien and Sedition Acts which give the president the power to expel “aliens.” While these uses are governmental in nature, the term alien is commonly used in print media publications at the time.

However, the media landscape begins to change at the turn of the 20th century and again in a significant way beginning in the 1970s. In the 1910s and 1920s, the first references begin to appear in print media referring specifically to illegal aliens and illegal immigrants. The New York Times has perhaps the oldest usage of the phrase in the U.S. For example, the title of a 1926 story from that newspaper describes an Irish immigrant who rode a bicycle into the U.S. from Canada without stopping at the immigration checkpoint (Blackstone 1765:354). A later article refers to a young Cuban woman who attempted to commit suicide as she was on her way to Ellis Island, again referring to her as an illegal alien (New York Times 1926). These references are few and far between in the New York Times with only a handful of references before 1940 and less than 100 uses of the term between 1851 and 1970. After 1970, the use of the phrase becomes significantly more common. However, in many of these usages, the
individual’s immigration status is not the primary focus of the story, but is rather a qualifying or contextualizing element. For example, a 1977 story about women’s health and access to abortions describes a young woman who sought an illegal abortion after her husband beat her and was deported. It is also interesting to note that during this time, many of the references that appear are actually descriptions of TV episodes that contain characters described as illegal aliens. Between 1970 and 2010 there were 931 mentions of the term illegal alien.

Historian Mae Ngai (2014) has written extensively about the American historical context and origin of the phrase “illegal alien.” Ngai focuses on 1924 to 1965; she argues that the creation of the Johnson-Reed immigration Act of 1924 served as the nation’s first comprehensively restrictive immigration policy. Johnson-Reed placed racially and nationally-based quotas on immigrants which favored some over others. This coincided with a decline in immigrants from western European nations and the rapid assimilation of those groups (such as the Germans and Irish) who had immigrated a generation prior (3-5). Ngai argues that this tightening of immigration status along with the greater assimilation of previous immigrants created a new status—that of a new immigrant who was denied citizenship. The denial of this path creates a two-tiered system where those who have the means enter the U.S. and embark on the path to citizenship while those who do not become alienated both literally and figuratively. Ngai goes on to argue that this grows out of and simultaneously reinforces a racial hierarchy that describes individuals in terms of desirability. Johnson-Reed systematically excluded immigration from many Asian countries on grounds that their citizens were racially ineligible for citizenship. While Mexican citizens were not specifically barred, border enforcement procedures laid out in the act significantly affected Mexicans.
“The actual and imagined association of Mexicans with illegal immigration was part of an emergent Mexican “race problem” which also witnessed the application of Jim Crow segregation laws to Mexicans in the Southwest, especially in Texas, and, at the federal level, the creation of “Mexican” as a separate racial category in the census” (7).

Ngai sees the phrase and its racialized usage as a logical conclusion to a history of colonialism and conquest. Like separate but equal, legal and illegal immigration served to reinforce segregation of whites from people of color (9).

The United Nations adopted language to describe undocumented migrants in 1975, choosing the phrases non-documentated or irregular migrant/worker. However, these phrases have had limited impact outside of NGOs (Paspalanova 2008). In fact, the UN’s own documents do not always use this phrase (81). Paspalanova conducted content analysis with several scholarly, migration journals and found there is little consistency internationally when referring to these individuals. Only about 30 percent of authors use the term “undocumented.” Moreover, there is often little justification for why an author chose one term over another. Paspalanova ultimately argues against using the phrases illegal alien or illegal immigrant for five reasons: 1) the phrases lack legal meaning; 2) they have negative social and political connotations; 3) they can manipulate public opinion; 4) only an act can be illegal—not a person; 5) the phrase presumes a person is guilty of a crime before they have had a trial (82-83).

Many have called for use of the phrase to be discontinued. For example, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists called to replace illegal immigrant or illegal alien with undocumented immigrant in 2006, citing that members felt the phrase was dehumanizing and disrespectful (Carmichael and Burks 2010a). Use of the phrase has since declined, but usage remains strong in certain media outlets. Linguist Otto Santa Ana notes that the AP stylebook
created an entry on “illegal immigrant” in 2004 that lists it as the preferred phrase. However, Santa Ana notes that while the stylebook “forbids using illegal as a noun, it allows its usage as an adjective” (2). Carmichael and Burks have written extensively about the media controversy surrounding the use of the phrase illegal immigrant (Carmichael 2010; Carmichael and Burks 2010a; Carmichael and Burks 2010b). Journalists themselves, they have explored how various news outlets have operationalized the term, concluding that some outlets use the term often. They cite one 533-word story published in 2010 that used the term “illegal alien” eight times (Carmichael and Burks 2010b:3).

The Latino Threat Narrative

Negative portrayals of Latinos on U.S. fiction and non-fictional media contribute to negative perceptions. Leo R. Chavez has explored these perceptions more than any other scholar, developing what he refers to as the Latino Threat Narrative to describe what he sees as a discourse within U.S. media about Latinos and the supposed dangers they represent to non-Hispanic America. Chavez sees antecedents in other immigrant groups to the U.S.A. (e.g. Irish, catholic, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants) and how each of these groups was originally seen as threatening to dominant society. Chavez describes how each of these groups also elicited negative and alarmist media portrayals. Nevertheless, Chavez believes that Latinos are perceived differently than their predecessors and the notion of illegality has a significant impact on their reception (Chavez 2001; Chavez 2013).

For Chavez, notions of illegality are mixed with a fear of an invasion from Mexico and a so-called reconquista or reconquest of the U.S. southwest by Mexico, which Chavez refers to as the Quebec model due to its linguistic and cultural similarities to the Québécois independence movement in Canada (Chavez 2013). There are several important aspects to this narrative of
invasion and reconquest. First, Latino immigrants appear unable or unwilling to learn English. Second, Latino immigrants appear unable or are unwilling to assimilate to dominant hegemonic U.S. culture. Third, Latino culture is static, unchanging or immutable and that this immutability is directly connected to Latino immigrants’ inability to assimilate. And finally, there is a gendered notion of reproductive threat via Latina mothers and their children. Chavez traces these themes through mostly print media between the 1920s and 2000s, exploring the role U.S. print media played in crafting and disseminating this narrative. Using a content analysis and a discourse analysis of magazine covers, books and print news publications, Chavez pieces together a cogent discourse containing reference after reference to terms such as illegal, invasion, and conquest. “Indeed, during the 1990s, the Mexican invasion and reconquest were at the heart of a veritable publishing industry that emerged, paying on the public’s fears of immigration” (2014:33). This “industry” focused on lack of assimilation and English language as key indicators of the coming conquest and began to use increasingly militaristic language to describe a coming war. This war would be fought over the fundamental right of who could become a citizen but it blunt, binary terms devoid of nuance.

“The objects of this discourse are represented as the Other and as a ‘threat’ and ‘danger’ to the nation through such simple binaries as citizen/foreigner, real Americans/’Mexicans’ or real Americans/’Hispanics’, natives/enemies, us/them, and legitimate/illega. Once constructed in this way, Mexican and other Latin American immigrants and even U.S.-born Latinos, can then be represented as ‘space invaders’—as Nirmal Puwar has put it—whose reproduction, both social and biological, threatens to destroy the nation’s identity” (Chavez 2013:22).
If alterity becomes key to understanding the motives behind the discourse, then biology becomes the mechanism that sets the threat into motion. For it is through Latina mothers and their Latino children that the Latino Threat Narrative becomes most threatening. While there are Latinos “invading” by crossing the border, believers of this discourse are even more fearful of Latina women and the children. First, because those Latino children immediately become U.S. citizens upon birth in the U.S. and because their Latina mothers will transmit their own culture to their children. Chavez believes this narrative is so powerful and believable to many in the dominant society because “its basic premises are taken from granted as true” (45). Dominant U.S. citizens see Latinos as one homogenous group who are uneducated, monolingual and live in ethnic concaves which totally separate them from the rest of American society. This separation means they must necessarily only marry other Latinos and their Catholic faiths means they must have high fertility rates. Here, Chavez relies on Antonio Gramsci’s notions of hegemony and common sense to show that this sort of discourse, while shocking to some, completely reinforces the hegemonic worldview of others and serves to justify dehumanizing policies, treatment, and ultimately, the threat that Latinos present to white, middle class America. Here, Chavez adeptly ties these discursively constructed dichotomies to Mary Douglas’s constructions of purity and danger in that these seemingly immutable categories of us/them and citizen/enemy become “true” and essential (Chavez 2013:45). As previously noted, these stereotypical categories begin to gain hegemonic power when they are replicated over and over by U.S. television news (Chavez 2013:46).

Mixing notions of word choice, illegality, and the threat posed by Latina mothers, the phrase “anchor baby” rose to prominence among some U.S. news media. Like the dehumanizing truncated term *illegals*, anchor baby is often regarded as a pejorative term for the child of an
undocumented immigrant who will go on to create a pathway to legal residency for the parent. The term did not originate as a term for Latino children specifically, but is widely thought to have originally been used to describe children of Vietnamese immigrants in the early 1980s and later again in the 1990s. Ignatow and Williams (2011) use a sophisticated computer algorithm to track the usage of the term and have documented a steady increase in recorded usage through the early 2000s with a jump from just over 100,000 uses in 2009 to almost 500,000 uses in 2010 (61). Moreover, they measured how the term “cascaded” across conversations replicating itself from site to site. At a theoretical level, they draw on so-called “critical theorists” of Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno and Antonio Gramsci to argue that “media monopolies or oligopolies are able to achieve *hegemony*—total control over what the public sees, reads, hears, and ultimately, thinks” (62-63). These forms do not challenge readers or viewers to think critically about the media they consume but rather reinforces their own worldview. While some may argue that “new” media, web 2.0 and other novel forms like blogging and YouTube create a more diverse mediascape, (Landow 2006; Pensky 2005) Ignatow and Williams argue that these novel forms function primarily as an “echo chamber” (Baum and Groeling 2008; Gilbert, et al. 2009) which simply repackages content from large, oligopolistic media outlets (63). Ignatow and Williams point to a second possible cause of the surge in the usage of the term, namely a bottom up approach that is led by the repackaging of content on blogs (which account for about 20,000 uses in 2010. However, they also caution that only a small portion of these blogs are widely read (relying on google.com page rankings for this) and thus, it is again likely that only a few users propagate usage across much larger systems until a tipping point is reached whereby mainstream media begin utilizing the phrase (63). They also offer a third possibility—namely that the spike in usage is caused by the convergence of old and new media in the quest for audience. Here, the
The echo effect is amplified as more and more content creators compete for audience. This leads to opportunities for “uninhibited and unrestricted discourse” (64). Ultimately, Ignatow and Williams conclude that it was partisan news sites (like Foxnews.com) that created the current usage and that the echo effect is responsible for spreading its usage among blogs and other outlets (71).

Lederer (2013) concurs that “anchor baby” is a strong example of exponential diffusion of both liberal and conservative “buzz words” that are consciously and subconsciously framed around the issue of immigration. Lederer undertook a pragmatic linguistic analysis of the term by compiling a database of over 500 uses of the term, including television, print journalism and through web searches. Lederer shows the progression of the term and its normalization on Fox News and other media outlets using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to better understand “…the way social inequality and power dominance are enacted and reinforced through social and political discourse (253). She does this by looking at the way the phrase anchor baby is contextually situated within the conversation. For example, pairing with other language implicating that immigrants are taking advantage of “true” Americans. She also explores the metaphorical relationship between immigration, water, and seafaring symbolically traversing boundaries (254-260). Ultimately, this term becomes entrenched in social stereotypes that come to represent categories of people. In other words, all Latinos come to be represented by anchor babies. Lederer concludes that her case study of anchor baby “activates complex structure in speaker’s minds…. Producing a series of inferences that negatively characterize Latino immigrants. … This term leads speakers to the conclusion that, unlike most people who have babies because they love children, Latinos have babies to gain a leg up” (264-265). This reinforces the original, hegemonic and negatively stereotypical view of the media producer and further shapes the public policy discourse about immigration.
Numerous scholars have shown that the content of news broadcasts influences the political opinions of audiences (Gilbert, et al. 2009; Navarrete and Kamasaki 1994; Rodriguez 1998). This also extends to what issues individuals consider most important (Cohen 1963; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Iyengar 1991; Kahn and Kenney 2002; McCombs and Shaw 1972) and focus how audience members learn about political issues (Iyengar and Kinder 1987). This extends particularly to Latino audiences. Abrajano and Singh note that “where Latinos receive their news is crucial not because of the actual language of communication, but because the source (English or Spanish) is indicative of the goals of the news organization and their subsequent decisions on how to discuss a particular issue” (Alvarez 1998; Just, et al. 1996; Rodriguez 1999; Zhao and Chaffee 1995). Particularly important in this discussion is the use of agenda setting and frames, in other words, how a particular program highlights, frames and presents an issue for the audience (2009:2). Agenda setting is “those items that receive prominent attention on the national news become the problems the viewing public regards as the nation’s most important” (2) (Gilliam Jr and Iyengar 2000; Gilliam Jr, et al. 1996; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Iyengar 1991). Branton and Dunaway (2008) used agenda setting extensively to show how Spanish and English-language media outlets positioned their news stories to appeal to certain audiences.

Framing is used by the journalist (or news organization) to consistently show the audience a specific discourse on an issue. For example, framing can be used to make moral or ethical evaluations about an issue (Iyengar 1991:16). This is particularly relevant as news agencies chose different ways of framing issues related to Latinos and Immigrants, specifically
related to issues of illegality, and can potentially use rhetoric to subtly (and sometimes explicitly) dehumanize and criminalize whole populations.

Much of the work on understanding Latino and immigrant issues and media (and, in fact, news and journalism writ large) has come from political science. For example, there is ample discussion of how to ascertain the “Latino Vote” in run-ups to elections and from sociology, communications and other more quantitatively oriented methodologies. These disciplines use their number-driven skill sets to probe into the relatively linear relationship between media producers, content and audience. In particular, examples of quantitative content analysis abound in the scholarly literature. For example, Vargas (2000), utilized quantitative content analysis of Latino news in the Raleigh News & Observer as it relates to gender, race and class. Vargas also used quantitative content analysis to understand the frequency and quality of depictions of Latinos on primetime television in 2002, while Mastro, et al. (2008) used quantitative content analysis to understand the economic function of portrayals of immigrants. Each of these studies, and many more, use quantitative content analysis to better understand the specific content of media in a numerical way. However, anthropologists and others note that this removal of content from the ethnographic context within which it lives is problematic because it allows for the introduction of bias. For example, while content producers may have a specific reading of their content in mind (called the preferred reading), audiences’ do not necessarily interpret media in the way producers intended. In fact, audiences may have a reading which is oppositional to the way producers intended or may negotiate meaning by mixing the preferred and oppositional readings (Rose 2012:269). Hence, an uncritically applied qualitative content analysis which separates content from ethnographic context would miss the sophisticated ways audiences can understand content.
Anthropology has been relatively recent to explore media, especially journalism and news. S. Elizabeth Bird, perhaps one of the strongest proponents of an anthropology of news and journalism, defines her vision for the study of news and journalism anthropologically as “… a way to explore the nature of news as a form of cultural meaning making—its creation, content and dissemination” (2010:1). Bird’s approach naturally relies on ethnography as the primary anthropological methodology to study news. For Bird, the ethnographic grounding of anthropology fills a missing gap in the current scholarship of news and media that is dominated by cultural studies and journalism. In particular, she notes that anthropological contributions to the study of news’ content and the reception of that content has been minimal (3). She goes on to argue that the more quantitative methods of sociology and psychology that seek to reveal patterns are inadequate because they fail to capture the complexity of the way media systems circulate. She argues that an anthropological approach to news media would attempt “to acknowledge and capture the fluidity with which media act within culture” (3). This consideration is critically important for work on Latino media precisely because U.S. news media so often have been shown to use framing and other factors to shape the messages audiences receive. Without grounding in ethnographic context that framing gains a great deal of power in shaping the discourse.

News media have the ability to prioritize for the viewing audience by focusing on which issues are seen and which reporters cover. This ability to set an agenda leads to a prioritization of topics of public debate. “Although the news media may have no direct impact on public attitudes and behaviors, according to the agenda-setting approach, the media’s power to steer attention to and from public issues determines which problems will be confronted or ignored by society” (Bird 2010:1). While audience members’ individual attitudes and beliefs are obviously a critical
aspect of this relationship, constant focus on an issue combined with issue framing impacts audiences’ perceptions and makes for a complex system of meaning. Several researchers of the agenda setting effect have found that direct experience with the issue at hand (i.e. when an issue “obtrudes” into an individual’s life) is an impediment to the news’ ability to set agendas (Abrajano and Sung 2009; Salwen and Matera 1997:329). In particular, (Atwater, et al. 1985; Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur 1976; Behr and Iyengar 1985; Blood 1980; Salwen and Matera 1997) all identify obtrusiveness as an unwieldy concept resulting in the construct being unevenly applied in the research literature; some studies will apply an issue or characteristic as obtrusive whilst another study will not. Abrajano and Sung (2009) (drawing on the work of Iyengar and Kinder) state that

“Research has shown the ability of television news to “prime” audiences into thinking about certain issues and events. So while television news may not be overtly altering individuals’ opinions and beliefs, it has the ability to influence how voters rank which issues are most important to them and depending on how news stories are “frames” and presented, it can also prime voters’ evaluations of political leaders and issues. For example, a news segment that focuses on the illegal nature of immigration can prime individuals to only think of immigration reform from this perspective (3).

Framing (how an issue is discussed and visually represented), in conjunction with agenda setting, thus becomes a powerful tool for controlling discourse.

Miller, et al. (1998) provide a useful analytical framework called the Circuit of Mass Communication for understanding how media (and in particular news media) produce and frame content and then seek to understand how content is understood by audiences (1998). Their research explored media coverage of AIDS in ways other than “moral panic” (9). Instead, they
sought to develop a framework that would better explore empirically the relationship between the state, media, and the public. They examine three aspects:

First, media are produced by practices derived from an understanding of the professional practices of journalists themselves. This includes an understanding of process, but also consideration of how those practices contribute to which topics and issues are covered, how those topics are dealt with, the relationship between source and journalist and the journalist’s (and, vis-a-vis, the producer’s) beliefs and expectations about the audience’s reaction to media contents. To that end, they advocate an approach that involves examining textual artifacts from media production, interviewing content producers and others who shape content—in this instance, they also included public health officials who helped craft the message about AIDS. Second, they undertook content analysis of media examples using all national television news and press reports over a two-year period. They utilized both qualitative and quantitative techniques looking specifically for relationships between genre and format. They were specifically interested in differences between fictional and factual representations. Third, they explored audience reaction to content by using diverse participant focus groups where people discussed the media and AIDS. These three aspects complete the “circuit” of mass communication.

Miller, et al. conclude the media “play a central role in the reproduction and transformation of contemporary society” (223). Therefore, they believe that the qualitative, ethnographic study of media should be central to the study of society, but that this study is oft overlooked or neglected. They critique traditional mass communications research for focusing on the discourses present without addressing questions about, for example, media’s impact on public policy or the control of public debates on important issues. While the authors reach a
variety of conclusions that are relevant to public health and AIDS research and policy, many of these conclusions are more generalizable to other issues in which media have a significant amount of power in regards to how groups are portrayed and how agendas are set. For example, Miller et al. conclude that the way HIV and AIDS patients were portrayed had a direct effect upon how audience members perceived their own risk and relationship to AIDS (225). Moreover, the caution that policy makers themselves are, of course, not immune from the influence of the media. Miller et al. seem to concur with Chavez (2013) that the growing media spectacle increases a sense of crisis that demands a policy response. However, that crisis is the product of how the issue is framed and the lenses of hegemony through which audiences and policy makers see issue (226). Some scholars (such as Nelson, et al. (1997)) have argued that framing and agenda setting also have the power to transfer the viewers’ feelings about an issue to a group. Nelson’s team found that viewers’ opinions about affirmative action were transferred to African Americans in general rather than the specific policy that was being addressed. Thus, if news media focus on Latino immigrants instead of immigration reform more broadly then viewers may transfer attitudes about Latinos to immigration reform and vice versa.

Another theory that has been used to explain the relationship between media and audience attitudes is Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, et al. 1986; Gerbner, et al. 2002). Succinctly, Cultivation Theory “posits that over time, exposure to the consistent and persistent messages on television moves viewers to adopt the television version of reality, irrespective of its veracity” (Mastro, et al. 2007:348). In this way, television becomes a socializing force in people’s lives providing social conditioning and cultural constructions. Media (and television in particular) serves to reinforce the worldview of the viewer showing them images they already believe to be true. Cultivation theory has been widely used to describe how audiences make sense of media,
but the theory has also been widely critiqued for providing little evidence in terms of the specific processes at work (Hawkins and Pingree 1990; Potter 1991; Shrum 1996). Mastro, et al. (2007) attempted to address this critique by incorporating a notion of “mental model” to the cultivation framework and then analyze social perceptions of Latinos. For example, they theorize that less real-world interaction with Latinos would produce a stronger cultivation effect when presented with stereotypical Latino media. In this way, they critique studies that have relied heavily on traditional quantitative content analysis and, instead, advocate for a greater understanding of how viewers make sense of the information they receive on a cognitive level (349-350). They go on to define mental models as “cognitive devices that allow people to construct unique, individualized, and malleable version of knowledge, incorporating subjective and objective components into a unified mental representation” (350). Here, they rely not only on verbal information but the larger visual tableau that is created on screen. They surveyed 275 white college students from a midsize, eastern university. Participants were surveyed twice, four months apart. The first survey assessed media consumption, perceptions of Latinos on television, and demographics. The second survey assessed perceptions of Latinos in the U.S., interracial contact, and demographics. The researchers found that “perceptions of TV portrayals of Latinos and television consumption rates … predicted real world evaluations of Latinos in U.S. society” (357). This held statistically significant for three stereotypes about Latinos: a) criminality; b) intelligence; and c) work ethic. They found that the more television a respondent watched, the more negative their stereotype against Latinos. However, their second hypothesis—namely that real life experience might mitigate these stereotypes—was more difficult to substantiate with weaker (although still present) associations (359-360). In other words, “… individuals with lower levels of close interracial contact demonstrated more pronounced cultivation effects”
ultimately, the authors conclude that many Latinos and scholars are correct when they argue for the importance of affirming media representations of Latinos (362).

In conclusion, three areas of scholarly literature will inform my research. First, scholarship that analyzed representations of Latino families in U.S. media with a particular focus on news found that Latinos (and Latino im/migrants in particular) are often represented as one of several archetypes (such as criminal, sexual conqueror, or economically impoverished) in fictional media and that Latinos were often either largely absent from non-fictional representations or were featured in stories that often framed them negatively. More specifically, I looked at several pieces of the Latino Threat Narrative discourse (i.e. illegality and anchor babies) to explore the dehumanizing and erasure of Latina mothers from news media. Second, I explored a variety of theoretical lenses other media scholars had used to explore similar issues (including Critical Race Theory, Framing, Agenda Setting, and Cultivation Theory) to inform my own analyses of media. Finally, I utilized Bird’s call for a greater engagement between anthropology and journalism grounded in ethnography.

Much of the scholarly literature used to understand the representations of Latino im/migrants in the news has been quantitative in nature lacking ethnographic context. Those few scholars who do rely on ethnography (e.g. Leo Chavez) have traditionally explored print media not broadcast news. As I mentioned previously, this decontextualizing of content is problematic because it assumes that audiences interpret content in a homogenous way. To that end, there is an opportunity to study broadcast news media representations of Latino im/migrants in a more ethnographic way by utilizing a specifically ethnographic approach to studying content. In the next chapter, I describe such an approach, Ethnographic Content Analysis, created by Altheide. I then use this approach to analyze news media representations of Latino im/migrants as well as
the theoretical lenses from this literature review. In the following chapter, I then work directly with Latino im/migrants themselves to construct media representations. In this way, I further ground my analytical work ethnographically by being a part of the iterative process of content creation.
CHAPTER THREE: ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) (also known as Qualitative Content Analysis, Qualitative Media Analysis, and several other names) is a methodological and analytical approach to analyzing media developed in the late 1980s by sociologist David Altheide (Altheide 1987). Altheide created ECA as a response to the limitations he saw in the quantitative approach to content analysis (today known simply as content analysis) that was historically a dominant research approach to understanding patterns in documents. In this chapter, I begin by further describing the history and difference between ECA and content analysis. Then, I describe my own application of ECA to a collection of mass media representations of Latino migrants. I end by stating some limitations of this approach and also some opportunities for further research.

ECA and Content Analysis

In traditional content analysis, researchers develop a clear data collection protocol and coding document based on a hypothesis. They then set about collecting data following that protocol (often using a random sample) and then counting how often pre-determined categories are present in the data. Altheide desired an approach to analyzing documents that went beyond simply counting the occurrences of certain phrases or images in a data set. Instead, he emphasized the context and ethnographic reality that were needed to make sense of images. To that end, Altheide conceptualizes of ECA as a blending of

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

He sees two major differences between the two approaches. The first is epistemological. ECA necessarily relies on participant observation as a way of embedding the document as a symbol within the larger cultural tapestry that produced it. Thus, it is both similar and distinct from a more traditional content analysis approach. Gillian Rose describes (quantitative) content analysis as being methodologically positivist and explicit, drawing the source of understanding from;

“…a number of rules and procedures that must be rigorously followed for the analysis of images or texts to be reliable (on its terms); these concern the selecting, coding and quantitative analysis of large numbers of images” (2012:81).

Whereas a more quantitative approach to content analysis seeks to verify a hypothesis, an ethnographic approach is used as a process of discovery to elicit from data a culturally-based understanding of how the document is a product of culture and, at the same time, actively works to influence culture. Where quantitative content analysis seeks to be positivistic, random, reliable, and serial, a more ethnographic approach to content analysis is reflexive in nature and allows for the exploration of themes within cultural artifacts as they emerge while not sacrificing empirical evidence. This ethnographic approach becomes embedded in a textual and visual analysis and situates analyses within the larger cultural milieu providing a richer and deeper way of understanding media whilst still retaining content analysis’ ability to deal with the sheer scale of mass media.

Altheide (1987) admits that he is not the first to attempt to utilize a more ethnographic approach to content analysis. Indeed, he points to qualitative approaches such as grounded theory
(Glaser and Strauss 1967), and the work of sociologist Ken Plummer (1983) who attempt to understand data by first sifting through it and looking for patterns. Altheide goes so far as to claim that this approach directly (or indirectly) involves the use of *participant observation* (Altheide 1987:65-66; Altheide and Schneider 2013:5). However, he never specifically defines what exactly participant observation is or how it is directly used in ECA. Moreover (and particularly in his earlier works) he relies heavily on literary scholars and sociologists to talk about participant observation and how it impacts the research process. However, he curiously omits any references to anthropologists or others who might speak to a direct connection between media and document analysis and fieldwork—a more Malinowskian approach to participant observation that anthropologists would recognize. Altheide ultimately concludes that, while others have “accomplished some grounding” no one has codified an approach to content analysis that utilizes *ethnography*, which he then seeks to do (1987:65). Here he again relies on sociologists, Howard Schwartz and Jerry Jacobs (1979), to define ethnography as “the description of people and their culture” (Altheide 1987:66). In his most recent work, Altheide does provide a slightly more nuanced definition, which does mention fieldwork as an important element (2013:24). However, he further defines fieldwork as simply “getting deep” into the context.

From here, Altheide continues to describe further difference between ECA and content analysis focusing mostly on processes. Content analysis relied on pre-structured categories while ECA is more iterative and dynamic. Content analysis utilizes random samples while ECA is purposive and theoretical. Content analysis relies on statistics and tables. ECA also relies on statistics and tables but adds text and narrative. Altheide concludes that the defining characteristic of ECA is “the highly reflexive and interactive nature of the investigator (1987:68).
In this way, ECA attempts to incorporate elements of content analysis while remaining flexible. For example, categories and patterns are used, but a goal of the research is for the researcher to develop new categories as the research unfolds, thus making the process of coding and analysis iterative in nature. Here, the similarities between ECA and Glaser and Strauss’s grounded theory are clear. At a theoretical level, the ECA model owes much to the notion of grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This is not surprising because much of Glaser’s original theoretical underpinning of grounded theory came out of his use of Alfred R. Lindesmith’s 1931 Content Analysis approach (Glaser 2002; Glaser 1965; Glaser and Strauss 2012). ECA uses grounded theory to explore the relationship between symbolic meaning and the context within which the producer and viewer understand media.

Altheide makes a clear case for why a more ethnographic approach to content analysis could be beneficial—particularly its reliance on reflexivity and flexibility in terms of how research protocols are iteratively applied to explore data sets and answer questions. However, there are also some serious shortcomings and missing links. For example, by not more fully explicating what sets ethnography and participant observation apart from a more quantitative approach, Altheide misses an opportunity to really transform the research experience. Altheide assumes that people who are members of a culture are inherently doing participant observation. I would disagree; by not acknowledging the methodological and epistemological contributions of ethnographer and participant observers who call for research in situ, one loses the juxtaposition of emic/etic that is sought by fieldwork. The solution to this challenge is to root the experience not in the lived reality of researchers themselves, but to incorporate actual fieldwork into the ECA process. To that end, the rest of this chapter describes research utilizing ECA about media representations of Latino migrants that is simultaneously rooted in field-based participant
observation with Latino migrants. While Altheide’s basic approach already emphasizes the context within which media are made (i.e. the national discourse on immigration in the U.S.A.), I believe this additional layer takes these ideas even further and more fully roots them in Altheide’s original goal.

Figure 1 Ethnographic Content Analysis Process from Altheide and Schneider (2013)

ECA Process

In his original description, Altheide articulated a six-step process for engaging in ECA (Altheide 1987). However, in 2013, he and co-author Christopher Schneider added an additional 6 steps to create a 12-step sampling and analysis process for engaging in ECA as seen in Figure 3.1 (2013:19). The models are significantly similar. However, the second model is slightly more robust and descriptive than the first. I utilize the second, fuller model as the basis for this research. Below, I summarize Altheide and Schneider’s (2013:39-73) discussion of the ECA process.

First, a topic is identified that warrants further exploration, using media and researcher discernment as to the appropriateness of ECA as a methodological and analysis tool. From this
work a research question(s) is identified. Then, a unit of media is selected for analysis. For example, should entire broadcasts be analyzed or should individual segments or stories within broadcasts be analyzed? Second, ethnographic study of the topic and/or a review of the literature is undertaken in order to ground the topic ethnographically and methodologically. Third, a few (six to 10) media artifacts are collected in order to survey the mediascape regarding the research question(s). From these sample artifacts a draft protocol is created for collecting, coding and analyzing data to guide further inquiry. Altheide notes that this process is highly inductive requiring the researcher to constantly revise the protocol and coding materials *in vivo* as new documents are collected. This ensures the research is asking the “right” questions and that new insights from additional artifacts are consistent with those that have already been analyzed (20). Subsequently, a more formal, theoretical sampling strategy is employed to collect further artifacts. These are then coded and analyzed continuing the iterative process. Finally, case studies are produced and a report is generated with description of the media artifacts.

Here, Altheide and Schneider (2013) rely on format, frame, theme and discourse to structure their discussion of case studies and reporting. Format refers to the organization, space and manner of media experience (51). For example, a study might look at mainstream news as a format as opposed to a television sitcom. A lengthy discussion of framing was provided in the previous chapter and the usage here is consistent with other scholars’ use of the concept. They then differentiate between themes and frames by stating that “themes are the recurring typical theses that run through [artifacts]. Frames are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event” (53). For example, they discuss a political race being covered by network news. The reporting may employ a “horse race” theme—which candidate is leading or an “underdog” theme—which candidate is behind but overtakes the frontrunner. Framing an
election as a “race” leads to these two recurring themes. Certain framing also means that themes that do not fit the frame are potentially omitted. For example, framing an issue as a criminal justice matter implies law enforcement and punishment are needed to solve the issue instead of health care, education, etc. (53). Finally, Altheide and Schneider discuss discourse. Here, as before, their description is limited. “Discourse refers to the parameter of relevant meaning that one uses to talk about things” (53). Discourse becomes taken-for-granted by the viewing audience. At a theoretical level, they claim discourse, themes and frames are “crucial in defining situations and provide much of the rationale for document analysis” (53). In other words, by uncovering discourse, the researcher is able to better understand how an issue is chosen to be shown in a particular format, through a particular frame and which themes constantly emerge. Underlying this work is an assumption that “symbolic representations are enmeshed in a context of other assumptions” (116) and thus the importance of an ethnographic approach is in being able to uncover the complex cultural semiotics that give rise to those underlying assumptions. For example, we might consider what pieces of language, images, colors, sounds, emotions or other parts of the rich tapestry of a media presentation become symbolically connected to the issue and the people being discussed.

**Latino Immigrant and Migrant News Stories**

In previous chapters, I’ve provided a discussion of why I am interested in studying mediated images of Latino immigrants and migrants, the ethnographic context and a review of the relevant scholarly literature. Thus, I will now continue with the particulars of my use of ECA to understand Latino im/migrant family portrayals in mainstream news media.

Originally, I wanted to rely solely on local television stations as a way of understanding local, Tampa-based media. I identified the two major television stations in Tampa that had, at the
time, the highest ratings for the morning news: Bay News Nine, a local news-only station produced by the Bright House cable network and WTGV, the local affiliate of Fox Broadcasting. I also included WVEATV, the local Spanish-language affiliate of Univisión, as a counter point to the two English-language broadcasts. As per the first step of ECA, I searched the websites of the three stations for videos specifically related to my research questions to find some sample segments. I developed a series of keywords to search stations’ websites that can be seen in the table below.

Table 1: Key Words Used to Search Websites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchor Baby / Ancla Bebé</th>
<th>Dream Act</th>
<th>Illegal immigrant / Inmigrante Ilegal</th>
<th>Illegal Migrant / Migrante Ilegal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant / Inmigrante</td>
<td>Immigration / Inmigración</td>
<td>Immigration Law / Ley de Inmigración</td>
<td>Immigration Legislation / Legislación de Inmigración</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant / Migrante</td>
<td>Undocumented Immigrant / Inmigrante Indocumentados</td>
<td>Undocumented Migrant / Migrante Indocumentado</td>
<td>Without Papers / Sin Papeles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each site was searched using the keywords above and I created an Excel spreadsheet of the found stories. Key words were searched in both English and Spanish on all three-television stations’ websites to find videos that had been broadcast. Stories that primarily or exclusively featured immigrants/migrants whose home country was not the USA, Mexico or Central America were excluded. Stories were collected from present (then the Summer of 2011) as far back as the website held stories. WTGV did not date their stories. WVEA’s oldest story dated from August 2009 and Bay News Nine’s oldest story was from October 2010.

It became clear as I explored these three stations that local stations did not place a large number of videos on their websites. Those videos that were posted on websites generally only represented the top few news stories of the week and often included stories actually written by the Associated Press or produced by a larger news network. Rarely were these stories about
immigration. Bay News Nine had by far the most videos on their website, but links to videos more than several months old often led to error messages or missing videos. In order to ensure a large enough sample, I decided to include the “parent” network for each of the stations. For WTVT, Fox News; for WEATV, Univisión and, since Bay News Nine is a local-only channel, I chose MSNBC, the second most watched cable news channel behind Fox News. This greatly increases the number of videos in the possible sample. Fox News and MSNBC were, in 2010, the two most watched U.S. television news channels during primetime for adults, and they continue to be (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2010). Univisión is the top rated Spanish language channel in the U.S. Beyond their large audiences, each of these channels is generally recognized as catering to a different audience and thus they were also selected to sample a range of news media, including media produced for consumption by both primarily English speakers and primarily Spanish speakers. As I began to look at sample stories, I discovered that Fox News and MSNBC both utilized a large number of pundits in their news broadcasts. Often, stories listed on their websites were produced that were on topic, but were merely a discussion of the topic and did not contain news or images other than the discussants. Based on these new data sources I introduced one additional exclusion criterion: stories were rejected if they only contained “talking heads” and not actual images of immigrants. Also, the oldest stories on these three networks required that stories be rejected if they were older than August 2010 since not all of the networks carried stories older than this date. In total, 116 stories were captured and analyzed Fox News (n=34), MSNBC (n=16), and Univisión (n=66). Within the constraints of my selection criteria, I then could potentially analyze 100 percent of the possible universe when I got to ECA steps 7-8.
When a video was found using a keyword, I first viewed the video to ensure that it met inclusion criteria. Second, I attempted to “save” the video using the software program Toast Titanium that allows for the archiving of some but not all web-based video as an .M4V file. The Fox News and MSNBC websites allowed their videos to be archived in this way, but Univisión did not. Each saved video file was given a unique name based on the station and date on which it aired. Since some stations aired more than one unique story on each day an additional sequential number was also added.

A draft protocol was developed containing the code name, title of the story, the network, the date, the URL for the story, and whether the story contained images of “migrants” and persons less than 18 years of age (ECA Step 4). Several sample stories were then re-watched to develop a more sophisticated coding system that more closely resembled a worksheet (ECA step 5). Pulling on themes from the literature review, I was interested in how the Latino Threat Narrative was present or not present, how dehumanizing words were or were not used, how fear was or was not used, the overall tone of the story, who the specific people were that were featured in the story and the general focus of the story. These broad categories did not have specific scales or binary options, but rather were open-ended and allowed me to write narratively under each item. As I re-watched the sample segments, I made sure to capture not only what was being verbally said in the segment, but also all of the other potentially meaningful pieces, including what sounds accompanied the segment, what visual imagery was used, what colors were used, how written text was used to anchor images, and if I could identify any framing.

As videos were watched and re-watched, the coding schema was further refined in order to, as Altheide and Schneider describe, “capture definitions, meaning processes and types” (2013:45) from the data (ECA step 6). Eventually, a more thorough codebook was developed.
which began to incorporate more specific sub-codes. For example, a fairly finite list of topics/subjects began to emerge with very few stories falling outside. Stories were almost always about crime, education, health, the environment or the 14th Amendment (the process of becoming a U.S. citizen). Since I had already collected all possible segments within my selection criteria (ECA steps 7 and 8) I proceeded to watch all segments and apply the revised coding scheme (ECA step 9). As Altheide and Schneider suggest, qualitative codes were purposefully kept broad in order to focus on capturing the timbre and feel of the source ethnographically and textually rather than “checking a box” on a more quantitative coding schema. This is an important methodological point because it illustrates a key difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches to content analysis. My coding process was iterative and narrative meaning that it did not lead to counts of how often a particular item appeared but rather narrative that described what was happening in the segment relevant to my research questions. I then set about comparing the segments and looking for patterns or themes that emerged from the data analysis (ECA step 10).

**Representing Latino Migrant Families on English-language News**

Three themes emerged from my analysis of specifically English-language representations of Latino im/migrant families: 1) the general absence of family, 2) the dehumanization of migrants and 3) a focus on fear of migrants. Below, I will discuss each of these themes and use specific examples from segments to illustrate each theme.

In the first theme, there is a general lack of families present in the graphic footage used in the news segments. While all of the segments in the sample were related to families (as illustrated by their title being relevant to families or children, their topic or subject matter being related to families or the focus (the cause of the “problem” or the solution to the “problem”))
most segments did not contain any visible families. Instead, segments included images like those shown in figures two and three below. Segments on Fox News almost always included stock footage of faceless adults crossing the U.S/Mexico border, living in shanty camps and being arrested by border officials. The footage is looped with no sound or context given to what these images are or why these specific images were chosen. There are no pictures of families, mothers or babies even though, ostensibly, the segments are about them. When images of families or children were present on Fox News, it was more likely that they only included adults and sometimes teenaged youth; young children were rarely depicted. For example, stories about the DREAM Act (which seeks to provide a path to citizenship for the children of undocumented immigrants who meet certain criteria) would often include images of students on college campuses. The lack of families and children was pronounced on Fox News. The majority of the MSNBC segments relied on the same kind of stock footage of faceless men. However, MSNBC was more likely to also include images of children and families as seen in figure 4 below.

When comparing stories that include images of children on MSNBC with the total absence of these images on Fox News, the difference between the graphic representation styles of the two stations is striking. Fox News often relies on a format that features pundits discussing an issue. As they do, a constant loop of stock footage is continually juxtaposing pictures behind them. MSNBC also uses this format, albeit to a lesser degree. Instead of the looped footage, some of the MSNBC segments in the sample did not contain any footage playing behind the pundits as seen in figure 5 below. While this does not utilize images of families, it also is not creating a framing that communicates fear. However, the two stations largely present a similar use of visual imagery that relies heavily on stock footage of Latino men.
Figure 2 No More Anchor Babies, January 28, 2011, Fox News. Copyright 2011, Fox News.

Figure 3 Anchor Baby Debate, August 8, 2010, Fox News. Copyright 2010, Fox News.
The second theme that emerged was the dehumanizing of Latino immigrants. In one five-minute segment on Fox News titled *No More Anchor Babies*, two guests on the segment argue as to what the writers of the 14th amendment to the constitution intended (i.e. should the children of undocumented immigrants receive citizenship if born in the U.S.A) and Arizona’s “right” to deny U.S. citizenship to the children of undocumented immigrants. The anti-immigration pundit and the host convert the adjective *illegal* into a noun as they speak. Setting
aside issues of the term illegal vs. undocumented, the pundit and host do not refer to illegal 
people; immigrants are simply illegals. This dehumanizes these families and, combined with 
how the images are framed, communicates a discourse of fear to the audience. The dehumanizing 
framing is important to understanding how the audience is meant to read or interpret the 
segment. The segment is framed in such a way as to say that it is Latina women who have caused 
the problem and the only solution to the problem is to change the constitution and deport Latina 
women. However, we do not see any Latina women or children in the segment. What we see are 
images of adult men who are menacing—the stock footage of police raids, of guns and knives 
and of men climbing fences. This framing is even more compelling because the stock footage 
never shows the audience the faces of the men. We see their backs, their legs, their arms holding 
weapons, and ultimately their hands in handcuffs as a police officer points a gun at them. This is 
particularly interesting because while this is going on silently in the background, the framing 
device being used in the running conversation between the host and pundits is radically different. 
They are discussing states’ rights and constitutional law.

This dehumanization also occurs with MSNBC. In a segment titled Kids Cross Border 
Alone, Fleeing Drugs and Gangs, audiences might anticipate that the story would largely focus 
on kids crossing the border alone because they were fleeing drugs and gangs in Mexico. 
However, this is only mentioned in passing in the story. There are scant references to extreme 
poverty or the impacts of globalization on the Mexican economy. Instead, the story focuses on 
the impact that these children have on social services in the U.S.A.—an unwelcome drain on 
federal and local recourses. What is perhaps even more interesting is that this story attempts to 
be reflexive about how Latino im/migrant youth are too often seen only as statistics, yet the way 
the children are portrayed is immediately dehumanizing. For most of the segment, we do not
hear from any children directly. We see images of children in the back of police cars, their faces blurred out, or images of children in bright yellow body bags (figure 6). We see images of faceless kids running from men with guns. The segment presents the youth as binary: they are either helplessly neglected or something to be feared as an invading force on our infrastructure. As with Fox News, much of the story is composed of stock footage of faceless men interspersed with video interview of experts or pundits many of whom are in law enforcement. We see images of children living in caves, their faces blurred and the voice of a white law enforcement officer says they are living “like animals.” When we do finally hear from a young girl directly, she makes a grunt and says “I can’t.” before the segment pivots and returns to stock footage. The segment ends with two pictures side-by-side of the blurred-out faces of two children sitting in the back of police cars.

MSNBC does not usually use such blatantly dehumanizing language. I found no uses of the noun form *illegal* to refer to undocumented im/migrants on MSNBC. In general, the MSNBC segments were much more likely to present a view of Latino im/migrants that utilized generally neutral or positive language while the Fox News segments were almost always neutral or
negative in tone. This has much to do with how the stories are framed on the two networks. MSNBC is more likely to present images, word choice and focus on issues that show Latino families as real people. For example, there are no MSNBC stories in the sample that use dehumanizing phrases like anchor babies or polarizing questions such as “Should Illegal Immigrants Receive Organ Transplants” (a Fox News segment from June 16, 2012). Virtually every Fox News segment in the sample utilized polarizing language that separates the audience from Latino immigrants. For example, in a segment titled: How Do Latinos Feel About the U.S., a Latino pundit reviews a Fox News Sponsored poll where Latino self-identified respondents were asked questions such as “Is the United States the best country in the world to live in?” The pundit is quick to point out that while 76 percent of poll respondents say “Yes” that number is lower than the number of “Americans” who said yes (85 percent) in a general poll. The pundit concludes that [the lower number] is because they are immigrants.

The third theme that emerged from these data was that of fear. An element of fear permeates many of the Fox News segments. For example, in the No More Anchor Babies segment, the conservative pundit peppers his language with words like “explosive” and phrases like “Arizona is in the cross-hairs of illegal immigration.” This language, combined with the earlier discussion of imagery, is used to further heighten the sense that this is a serious problem that has visceral implications for the audience- they could be physically harmed by these faceless, dehumanized men if nothing changes, even though the story is about babies. In another segment, titled Backdoor Amnesty for Illegals? a conservative and a liberal pundit debate a position paper released by Janet Napolitano that states that law enforcement will prioritize fighting violent crime over deporting those who lack documentation but have no history of criminal activity. While the pro-administration pundit speaks, the stock footage loops in direct
contrast to what she is saying. When the conservative pundit speaks, subtle framing language is used superimposed over an image of a man climbing a fence with barbed wire (figure 7). This fear framing is perhaps even more explicitly shown in a segment titled, *Convicted Killer and Illegal Immigrant Set Free*. The six-minute segment begins with the mother of the victim, shown in figure 8, describing what happened. There is ominous music in the background and suddenly all of the color drains from the image that goes to grey scale. It is rare for any of the stations to use such manipulations of sound and image, but they serve here to reinforce the fear theme.

![Figure 7 Backdoor Amnesty for Illegals? Fox News, August 19, 2011. Copyright 2011, Fox News.](image)

Color is, of course, often cited as being an important consideration in how images are received by audiences and understood. The color and color temperature of the pallet each station uses is an important consideration in how they are crafting their discourse. For example, Fox News’ use of dark, predominantly blue and grey colors adds to a sense of fear. In contrast, MSNBC generally uses bright, light colors such as yellow and orange when discussing im/migrants (e.g. Figure 2 versus figure 5 above).
In general, MSNBC does not utilize the fear frame to the same extent as Fox News. While MSNBC does include segments that have negative tone (such as the segment described above), they are on balance more likely to be neutral or positive. For example, in a segment titled *Three Women ‘Come Out’ as Undocumented*, the eponymous women of the segment are lauded as courageous and described as foot soldiers “fighting the good fight.” This is far from the rhetoric of undocumented persons (or more explicitly women) as something to fear but rather sees these Latina women as something to be praised.

**Representing Latino Migrant Families on Spanish-language News**

Turning to the Spanish-language station Univisión, these same three themes play out very differently. Where English-language news had a dearth of Latino families, Spanish-language news consistently emphasizes Latino families. Where English-language news used dehumanizing rhetoric, Spanish-language news humanizes Latinos. And, perhaps most interestingly, where English-language news relied on a thread of fear of Latinos running thought many segments, Spanish-language news also utilized fear as a theme emphasizing Latino fear of the U.S. government.
Latino families featured prominently in many of the segments in the sample when the segment was about families, and when the segment was about deportation, images of children were largely absent. Those segments that discussed families or family issues largely focused on the DREAM Act or at least referenced it in some way. Only one story in the sample referenced “anchor babies.” That segment attempted to debunk the myth of anchor babies as a term. As seen in figure 9, many children and families were shown in the segment, however, no faces were shown—parents and children were only shown from behind.

Figure 9 Untitled Segment from Agenda Washington, Univisión, January 16, 2011. Copyright 2011, Univisión.

This was a common framing device used throughout segments on Univisión that referenced undocumented immigrants; faces were generally not shown unless an activist was being showcased. However, the framing here is very different from the framing used by the English-language stations. Here, the lack of visible faces communicates to the audience that Univisión is protecting the identity of those represented on film. However, the tone in the English-language framing is one that is designed to create a subtle sense of othering. Moreover, Latino families appear in segments on Univisión that are not explicitly about families, children or family issues. For example, Latino families appear in a segment about Republican political candidates who
pander to Latino voters by appearing on Spanish-language television. This is contrasted with footage of those same republican candidates speaking in dehumanizing ways about undocumented immigrants. The segment focuses on the 2012 Republican National Convention in Tampa Bay. The segment featured commentators and expert guests speaking to the trepidation Latino communities feel about Republicans’ nebulous plans to create a path to citizenship fearing that it is just vote pandering. Underneath this audio are images of (ostensibly) Latino families in Tampa strolling down a sidewalk (figure 10). When Univisión discusses the DREAM act, many Latino youth and families are shown. This is similar to the fact that English-language broadcasters also included footage of so-called dreamers. However, the tone of representation is very different with Fox News presenting a generally negative tone and

![Figure 10: Untitled Segment from Noticiero Univisión, Univisión, August 22, 2012. Copyright 2012, Univisión](image)

MSNBC and Univisión presenting a generally positive tone. The latter two stations rely on framing that not only showcases Latino bodies but represents them as complete and hopeful.

Where Fox News, and to a much lesser extent MSNBC, utilizes dehumanizing language and imagery in their segments, this dehumanizing rhetoric was almost completely absent from Univisión. In stark contrast, references to dehumanizing language were framed explicitly as
direct quotations from Republican presidential candidates and were discussed on the segment purely as a critique of the use of the terms. The phrase *illegal* does not appear outside of this context in the sample. Throughout the sample, the phrase *inmigrantes indocumentados* (undocumented immigrants) was almost always used; the phrase *sin papeles* (without papers) was used less frequently. Instead, a considerable amount of effort is placed on humanizing Latinos and Latino immigrants through language use as well as through imagery. In a segment about 40 women and children held hostage by human traffickers, the police officer who is interviewed, in Spanish, refers to the captives as “*inmigrantes indocumentados.*” It is perhaps unexpected that a police officer from rural Texas, even one speaking in Spanish, would choose to use this humanizing phrase versus illegal immigrants. This contrasts to Fox News portrayals of police and undocumented immigrants that label them as illegal almost every time they appear.

After the police officer is interviewed the reporter then interviews the next-door neighbor who expresses sympathy for the hostages. The neighbor is shown only from the neck down (figure 11). While this may seem at first to be dehumanizing, the fact that we never see the hostages directly nor do we see the neighbor’s face serves to actually humanize the hostages and neighbor by not showcasing the deplorable conditions the immigrants were found in and protecting their identities. It is perhaps not difficult to imagine that if this story had aired on Fox News, it would have been much more likely that the story would have been framed as a law-enforcement victory where a standoff resulted in the deportation of 40 illegal immigrants. Faces of undocumented immigrants would be clearly visible in chains and handcuffs; armed police officers would stand over the hostages they had “captured.” However, in the Univisión version of the story there is no mention of deportation, there are no guns, and we never see a police officer, only a nondescript van. The story is framed purely as to the deplorable conditions that the
immigrants found themselves in and the violation of their human rights at the hands of human traffickers.

![Image](image.jpg)

Figure 11 Untitled Segment from Noticiero Uni, Univisión, May 13, 2012. Copyright 2012, Univisión.

While Univisión humanizes by not showing faces, they also humanize by giving a face to current political issues of importance to immigrants. In a segment about the DREAM Act, the camera pans to an image of a high school senior in her cap and gown watching the senate vote down the DREAM Act; tears stream down her face as the bill fails to pass by five votes (Figure 12). Both Fox News and MSNBC cover the same moment in history, however, neither show the same level of humanity regarding the real-life implications for undocumented students in the U.S. This is perhaps a perfect example of how the ethnographic context informs the content analysis in ECA. Without the ethnographic context, the background of how immigrants are treated by police, by legislators, and others, the ability to fully, semiotically decode the symbols used in the news footage is lacking.
Finally, the use of fear becomes, perhaps, the most interesting of the three themes. While previously Spanish-language media flipped the paradigm by showcasing families and humanizing im/migrants, a thread of fear runs through many Univisión news segments about immigrants. However, fear is framed on Univisión very differently from how it is framed on either Fox News or MSNBC. On Univisión, it is not im/migrants the audience should be fearful of, but the U.S. government. Figures 13 and 14 show examples of how fear is incorporated into segments. Figure 13 is a representative from the Mexican Consulate in Tucson, Arizona warning viewers that they should be very careful if they choose to apply for “Deferred Action” (an American immigration policy allowing some undocumented immigrants a renewable work permit to avoid deportation). The Consular representative warns that any error, purposive or accidental, constitutes fraud and will result in deportation. The language here is frank and compelling and admonishes the viewer to be wary of what the U.S. government can do to those who are undocumented. In another segment titled Amargo Sueño (Bitter Dreams) (figures 14 and 15) students at a DREAM Act rally hold signs that implore the Obama administration to stop deporting undocumented im/migrants and “tearing families apart” while another holds a sign that
says “Obama court us don’t deport us.” The lack of trust in the Obama Administration and, vis-à-vis, the U.S. Government, can also be seen in the title, *Bitter Dreams*. Democrats courted Latino voters in previous elections talking about a path to college for many children who came to the U.S. with their undocumented, im/migrant parents. This encouraged a generation of “dreamers” whose aspirations for college have been replaced with only a path to a work permit. Moreover, the Obama administration has deported more undocumented Mexican and Central American im/migrants than the former Bush Administration (Gonzalez-Barrera and Krogstad 2014).

While Univisión does not explicitly tell viewers to be fearful, it frames its message in such a way as to imply the threat of deportation is real. In addition, there are routinely segments that show U.S. law enforcement being zealous in “hunting” undocumented im/migrants to deport. For example, figure 16 shows an undocumented im/migrant being stopped for a traffic violation and then being deported almost instantaneously. This is followed by footage, in English, of the notoriously anti-Latino im/migrant Maricopa County (Arizona) Sherriff Joe Arpaio.

While non-verbal sounds and music are used very sparingly on English-Language stations, Univisión has at least one example of incorporating ominous music into their segments. In a segment on “anchor babies” (discussed previously in Figure 9), music that might be found in an action film chase scene is played while images of women pushing strollers are seen and a reporters voice speaks in a brisk baritone about the congressional debate concerning citizenship for the children of undocumented im/migrants. While this is an outlier in my data set, it does speak to a difference in framing that reinforces fear of U.S. government.
Figure 13 Guía y centros de ayuda para solicitar plan de Acción Diferida en Arizona, Univisión, August 3, 2012. Copyright 2012, Univisión.

Figure 14 Amargo Sueño, Univisión, June 19, 2012. Copyright 2012, Univisión.
From Case Studies to Discourse

The last step in Ethnographic Content Analysis is to begin to move from analyzing framing in case studies to looking at larger discourses. Here, I think it is useful to also tie this discussion into the theoretical frameworks discussed in the previous chapter.

First, Critical Race Theory explains some of the differences seen between how English and Spanish-language broadcast news media frame im/migrant issues. For example, in the previous chapter I described how many scholars (e.g. Nielsen, 2009; Rodriguez, 2007; Santa
Ana, 2002) point to the differences in Latino-created content on audiences versus majority-produced media. In particular, Nielsen (2013) uses the Critical Race Theory construct of “counternarrative” which begins with the lived experiences of Latinos themselves. This is illustrated in all of the segments on Univisión in my sample. We repeatedly see fully humanized Latino im/migrants and their families. We see their whole bodies and hear their own voices. We see many bodies in many contexts—many of which are mundane. In stark contrast, in almost all of the Fox News segments in the sample we only see truncated bodies; parts of bodies here and there climbing over fences or a close-up of hands shackled in cuffs.

These pieces of bodies are almost never mundane, average bodies, but are, instead the male bodies of those who are engaged in a short, specific list of illicit activities: crossing over barbed-wire topped fences, getting in and out of police cars, holding their hands over their heads while Border Patrol officers in bullet-proof vests point guns at them, im/migrants carrying guns and harvesting agricultural products. The masculinity of the bodies is also important to the discourse. On Univisión, we see male bodies engaged in everyday activities with feminine bodies and with children—families walking, grocery shopping, etc. On Fox News we only see masculine bodies engaged in the short list of activities above. The absence of feminine bodies becomes a part of the discourse focused on fear.

Moreover, we rarely hear the voices of any Latino im/migrants on Fox News. When we do hear Latino im/migrant voices they often come from “token” representatives often cast as “straw men” for the more conservative (and often white) “other” guest to strike down or they are clearly identified as Latino, but not as im/migrants presenting a perspective that reinforces the hegemonic view.
MSNBC presents a slightly more nuanced case. Here, we are more likely to see full Latino im/migrant bodies, although, we still see a large number of masculine bodies and they often do not speak. MSNBC rarely utilizes “straw men” as guests. When Latino im/migrants are a part of a segment we hear their voices, hear their narrative, see their bodies and they are not likely to be interrupted or confronted. This is especially the case during segments hosted by people of color on MSNBC. A particularly strong example of this is MSNBC host Melissa Harris-Perry who self-identifies as African American. In a previously mentioned segment, *Three Women ‘Come Out’ as Undocumented*, Harris-Perry speaks of the women as courageous. This framing is even more positive than usual for MSNBC and is much more closely aligned to the framing used by *Univisión*.

If we were to look at this segment through the lens of Critical Race Theory we see that there are some interesting ways in which Harris-Perry is reframing the segment. First, Harris-Perry, a person of color herself, is producing a story that includes several narratives that are counter to the mainstream narratives even on MSNBC. Second, Harris-Perry gives airtime to not just any Latinos but Latina women. This is an important aspect of intersectionality—namely that it is not just any Latino im/migrant stories that should be given airtime but that this story is given even more priority because it features Latina women.

Harris-Perry begins the segment by stating that this segment (called *Foot Soldiers*) often focuses on those whose names often go unreported. However, she continues, this week they focus on women who are forced to go nameless and unprotected. The segment proceeds to show the women at a DREAM Act rally protesting peacefully. Harris-Perry uses a calm tone to describe how the women are peaceful and attempting to draw attention to their plight while
simultaneously speaking critically of New York government officials who ultimately sent the three women to jail.

The tone here is very similar to Univisión. The subtext is not that we should be afraid of the women, but rather it is the government who has harmed them. Moreover, it speaks to another important construct of critical race theory, agenda setting. Harris-Perry ends her segment carefully. At worst, the ending might be regarded as Harris-Perry’s tacit approval of the peaceful, civil disobedience. However, audiences could also read it as a call for others to become more politically active to advocate for similar ends. It is rare that MSNBC will devote airtime to such a political message but this is commonly seen on Univisión. This focus on furthering a political message or cause is an example of agenda setting (another CRT construct).

On Univisión, most segments in the sample include images of activists, protestors or civicly engaged Latinos. During analysis, segments were coded for their focus; this included the stated problem addressed in the segment as well as any stated or implied solution. On Fox News, the problem was almost always im/migrants and the solution was almost always deportation or exclusion. However, on Univisión, the problem was often the plight of im/migrants in the U.S. and Latin America and the implied solution was often activism (in particular protests) or other civic engagement (e.g. voting) in general to bring about social and structural change. Furthermore, this civic engagement often took the form of seeking out a locally engaged Latino official (elected, appointed, employed, etc.) who was actively working to address the stated problem.

One way to decode this message is that Univisión subtly implied to the audience that civic engagement was not only desirable, but was the duty of viewers. The overwhelming majority of segments in the sample portrayed Latinos as activists: either actively working within
the “system” to effect change or protesting governmental policies they believed were unjust. This lack of neutral tone is in stark contrast to the relatively neutral tone of MSNBC and adds credence to a reading of the segment where engagement and activism are the duty of Latinos in the U.S.

Another reading could be that there is a selection bias present in who is interviewed in Univisión’s news segments. Univisión seeks out Spanish-speaking subject matter experts for these segments who were often Latino and often im/migrants. Occasionally, an English speaker was dubbed or subtitled into Spanish. This was generally reserved for a U.S. politician or police officer. It is perhaps possible that Spanish-speaking, Latino, im/migrants would, as a population, be more likely to advocate for civic engagement and social change, however, this is beyond the scope of this research. Here intersectionality could be an important consideration as gender and class likely impact this issue as much as race/ethnicity. Regardless, Univisión is consistently using segments on these topics featuring Latino im/migrants in a positive light to set an agenda. This is similar to the findings of Branton and Dunaway (2008) who found that Spanish-language newspapers not only featured stories about im/migrants more often, but that these stories were framed in more positive ways.

While Univisión and MSNBC can be seen, through a lens of critical race theory, as utilizing discourses that create a neutral or positive tone regarding im/migrants, discourses on Fox News are better viewed through Leo Chavez’s (2013) Latino Threat Narrative. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Latino Threat narrative posits that nationalist Mexican im/migrants are attempting a so-called reconquista or reconquest of the U.S. southwest. There are four central themes to this narrative: 1) Latino im/migrants are unable or unwilling to learn English, 2) Latino im/migrants are unable or unwilling to acculturate to American society, 3)
Latino culture is static and unchanging and it is this immutability that prevents assimilation, 4) the reproductive threat from Latina mother and their children in the form of “anchor babies” who make up the majority of the colonizing force. Fox News stories are replete with non-verbal Latino im/migrants who are framed as subaltern others.

Latino bodies rarely appear on Fox News; however, when they do it is often truncated and voiceless as described previously. Because they rarely speak, the first aspect of the Latino Threat Narrative is more difficult to parse out. Instead, we must rely on two other sources. First the straw men who “represent” Latino im/migrant voices often speak with a heavy accent. Second, we often hear from (generally) white, English-speaking pundits who say that Latinos, and, in particular Latino children, are a burden on local resources such as schools, partially because they do not speak English. When we do hear the voices of Latinos im/migrants on Fox News, it is less often in the context of protesting. While these images are displayed, careful framing, via the words of the reporter, works to highlight that what the protesters seek is change. That change is framed as dangerous, being led by people who are not from here and who are invading. This leads to the second and third aspects of the Narrative; Latino im/migrants do not want to acculturate to American society—they want to change it to fit their needs and this is at least partially because Latino culture is immutable.

Fox news uses careful framing in their stories to create a discourse around the homogeneity and immutability of Latino culture. Latinos are unproblematically represented as homogenous and without distinctions. Partially this is linguistic; because Fox News often uses the word illegal rather than more specific words that would contain markers of nationality, ethnicity or Indigeneity, the blanket term allows them to lump together disparate groups of people into one mass. This consolidation is useful when essentializing and fear mongering
because it masks the diversity within the population. For example, one Fox News Segment features host Bill O'Reilly and pundit Lou Dobbs discussing the results of a conservative think tank study which estimates that 71 percent of illegal immigrant households are “on welfare.” The hosts do not address how these figures were reached or who an illegal immigrant is. However, the audience does not have to guess—behind their discussion rolls stock footage of faceless farmworkers with dark brown skin.

Quickly, their on-screen discussion moves completely away from Latino farmworkers and families receiving social assistance to a discussion about Federal budgets and President Obama’s proposal to increase spending by 9 trillion dollars whilst Republicans want to cut spending by 6 trillion dollars. There is a disconnect between the images and the commentary. As a viewer, it is conceivable that there might be transference from one of these issues to the other because they are framed in this way. It is not about the families anymore, it is not about immigrants (those who have current documentation or otherwise) anymore—it’s about money. While Chavez provides a much more deeply nuanced and anthropological perspective on what it means to assimilate, the framing on Fox News is simplistic and driven by cash: these families are a drain and we need to stop them from coming to the U.S.

In terms of agenda setting, the sheer frequency with which Fox News includes segments on these topics is striking and illustrative of a conscious agenda setting. Before more purposive sampling restricted the sample to particular dates and the inclusion of images, Fox News search returned 967 stories containing the words “illegal immigration,” compared with zero stories on Univisión using both the English term and Spanish equivalents. It is important to note here that the MSNBC website does not return more than 10 stories at a time and, as such, is unable to provide comparable data. A search using the phrase “illegal immigrant” or “illegal migrant”
returned 285 stories on Fox News and again zero hits on Univisión. Twelve segments on Fox News were devoted to the topic of “anchor babies” while only one story was devoted to that topic on Univisión and the focus of that story was how to contact your representative to protest plans to introduce legislation removing citizenship for the children of im/migrants.

Of course, the repeated use of the phrase “anchor baby” is the last aspect of Chavez’s narrative as it plays out on Fox News. As I’ve shown previously throughout this chapter, so much of the content of various Fox News segments is focused on Latino im/migrant children as the primary harbinger of the reconquest and that which should be feared above all else. The juxtaposition of fear and stories about babies is a telling sign of the reproductive threat as articulated by Fox News. If something isn’t done to stem this rising tide of Latino im/migration the implied result will be that everything Fox news viewers have and cherish will be lost.

Conclusion

As I have shown above, Ethnographic Content Analysis can be a valuable methodological and analytical tool to better understand news media. It is so valuable precisely because it attempts to meld the more systematic and quantitative aspects of traditional content analysis with ethnography to better contextualize and situate the lived reality of media into the lives of the viewer. ECA encourages the researcher’s eyes and ears to be open-- not just to what is being said on screen, but to look and listen to the context, the use of text, the use of music and non-verbal sounds, and the images behind segments. Doing so provides a fuller picture of what is being communicated for analysis.

From these analyses, certain conclusions appear. First, Fox News, MSNBC and Univisión each employ different framing in their segments that focus the discourses they present. Fox News typically utilizes discourses that are dehumanizing, encourage fear in the viewer and
posit that the solution to our “illegal” problem is deportation and exclusion. MSNBC largely attempts to present a more neutral tone; however, many segments about Latino im/migrants also incorporate dehumanization and fear to a much smaller degree. Univisión mostly frames segments about Latino im/migrants using a positive tone and, in the limited instances where fear is used, it is not fear of the im/migrant but rather fear of the government that the viewer is left pondering. Second, Critical Race Theory can be an important theoretical lens for better understanding the distinctions between English and Spanish-language broadcast television news segments on Latino im/migrants, the importance of intersectionality to that discussion and how the frequency of those framing discourses serves to set agendas. Finally, Fox News, appears to create and perpetuate a narrative that sees Latinos as threatening and attempting to colonize the U.S.

However, this approach is not without its limitations. For example, the sampling method relied on the three broadcaster’s websites to post the video segments of the stories poses a limitation. Herein lies a potential for inclusion bias. Some stations may have not included all of the videos that would have otherwise fit the sample and some websites’ search functions may not have returned segments that fit the criteria for whatever reason. If visual data were not important to the method, a service like LexusNexus could have been used to cull through the data. However, LexusNexus only provides written transcripts and not actual video content. Therefore it is unable to be utilized with ECA. I am positive that the amount of content on the broadcasters’ websites does not fully represent the total amount of content on the topics. However, time and cost are limiting factors to the ability to collect data. It is not logically feasible to watch every single broadcast on each station over the course of several years to cull data. Moreover, small inconsistencies with how segments are digitized are present. For example, Univisión often
digitizes whole broadcasts rather than individual segments, meaning that the researcher must “hunt” for the segment in an hour-long broadcast clip.

Another limitation is perhaps better framed as an opportunity. ECA embraces ethnography and implies a reliance on participant observation. However, I earlier critiqued Altheide for not making direct links between ECA, participant observation and ethnography explicit. I believe this is also true in the research presented in this chapter. While I can suggest particular readings of framing and discourse and comments on how those audiences might decode or make sense of those readings, this is subjective. While my application of ECA is iterative, reflexive, and deeply rooted in my own ethnographic encounter with these data and subject matter, it perhaps lacks the analytical power of other approaches like audience studies. However, that limitation also presents an opportunity. In the next chapter, I discuss the next phase of the research in which I spent close to a year conducting participant observation directly with Latino im/migrant parents themselves, helping them to construct their own digital stories about their lives as Latino im/migrant parents. In my analysis of their stories I am able to reply on participant observation to deepen the ethnographic aspect of the research and analysis.

There are additional further opportunities for this work. First, while the research was conducted between 2009-2012, these topics remain common on news channel broadcasts today. This is particularly true as Latino presidential candidates are moving further in the candidate selection process than ever before. Anecdotally, we see strong evidence of the Latino Threat Narrative being used by some political candidates (particularly Donald Trump) to further their own political agenda. Moreover, both conservatives and liberals continually call for immigration reform in some form that keeps Latino im/migration issues present in the larger mediascape. How Latinos are represented (or are absent from representations) is an important element to
research. This is particularly interesting given the potential power of news media to activate a viewer (and voter) base or encourage civic participation. Further research could look at the role of Spanish-language stations like Univisión and the “call to civic duty” referenced previously but perhaps outside the scope of ECA as an analytical tool.

Finally, further research could be undertaken utilizing anthropological methods and audience studies as a framework to further explore how audiences make sense of media they view on broadcast new programs. While this was outside the scope of this particular project it represents another important piece in answering Bird’s call for an anthropology of journalism as a way of critically understanding how news is created, the content of news and its dissemination (2010:1). While this chapter’s research has focused on the content of news segments, in the next chapter I focus on the creation and content of media by Latino im/migrants themselves through a process called digital storytelling.
CHAPTER FOUR: DIGITAL STORYTELLING

“For us Latin parents, the main objective is to adapt ourselves to American culture, while conserving our Latin roots, by whatever means possible. My greatest ambition and wish is to ensure that my children receive higher education and pursue a professional career, since they too are the future of this country.” -Isabella

2 As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, representations of Latino im/migrants in the English language U.S. news media are complicated and often framed in negative ways, contributing to dehumanizing and fear inducing discourses. I wanted to better understand how Latino im/migrants parents themselves might construct their own stories when presented with the tools to do so. Between 2010 and 2011, I worked with a group of 15 Latino im/migrant parents to help them tell their own stories about what it means to be a Latino im/migrant parent. Over the course of a year, we worked together to create short films—called digital stories—about their experiences as Latino im/migrant parents. The stories are powerful and uniquely personal, and give voice to the struggles endured by these parents to realize their dreams for their children. The perception of a negative image regarding Latino im/migrant parents in the news media was certainly shared by the parents who attended a thrice-a-week evening English literacy academy.

2 An earlier version of this chapter is currently in press and will appear as part of an open access collection of chapters about digital storytelling and anthropology.
in urban central Florida. These parents, their teachers and the program director were keenly aware that the Latino im/migrant parent portrayed on TV did not look at all similar to the individuals diligently studying in their classrooms. Working closely with the program director, Yolanda Ochoa\(^3\), I attended classes, interviewed the parents about their experiences as im/migrant parents and helped them create digital stories to document their own voice. Below, I begin by describing the history and process of creating digital stories as well as outline some of the goals of digital storytelling as a methodology and my goals for this specific digital storytelling project. Second, I describe the stories the parents created. Finally, I situate the stories within the larger context of my media analysis and analyze them, pulling out central themes.

**Digital Storytelling Methodology**

Digital stories are a short-format (generally non-fiction) form of media lasting between two and five minutes. They are almost always told in first person and generally feature a narrative structure. The process of creating a digital story relies on simple tools and, ergo, digital stories allow regular people with little experience in creating digital media to quickly create a story. These short “films” rely on simple techniques such as incorporating still photography, short clips of video, music, and simple animation. Digital stories almost always feature the voice of the storyteller narrating the story. The software used to make digital stories also tends to be simple and lacking complex features that could confuse new filmmakers. Importantly, it is also, thus maximizing the number of people who can quickly master the technique and produce a story. Programs such as iMovie, Windows Movie Maker, Final Cut Express, and PhotoStory are examples of such software. These programs allow filmmakers to add simple text, narrate over

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\(^3\) All names are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the individual and of the non-profit organization I worked with.
still images, add a soundtrack to their story and select from a few preset transitions between photos or video clips, while offering little else in terms of customization.

The origin of the term *Digital Story* is contested at least partially because different groups of practitioners developed different processes for different ends but all used the same term to describe what they were doing. For example, there is a strong tradition of digital storytelling in primary and secondary school classrooms across the globe beginning in the late 1990s that focused on having students create short films, called digital stories, that were effectively recorded for science fair, social science, book or history reports. These digital stories are very different from how digital stories have been used by social scientists, historians, and social justice activists, who have attempted to draw attention to how digital stories can capture voices that might otherwise go unheard.

Perhaps surprisingly, many digital storytelling practitioners of this type owe their formatting style to Ken Burns, who pioneered the use of first-person accounts narrated over still images during his 1990 documentary series *The Civil War* (Sylvester and Greenidge 2009). To this day, the camera panning technique he developed (where the camera slowly pans or zooms in on a particular aspect of a still photograph) is still called the “Ken Burns Effect” in most film editing software programs. This editing effect combined with first-person narration heightens the emotion content of the story and brings the photographs to life.

Anthropologist Julie Woletz has documented the rise of this form of digital story and credits storyteller and playwright Dana Atchley at the American Film Institute in 1993 with being the first to use the phrase digital storytelling to describe a short form, narrative film in this style (Woletz 2008). Joe Lambert (Lambert 2013; Lambert, et al. 2006), a friend and collaborator of Atchley’s, is seen as one of the definitive voices of this format, having adapted and refined
Atchley’s procedure for creating digital stories. Lambert founded the Center for Digital Storytelling in 1993 in Berkeley, California. The Center for Digital Storytelling (CSD), now known simply as Storycenter, hosts digital storytelling workshops and conferences and publishes extensively about the work of the center.

Lambert and the team from CDS have worked to refine their approach to digital storytelling over the last 30 years. I refer to their approach as the “Traditional CDS Model.” In the traditional model, an intensive workshop is held over three days in which eight to twelve participants spend eight hours a day scripting and recording their story. Workshop participants work through several stages. First, they are introduced to the “Seven Elements of Digital Storytelling.” These include point of view, dramatic question, emotional content, the gift of voice, the power of soundtrack, economy, and pacing (Lambert, et al. 2006:9-19). In 2013, Lambert and CDS released a revised and reframed version of the seven elements restyled into the “Seven Steps of Digital Storytelling.” These seven steps are similar to the seven elements: owning your insight, owning your emotions, finding the moment, seeing your story, hearing your story, assembling your story and sharing your story (Lambert 2013:54-69). However, they are organized into a process and focus the participant on their own voice as powerful and insightful. Second, a story circle is held where workshop participants gather and share their stories aloud. After each storyteller shares, other workshop participants offer feedback about the story. This can take the form of emotional support (many of the stories are particularly poignant and visibly difficult for the storyteller to tell) but also takes the form of suggestions for improving the mechanics or flow of the story. Subsequently, workshop participants spend time writing a script, gathering and digitizing materials such as still photographs and music, and recording their narration. Participants ultimately edit their films together and share their completed digital
stories in a group screening. The process requires a rather intensive time commitment, but otherwise is designed for those who have little technological expertise to be able to complete a story rapidly. Workshop participants do not necessarily have anything in common and can range in age, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc. The CDS also hosts custom workshops for specific groups or with specific populations.

Other models have developed in different geographic and historical contexts. For example, Appalshop began training local, Appalachian filmmakers in 1969 to tell their own place-based stories about rural Appalachia in traditional documentary length formats. In 1998 the Australian Centre for the Moving Image began developing digital storytelling projects informed by the CDS model (Simondson 2009) and in 2000, the BBC began a digital storytelling project in Wales it largely modeled off of the CDS traditional model (Meadows and Kidd 2009).

The CDS model (or similar models) has been widely used in many different settings for different aims. Several edited volumes have been assembled with examples of digital stories of this type and different applications (Hartley and McWilliam 2009; Lundby 2008; Thornburg, et al. In press). Digital Storytelling has been shown to be particularly useful in public health projects (Gubrium 2009), in working with youth (Goodman and Greene 2003), in corporate and organizational contexts (Boje 2008; Brown, et al. 2004), and in community arts practice (Howley 2005). In each of these projects, the specific populations and aims are different. However, at its core, digital storytelling is about helping regular people to be able to amplify their voices through the use of emergent media—to share their voices in more profound ways to reach larger audiences or to just reach their own families.
**Digital Storytelling with Latino Im/migrant Parents**

Given this history and context, I set about creating a digital storytelling project with Latino im/migrant parents in urban central Florida who attended classes at a non-profit focused on English literacy. As we began creating a process of creating the digital stories I knew that I had to address several challenges. First, all the parents were native Spanish speakers, but were largely illiterate in Spanish. While all the parents attended English languages classes, most had never written a story in English (or Spanish) before and their English skills were new. Second, most of the parents who participated had little experience using a computer. While all but two of the parents owned and used a cell phone, none of the parents had a computer at home and limited access to computers outside of the literacy academy. By contrast, their children had significant experience using computers in school, which several of the parents identified as intimidating in the process of creating their own digital story. In order to address this, one of the teachers at the Academy spent three Wednesday evenings before we began the digital storytelling process leading classes in how to use computers, how to use Microsoft Word and about photos and music on computers. The Academy met three nights a week; Tuesday and Thursday evenings were devoted to learning English and Wednesday evenings were spent doing parental involvement activities with the parents’ children. Given the multiple demands on each parent’s time, attendance was occasionally sporadic, with most parents missing several evenings per month or even missing several evenings each week. This was a challenge because it meant that parents often lost progress, and the progress they made on their digital stories between sessions they did attend necessitating them to “start over” to a certain extent.

In light of these challenges, I adapted the traditional CDS model to fit within the limitations of this population. Since none of our participants had three full, consecutive days to
devote to the process of story creation, we broke the process of creating the digital story into eight separate workshops: 1) what is a digital story?; 2) story circle; 3) the seven elements; 4) script writing; 5) storyboarding; 6) digitizing photos and music; and 7) polishing and finishing stories. These workshops came after the three-week series of workshops on how to use a computer. Workshops were planned to be held over the course of two months. We also planned to have three more Wednesday evenings to spend working more one-on-one with particular parents to help them finish their stories.

The first of the seven workshops were completed as planned. On the first evening, I showed the parents several examples of digital stories and we spent the remainder of the time brainstorming what kinds of stories the parents wanted to tell. During the second workshop, we followed the classic story circle tool for digital storytelling. We sat in a circle and each person told his or her story. After each story, listeners gave feedback to the storyteller. During week three, I briefly presented the “Seven Elements of Digital Storytelling” as outlined by Lambert, et al in the Digital Storytelling Cookbook (2006). We also spent a significant amount of time discussing the ethical ramifications of their stories, which I further discuss below. During week four, we discussed the process of script writing and then began drafting story scripts on index cards, later transferring those script outlines to the computer.

It was at this point that the process began to break down. The majority of the parents had missed at least one of the previous sessions. Several of the parents had missed two or three. On the fourth evening, no parent was ready to progress to the storyboarding workshop, as many were still drafting their stories. Yolanda and I met while the parents worked and decided to change the format again. Rather than continuing to progress as a group, we decided that each parent would work independently to continue developing their story. Because time was limited, I
was not able to work with each of the parents each of the nights. To ameliorate this, I recruited two Spanish-speaking undergraduate anthropology students to assist the parents. The students were trained in Digital Storytelling and, because they were bilingual in English and Spanish, they were able to sit with one or two parents for the entire evening each session and work with them directly on their story. It was this one-on-one approach that allowed the stories to be completed. Between the two student assistants and myself, we were able to ensure that all of the parents involved were supported in the creation of their stories.

**Ethics and Digital Storytelling**

One of the major goals of this project was to host a formal screening of the parents’ films to share the work they were doing with a broader community and to host the stories on the website of the NGO who hosted the academy. This was important to the NGO and to myself as an applied anthropologist. Before beginning the digital storytelling project, Yolanda and I discussed at length, along with the parents, the idea of a film screening and website hosting. Because this was part of my own dissertation research, I also submitted the entire project through my university’s own Institutional Review Board (IRB) and received approval. The parents who participated in this project and my larger dissertation research had a variety of immigration statuses.

As part of the approval from the IRB, I sought informed consent from each parent to participate. However, I also successfully applied for a Waiver of Documentation of Informed Consent from the IRB. This meant that, while I still used an informed consent document with each parent and made sure they understood what they were consenting to, I did not seek their signature on the informed consent document. I also did not collect any personally identifiable data from them. Thus, each parent is effectively anonymous, with no direct link between their
identity and my dissertation research. However, one cannot easily be anonymous in a digital story!

Due to the deeply personal nature of digital stories, each parent chose to use their own voice in the creation of the story both figuratively (i.e. their creative voice as author of the script and director) and literally (i.e. the stories are narrated using their own voice). So, too, the stories were composed of photographs and images the storyteller created, and almost all featured the storyteller along with his or her family members. It became impossible to obscure the identity of the participant—a significant challenge because of the real threat of deportation faced by many Latino immigrant families in the U.S. During the third workshop, we spent half of the session discussing the ramifications of a parent being personally identified as a participant in a story. We discussed several scenarios which parents may face because of their participation and then discussed strategies to cope with those scenarios. For example, we discussed using creative angles when taking photographs for the project that would hide the identity of the participant.

Figure 17 Image taken by Isabella framed in such a way as to conceal her identity. Used with Isabella’s permission.

Figure 17 is a photograph taken by one of the parents whose story concerned her work as a restaurant cleaner after hours. The storyteller is in most of the photos, but we never see her
face—she always appears from behind or is partially hidden by a piece of industrial cooking hardware. Thus, her identity is hidden and protected. After this session, several of the parents who wanted to tell stories of their crossing into the U.S.A. decided to change their story topics entirely. Two parents decided to withdraw altogether. By the end of the process, several more parents decided to tell the story they originally wanted to tell, but decided that their stories were too personal to share with others. Other participants decided that there was too much risk in sharing their stories on a website or in public. Only one parent ultimately was willing to share her story publically.

Obviously, this was disappointing to the NGO and to myself. After almost a year of work we only had one story to publicly share. The film screening was cancelled. As anthropologists and filmmakers it is our duty to respect the wishes of our participants and their desire to not publically share their work.

It is important to note that while only one of the parents (Isabella) was willing to let her film be screened or images used, they all consented to have their stories used in my research so long as I protected their identities. It is also worth noting at this juncture that all of my work with the parents was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of South Florida. A copy of the approval letter can be found in the appendices along with the Spanish and English-language versions of the Informed Consent Documents. Since the population at the non-profit was potentially composed of individuals with varying types of governmental recognition in the U.S. and given that revealing their true identities could therefore present a significant risk to their participation in the study, I applied for and was granted a waiver of documentation of informed consent. This means that I went through the informed consent process with each participant (including reading the Spanish-language version of the form together and asking questions of the
parent to make sure they understood each section, but then did not ask the parent to sign the form as doing so would be the only link between their “real” name and the study. Instead, I asked each participant to create a pseudonym which is the name I knew them as moving forward. This was to ensure an additional level of protection and confidentiality.

The Digital Stories

One evening in early May, the program director called me into her office when I arrived. She told me that the local church that leased its classroom space to the literacy academy had decided rather abruptly to cease this agreement. The church did not reveal why it made the decision. It was her perception that the church had become aware that “migrants” were receiving free classes on their property and that they were made to feel uncomfortable. While the Academy had enough funds to continue paying rent at a new location, they had yet to find a suitable space. Yolanda informed me that the academy would close in two weeks and asked if I thought any of the parents’ stories could be finished by then. I responded that we would try our best and set out to work. In total, five out of fifteen parents completed finalized digital stories. The remaining parents’ stories were in a variety of forms of completion, with two additional stories being very close to completion. Of the seven stories that were completed (or were close to completion), each presented a unique approach to the process.

*Isabella’s Story: Latin Mothers*

Isabella had the strongest English language skills of any parent in the group, but also missed a significant number of classes due to work and parental commitments. In working to complete her story, Isabella felt strongly that she wanted to communicate to viewers that she was proud of her accomplishments and felt dignity even in the face of constant dehumanization as a migrant mother at work, at the store or at her child’s school. Isabella saw learning English as a
way to bring herself power. “We find that in arriving here, the primary barrier is a language, which is not ours, but if we do not speak or learn, we find ourselves lost, like a goldfish out of its bowl,” she says in her story. “Despite these adverse obstacles we continue to struggle without surrendering, despite the hard work we do.” Isabella was the only parent who decided that she would be willing to share her digital story with others.

_Gabriela’s Story: Querer es Poder (Want is Power)_

Gabriela came to the United States when she was 16 excited to be able to learn English. However, she found herself unable to act on that hope and instead took a job at a dry cleaner cleaning clothes. Soon, she found herself married with three children but that marriage quickly ended and her former husband, also a migrant, immigrated back to Mexico. She speaks of the difficulty in raising her son without a father, particularly in the face of school-celebrated holidays that often encourage parents to participate. “When it is Father’s Day, my son does not want to go school. It makes me feel sad, because he sees all of the children with their fathers. It is moments like this that are very hard to be a single parent.” But here she pivots in her story and rather than continue to feel like she has no control, she returns to her dream of learning English and following her aspirations. She concludes her story by moving forward in time three years and celebrating the newfound skills she has acquired after participating in the literacy academy. She, too, concludes by stating that she sees herself as an example for her children of someone who works hard to achieve their dream, and that she wants to pass this on to her children as well. While Gabriela originally was willing to share her story publically, upon screening it in front of two of her teachers she began weeping, and finally declared that the story was much too personal to share with an audience.
Eva’s Story: I Want to Learn English

Eva was the quietest participant and the most self-conscious when it came to using her writing and speaking skills. Like the other parents, Eva’s story was deeply rooted in her experience of learning English and the struggles she faced as a Latina woman. She spoke with shame about her inability to communicate with others when she first arrived and how she was unable to order from restaurant menus. Like Isabella, she focused on the literacy academy as a way of improving her life and that of her child. In her story, she writes that: “Thanks to God, I found this literacy academy where they offer help and they teach English. They help us become better parents. They teach me how to read to my child. We do activities together like planting trees, chili and tomato plants and flowers. These activities are important to teach them to conserve the environment and we do them together as a family.” Eva concludes by identifying her goal: to be able to help her child with his homework and for them all to have a better future.

Eva also felt that her digital story was too personal to share with an audience.

Sofia’s Story: La Historia (The Story)

Sofia and her husband, Javier4, both participated in the digital storytelling workshop; one pair of only two husband and wife couples who participated in the project. Sofia and Javier were also the only parents who did not hail from Mexico but were both from Honduras. Moreover, Sofia was very clear to point out to me on several occasions that they were in the United States legally. Sofia’s story was different from the others in several ways. First, each of the other stories

4 Javier missed many classes. He did not attend the story circle and subsequently never settled on a story topic. He is mentioned here because he often interacted with his wife, Sofia, during class and she often asked him to “look over” her work. However, Javier did not seem to have any editorial impact on Sofia’s final digital story.
was at least partially about coming to the United States. Sofia’s story describes bringing her children to Honduras for Christmas vacation in 2010 to meet both parents’ Honduran families. The story chronicles the first time Sofia had returned to Honduras in 13 years. Unlike the other stories, she does not narrate the story in English, but rather in Spanish. She does not include any reference to learning to speak English and presents the story in the form of a digital scrapbook of their trip. She particularly delights in describing dressing her pre-teen son in Honduran clothing for the first time and capturing his reaction on film. “He was so happy and proud to be dressed in clothing that represented a part of his culture.” Sofia did not wish to share her story with an audience, though she did not provide a reason for this decision.

_Ximena’s Story: La Vida (The Life)_

Ximena was the youngest of the parents who participated in the workshop and the most experienced using technology. Ximena used her cell phone extensively for a variety of purposes and used a computer in her job as a secretary. Her written Spanish skills were excellent but she struggled to use her English. For Ximena’s story, she chose to write about her grandmother who raised her and who died of diabetes when she was 10 years old. Ximena’s digital story uses the memory of learning to cook eggs with her grandmother as entrée to discussing her mother’s death and Ximena’s desire to live each day to the fullest. Ximena did not respond as to whether or not her digital story could be shared. In light of this, we have not shared her story.

In addition to the five stories that were completed, three additional parents completed scripts and storyboards and were gathering photographs and music at the time the Academy closed. I include brief descriptions of these three stories below, even though the films were left uncompleted.
Francisco’s Story: La Experiensa de un Viajero sin Boleto (The Experience of a Traveler Without a Ticket)

Francisco and his girlfriend, Verónica, were the other couple that participated in the workshops. Francisco has been in the United States for six years and worked at a local restaurant as a line cook. Francisco had not attended school in Mexico and was largely illiterate in Spanish. This made it very difficult to learn English and he was unable to complete his story. However, he was dedicated and wanted others to hear of his experience. In four months, he did not miss a single class at the academy and works diligently to improve his English. His story was of crossing the border and the challenges he faced walking without food or water for many days. He also writes of the fear of being discovered by immigration. Once in the United States, he began to work immediately and has not stopped since. “We arrived on a Saturday afternoon and Sunday started working. The start was not easy but after six years I feel I am living the American dream and still fulfilling the promise to help mine.” Francisco also owned a cell-phone and often called his mother in Mexico before classes.

Verónica’s Story: -untitled-

Verónica missed many classes and her story was never completed. Her story script describes the pain of leaving two young daughters behind in Mexico when she immigrated to the United States. She attempted to bring them with her, but their father prevented it. She saved money to bring them but found herself pregnant and in an abusive relationship making it impossible to save the money needed. “It made me sad and I felt that if I were pregnant I would not be able to achieve the same things and bring my daughters with me. After I had another child, I was alone with my son for days in the hospital. So now I had four children and ten days after giving birth I had to get myself up and go to work,” she writes. In the end, her abusive
boyfriend is deported. Even though Verónica’s story was never completed, she often commented on the cathartic nature of being able to tell her story to someone who cared enough to listen.

*Alicia’s Story: -untitled-

Alicia also had limited Spanish literacy skills and had been taking classes at the academy for only 2 years. She had come to the United States at 15 and now some years later was hoping to improve her life by learning English. Alicia’s unfinished story was very short and she often was absent from classes for work related reasons meaning that she had little time to devote to the completion of her story.

**Discussion**

While all of the stories are unique and speak to the many different circumstances faced by these parents, some common themes did emerge.

*Journey to the United States and Coping with Loss*

Most of the stories included at least passing reference to the act of migration itself and the impact the border has on their families and their lives. In each case, the storyteller highlighted the challenges they faced and, more specifically, how they coped with loss. Gabriela, Ximena, Francisco and Verónica’s stories in particular speak to the challenges of separating families across international borders and the sadness that comes from the inability to easily move back and forth. This is perhaps most pronounced in Verónica’s story and her being forced to choose between leaving her two young children behind and bringing them with her. So, too, the stories speak to the complex interpersonal relationships that much endure across transnational borders when a personal relationship comes to an end. Divorce, separation and death are themes that prominently feature in several of the stories and are hinted at in others. For example, Sofía
speaks of her sadness at not seeing her family for 13 years and writes of her joy at the pride her son takes in his Honduran ethnic identity as he reconnects with his roots. As the viewer, we’re left feeling that it may be a long time before Sofia’s children are able to see that home again.

An important aspect of learning to cope with loss as an immigrant parent was also helping to ensure that your children do not lose their “culture” --not forgetting who they are and where they came from. Isabella, Sofia, Eva and Ximena each spoke of wanting to provide their children with a deep cultural appreciation of their Mexican or Honduran heritage in a variety of ways—through travel in the case of Sofia, through food in the case of Ximena and, for Isabella and Eva, through immersing their children in the day-to-day cultural lives of Mexican Americans.

Stories about the journey to the United States were particularly popular during the story circle, yet not a single finished story was explicitly about the journey itself. One story, that of Francisco (which never progressed past the storyboarding phase), was about the journey to the U.S. Francisco had a very clear recollection of what the journey to the U.S. was like, but lacked photographs of the journey. We discussed several possible alternatives to using pictures from the actual event, such as staging photos, taking photos in the present that somehow related to what was being said or to using more abstract photos to evoke the mood or feeling he sought to express. However, none of these proved acceptable to him. Ultimately, Francisco never finished his story. Other parents who proposed telling stories specifically about their own journey to the U.S. also noted difficulties they saw as insurmountable. For some, stories of the crossing were too difficult to relive, and after originally sharing their stories during the story circle the parents quickly changed to a different topic; others, like Francisco, struggled with how they would
visually construct a story with no images. Regardless, traces of those original stories were left in each of the stories, completed or in progress, simply because the storytellers were implicitly asked to frame their story as a “migrant parent,” and that framing influenced the stories they chose to create.

Learning English and the Value of Education

Three of the stories specifically reference learning English as a key element of the story (Isabella, Gabriella and Eva). Moreover, six of the eight stories refer to the importance of English as a coping strategy for immigrant parents. In each of these stories, English language skills and English language acquisition are prioritized as important tasks for an immigrant. Perhaps the best example of this is Eva, whose story is aptly titled: I Want to Learn English. In the process of creating her story, Eva reflected on the shame she felt at being unable to order food at a local restaurant and being unable to read an English storybook her son’s elementary school teacher had sent home. She lamented that even as a second grader, her son could better read the storybook than she. These frustrations are similar to what other parents expressed, both in their stories and in the story circle, where many commented on the challenges of not speaking English whilst simultaneously trying to be a good parent and partner with their children’s schools. For Eva, part of the story she wanted to tell was to communicate the importance of learning English and excelling in school to her son. She took great pride and satisfaction in being able to read the first book to him in English. As she made her digital story, she carefully chose images of herself volunteering with her children’s school that communicate a discourse of parental involvement and reiterate her desire to show her children the value of education.

Several parents shared the notion that one of the goals of this project was to show their children the value of education. In particular, Isabella very pointedly crafted a story that would
show her daughter that she was an empowered Latina mother who took pride in both her Spanish and English language abilities. As she created her digital story, she specifically chose images of herself as a student in class juxtaposed with images of her daughter and son also in class to draw a direct correlation to the journey they were on together. As we discussed how she would sequence the images in her film, she commented that she wanted to keep the images rotating back and forth between herself and her children so that when they watched her film, they could see the importance she placed on education and that their struggles were the same; both were struggling for a better life.

Sofia authored the only story to eschew English. Her story does not reference English or education in any way and the story is told exclusively using Spanish, not English. Sofia also chose to write her story entirely in Spanish and did not translate her story into English. While working with Sofia on her story I attempted on several occasions to ask her why she preferred to work in Spanish instead of in English. This was surprising (although not unacceptable) because a major goal of the project was to help the storytellers improve their English language skills and become more confident in speaking English. Each time I enquired, Sofia brushed off my question. However, I think a viewing of her final story may provide greater context. Sofia framed her story, about a recent family trip to Honduras for the first time since she had immigrated to the United States, to communicate to her audience the importance she placed on her Honduran cultural heritage and her deep desire for her children to celebrate Honduran culture, food, clothing and language. In this way, the use of Spanish became a way for her to aurally communicate to her audience the importance of language for her children. When we reflected on her final film, Sofia confided that she was scared that her children, both of whom had been born and grown up in Florida, were highly lacking in their Spanish speaking skills and knew less
about their Honduran culture than she would have liked. Viewed in this light, Sofia’s story becomes less about the value of education, but rather about reframing notions of formal and informal education and enculturation for transnational families.

*Future and Children*

The stories the parents told often highlighted the importance of education for both the children and the parent. They also told of the importance of having a career and “making something out of yourself,” so the child would not have to live and work as difficult a life as his or her parents. Francisco’s story begins:

“Muchos dicen que no es legal muchos dicen que es el sueño Americano jo deje a mi madre y a mis hermanos para darles un futuro mejor pero el dejarlos no fue tan fácil.”

[Many say that it is not legal. Many say that it is the American dream. I told my mother and my brothers I was going to leave to give them a better future, but it was not as easy to leave as I thought.]

For Francisco and the other parents, the journey to the U.S. was framed solely in the context of improving their lives and, in turn, those of their families. For Eva and Gabriela the goal was, unambiguously, to learn English. Perhaps Isabella states it best in her story when she says:

“We arrived here for various reasons, but the primary reason is that the majority of us are searching for liberty and the opportunity for growth, both economical as much as intellectual, which we may not have in our native countries given that we come from Third World or Underdeveloped countries.”

Isabella unequivocally declares her journey to the United States is not only for her own economic betterment but also her own intellectual growth and increased quality of life.
Gabriela also spends a significant portion of her story talking about her hopes and dreams for the future three years after her painful divorce. She describes the challenges of being a single parent, but then goes on to describe the pride she felt when her son was selected as student of the month at his elementary school. She speaks of this new dual role she now performs—acting as both mother and father to her children. She ends on an upbeat tone, celebrating the positive things in her life and how much she and her children have grown. She says, “I want the best for my kids, and when they grow up for them to know what I have accomplished.” Gabriela ends her story with a collection of whimsical candid photos of herself and her children in stylish clothing and hairdos, smiling and posing for the camera. It’s as if she’s telling the world: “look at all I’ve accomplished!”

**Conclusion**

Each of the parents who participated felt that the process of creating a story was personally rewarding and the parents took great pride in what they were able to accomplish. None of the parents had ever attempted to tell a story (digital or otherwise) before and they all reported finding the experience to be gratifying. Participants were able to practice their English language skills by writing their stories in Spanish and then translating them into English. During the translation process the parents had to carefully choose words that retained their intended meaning but also flowed well in English prose. This allowed them to think critically about how they were using English and go beyond the exercises they typically completed in the classroom. Moreover, all but one parent recorded their story in English and thus participants were able to practice their spoken English. Because sections were rarely recorded in one “take,” parents got to say each phrase numerous times as they worked on polishing their pronunciation and gaining confidence. Finally, participants gained tangible skills in using a computer, word processing
software and photo and video editing software. Each of the seven parents who completed the project, or were close to completion, reported that they felt more confident using a computer. However, this confidence was not distributed equally. Those parents who had some existing familiarity with computers reported higher levels of self-efficacy while those who had little previous experience stated they were more comfortable, but still not very confident in their ability to achieve something like this on their own in the future. Indeed, some of the parents relied very heavily on myself or one of the undergraduate research assistants to troubleshoot for them whenever they encountered an obstacle, rather than trying to find their own solution first.

After each parent completed and viewed their final story (which occurred asynchronously) the parent, Yolanda and I sat and reflected together on the process. All five parents spoke of their pride at creating their story and commented on how cathartic the process had been. Several of the participants were moved to tears when they heard their own voice and saw their photos on the screen. Yolanda and I hugged and congratulated each parent and Yolanda would remind the parent that this is what they worked so hard for. Each parent commented that they never thought they could accomplish something as complicated and satisfying as this project.

Four out of five parents ultimately decided to not share their digital stories with others. Originally, Yolanda and I planned to have an open house at the center and invite local community leaders, allies and others to come and watch the stories and speak with the parents. Unfortunately, the parent’s decision to keep their stories private meant that this event could not proceed. While this was challenging from a policy perspective and obviously limited the external impact of the stories, I do believe that it is imperative that the control of digital stories remains in the hands of the story’s authors. I am not sure what might have made the parents more
comfortable sharing their stories. To a certain extent, I believe participants were ultimately uncomfortable sharing their stories with others because they were created and framed by Yolanda and I as *immigrant* parent stories. Even if parents were careful to tell stories that did not contain any personally identifiable information or images, it was impossible to wholly conceal who the parents were and most parents felt a certain level of risk at being promoted as a migrant parent that was not justified by any gains they would experience from sharing their stories. I do not believe this is a limitation of the method in regards to policy or research but does have implications for those who endeavor to undertake these sorts of projects. Namely, that facilitators need to be mindful of the risks to participants and help them think through the ramifications of sharing their stories. From this perspective, the project was successful in that I was able to help each of the parents assess the level of risk they were comfortable with and make an informed decision.

As this chapter has hopefully illustrated, I believe digital storytelling can be a powerful methodological tool for participants, for research and for anthropology. It is so powerful specifically because it taps into the emotional core of the storyteller and allows their voice to rise above that of the researcher. I believe this is advantageous over, for example, a more traditional interview, because it allows the researcher and participant to work together in an iterative way to draw out the story. Moreover, the process of creating a digital story allows the storyteller to be in control. They are responsible for framing the story, setting the mood, setting areas of focus and thus the process shifts power to the storyteller rather than the researcher. In this way, the researcher is a guide helping to facilitate the use of technology and style of storytelling while the storyteller themselves is able to take the lead. Additionally, a benefit of this approach in my specific example is that storytellers worked with each other as a cohort. They provided emotional
and informational support to each other (in the form of encouragement, solidarity, feedback, and suggestions) and instrumental support (in the form of sharing photos and songs) to each other across the process. This is similar to a process that can develop during focus groups where members can sometimes seek to gain consensus, but instead, the digital storytelling process worked to build solidarity among the parents who participated.

Lambert (2009) points to the relative dearth of ways that the field of digital storytelling is able to assess their work. He states that a fundamental struggle of the practitioners is how to define success given that success is often frames in terms of the process and not the content of the work storytellers produce (87). Lambert goes on to argue that the arts community often critique the lack of artistic sophistication of the storytellers while service providers critique the lack of professional distance between storyteller and trainer. Here, Lambert (2009:88) cites a potential framework for assessing Digital Storytelling projects developed by Arlene Goldbard (2006). The framework has 6 criteria:

1) The collaboration was mutually meaningful between communities and reciprocal between participant/community and facilitator.

2) Participants are full co-directors in the process with the facilitator.

3) Participants experience broad cultural knowledge (such as a greater mastery of the arts media used in the project.

4) Participants feel they have successfully expressed themselves through the project.

5) Participants feel their local aims have been addressed as well as their desires to bring their work to a larger audience.

6) Participants feel confident about taking on social and cultural projects and action in the future.
I believe this digital storytelling project met most, but not all of the criteria. The project represented a mutual and meaningful collaboration between participants and me in the role of community facilitator. Participants chose to partake because of their own interests and reported that the found the topics meaningful and important. Moreover, participants were in control at each step of the process being supported but not hindered or controlled by the facilitator.

Participants gained not only an increased understanding of how to use software and computers in producing media, but gained additional language skills in terms of writing and speaking in English. All participants who completed films reported that they were proud and felt successful that they had completed their film and shared their story with the group. However, it is unclear if most of the participants’ desires to not share their stories in more public ways meant that they felt their own aims were met. In fact, I would argue that most of the parents prioritized personal concrete aims such as learning to use a computer, learning to use PhotoStory, writing a story in English, etc. and saw sharing their story to be completely secondary. Moreover, sharing stories was an aim of the non-profit (and myself as the researcher) not the participants themselves. In that way, the aim of the non-profit and facilitator was not met. Additionally, I do not have a clear sense if participants felt any self-efficacy about undertaking further social or cultural projects and actions in the future. Again, the participants’ focus was on attaining a different skill set (language and technology related) rather than develop specific skills for social action.

While this specific project was unable to add to the literature on the impact of digital storytelling and social action or policy, I still believe there remains a strong potential for its usefulness and application in that arena. Regardless, the project was able to produce a collection of stories that could be analyzed and viewed within the larger media landscape related to Latino im/migrant parents. The stories the parents produced constructed images of parenthood that
provided a counternarrative to many mainstream U.S. news media portrayals and transcended these more stereotypical portrayals. The parent’s digital stories provide rich, ethnographic perspectives that are often lost in wider media portrayals of Latino im/migrants. In her book, The Audience in Every Day Life, Bird (2003) argues that it is challenging to study media’s audience directly because of the ubiquitous nature of audiences—media is everywhere; we are all audiences (3). Bird describes the rather problematic nature of attempting to study audiences directly. To that end, Bird advocates for starting with the audience instead of with the media artifact. She does not suggest one particular scope of inquiry or method (in fact, her book is filled with different approaches and forms of media). Instead, Bird encourages media researchers to examine their choices and the questions we ask (9) as part of the “ethnographic encounter” (11). I believe digital storytelling is just such an approach to understanding media ethnographically. Because I was embedded in the process of creating the digital stories along with the parents, I am able to question them, in the moment, about their experiences and their choices when producing media. This, in addition to the yearlong participant observation allows for an ethnographic embeddedness to the digital storytelling approach and makes it a power tool for anthropologists.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

When this research was originally conducted between 2009 and 2012, I believe the results were fully consistent with capturing where these three mainstream broadcast news networks were and spoke to the discourses the three broadcasters still use with their core audiences. These findings likely largely fit with popular notions of the stations themselves—Fox news is more “conservative,” MSNBC is more “liberal” and Univisión is more sympathetic to Latino im/migrants than either of the other stations. I believe that is still true today. However, I think this distinction between where audiences turn for their own version of “truth” is now perhaps even more pronounced as our political process has become increasingly polarized. In this final chapter I first revisit my research questions. Then, I speak to the significance of those findings within the context of news media and also to the anthropology of news and media. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of future research directions in this area.

Revisiting the Research Questions

Throughout the project, my research was informed by two central research questions and associated sub-questions. First, does a Spanish-language news media source constructed issues relevant to Latino im/migrant families differently than mainstream English-language sources? There are measurable differences between how Latino im/migrants are represented on Fox News and MSNBC and how Latino im/migrants are represented on Univisión. In order to explore this question I sought to answer three further sub-questions. First, I wanted to know if the tone or nature of coverage of Latino im/migrant issues varied across each type of news media. I was able to conclude that the tone of representations of Latino im/migrants indeed varied quite strongly.
On Fox News, all segments in the sample contained a neutral or negative tone. On MSNBC, almost all segments in the sample were neutral in tone with a few segments being generally positive and a few being negative. On Univisión, all segments in the sample contained a neutral or positive tone. Moreover, English language news broadcasters often identified Latino im/migrants as the implicit or explicit “problem to be solved” in the segment. For Fox News, the “solution to the problem” was almost always deportation or exclusion of Latino im/migrants with sparse counter arguments. Univisión framed their segments differently. Im/migrants are not the problem—the problem is a global, neoliberal, capitalist system that creates the need for mass migration. The solution to this problem is for audience members to become more civically engaged and to advocate for change.

Second, I wanted to know if there were specific examples of rhetoric, imagery, and sound used to discuss migrant families in each type of news media. Sound proved to not be a significant factor in any of the segments in the sample because, except for one lone segment, it was not present. However, rhetoric and imagery proved to also be significantly different between English and Spanish-language news media. Fox News and MSNBC relied heavily on stock footage of Latino im/migrant men engaged in a short list of behaviors (including climbing over boarder fences, being handcuffed or shown with their hands over their heads while being held at gun point by police, carrying weapons, and (to a much lesser extent) working in fields harvesting agricultural products. These images (often the same stock footage) played again and again during segments. Faces were rarely seen during these visual interludes behind the host and pundits in lieu of dehumanized body parts—close-ups of hands in handcuffs, feet running away from the camera, a Customs and Boarder Patrol officer in a bullet-proof vest. While this did not represent
all of the graphic imagery present in the English-language coverage (e.g. also included were images of Latino im/migrants protesting) it was a substantially recurring discourse.

Third, I questioned if English and Spanish-language news media use the rhetoric of illegality differently and if there was a difference between how and when the two types of news media use particular pieces of framing rhetoric, such as illegal and undocumented. Fox News utilized several rhetorical elements that shaped the framing and discourse of Latino im/migrant issues on the station. In particular the term illegal to refer to all undocumented im/migrants but used to tacitly refer to undocumented Latino im/migrants and the notion of anchor baby simultaneously dehumanized and served to create a sense of fear amongst audiences. These terms were used sparingly on MSNBC (anchor baby did not appear in any MSNBC segments) and were only used on Univisión in the context of talking about how others were using the terms to harm Latino im/migrant families. Here, the difference in rhetoric appears to be less a product of the language in which the news is presented and is instead more deeply rooted in the framing and discourse of the media outlet itself. Fox News did not, in general, use the term undocumented to refer to this population. Occasionally a guest or pundit (generally the straw-man) would use this term but the host would quickly follow by reframing using illegal or alien. MSNBC used a mix of phrases including illegal immigrants and undocumented immigrants. Less attention was given to reframing guests’ speech and the dehumanizing phrase illegals was not used in the sample MSNBC segments. So, too, Univisión used a variety of phrases to refer to the population including sin papeles (without papers), inmigrantes indocumentados (undocumented immigrant), and often used a more generalized term, inmigrantes (immigrant), that did not draw a distinction between different levels of governmental recognition. There was not a clear trigger for when a particular phrase was used in a segment. Perhaps what is more interesting is how the
use of the term helped frame the discourse with Fox News’s usage framing generating fear at the
dehumanized “illegals”, MSNBC’s usage framing a generally neutral tone that occasionally
framed Latino im/migrants as something to be feared but more generally presented a less value-
laden perspective, and Univisión who framed their usage in a much more positive tone. Here,
Critical Race Theory would seem to suggest the claim that Latino-made media is less likely to
present Latinos in a negative light than non-Latino-made media.

I also questioned that when offered an opportunity to represent themselves, Latino
im/migrant parents would construct images of parenthood that both acknowledge and transcend
the mainstream news media discourse. This was also supported by the data I collected. Latino
im/migrant parents created a wide variety of digital stories about parenthood. These stories were
much more varied in topic and focus than the stories presented on English or Spanish-language
news broadcasts. This can be partially explained by the different formats (i.e. the format of
“news program” is substantially different from the format of “digital story”). However, the
stories that the parents chose to tell were still more varied and focused much more heavily on
their lived, narrative experience. These stories focused on intergenerational cultural lessons, the
ramifications of divorce on transnational families, the power of Latina mothers when they work
together, the confidence that comes with learning and being able to effectively communicate in
English and the immense challenge in making a perilous journey from one’s home to a new
place. I am particularly struck at how counter these stories are to the Latino Threat Narrative.
The parents who participated in the project are not immutable, unwilling to learn English or
acculturate to life in the United States. They are actively attempting to learn English, to learn
more about the U.S. and cultural traditions here, to learn about the U.S. education system so that
they can better advocate and support their children. Certainly, these stories are never featured on Fox News or MSNBC.

As the parents made their stories, I used participant observation and informal interviewing to ask them about their experiences. First, I wanted to better understand if digital storytelling was an effective ethnographic approach to understanding the lived experience of im/migrant parents. All but two of the parents who participated reported that the experience had a positive effect on them. In particular, most parents pointed to their increasing English ability and the pride they felt at being able to write and create a story in English. It is worth noting that several of the participants did not create stories in English. Some parents also spoke of their pride at being able to share their digital story with their children as a way of reaching across generational and cultural divides. So, too, the process of working with the parents to construct their digital stories provided rich ethnographic data I was able to use to deepen my own understanding of Latino im/migrant parents and their experiences in the United States. I connect this to Bird’s (2003) desire for a more ethnographically grounded study of media particularly when “it would be difficult to ask questions that do not lend themselves easily to direct questioning, yet are also difficult to observe except in random fashion” (17). I believe digital storytelling is a good response to Bird desire because it allows for iterative discussions between researcher and story author as the author actively works to construct their own narrative and chose visual and auditory elements. In this way, the researcher has access to a different type of data than could be accessed directly through a traditional interview or through mere observation due to the ephemeral, omnipresent nature of media.
I was able to utilize the multi-step process of constructing the stories with the parents over the course of months as participant observation data. I had various drafts of the stories and worked with parents to polish and refine their stories that allowed for insights into each parent’s decision-making process about what to include and what not to include. Finally, I was able to analyze the completed stories using a modified version of ECA to compare themes and framing across the stories. In turn, these insights helped propel further analysis of the mainstream news media ECA adding to the iterative nature of the process.

I was also interested to know if the process of digital storytelling could be used as a vehicle to increase voice and build capacity for positive social change in a community. This was a much more complex question to attempt to answer. The parent’s clearly self reported that they felt the experience of making a digital story helped to increase their own voice and self-efficacy with a variety of skills (e.g. English-language skills, computer skills, video production skills). However, only one students felt comfortable sharing their story with a broader audience. While Fox News often presents dehumanized views of Latino im/migrants outside of their control, these parents still felt that their more humanized portrayals in their digital stories were too personal to share. In fact, far from being dehumanizing, many of the parents found the experience so profoundly personal that they did not want to share their story with others outside of the safety of the group and their families. The act of telling one’s story became somewhat cathartic for the parents as they shared their creative process and final stories with me and the two assistants, the staff at the literacy academy and each other both during and after the experience. Nevertheless, the thought of having a broader audience remained too scary. While I certainly respect their decisions and have not shared their completed stories with anyone (except for the one parent who gave permission), It also meant that we were unable to use their digital
stories to effect any broader social change outside of the parent’s own lives. In that way, we were unable to show that digital storytelling could directly be used as a way to build capacity for positive social change in a community such as through the town-hall style meetings I had originally planned with the NGO at the outset of the project. However, the project did hopefully plant seeds for building capacity among the parents on a smaller, more personal scale.

Significance of Findings

For Parents

I’ve briefly spoken above and at length in the previous chapter about the benefits for parents who were a part of the study. Here, I would like to focus on one specific aspect, namely the notion of agency in the face of such dehumanizing media representations. Over the course of the year I conducted participant observation at the NGO, I had conversations with several of the parents about what it was like to be a college student at the University of South Florida or, more broadly, what school was like. Parents generally framed these conversations as wanting to learn more so that they could help their children to enroll [at USF] in the future. During such conversations I would always ask the parent if they had ever thought of going to college themselves. This was routinely met with giggles, covering of the mouth with a hand and downturned eyes. Most of these parents had barely completed elementary school in their home countries before arriving in the U.S. The parent would generally sigh and say in a rather resigned fashion that [school] was not their life—not for them. They would immediately reframe the conversation back to improving their children’s lives and state “this is what I want for my children.” I would gently push back against that notion fully recognizing how tender the topic was. I would remind them of all that they had already accomplished in their English classes while working full time and raising their children. Anything was possible for those who had
already accomplished so much, faced so much adversity. While I am generally rather persuasive, I never got a parent to budge. Regardless of where we started, the conversation always ended up talking about what their child should major in to be a doctor or a lawyer or some career the parent conceptualized as leading to “making it” in America. While it is perhaps too soon to say that a project such as this would bring about deep, transformative capacity building in one of the participants and, while it is perhaps generous to say that such an experience might be formative, I do believe it is part of the work of building capacity for social change within a community. I look in particular to Isabella and her powerful rallying cry for Latina mothers to work together to improve the lives of their children. These parents demonstrate agency and humanity in how they are choosing when, how and where to use their voices—voices that now speak in both Spanish and English. Their voices tell stories that critique the discourses of fear and othering that largely permeate English-language media representations of Latino im/migrant families and help to reframe the discourse about Latino families in our modern world. These voices are meaningful and significant and deserve the attention of our ears, hearts, and minds.

For News Media

Much has changed in the media landscape and in the demographics of audiences over the past 20 years. For example, in fall of 2011 Fox News launched a new website titled: Fox News Latino. The website culls together content from other Fox News outlets that editors feel would be of interest to Latino audiences. In addition, content created specifically for the channel by Latino reporters is also featured. Content is offered in both English and Spanish. While Fox News touted the launch as “unprecedented” in a press-release (Adegoke 2010), they are actually rather late to providing national Latino news considering that Univisión has broadcast a Spanish-language news program since 1986 and Telemundo (owned by NBC/Comcast/Universal) has
broadcast national Latino news since 1999. Regardless, Fox executives cite the growing number of Latino audiences and their increasing market share as reasons for the rollout. Perhaps this is also related to the increasingly large political impact of Latino voters who are projected to make up a third of the electorate by 2020. Obviously the impact of how certain groups of people are represented should be of concern to the media industry in the U.S. For example, The Associated Press released a statement in 2013 that removed the phrase “illegal immigrant” or the use of the term “illegal” to describe a person from the stylebook (Colford 2013). It is unclear to what extent this change has made on news media. For example, MSNBC already stopped this usage. Fox News continues to use the phrase illegals and illegal immigrant even after the change and in the face of Fox News Latino. A quick search of the Fox News Latino website reveals that all of the phrases used in the analysis of this research still return hits even through this curated content website.

For Anthropology

Elizabeth Bird makes a clear call for a more robust engagement between anthropology and journalism. I hope that this research provides additional evidence for the benefits of analyzing media through anthropological lenses and for anthropologists in using media as a site for better understanding culture. Over the last 40 years, American anthropologists and, perhaps counterintuitively, visual anthropologists especially have arguably been preoccupied with words. I think here of Margaret Mead’s (1974) eponymously titled chapter that “visual anthropology is a discipline of words” and her own call for a closer marriage of the visual and the word in visual anthropology. I think this is a strength of the ECA approach in that it attempts to bridge the visual world of broadcast journalism while not sacrificing rhetoric and language as a site for analysis. By focusing the eye and the ear not just on what is being said but how image and form
are used, ECA proves to be a useful tool for the anthropologist’s toolkit in helping to elucidate cultural trends, important discourses, and how media move through layered transnational and global mediascapes. As I have shown, it is not sufficient to look at transcripts and text; doing so would surely miss much of what is being communicated by broadcast news. Instead, anthropologists interested in these issues must look at how these complex messages are produced, packaged, and understood by various audiences as they are disseminated. If anthropologists are to say that media are locations at which culture is made, culture is propagated, and culture is transmitted, then we must ground that understanding ethnographically. This is critically important because we recognize that mediated images have the power to reinforce the viewers’ worldview, to set policy agendas and frame issues. I think here of Mastro et al (2007) and their study of white college student perceptions of Latinos using cultivation theory. The more television the student watched the more negative their perception of Latinos. This is certainly consistent with my use here of agenda setting and framing on English-language news and speaks to the importance of thus grounding research ethnographically and through seeing media as a multsensory, visual and auditory experience.

Ultimately, I believe that this work advances media anthropology because it provides support for the use of digital storytelling as a methodological tool for the study of media. While Bird (2003) has spoken about the challenge of working with audiences directly to understand media (through surveys or interviews) I believe the coupling of ethnographic content analysis and digital storytelling provides a novel example of how to investigate parent’s own notions of self-representation through digital media. The parents who participated in this research are deeply embedded in various transnational media landscapes and these landscapes are influenced by nationality, ethnicity, language, class, gender and many other factors. By presenting parents
with an opportunity to construct their own stories they are, of course, aware of other portrayals and must necessarily negotiate issues of representation and community in ways that mainstream (largely white, English-speaking men) do not. The interplay of the ethnographic content analysis and the digital storytelling become to sides to the same coin and thus deepen the ethnographic encounter for the anthropologist.

Moreover, the coupling of the ECA and digital storytelling provides the opportunity to further expand the potential of audience studies. While mindful of Bird’s (2003) critiques of audience studies, digital story provides an opportunity to study how audiences might create their own media, which is a product of their own voice, but is also being influenced by the mediascapes they inhabit. While it would be incredibly challenging to draw direct connections between a specific media artifact and an effect on an individual audience member, digital storytelling provides an opportunity for audiences to react and potentially reinterpret and reimagine portrayals of communities. Here too is a connection to critical race theory and its emphasis on storytelling/counterstorytelling, intersectionality, and a rejection of essentialism. Using digital storytelling provides a venue for audiences to potentially produce counternarratives that are deeply nuanced and complex in a way that more traditional audience studies approaches (such as focus groups and surveys) are not as able to handle.

Further Research

I see many different possibilities regarding future directions for this research. However, for brevity, I will limit myself to three main areas that I believe warrant further research.

First, I believe a follow up study could further explore the development of Fox News Latino especially in the context of the changes to the mediascape and recent political campaigns. Here, I think specifically of Donald Trump and his self-styled campaign against what he sees as
political correctness. Much of the rhetoric of Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election campaign has been focused on mobilizing largely white middle class audiences against what Trump and his supporters say is the political correctness of the media and other candidates. Given that much of what Trump espouses is very closely aligned with the Latino Threat Narrative, one possible reading of Trump and his supporters is that they feel that they are no longer able to freely engage in the borderline discriminatory hate speech that Chavez outlines in his Latino Threat Narrative. I believe this warrants further research and is located at the critical cultural intersection of race, class, and gender in our society today.

Second, I was particularly interested in how Univisión framed their stories about civic involvement and protests as duty. While this was just one aspect among my fuller analysis of Univisión, I believe it deserves further attention given the sizable increase in the numbers of Latinos and Spanish-language media consumers in the U.S. today. A quick search of the scholarly literature reveals a relatively small amount of current research on this topic (namely the impact of Spanish-language media on civic engagement) and I believe this could be a very fruitful area to apply ethnographic content analysis in a more targeted way in addition to more participatory and audience studies approaches to further understand Spanish-language media and its effects on audiences.

Finally, and related to item two above, I believe there is ample space to undertake further audience studies with Latino im/migrants populations. Again, my current dissertation was limited in terms of logistical constraints—e.g. the non-profit I was working with closed about a year into my fieldwork experience. However, if I had had the ability to be in further contact with my fieldwork population I believe it would have been incredibly fruitful to continue working with them to better understand their own perceptions of both English and Spanish-language news
media. I envision research that is more participatory in nature and allows Latino im/migrants and non-Latino im/migrants to be shown examples of stories (such as those described in chapter three) and then to work to iteratively code them as a group together to build higher meaning and understand discourse—a sort of hybrid participatory action research, audience study, and ethnographic content analysis method. I believe this could significantly add to our understanding of the cycle of media (production of content, distribution and sense-making on the part of audiences).
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October 4, 2010

Jason Miller
Anthropology
4202 E. Fowler Ave. SOC 107

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review
IRB#: Pro00002240
Title: Understanding Im/migrant Parent Involvement: a Visual Ethnography using Digital Storytelling & PhotoVoice

Dear Jason Miller:
On 10/1/2010 the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and APPROVED the above referenced protocol. Please note that your approval for this study will expire on 10-1-11.
Approved Items:
Protocol Document(s):

Dissertation Proposal.doc 9/10/2010 12:35 PM 0.01

Consent/Assent Document(s):
Waiver of Informed Consent Documentation on the English and Spanish consent forms granted.

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note, the informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on the form. Valid consent must be documented on a copy of the most recently IRB-approved consent form.

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the documentation of informed consent as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.116 (d) which states that an IRB may approve a consent procedure which does not include, or which alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent, or waive the requirements to obtain informed consent provided the IRB finds and documents that (1) the research involves no more than minimal risk to the subjects; (2) the waiver or alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects; (3) the research could not practicably be carried out without the waiver or alteration; and (4) whenever appropriate, the subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-9343.

Sincerely,

Krista Kutash, PhD, Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board

Cc: Various Menzel, CCR, USF IRB Professional Staff
APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTS

English Version

Informed Consent to Participate in Research
Information to Consider before Taking Part in this Research Study
IRB Study # Pro00002240

Researchers at the University of South Florida (USF) study many topics. To do this, we need the help of people who agree to take part in a research study. This form tells you about this research study.

We are asking you to take part in a research study that is called: Understanding Immigrant Parent Involvement: a Visual Ethnography using Digital Storytelling & PhotoVoice

The person who is in charge of this research study is Jason Edward Miller. This person is called the Principal Investigator. The research will be done at the Tampa Bay Learning Center’s Family Literacy Academy.

Should you take part in this study?

This form tells you about this research study. This form explains:
- Why this study is being done.
- What will happen during this study and what you will need to do.
- Whether there is any chance you might experience potential benefits from being in the study.
- The risks of having problems because you are in this study.

Before you decide:
- Read this form.
- Have a friend or family member read it.
- Talk about this study with the person in charge of the study or the person explaining the study. You can have someone with you when you talk about the study.
- Talk it over with someone you trust.
- Find out what the study is about.
- You may have questions this form does not answer. You do not have to guess at things you don’t understand. If you have questions ask the person in charge of the study or study staff as you go along. Ask them to explain things in a way you can understand.
- Take your time to think about it.

It is up to you. If you choose to take part in this study, you will need to sign this consent form. If you do not want to take part in this study, you should not sign this form.

Why is this research being done?
The purpose of this study is to better understand what Latino immigrant parents think about parent involvement. The researcher is attempting to find ways that Latino immigrant parents can be better supported in their parenting.

**Why are you being asked to take part?**
We are asking you to take part in this study because you are a self-identified Latino immigrant parent who is currently attending classes at the Tampa Bay Learning Center’s Family Literacy Academy.

**What will happen during this study?**
If you take part in this study, you will spend about 9 months in the study. However, most of this time will be spent in your regular classes at the Family Literacy Academy during the 2010-2011 academic year. You may be asked to participate in various research experiences such as being interviewed, participating in a focus group, making a digital story or taking photographs with a camera.

All research is conducted at the Tampa Bay Learning Center’s Family Literacy Academy and should not take more than one hour to complete at a time. Interviews may be audio recorded for further analysis. You will be verbally asked to agree to be audio recorded during your experience if needed.

**What other choices do you have if you decide not to take part?**
If you decide not to participate in the study, that is ok. You can choose not to participate. If you choose to not participate, you will still be able to take classes at the Literacy Academy.

**Will you be paid for taking part in this study?**
Yes. We will pay for the time you volunteer while being in this study. For each of the two formal interviews you are asked to participate in, you will receive $20. You will not be paid for taking pictures or making a digital story. There will be no other compensation offered.

**What will it cost you to take part in this study?**
It will not cost you anything to take part in the study.

**What are the potential benefits if you take part in this study?**
We don’t know if you will get any benefits by taking part in this study.

**What are the risks if you take part in this study?**
There are no known risks to those who take part in this study. This research is considered to be minimal risk. That means that the risks associated with this study are the same as what you face every day.

**What will we do to keep your study records private?**
There are federal laws that say we must keep your study records private. We will keep the records of this study private by storing research files in a locked filing cabinet or in secure computers where only research personnel have access to them. Interviews may be audio recorded for further analysis. You will be verbally asked to agree to be audio recorded during your experience if needed. Study researchers will have access to these recordings. Recordings will be transcribed and then destroyed by erasing. The transcribed versions of the recordings will not contain personally identifiable information.

However, certain people may need to see your study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are:
• The research team, including the Principal Investigator, study coordinator and all other research staff.
• Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study. For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records. This is done to make sure that we are doing the study in the right way. They also need to make sure that we are protecting your rights and your safety.) These include:
  o The University of South Florida Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the staff that work for the IRB. Other individuals who work for USF that provide other kinds of oversight may also need to look at your records.
  o The Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP).

We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not let anyone know your name. We will not publish anything else that would let people know who you are without your direct permission.

What happens if you decide not to take part in this study?

You should only take part in this study if you want to volunteer. You should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study, to please the investigator, the research staff or the people at the Family Literacy Academy.

If you decide not to take part:
  o You won’t be in trouble or lose any rights you normally have.
  o You will still get the same services you would normally have.

You can decide after signing this informed consent document that you no longer want to take part in this study. If you decide you want to stop taking part in the study, tell the study staff as soon as you can.

You can get the answers to your questions, concerns, or complaints.
If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, call Jason Miller at 813-217-3778.

If you have questions about your rights, general questions, complaints, or issues as a person taking part in this study, call the Division of Research Integrity and Compliance of the University of South Florida at (813) 974-9343.

Consent to Take Part in this Research Study

It is up to you to decide whether you want to take part in this study. If you want to take part, please sign the form, if the following statements are true: I freely give my consent to take part in this study. I understand that by signing this form I am agreeing to take part in research. I have received a copy of this form to take with me.

______________________________
Signature of Person Taking Part in Study
Date

______________________________
Printed Name of Person Taking Part in Study

Statement of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

I have carefully explained to the person taking part in the study what he or she can expect. I hereby certify that when this person signs this form, to the best of my knowledge, he or she understands:
  • What the study is about.
  • What procedures/interventions/investigational drugs or devices will be used.
  • What the potential benefits might be.
  • What the known risks might be.

______________________________
Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent
Date

______________________________
Printed Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent
Informed Consent to Participate in Research
Información para pensar en antes de participar en esta investigación científica.

IRB Study # Pro00002240

Investigadores en la University of South Florida (USF) hacen estudios sobre muchas temas. Para hacerlo, nosotros necesitamos la ayuda de las personas que consientan en participar en una investigación científica. Este formulario explica sobre esta investigación científica.


La persona responsable para esta investigación científica es Jason Edward Miller. Esta persona está llamada el Investigador Principal (Principal Investigator). La investigación tendrá lugar en el Family Literacy Academy de Tampa Bay Learning Center.

¿Debe Usted participar en esta investigación científica?

Este formulario describe la investigación. Este formulario explica:
• La razón por esta investigación científica.
• Lo que va a pasar durante esta investigación y lo que necesita usted hacer.
• Si hay la posibilidad de beneficios potenciales por su participación en esta investigación.
• El riesgo de experimentar problemas si usted participe en esta investigación.

Antes de decidir:
• Lea usted este formulario.
• Pida usted un amigo o un familiar para leerlo.
• Hable usted sobre esta investigación con el investigador principal o el investigador que está explicando la investigación. Usted puede tener una persona con usted cuando está hablando sobre la investigación.
• Discuta-lo con alguien de confianza.
• Descubre el tema de la investigación.
• Es posible que usted tenga preguntas que este formulario no contesta. Usted no tiene que adivinar sobre las cosas que usted no entiende. Si usted tiene preguntas pida al investigador principal o al investigador o otras personas con la investigación en cualquiera tiempo. Pida a los investigadores a explicar en una manera más fácil de entender.
• Pensar en su decisión antes de participar.

Participar o no es su decisión. Si usted decide participar en esta investigación, necesitará firmar este formulario de consentimiento. Si usted no quiere participar en la investigación, no debe firmar este formulario.

¿Por qué esta investigación se está haciendo?
El objetivo de esta investigación es para entender mejor lo que padres latinos y inmigrantes piensan en envolvimiento de los padres. El investigador está tratando de encontrar maneras que padres latinos y inmigrantes pueden recibir mayor apoyo en su crianza de los hijos.

¿Por qué le estamos pidiendo a participar?
Estamos pidiéndole a participar en esta investigación porque usted es auto-identificado como latino, un inmigrante y un padre que se está asistiendo a clases en el Family Literacy Academy de Tampa Bay Learning Center.
¿Qué va a pasar durante esta investigación?

Si usted participa en esta investigación, pasará 9 meses en la investigación. Sin embargo, la mayor parte de este tiempo será en sus clases en el Family Literacy Academy durante el 2010-2011 año académico. Es posible que le pediremos a participar en varias actividades de la investigación como entrevistas, entrevista del grupo, hacer un historia digital o sacar fotos.

Todo el estudio tendrá lugar va a pasar en el Family Literacy Academy de Tampa Bay Learning Center y no debería durar mas que una hora cada vez. Entrevistas pueden ser grabados para análisis. Se le pedirá que acepte ser grabado durante la experiencia, si es necesario.

¿Qué otras opciones tiene usted si decide no participar?
Si usted decide no participar, está bien. Usted puede elegir no participar. Si usted decide no participar, todavía será capaz de asistir clases en el Literacy Academy.

¿Se le pagará a participar en esta investigación?
Sí. Le pagáramos por su tiempo que ofrece durante la investigación. Recibirá $20 por las dos entrevistas formales. No se le pagará por sacar fotos o por hacer una historia digital. No habrá otras formas de compensación.

¿Hay que pagar algo para participación?
No hay ninguna cuesta de participar.

¿Cuáles son los beneficios posibles de participar en la investigación?
No sabemos si hay beneficios de participar en la investigación.

¿Cuáles son los riesgos de participar en la investigación?
No hay riesgos sabidos para participantes en esta investigación. Es una investigación de riesgo mínimo. Eso significa que los riesgos de la investigación son el mismo de los riesgos en la vida diaria.

¿Qué haremos para mantener privado sus registros de la investigación?

Hay leyes federales que nos exigen mantener privado sus registros de la investigación. Sus registros serán mantenido en un archivo cerrado con llave o en un computador asegurado para mantener su intimidad. Sólo los investigadores tendrán acceso a sus registros. Entrevistas pueden ser grabados por más análisis. Se le pedirá que acepte ser grabado durante la experiencia, si es necesario. Investigadores tendrán acceso a las grabaciones. Grabaciones serán transcritos y serán destruidos despues. Las versiones transcritos de las grabaciones no contendrán informaciones identificables sobre usted.

Sin embargo, algunas personas tendrán que ver sus registros de la investigación. Por la ley, una persona que mira a sus registros está exigido de mantenerlos completamente confidencial. Las únicas personas que se pueden ver esos registros son:

- Miembros del equipo de la investigación, incluyendo el Investigador Principal, el coordinador de la investigación, y los otros empleados de la investigación.
- Algunas personas del gobierno y de la universidad que necesitan saber más sobre la investigación. Por ejemplo, individuales que suministran vigilancia en esta investigación necesitarían ver sus registros de la investigación. Esto se hace para verificar que la investigación está hecho en una manera justa. También, necesitan verificar que estamos protegiendo sus derechos y su seguridad. Estos incluye:
El consejo de revista institucional (Institutional Review Board o IRB en inglés) de la University of South Florida (USF) y los empleos del IRB. Otras personas que trabajan por que suministran otras formas de vigilancia necesitarían ver sus registros de la investigación.

El Departamento de Salud y Servicios Humanas (Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS)) y la Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP). Es posible que nos publiquemos lo que aprendemos de esta investigación. Si publicamos, ninguna persona sabrá su nombre. No publicáramos nada que permita que alguien sabrían quien es usted sin su permisión.

¿Qué pasa si decide usted no participar en la investigación?

Usted debe participar en la investigación sólo si quieres ofrecerse. Usted no debe sentir como hay presión de participar en la investigación, para agradar el investigador, los empleos de la investigación o las personas en el Family Literacy Academy.

Si usted decide no participar:

- Usted no estará en problemas y no perderá ningunos de sus derechos.
- Usted seguirá recibiendo los mismos servicios que recibe normalmente.

Usted puede decidir después de firmar esta formulario que ya no quiere participar en esta investigación.

Si usted decide que quisiera parar su participación en la investigación, informa el investigador lo antes posible.

Usted puede obtener respuestas a sus preguntas, asuntos o quejas.

Si usted tiene algunas preguntas, asuntos o quejas sobre esta investigación, llama a Jason Miller en 813-217-3778.

Si usted tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos, preguntas generales, quejas o problemas con un participante en la investigación, llama a la Division of Research Integrity and Compliance of the University of South Florida en (813) 974-9343.

Consentimiento de participar en esta investigación científica

Usted tiene una elección de participar en la investigación. Si usted quiere participar, por favor firma este formulario, si los siguientes declaraciones son verdaderas: **Doy mi consentimiento para participar en esta investigación voluntariamente. Entiendo que al firmar este formulario, estoy consintiendo de participar en esta investigación. Hé recibido una copia de este formulario para llevar conmigo.**

Firma de la persona que está participando en la investigación

Fecha

Nombre en letras de imprenta

Declaración de la persona que obtenga consentimiento

Yo expliqué con cuidado a la participante en la investigación lo que debe anticiparse. Por la presente yo certifico que cuando esta persona firme este formulario, a mi leal saber y entender, el o ella entiende:

- La tema de la investigación.
- Lo que procedimientos/intervenciones/drogas o aparatos en investigación será usado.
- Lo que los beneficios potenciales pueden ser.
- Lo que los riesgos sabidos pueden ser.

Firma de la persona que obtenga consentimiento

Fecha

Nombre en letras de imprenta
APPENDIX C: USF LIBRARY COPYRIGHT WORKSHEETS

On the following pages are scans of the USF Library’s Copyright Worksheets for each of the screen caps used in this dissertation.
INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Jason Miller  
Date: 4/25/2016

Name:  

Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Immigrant Families in U.S. Nev

Class or Project:  

Title of Copyrighted Work: No More Anchor Babies

PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

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<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
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<td>■ Research or Scholarship</td>
<td>□ Bad-faith behavior</td>
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<tr>
<td>■ Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment</td>
<td>□ Denying credit to original author</td>
</tr>
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<td>□ Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work)</td>
<td>□ Non-transformative or exact copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group)</td>
<td>■ Made accessible on Web or to public</td>
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<tr>
<td>■ Nonprofit</td>
<td>□ Profit-generating use</td>
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Overall, the purpose and character of your use ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

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<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
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<td>□ Creative or fiction</td>
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<tr>
<td>■ Important to favored educational objectives</td>
<td>□ Consumable (workbooks, tests)</td>
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<td>■ Published work</td>
<td>□ Unpublished</td>
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Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALLY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

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<td>■ Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose)</td>
<td>□ Large portion or whole work</td>
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<td>■ Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)</td>
<td>□ Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the ‘heart of the work’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>■ Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)</td>
<td>□ Similar or exact quality of original work</td>
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LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole supports fair use or does not support fair use.

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

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<td>☐ No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original</td>
<td>☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ No similar product marketed by the copyright holder</td>
<td>☐ Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material</td>
<td>☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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Overall, the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or likely does not support fair use.

Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.

This worksheet has been adapted from:

Cornell University's Checklist for Conducting A Fair use Analysis Before Using Copyrighted Materials:  
https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair_Use_Checklist.pdf


Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:  
https://q396gusza40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu  
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Jason Miller 
4/25/2016

Name: ___________________________________________ Date: __________________________

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Overall, the effect on the market for the original □ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION
The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original □ likely supports fair use or □ likely does not support fair use.

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Name: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Im/migrant Families in U.S. New

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**CONCLUSION**

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**CONCLUSION**

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Title of Copyrighted Work: Backdoor Amnesty for Illegals?

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Overall, the effect on the market for the original ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiability of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ■ likely supports fair use or □ likely does not support fair use.

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**Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem.** Retrieved from: https://d396gusza40arc.cloudfront.net/cfei/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20Any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf

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Name: Jason Miller Date: 4/25/2016

Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Immigrant Families in U.S. New

Class or Project: Untitled Segment/Noticiero Univisión, August 22, 2012

Title of Copyrighted Work:

PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

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AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALLY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

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EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

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CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original likely supports fair use or likely does not support fair use.

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Jason Miller 4/25/2016

Name: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Immigrant Families in U.S. New

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Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Im/migrant Families in U.S. New Class or Project: __________________________

Title of Copyrighted Work: Guía y centros de ayuda para solicitar plan de Acción Diferida

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<td>☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ No similar product marketed by the copyright holder</td>
<td>☐ Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material</td>
<td>☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable</td>
<td>☐ Made accessible on Web or to public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Lack of licensing mechanism for the material</td>
<td>☐ Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or likely does not support fair use.

Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.

This worksheet has been adapted from:

*Cornell University's Checklist for Conducting A Fair use Analysis Before Using Copyrighted Materials:*
  https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair_Use_Checklist.pdf


*Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:*
  https://d396ausr40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
**INSTRUCTIONS**

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Jason Miller  
4/25/2016

Name: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

Dissertation: The Construction of Latino Im/migrant Families in U.S. New

Class or Project: ___________________________

Title of Copyrighted Work: ___________________________

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**PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ Educational</td>
<td>□ Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use)</td>
<td>□ Entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Research or Scholarship</td>
<td>□ Bad-faith behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment</td>
<td>□ Denying credit to original author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work)</td>
<td>□ Non-transformative or exact copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group)</td>
<td>■ Made accessible on Web or to public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Nonprofit</td>
<td>□ Profit-generating use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the purpose and character of your use supports fair use or does not support fair use.

---

**NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>■ Factual or nonfiction</td>
<td>□ Creative or fiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Important to favored educational objectives</td>
<td>□ Consumable (workbooks, tests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Published work</td>
<td>□ Unpublished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material supports fair use or does not support fair use.

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**AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>■ Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose)</td>
<td>□ Large portion or whole work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)</td>
<td>□ Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the ‘heart of the work’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)</td>
<td>□ Similar or exact quality of original work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu  
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole □ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

<table>
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Overall, the effect on the market for the original □ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original □ likely supports fair use or □ likely does not support fair use.

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