

# Senate Bill 1070, the Arizona- Mexican Border & Latinos

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An Analysis of Representations in  
Newspaper Articles

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## Introduction

In 2010, Arizona's senator Russell Pearce "introduced the 'Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,' [better known as SB 1070]" (Magaña and Lee, *introduction v*).

Pearce wanted to control undocumented immigration in Arizona (v):

[SB 1070] allows police officers in Arizona to arrest unauthorized immigrants under the state's trespassing law. The law also gives officers the latitude to question and detain those that may appear suspicious [and] [...] the law makes it a crime for an unauthorized immigrant to seek or engage in work. Furthermore, the policy also allows officers to arrest someone without warrant if there is probable cause. And it makes it a state crime if a legal immigrant does not carry identification. (v)

SB 1070 is implicitly directed towards Latino immigrants in Arizona. Accordingly, the part that says 'may appear suspicious' is seen as problematic, especially because legal Latino immigrants can be a victim of the law (vi). Republican governor of Arizona, Janice Brewer, signed SB 1070 on April 23 of 2010 (v). In newspaper articles from the *Arizona Republic* at this time, the main focus is indeed on Latinos and, interestingly, also on the Arizona-Mexican border when it comes to undocumented immigration.

Americans often shed negative light on Latinos in the media. Several studies have been conducted to the way Latinos are represented in newspapers. For example, a study by Casas and Dixon said that Latinos and Blacks are often related to drugs and crime (481). The study showed that whether a news article is positive or negative about Latinos and Blacks, white participants who read these articles perceived them as more dangerous than another group of participants that had not been exposed to any news (489). A study by Fryberg et al. focused on the "framing of arguments for and against the anti-immigration bill [SB 1070]" in newspapers (103). They found that undocumented immigrants are represented as a "*threat to the American economy*,"<sup>1</sup> and as "*public safety threats*" (105), whereas other studies have

shown that undocumented immigrants positively affect the economy and that the period between 2000 and 2009 showed an increase of undocumented immigrants, but a reduction of crime rates (105).

Although the results of the studies are striking, the first does not focus on a specific region, and the second does not connect SB 1070 to the Arizona-Mexican border, even though newspaper articles show a relation between the two. Furthermore, although the second study pays attention to framing and to the ideology of newspapers, the studies do not extensively investigate the role of language in news writing, which can reveal both intended and unintended influences of ideology and opinion. This research therefore aims to look at the representation of the Arizona-Mexican border and Latinos by analyzing language use in newspaper articles about SB 1070. As the *Arizona Republic* connects the bill to Latinos and the Arizona-Mexican border, this analysis will show that newspapers represent the border from a unilateral point of view, which coincides with a distorted representation of Latinos.

The first section discusses topics such as mediation and objectivity in media discourse. Consequently, the two fields of study used for analyzing language in newspapers are introduced, namely critical linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. The second section consists of a short methodology, in which the analysis is further explained. The analysis is followed by a conclusion.

1. All italicized words in between quotation marks follow the form as used in the original source. They are not my emphasis.

## 1. Media Discourse

Newspapers are an example of “media(ted) discourse” (Carvalho 11); they serve as sources of information between the events that are happening in the world and the readers of newspapers. Roger Fowler and Anabela Carvalho, who are respectively researchers in the fields of critical linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, place language in the center of mediation, because it is a highly subjective medium. Fowler argues that “[t]he fundamental principle is that [...] the writer is constituted by the *discourse*. Discourse [...] is socially and institutionally originated ideology, originated in language” (42). Furthermore, he claims that language “imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented” (4). Language therefore “is used in the construction of meaning” (Carvalho 10), and consequently news is “a representation [...] of construction” (Fowler 4).

The claims about language use show that news cannot be purely objective. In their description of news discourse, Calcutt and Hammond speak about a “partly depoliticized press” (67). The word ‘partly’ is of main importance here, because a distinction can be drawn between news stories as factual information and editorials as opinionated texts (Ortega). For example, the newspapers used in this analysis are the *Arizona Republic* and the *Arizona Daily Star*, respectively a conservative and liberal newspaper. These ideologies can most profoundly be found in the editorials. However, due to the subjectivity of language, the analysis will show that sometimes ideologies also intermingle with news stories.

Calcutt and Hammond argue that objectivity can be divided into “three distinct, though interrelated, concepts.” (98). The first concept is “*truthfulness*,” which is about telling the truth in facts. Concerning “*neutrality*,” Bob Ortega, reporter of the *Republic*, indicated in an interview that reporters writing news stories usually attempt to be fair. Additionally, he claims that “my job, and most reporters would agree, is to examine and puncture incorrect beliefs people have.” Lastly, “*emotional detachment*” is “a dispassionate approach that

separates fact from comment and allows news audiences to make up their minds about events rather than being offered a journalist's own response" (98).

Ortega's argument that reporters usually *attempt* to be fair seems to be the best explanation of representations in news stories, because even facts shows the opinion of reporters and newspapers. Although factual information is based off of answering the questions "who, what, when, where, and how" (Tuchman 670), not all newspapers agree on the perspective taken within an event, leading to different answers to these questions (671). For example, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Arizona Daily Star* both published a news story about protests at the Arizona State Capitol against SB 1070, on April 23 of 2010. Answering the question of who was there, according to the *Arizona Republic* most people were students and Latino protesters, later suggesting that the students were Latino. In the *Arizona Daily Star*, the people protesting were all students. Information about their ethnicity is omitted.

Although news organizations are run by people who want to find the truth, newspapers are businesses, largely dependent of advertisements (Ortega). This turns news into a moneymaking "*practice*"<sup>1</sup> (Fowler 2). As mediators, these businesses fulfill different functions. First, they employ "gatekeepers," who are the people that "open and shut the gates of communication, thereby determining what an audience sees, hears, and reads" (Whitaker, Ramsey & Smith 8). Nowadays, this function should bear in mind many new sources of communication, such as internet. A second function is "agenda setting," meaning that newspapers decide what is published on the first page of a newspaper. Together with gatekeeping, agenda setting decides which events are newsworthy and which are not (8). "Framing" is about the way an event is presented in the news. It "suggests that the media influence how the audience thinks about an issue" (8-9). According to Carvalho, framing is a "discursive strategy." Choices are made about which elements are mentioned and which are not, and how they are arranged "to produce a certain meaning" (18). Usually, the lead

represents the core information, “and each succeeding paragraph should contain information of decreasing importance” (Tuchman 669-670).

Receivers of news do not simply absorb all news (Whitaker, Ramsey & Smith 4). Examples of theories about news reception are the "individual differences" theory and the "social influence" theory (4). The first means that every person receives news differently. The second means that "members of a close-knit group [...] can construct an artificial reality for themselves, strong enough even to reject appealing mass-media messages or portrayals" (4). Whitaker, Ramsey, and Smith even claim that "[f]or the most part, audiences will reject or ignore messages that run counter to already-held opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, even if they are carried by the powerful media" (7). Additionally, Ortega claims that even though the *Arizona Republic* tried to show what all the different claims around SB 1070 were, “some readers only want pre-existing beliefs to be confirmed.” Aside from the functions of newspapers, their influence on readers is thus relative; readers do not simply believe everything they are told.

### **Critical Linguistics and CDA**

Fowler focuses on the field of critical linguistics, which “seeks, by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language – and which are below the threshold of notice for anyone who accepts the discourse as ‘natural’. We took the view that *any* aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance" (57). Fowler provides a number of methods for linguistic analysis but also says that his linguistic tools do not provide straightforward answers when applied to a text. Context is of main importance (90). The

methods used in this analysis are derived from both Fowler and Richardson, as they complement each other in their descriptions.

CDA contains a wide variety of different theories and methods, and this field of research has included context in its analysis methods. Furthermore, CDA is especially useful because "the relationship between language and power" is of main importance (Weiss & Wodak 12-13). In addition, Richardson explains that CDA "involves an analysis of how discourse (language in use) relates to and is implicated in the (re)production of social relations - particularly unequal, iniquitous and/or discriminatory power relations" (42). Fowler has also contributed to this field, as critical linguistics was of major importance to CDA (Carvalho 11).

Fowler's connection to CDA can be found in his description of the relation between "discriminatory categorization and power" (105). To make the world more understandable, people place phenomena, objects, and people in categories according to their characteristics. The more predictable or obvious these characteristics are, the easier something or someone is placed in a category. This use of categories can lead to stereotypes and discrimination. (92-93). Stereotypes are "an extremely simplified mental model which fails to see individual features, only the values that are believed to be appropriate to the type" (92). News can reinforce stereotypes if the event confirms them, and events can become news because they relate to stereotypical thinking (17). Moreover, "'groups', such as 'young married women', 'immigrants', 'teachers', 'capitalists' and 'royalty' are imaginary, socially constructed concepts" (Fowler 94). The groups give people a set of characteristics which can be used for discriminatory practices. Newspaper discourse not only reinforces the use of groups, but also creates them (94). "Language provides names for categories, and so helps to set their boundaries and relationships; and discourse allows these names to be spoken and written frequently, so contributing to the apparent reality and currency of the categories" (94).

An example of categorization is provided when the *Arizona Republic* uses the terms 'Latinos' and 'Hispanics.' Although the terms are accepted references in public discourse, generally referring to people from South and Central America, deciding to which people the terms officially refer to is much more difficult. 'Latinos' are not a race but not an ethnicity either, because of the many cultural differences existing between different 'Latino' people, such as nationality and belief (Mendieta 49). 'Hispanics' is often used to refer to Spanish speaking people, but, as Eduardo Mendieta argues, "[they] also speak English, French, Portuguese, Quechua, Guaraní, Toltec, Nahuatl" (49). Most importantly, 'Latinos' and 'Hispanics' do not view themselves as part of the supposed group, but refer to themselves according to their nationality (47).

### **Framework for Analysis**

Contextual analysis within CDA, according to Carvalho, can be divided into two types: a "*comparative-synchronic analysis* and a *historical-diachronic analysis*" (20). The first type of analysis "means looking at various representations of an issue at the time of the writing of one specific news text (the unit of analysis). More specifically, we compare one text with other representations of the issue: texts published on the same day (or another time unit) by different author, both in the same news outlet and in others" (20). This analysis compares texts from two newspapers with an opposing ideology, namely liberal and conservative, because investigating the ideology of a social institution, which is hidden in language, is of main importance to CDA (Weiss & Wodak 14). Furthermore, "[i]deology is an overarching aspect of the text. It is embedded in the selection and representation of objects and actors, and in the language and discursive strategies employed in a text" (Carvalho 19). The second type of analysis endeavors to examine "the course of social matters and their wider political, social and economic context" (21), which means that contextual information about the issue spoken

about in newspaper articles needs to be provided. Additionally, Carvalho argues that "it is important to examine the temporal evolution of media(ted) discourses and to produce a history of media constructions of a given social issue" (21).

Fowler's first linguistic tool is "[I]exical structure" (80). The meaning of words can be divided into "*reference*" and "*sense*." Sense is about the interconnectedness of words within a system (81). It must initially be decided what the news article really describes. "Objects of discourse are not always obvious, and clearly identifying them is an important step towards deconstructing and understanding the role of discourse" (Carvalho 16). Furthermore, objects "can be tackled from many angles and perspectives" (17). Subjects and events originally divided can become more newsworthy because of their relation to bigger concerns.

Additionally, language should be seen as "a structured system" (Fowler 82). A news article consists of a group of words within the system, dependent on the topic of the article (82). As Fowler puts it: "It is presumably part of our communicative or discursive competence to recognize these registers, and to be aware that they mark off socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience: they have a categorizing function" (84).

Reference means that words or phrases refer to something or someone (Fowler 81). According to Richardson, due to referencing decisions can be made about how to depict the person involved in an event (49). Moreover, people can be referred to as individuals or as a group (50). Accordingly, the previously mentioned references 'Latinos' and 'Hispanics' are chosen categories, referring to larger groups. When referred to as individual, this can either emphasize somebody's "ordinariness or 'every man' qualities" (50) or somebody's personal importance, referring to a person in power (50). Furthermore, vocabulary usage interacts with over-lexicalization, meaning that there is "an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture's discourse" (Fowler 85).

Another linguistic tool is "[t]ransitivity" (Fowler 70). Transitivity is seen as the basis of representation. It influences how something is described, choosing a format and deleting another (71). "Traditionally there is a syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, depending on whether they take an object or not" (70-71). Fowler argues, however, that transitivity should also refer to the function and meaning of verbs and adjectives (70-71). According to Richardson, transitivity is about the description of actions (54). It consists of three parts: a verb phrase called "*process*," one or more "*participants*," and the "*circumstances*" (54). A *process* can be "*verbal* [...], such as speaking, shouting or singing. Second, verbs can be *mental* processes such as thinking, dreaming and deciding. Third, *relational* processes of being, such as have, seem and be (or is), which involve an agent and an attribute [...]. And fourth, *material* processes" (55). This last process refers to "*transitive action*" and "*intransitive action*" (55). "Actions are under the control of agents," which means that there is one participant, the agent, carrying out the action (Fowler 73). When the action is transitive, it also influences a participant or object, which is the "*affected participant*" (75).

"Syntactic analysis is concerned with position and sequence of elements, rather than their propositional meanings and functions" (Fowler 77). Two types of "*transformation*" are important for analyzing language usage in newspapers: "passive" transformation and "nominal" transformation (77). Making a clause passive, means that the subject and object of a clause change position. Most notably, the object takes the place usually inhabited by the agent (77). Although meaning does not change, - the object and subject remain grammatically the same - emphasis has changed. For example, when speaking about a robbery, a journalist can choose whether to focus on the robber or on the victim, or even to exclude the robber or victim from being mentioned (78). Nominal transformation means a predicate is turned into a noun (79), which creates the possibility of leaving out information. "Deleted in the nominal

form are the participants (who did what to whom?), any indication of time - because there is no verb to be tensed - and any indication of modality" (80).

"Modality" (Fowler 85) refers to "the linguistic stance taken by the speaker/writer" (85). According to Richardson, "[m]odality is usually indicated via the use of modal verbs (such as *may*, *could*, *should*, *will* and *must*), their negations (*may not*, *couldn't*, *shouldn't*, *will not* and *must not*) or through adverbs (*certainly*)" (59). His focus is on two kinds of modality: "truth" and "obligation" (60). Truth is about the relationship between writer and truth (Fowler 85). The verbs best explaining truth claims are "*will*," "*can*," and "*could*" (Richardson 60). As Fowler says, "[t]ruth modality varies in strength along a scale of absolute confidence [...] down through various degrees of lesser certainty" (86). Obligation means that the writer thinks that somebody "*must*," "*should*," or "*ought to*" do something (Richardson 60; Fowler 86). As is said by Richardson, "modal choices [...] are an indication of the attitudes, judgements or political beliefs of the writer/speaker" (62).

## 2. Methodology

News texts about SB 1070 in the *Arizona Republic* were analyzed over the course of two weeks, from April 23 to May 6. These dates and this newspaper were chosen respectively because the bill was signed by Janice Brewer on April 23 and the *Republic* is Arizona's largest newspaper. Furthermore, the newspaper has a conservative ideology. In the contextual analysis, the *Republic* can therefore be compared to the *Arizona Daily Star*, which is liberal.

In the *Republic*, 45 texts were found concerning SB 1070. Articles sharing one or more headlines but with an additional separate headline were viewed as separate. Shared headlines were not used in the analysis, and only the (sub-)headline, lead, and additional three paragraphs<sup>2</sup> have been used in most of the analysis, in accordance with Carvalho's theory which claims that the headline "marks the preferred reading of the whole article" and should

be analyzed closely, together with "[t]he lead and the first few paragraphs" (16). In order to find out how the border is represented and what role Latinos play in this representation, at first references were analyzed. Consequently, transitivity, syntactic structure, and presuppositions were analyzed in articles that addressed the border or Latinos in the (sub-) headline, which left five articles.

Sense, as part of lexical structure, was analyzed in the selection of five articles, but the whole article was used. The analysis contains an outline of categorical word use, using a method derived from Stuart Allan's *News Culture*, in which he shows the racial distinction made between "'us' and 'them'" in reports from the *Guardian Weekly* about the Persian Gulf War in Iraq (201). Whereas the same type of arrangement and depiction was used, a strict distinction between 'us' as Americans and 'them' as Latinos could not be made, because the bill itself created another division, namely between opponents and supporters. Besides the arrangement of categories, the main perspectives and subjects of the five selected articles were analyzed, consequently identifying the main speaker.

The contextual analysis firstly focuses on the differences between a conservative and a liberal ideology, which can be found respectively in the *Republic* and the *Daily Star*, which is published in border town Tucson. The five news articles used for textual analysis from the *Republic* were compared to articles about the same event or with the same subject in the *Daily Star*. In addition, modality in the editorials of both newspapers was compared as Richardson argues that modality can most likely be found there (59-60). Contextual information about the Arizona-Mexican border in relation to SB 1070 has been provided within the textual analysis, when useful for deriving meaning from the results of the textual analysis.

2. When in the analysis is spoken about for example the first paragraph, the first paragraph *after* the lead is meant.

### 3. Analysis

#### 3.1 Text

##### *Lexical Structure*

<b>Governor Janice Brewer</b>	<b>Her actions</b>
Offers	Tighten border security
Contemplated	Proceed on the nation's toughest legislation against illegal immigration
Announced	Beef up law enforcement along the Arizona-Mexico border
Reiterated	Decide on Senate Bill 1070
Said	Sign or veto the wide ranging measure
Pleaded	Combat illegal immigration
Pointed	Detect human and drug smuggling
Called on	Augment border security
Asked	Control the border
Hoped	
Pledged	

Table 1: April 23, front page article continued on page A16 (Beard Rau and Creno)<sup>3</sup>.

Table 1 reveals that Governor Janice Brewer is in charge of how the border is represented.

The article focuses on her actions and she is quoted. As main speaker, Brewer has “social influence” (Carvalho 17), which means that she has the power of framing the news story. The verbs used to describe Brewer's actions are political, which Fowler calls a “lexical register:”

“[c]lusters of related terms [that] mark out distinct kinds of preoccupation and topic” (82-84).

The term is thus used to describe the relation between groups of regularly used words within a category. Brewer's opinion provides the reader with a construction of the Arizona-Mexican border, because her plans show that the border is dangerous and needs to be secured, due to illegal immigration, and human and drug smuggling.

3. The five newspaper articles from the *Arizona Republic* and the *Arizona Daily Star* can be found in the attachment, which also includes the four examples mentioned later in the analysis and the editorials used in the contextual analysis.

This construction leads to one aspect worth mentioning. Immigration from Mexico has often been attacked by American politicians “to gain more support among Arizona citizens” (Magaña 151). Magaña explains this by claiming that policies developed to decrease the number of undocumented immigrants hold close ties with the “social construction theory, which seeks to explain how groups of individuals are characterized and perceived by the society at large” (151). According to her, politicians can improve their political career by “positively or negatively constructing groups” (152). Jeff Biggers even claims that “political power” of Arizonan politicians, including Brewer and Pearce, can be obtained by “generating fear of the borderlands” (90). Brewer’s construction of the Arizona-Mexican border as dangerous corresponds to this argument.

When it comes to the representation of Brewer’s ideas in the newspaper, the reporter’s role should not be overlooked. Even by using Brewer’s words, the reporter imposes a certain view on readers. “By interjecting someone else’s opinion, [reporters] believe they are removing themselves from participation in the story, and they are letting the ‘facts’ speak” (Tuchman 668). However, reporters make the decision to include quotations, and to not provide additional information about, in this case, the Arizona-Mexican border (669). Quotations therefore are treacherous, as a reporter assumes that she or he is giving factual information when representing the opinion of another person.

<b>Opponents are referred to as</b>	<b>Opponents</b>	<b>Their actions include</b>
Students and Latino advocates	Outcry	A groundswell of activism
Arizona’s young people and Latino advocates	Marched	Compounded frustrations
Legions of Latinos	Expressed	Activism among Latinos
Students	Post updates	Visible mass protest and demonstrations
Students, Hispanic advocates	Urge friends	
Activist Carlos Garcia	Are fired up	A mix of frustration, anger and hope
	Take part	

Long-time activist, Spanish language radio host and former state lawmaker Alfredo Gutierrez	Talked Gather Organize	Lessons in civil disobedience Different chants and a unity clap
Young people and activists	Plead	Phone banks to call the governor
Volunteer leader Alicia Contreras	Walked out Locked themselves up	Updates online
About 65 members from the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles	Are writing Are signing Advocates	
Spokesman Jorge Mario Cabrera	Mobilize Gave	
The group's protesters	Teach	
The hundreds of high-school students	Believe	
Activist Maria Rodriguez of CHIRLA		
The California group		
Activist Alejandro Chavez		

**Table 2: April 23, front page article continued on page A17 (Wingett).**

Table 2 indicates that the second article speaks about the opponents of SB 1070. The verbs used to describe their actions differ from the political register in table 1. A distinct lexical register can be defined, which refers to a group of protesting people. This, however, leads to a description of Brewer's activities as thoughtful and based on considerations, whereas the opponents' activities are direct actions, which is a distinction between mental or verbal, and material processes, as they are described by Richardson (55). Consequently, the actions of opponents are much less considerate and based on frustration and anger.

The references to opponents are at first directed to groups of people, most of who have a Latino background. As explained in the first section, this is a constructed category, because 'Latinos' does not clearly refer to one group of people but a diversity of peoples. As the article continues on page 17, individual people also are referred to. They all have Spanish names. Although most people are either named activists or are referred to by their position within an

activist group, Alfredo Gutiérrez is called a 'Spanish-language radio host and former state lawmaker.' His role within the Spanish-speaking community and his connection to lawmaking are emphasized, which turns him into a knowledgeable person when it comes to SB 1070. All in all, the article focuses on opponents with Latino backgrounds.

<b>Mexico is referred to as</b>	<b>They</b>	<b>Mexicans are referred to as</b>
The Mexican government	Warned	Citizen
The Mexican Foreign Ministry	Are telling Said	Immigrants and visitors Mexican citizen Restaurant owner in Nogales, Sonora Carlos Alfredo Ortiz Mayra Gonzalez Perez Daniel Saucedo of Nogales, Sonora

Table 3: April 28, article on page A10 (Wagner).

The political register used in the first article depicts Brewer as a knowledgeable person.

Although for the Mexican government a corresponding political register might be expected, their activities are described with rather general verbs, as indicated in table 3. Only three verbs are used, because only the lead and first two paragraphs focus on Mexico. In comparison to the lexical register of the opponents, these verbs all indicate direct actions.

After this, two paragraphs describe the opinion of Brewer's spokesman. The rest of the article is devoted to the opinion of people on the Mexican side of the border. These opinions mostly focus on SB 1070, which is about illegal immigration, and not on Mexico's warning, which is directed towards 'Mexican citizens' who visit or immigrate to the United States. Interviewing Mexican citizen about their opinion of Mexico's warning, but mostly about their opinion of SB 1070, implicitly connects them with illegal immigrants coming to the United States. Although they are not represented as potential undocumented immigrants, they are related to undocumented immigration. Furthermore, only Saucedo can be seen as 'visitor,' as

he is trying to cross the border into the United States “to buy about \$60 in auto parts.” The other Mexican citizens do not have an explicit connection with the United States. None of the people interviewed are in fact immigrants.

Relating Mexican citizens to undocumented immigration also occurs in politics. In a research study, McDowell and Provine “consulted two decades (1990-2010) of Congressional hearings to track the conversation among members of Congress and state and local officials” (61). One of their findings is that politicians tend to characterize undocumented immigrants as “Mexican, poor, and unintegrated into American society” (74). This explicitly shows a connection is made between SB 1070 and the Arizona-Mexican border, which is the same connection as can be found in this news article.

<b>Assistant Police Chief Roy Bermudez</b>	<b>Mexico relates to</b>
Shakes his head	Mexico crime
Smiles	Mexican cartel violence
Hears	Out of control drug-related violence
Says	Aggressive smugglers
	Illegal immigrant drug runners responsible for shooting a Pinal County deputy
	Kidnappings
	Shootouts and beheadings
	A volatile political situation
	Multiple killings
	Beheadings and shootouts

**Table 4: May 2, front page article continued on page A8 (Wagner).**

The article from table 4 starts with Assistant Police Chief Roy Bermudez as speaker in the lead and first paragraph. However, he is not mentioned in the rest of the article. Whereas Brewer, as indicated table 1, thinks American citizens need to be protected from illegal immigration and dangers at the Arizona-Mexican border, Bermudez's opinion about this is

emphasized in the lead by him 'shaking his head' and 'smiling.' According to him, the border is safe. As the article continues, however, it becomes clear that the American side of the border is safe, but the Mexican side is dangerous. At first the reporter is trying to prove that politicians exaggerate by saying the border is dangerous, which is already indicated in the headline: "Violence is not up on Ariz. border." Furthermore, Bermudez's movements are a physical reaction to "politicians and pundits declaring that Mexican cartel violence is overrunning his Arizona border town." However, the reason for crime not being present at the American side is the protection America provides with "500 Border Patrol agents and countless other law officers swarming the Arizona side." In addition, it is suggested that "violence from Mexico leapfrogs the border to smuggling hubs and destinations, where cartel members do take part in murders, home invasions and kidnappings." Whereas the American side of the border is safe, Mexico and the rest of American cities are therefore not safe from 'Mexican crime.'

The article also addresses the shooting of a deputy, whose name is not mentioned. He is only called 'a Pinal County deputy.' Another article on the front page of May 1, example 1 in the attachment, mainly focuses on the same shooting, and not only mentions his name but also provides a picture with it (Harris and Wagner). However, the deputy's name is not mentioned until the ninth paragraph and the picture is not on the front page, but on page six, where the article is continued. Apparently, the deputy as an individual is not of importance. The relation of the shooting with violence at the border is emphasized in both articles. For example, the article on May 1 claims that the shooting "underscor[es] the border-related violence that has catapulted Arizona and its new immigration law onto the national stage." Thus, the main object of the article is not the shooting itself, but the concept of violence at the border.

<b>Americans</b>	<b>The border is mentioned in relation to</b>	<b>Latinos are referred to as</b>	<b>Americans think that Latinos may</b>
Want	Better border control	Illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble	Be harassed under tough law
Fear	A better job of securing the border	Illegal immigrants	Be a burden to schools, hospitals and other government services
Are sympathetic to	Stronger border security	Illegal immigrants and their families who have lived productively in the United States for years	Drive down wages
Are concerned that	An out of control southern border	The flow of illegal immigrants into the country	Be forced to leave
Worry		The roughly 12 million illegal immigrants in the U.S.	Move to the U.S. illegally if illegal immigrants are allowed to stay
		Hispanics	

Table 5: May 4, front page article continued on page A6 (Gomez).

As indicated in table 5, Americans are the speakers in power in this article, but they are depicted as victims. Whereas SB 1070 targets undocumented immigrants, Americans are suffering because they ‘fear,’ ‘are concerned,’ and ‘worry’ about the faith of illegal immigrants. At the same time, "[e]ight in 10 Americans are concerned that illegal immigrants burden schools, hospitals and other government services, and [...] drive down wages".

The opinion of Americans resembles opinions from politicians, as the study by McDowell and Provine reveals. Although labor is the most common motive for immigrants to enter the United States, the speakers in the Congressional hearing “focused [...] on benefits and birthright citizenship as attractants” (74). Furthermore, it was said that “women frequently come to the United States to have citizen babies who (it was falsely asserted) would then bestow citizenship on their parents” (74). Biggers gives an example, not from a

speaker at a Congressional hearing but from Arizona's senator Pearce, claiming that "[t]he country was on its last legs because illegal immigrants were 'going to destroy the republic.' Arizona needed to protect itself against an 'invasion coming across the border'" (75).

Only Latinos are addressed as undocumented immigrants in this article. The sub-headline mentions Latinos, and the article speaks about illegal immigrants, consequently implicitly referring to Latinos. This idea is reinforced by mentioning the 'southern border' in the fourth paragraph and 'Hispanics' in the seventh paragraph. An article on the front page of April 29, example 2.1 in the attachment, reveals the opinion of a legal permanent resident (Cone Sexton). "[H]e can't understand [...] why others are so willing to break the law to be here." He is English, and not Latino. Additional personal emphasis is placed on his legal status when he is referred to as a 'computer-network administrator,' and a '35-year-old Avondale resident.' On April 30, example 2.2 in the attachment, an article focuses on people "not inclined to show up at protests," having "conflicted feelings" (Ryman). Again, the person in the picture is "a Nepal citizen who carries a U.S. green card." It is remarkable that people from England and Nepal, and not Latinos, are chosen for the representation of legal immigrants.

### *References*

In order to illuminate how the border and Latinos are represented, a list is provided in table 6 with references from all of the articles.

<b>Latinos</b>	<b>The Arizona-Mexico border</b>
A crowd of Arizona Latino leaders	Arizona's porous border
Latino advocates	the border-related violence
Legions of Latinos	the international line
Others	border security
Hispanic advocates	an uncontrolled border

A new wave of Latinos	Arizona's immigration problem
Its citizen (Mexico)	better border control
Immigrants and visitors	securing the borders
Every Mexican citizen	An out of control southern border
Mexican tourists who come to vacation and shop	
Many migrants, legal and illegal	
Adriana Miranda	
Her husband (Miranda)	
Illegal immigrants like her (Miranda)	
The family (of Miranda)	
100,000 undocumented immigrants	
A new wave of Latinos	
Day laborers	
Day laborers and Latinos	
5 attackers	
5 men suspected of smuggling drugs across the border	
Smugglers	
Illegal immigrant drug runners	
Illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble	
Illegal immigrants and their families who have lived productively in the United States for years	
A group of drug smugglers	

**Table 6: references to Latinos and the Arizona-Mexican border.**

The explicit and implicit references to Latinos in articles about SB 1070 show that the bill targets Latino undocumented immigrants and relates them to crime. As can be seen, one of the references to Latinos is Adriana Miranda. The article on the front page of April 28, example 3 in the attachment, starts by giving Miranda personal importance in the lead (González). However, in the first paragraph her husband and family come into play, and in the third paragraph she is one of over ‘100,000 (Latino) undocumented immigrants.’ Her

nationality is not mentioned anywhere. The emphasis on her as an individual soon dissipates. It is noteworthy that this news article follows the same sequence as Mendieta's argument that "[o]ne arrives a Guatemalan, Salvadorean, Colombian, Cuban, Venezuelan, Peruvian, Costa Rican, or Dominican, and slowly, after painful experiences of oppression, marginalization, and isolation, starts to learn to become a Latino and Hispanic" (47). Although references to 'attackers,' 'smugglers,' and 'drug runners' are not explicitly connected to Latinos, in relation to the in table 4 mentioned 'Mexican cartel violence' the names implicitly refer to Mexicans or Latinos. The reference 'illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble' emphasizes this assumption.

The Arizona-Mexican border is represented in relation to security and violence. The first reference 'Arizona's porous border' is a presupposition by possession, assuming that the border is porous without further explanation. As explained before, 'the border-related violence' is represented as a concept, suggesting that the violence is a consequence of the border. Furthermore, whereas table 4 has shown that the American side of the Arizona-Mexican border is carefully protected, the reference 'an uncontrolled border' suggests otherwise. Lastly, 'Arizona's immigration problem' leaves no doubt that there is a problem. Imagining the Arizona-Mexican border according to these references, and the earlier mentioned references in the tables to the border and Latinos, the border is merely 'an international line' where no police officer can be found and where dangerous illegal immigrants packed with drugs are free to walk into the United States.

### *Transitivity, Syntactic Structure, and Presuppositions*

In the following analysis, all (sub-) headlines and leads are quoted. Every news article has been subjected to separate analysis.

1. "Brewer offers plans to tighten border security"

“As Gov. Jan Brewer contemplated how to proceed on the nation’s toughest legislation against illegal immigration, opponents of the bill converged in protest at the state Capitol on Thursday and Brewer announced efforts to beef up law enforcement along the Arizona-Mexico border.” (Beard Rau and Creno)

In the headline, Brewer is the agent. The affected participant is the object ‘plans to tighten border security.’ The clause implicitly suggests that the border will be influenced by the plans Brewer has made, namely its ‘security’ will be ‘tightened.’ This is a first example of syntactic nominalization. The word ‘security’ is used as a noun instead of a verb, representing ‘border security’ as a concept. This derives attention away from the question: is securing the border necessary? Other questions that this headline asks are: against whom does the border need to be better secured and who is going to do that? The nominalization of ‘security’ has created the possibility of leaving out these participants.

One explicit reference to the border is made in the text: “Brewer announced efforts to beef up law enforcement along the Arizona-Mexico border.” Here, ‘enforcement’ is nominalized, deleting information about which law needs to be enforced, why it needs to be enforced and who is responsible for it. In the third paragraph, it becomes clear that undocumented immigrants in Arizona are the target of SB 1070.

2. "Bill ignites outcry from students and Latino advocates" / "Ariz. immigration bill fires up students, Hispanic advocates"

“While a poll indicates a 70 percent approval rating for Senate Bill 1070, the tough immigration legislation awaiting the governor’s veto or signature also has unleashed a

groundswell of activism among Arizona's young people and Latino advocates at a level not seen since immigration marches in 2006." (Wingett)

In this article, public's response to SB 1070 is the central subject, describing the actions of opponents. However, the opponents rarely act as agents in the first part of the article. The first headline represents the bill as agent, and 'outcry' as a consequence of this. A syntactic nominalization is used, presenting 'outcry' not as verb but as object. The second headline keeps the same structure. However, the affected participant is clearly presented, because a transitive action is used, in which the 'Ariz. immigration bill' is the agent, and 'students, Hispanic advocates' are directly influenced by this agent. SB 1070 as agent is an example of "metonymic replacements" (Reisigl & Wodak 57). "[M]etonymies" enable changes in emphasis, as the person responsible is only implicitly present, deriving attention away from this person (58). In this case, attention has shifted from Brewer, or Pearce, to the bill itself.

In the lead, the clause after the comma follows the same structure as the first headline. The simple term 'bill' is replaced by another reference to SB 1070, namely 'the tough immigration legislation awaiting the governor's veto or signature.' This reference, however, divides emphasis over the bill itself and the governor. An explicit reference is made to Brewer, but she does not function as a participant. The verb 'ignites' has been replaced by 'has unleashed.' Furthermore, 'outcry' has become 'a groundswell of activism,' and 'students and Latino advocates' are now referred to as 'Arizona's young people and Latino advocates.' This is an example of a word or group of words replaced with a completely different set of words, but still keeping the same function within a clause.

In the first paragraph after the lead, Latinos are the agent, for example: "Legions of Latinos marched," and "[o]thers expressed their opposition." In the second paragraph, however, emphasis has shifted back to SB 1070 as agent, although without opponents as

affected participant, and in the third paragraph focus shifts back to Brewer as the person in control: "Brewer has until Saturday to sign or veto the bill." By putting her up front, this sentence emphasizes Brewer's power over SB 1070, in an article that initially is supposed to focus on protesting opponents. The bill in turn is in control of the actions of opponents in the lead and headlines, leaving them at the lowest rank in the hierarchy.

### 3. "Mexico warns citizens about tough law"

"The Mexican government on Tuesday warned its citizens to use extreme caution if visiting Arizona because of the state's tough new immigration law, which gives local police authority to stop and detain illegal immigrants." (Wagner)

This news story claims to be about Mexico's warning to its citizens, but mostly it pays attention to SB 1070 itself. In the headline of this news story, 'Mexico' is the agent and 'citizens' the affected participants. The prepositional phrase, 'about tough law,' can be seen as the least important in the headline, as it merely describes the circumstances. Especially for this reason, it is noteworthy that the opinions depicted in the article are mostly about the 'tough law' itself, and not about Mexico's warning. Just as in the second article, 'Mexico' is a metonymic replacement for the person who issued the warning. In this case, however, the person responsible is never mentioned. In the lead, 'Mexico' is substituted for more specifically 'the Mexican government' and in the second paragraph for 'the Mexican Foreign Ministry.' In the third paragraph, the United States is directly represented by 'Gov. Jan Brewer's spokesman, Paul Senseman.' Mexico's citizens are directly represented, as outlined in table 3.

So far, none of the articles use passive transformations. Presuppositions, however, are widespread, especially when addressing SB 1070. In this article, the bill is called 'tough law'

in the headline, and ‘the state's tough new immigration law’ in the lead, presupposing that the law is tough. In addition, the lead presupposes that there have been other immigration laws in Arizona, however, leaving it unclear whether those were tough as well or not.

4. "Violence is not up on Ariz. border" / "Mexico crime flares, but here, only flickers" /  
"Violence not spilling over to border towns"

"Assistant Police Chief Roy Bermudez shakes his head and smiles when he hears politicians and pundits declaring that Mexican cartel violence is overrunning his Arizona border town."  
 (Wagner)

Just as the first headline on April 23 does not answer the question against whom or why the border needs to be secured, the first headline of this article does not provide an answer either. Although the headline claims that there is no violence at the border, the sub-headline speaks about ‘Mexico crime,’ representing it as a concept. The presence of violence at the border is represented as the sole responsibility of Mexicans. The sub-headline invokes the presupposition that, if there is violence near the border, Mexico is in charge of it. Furthermore, the lead speaks about the concept of ‘Mexican cartel violence.’ Instead of representing it as ‘cartel violence committed by Mexicans,’ it now is Mexican trait. Moreover, the first paragraph describes how violence is prevalent at the Mexican side of the border. American protection is responsible for the decrease of violence on the American side. The paragraph additionally introduces the concept ‘spillover violence,’ in which ‘spillover’ is a nominal presupposition. It is a quote by Assistant Police Chief Roy Bermudez: "We have not, thank God, witnessed any spillover violence from Mexico." ‘Spillover violence’ presupposes that it has happened in the past or is still happening in other places.

The people responsible for ‘Mexican violence’ are more specifically introduced in the third paragraph, which explains that "smugglers have become more aggressive in their encounters with authorities." These smugglers are "alleged [...] illegal-immigrant drug runners." The news article thus links undocumented immigrants with drug runners. Furthermore, undocumented immigrants are connected with violence without proof, as the crime was only “allegedly” committed by “illegal immigrant drug runners.” The third paragraph additionally says: "While smugglers have become more aggressive in their encounters with authorities, as evidenced by the shooting of a Pinal County deputy on Friday, allegedly by illegal-immigrant drug runners, they do not routinely target residents of border towns." Here, the evidence given for the statement that ‘smugglers have become more aggressive,’ is not based on factual percentages but on one shooting which wounded an officer. Although this news article attempts to refute the border's representation in the media as dangerous, it casts illegal immigrants in a negative light by connecting them with drug runners and crime, without fundamental proof of these convictions. According to Magaña, immigrants are even “less likely than the US population at large to commit crime” (160).

5. "Poll: most in U.S. want better border control" / “But many fear Latinos may be harassed under tough laws" / “Poll: Most Americans want stronger border security”

"Two-thirds of Americans want the government to do a better job of securing the borders, but they are sympathetic to illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble, a *USA Today*/Gallup Poll says." (Gomez)

Americans are the agent in all headlines, and in the lead. Just by having an opinion about undocumented immigrants, Americans are placed in a superior position. In the lead, the phrase ‘illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble’ is

presented as one grammatical function, creating a distorted image of undocumented immigrants. Although the fact that they have 'stayed out of trouble' can be seen as a positive reference, implicitly illegal immigrants are connected to 'trouble.' Apparently, undocumented immigrants need to prove that they have the ability to stay out of trouble.

The verbs describing the opinion of Americans in table 5 are of crucial importance, because a different vision is shown when 'are concerned' is replaced by 'think.' When Americans are concerned, this provides a different perspective on their opinion than the fourth row of the table 5, if the verbs from the first row are replaced with the more neutral and less emotional 'think.' The difference here between the two verb phrases is that 'think' is a mental process. The verb phrase 'are concerned' functions as a relational process with 'concerned' functioning as attribute. In this case, the agents are 'Americans,' and 'concerned' directly refers back to this agent. A relational process therefore indicates much less neutrality because of the relationship between the agent and the attribute, whereas a mental process functions by itself.

The statement that Americans are represented as victims can be further explained using transitivity. The first paragraph states: "Eight in 10 Americans are concerned - that illegal immigrants burden schools, hospitals and other government services, - and 77 percent worry - that they drive down wages, - the survey says." The hyphens show the division of the sentences into separate clauses. In the second clause, illegal immigrants are agents and in this case there is a clear affected participant as well, namely 'schools, hospitals and other government services,' which are all American services. In the fourth clause, the affected participants are the 'wages,' which are directly related to the wages of Americans. Therefore, the affected participant can directly be related to American citizen, turning them into Fowler's "patient," as he says that "[t]he term patient is generally used to refer to the role of an affected

participant who/which is human, or at least animate, and who has something done to them" (75-76).

### 3.2 Context: Conservative and Liberal

The headline, sub-headline, and lead of the articles in the *Arizona Daily Star* are quoted and compared to corresponding news articles on the same day in the *Arizona Republic*, unless described otherwise.

#### 1. "Brewer's plan moves Guardsmen to border"

"Gov. Jan Brewer unveiled her border-security plan Thursday, one that consists largely of moving around funding for existing National Guard units and providing one-time grants for local law enforcement." (Fischer)

Whereas in the *Republic* Brewer is represented as agent, her 'plan' is the agent in this headline. 'Guardsmen' are the affected participants in this case. Again, the border will implicitly be influenced by Brewer's plans. The main difference between both articles is the focus of the *Republic* on Brewer's actions concerning SB 1070, and the focus of the *Daily Star* on the costs of Brewer's plan for securing the border and the consequences for Guardsmen. In both articles, 'border security' and 'law enforcement' are nominalized.

#### 2. "Capitol protest urges Brewer to reject new immigration bill"

"The state Capitol saw its third day of protests Thursday against the tough new immigration law approved by the Legislature this week and awaiting the governor's signature." (Fischer)

Both articles focus on the protests that have occurred as a consequence of SB 1070. Whereas the *Republic* represents the bill as agent in the headline, the *Daily Star* presents 'Capitol

protest’ as agent, giving the opponents more power regarding their actions. Consequently, the protesters are not represented as affected participants, but Brewer is. The nominalization of the verb ‘protest’ into the noun ‘Capitol protest’ has created the possibility of leaving out information about who is protesting. It is especially interesting that the *Daily Star* does not refer to Latinos in the article, and only refers to the protesters by naming them ‘high-school- and college-aged demonstrators.’ Thus, more emphasis is placed on protests, but less on who is protesting, deriving attention away from Latinos.

In the lead, the state Capitol is a metonymic replacement, emphasizing that it is not important who was watching the protests but merely that they took place at the state Capitol. The *Daily Star* does not present the bill as agent, as opposed to the lead in the *Republic*. However, the reference to the bill shows similarities: respectively “the tough immigration legislation awaiting the governor’s veto or signature” and “the tough new immigration law approved by the Legislature this week and awaiting the governor’s signature.” The *Daily Star* has added information about SB 1070, namely that it was ‘approved by the Legislature.’ Furthermore, whereas the *Republic* leaves the possibility open that the bill can be vetoed, the *Daily Star* does not, revealing the expectation that SB 1070 will be signed.

3. “Mexico issues travel warning” / “Tells citizens to skip state due to immigrant measure; binational forum canceled”

“The Mexican government is urging U.S.-bound shoppers to avoid Arizona or prepare for unprovoked harassment by police.” (Alvarado and Villarreal)

The *Daily Star*, more than the *Republic*, focuses on the travel warning itself and its implications, and much less on SB 1070. The verbs in the first headline can be compared to the verbs in table 3, which shows that this headline more resembles a political register.

Instead of simply ‘warning citizens,’ the *Daily Star* has chosen a syntactic structure in which a ‘travel warning’ is presented as an official document. However, in the sub-headline and lead the verbs again resemble those in the *Republic*, marking a difference with the lexical register used for Brewer’s activities in the first article from the *Republic*. Furthermore, the *Daily Star* has included an implication of SB 1070 in the title, namely the ‘binational forum has been canceled.’ The article in the *Republic* does not speak about this forum and most of the article focuses on Mexicans’ opinions about the law. The same metonymic replacement is used in both articles, as ‘Mexico’ and ‘the Mexican government’ are hiding the identity of the person issuing the travel warning.

In the lead of this article, ‘the Mexican government’ is the agent. ‘U.S.-bound shoppers’ are the affected participants. This explicit reference to shoppers only emphasizes a non-immigrant status of most Mexicans visiting the United States. Besides a more positive depiction of Mexicans, this article again focuses more on economic matters, just as in the first article, than on SB 1070, undocumented immigration, and violence. The reference in the sub-headline to SB 1070 also differs from the reference in the *Republic*, excluding the presuppositions made there. Just as for ‘travel warning,’ this time is chosen for a more official reference to SB 1070, namely the ‘immigrant measure.’

#### 4. “3 held in Pinal deputy’s shooting” /

##### “Crews scour desert again for others possibly involved”

“Three suspected illegal immigrants were in custody Saturday as ‘persons of interest’ in the shooting of a Pinal County deputy near Casa Grande, authorities said.” (Younger)

The main focus of this article is the shooting of the Pinal County’s deputy, which the *Republic* writes about on May 1, as is described on page six of this analysis. Consequently,

the *Daily Star* does not make a connection between the shooting and SB 1070. In agreement with the *Republic*, however, the *Daily Star* first only addresses the victim by using references as ‘Pinal deputy’ and ‘Pinal County deputy.’

The description of the suspects reveals major differences. Although the lead addresses illegal immigrants, it only describes them as ‘persons of interest’ in relation to the shooting, avoiding the use of the word ‘allegedly’ as is used in the *Republic*. As Whitaker claims: “the word [allegedly] gives *no* protection against a libel action, however, any more than covering phrases such as *police say, it is reported or it is rumored*” (41). In the following three paragraphs, the *Daily Star* avoids making a connection between illegal immigrants and drug runners. Whereas the *Republic* speaks about ‘illegal immigrant drug runners,’ the *Daily Star* writes in the second paragraph: “The three in custody appeared to match the descriptions given by Puroll, who was shot, apparently by smugglers, in the desert about 25 miles west of Casa Grande Friday afternoon.” The *Daily Star* has thus avoided mentioning illegal immigrants and smugglers in the same sentence, not explicitly making a connection between the two. Furthermore, no claim is made about ‘smugglers having become more aggressive,’ as the *Republic* did.

5. “Horne: Ajo used \$1.2M on Mexicans” / “State audit finds schools illegally enrolled students”

“State School Superintendent Tom Horne is seeking \$1.2 million from the Ajo School District after an audit found that it illegally enrolled Mexican students as Arizona residents.”

(Huicochea)

It is hardly possible to compare the news articles on May 4 in the *Republic* and the *Daily Star*, because the two newspapers focus on different subjects. A news article on May 5 in the *Daily*

*Star*, however, is worth mentioning here, because it shows similarities with the fifth article from the *Republic*. Whereas the *Republic* writes that “[e]ight in 10 Americans are concerned that illegal immigrants burden schools, hospitals and other government services,” the subject of the article in the *Daily Star* is an example of Mexican citizens who have used Arizona state funds, without being Arizona residents. However, it is noteworthy that the *Daily Star* has not seized the opportunity to connect the situation to SB 1070 or an increase of undocumented immigrants. In opposition, the *Republic* did this with the shooting in the fourth article, and would have likely done that in this article as well, showing their conservative ideology.

### *Modality*

Although the *Republic* and the *Daily Star* have opposing ideologies, both newspapers take a clear negative stance regarding SB 1070. It is worth mentioning that the *Republic* contained editorials about SB 1070 in one out of two weeks, whereas the *Daily Star* only focused on the subject twice. In the *Republic*'s editorial from April 23 (Immigration), the modal verbs show the editor's negative opinion about SB 1070, for example: “It [SB 1070] will not stop illegal immigration,” and “this bill will cost the state in many ways.” However, the *Republic* agrees with Brewer that the federal government has done too little to protect Arizona against undocumented immigration, as argued in the editorial of April 24 (Arizona): “The widespread popularity of this punishing legislation would be far weaker if Washington, D.C., would act seriously to do its duty regarding Arizona's southern border.” The second mentioning of ‘would’ shows that the federal government right now is taking no serious measures to protect the Arizona-Mexican border.

In its editorial of May 6 (City), the *Daily Star* shows support for Tucson's choice to start a legal procedure against SB 1070: “Tucson must make it clear that our community welcomes visitors, values our diverse residents and protects civil rights.” The modal verb

‘must’ is an example of obligation, meaning that the writer thinks Tucson is obliged to do this. The other editorial, on April 24 (Grijalva), is not directly about SB 1070, but about Representative Raúl Grijalva, whose idea to boycott Arizona was met with “many death threats” directed towards him. The *Daily Star*’s opinion about this: "A bad idea should not spur threats of violence. A bad idea should generate debate, conversation and dialogue." Interestingly, this violence is not connected to Latinos but to Americans, as an example of a phone call is given in which the person “threatened to ... blow everyone’s brains out then go to the border to shoot Mexicans.”

The editorials in the *Republic* focus more on violence at the border than the *Daily Star*, in agreement with the news articles. This can be explained by Ortega’s comment that sometimes editors will ask him for information about a subject that he has written about. The two departments of newspapers are thus more connected and intertwined than they are often represented. For example, in opposition to the *Republic*’s own statement that the American side of the border is actually safe, the editorial of April 28 (Law) says: "It [SB 1070] will not make the ranchers who live in the border region where Robert Krentz was murdered any safer." As argued by Biggers, already in 1912 the *Daily Star* revealed their liberal ideology regarding political upheaval on border issues:

Mocking other news agencies, especially in El Paso, the newspaper declared that certain interests were exaggerating border concerns to garner more federal funds or even to sell more newspapers. The *Star* called on the media not to take the political bait: "The people of Tucson and especially the merchants - and the same may said of the people of all American towns not far removed from the border - are naturally desirous that the truth and only the truth, be reported about Mexico. If the situation is a bad one or should become a bad one, of course, we could have no interest in

suppressing that fact, but we have a great and material interest in letting the world know that conditions are not bad when they are not so. (78)

Just as in the news articles, the editorial on May 6 in the *Daily Star* does not focus on violence and drug trafficking at the Arizona-Mexican border, but on the costs of SB 1070. Much attention is paid to the fact that “SB 1070 [is] bad for the economy” but that Tucson’s “legal action will not - repeat not - cost city tax-payers money.” Therefore, the difference in ideology between the *Republic* and the *Daily Star* is most notably revealed by the *Republic*’s focus on connecting undocumented immigration and SB 1070 with violence at the border, whereas the *Daily Star* is more inclined to mention the negative economic consequences of the bill.

#### 4. Discussion

##### *Findings and Conclusion*

The main question in this analysis was: how is the Arizona-Mexican border represented in newspaper articles about SB 1070? Furthermore, the claim was made that the Arizona-Mexican border is represented from a unilateral point of view, coinciding with a distorted representation of Latinos. In certain ways, this claim is valid.

The *Republic* describes the border as dangerous and relates it to Latino undocumented immigration and human and drug smuggling. Crime and a lack of security at the border are prevalent. When the newspaper attempts to show a different perspective on the border, by saying it is actually safe, they consequently negatively depict Mexico and Mexicans, by relating the country and its citizens to an abundance of criminal activities. Moreover, when depicting the opinion of legal immigrants, immigrants from England and Nepal are chosen. Latino legal immigrants are not given a voice anywhere. Undocumented Latino immigrants,

however, are connected to crime and drugs. Even though the fourth article suggests there is much security at the border, references show a wide-open uncontrolled ‘international line.’

Transitivity, syntactic structure, and presuppositions especially show which information is omitted in the articles. In the first one, it is unclear why the border needs to be secured and who the concept of undocumented immigrants refers to. In the next article, opponents of the bill are the main subjects, but they are placed at the lowest rank in a hierarchy in which Brewer takes up the first position, and SB 1070 the second. In the third, Mexico’s warning is most important, and the headline indeed represents SB 1070 as a circumstance. However, the article itself mainly focuses on the bill, connecting Mexican citizens in Mexico to undocumented immigration in the United States. Moreover, the fourth article reveals that the border needs to be secured against criminal Mexicans. Just as in the third article, Mexicans are consequently related to undocumented immigration, but now in relation to crime. At last, in the fifth article, by using verbs that Richardson calls relational processes, American citizens are presented as victims of Latino immigration.

The *Republic* represents opponents of the bill as Latinos, whereas the *Daily Star* clearly avoids this reference. Furthermore, the *Daily Star* does not connect Mexican citizens to undocumented immigration. They additionally avoid relating undocumented immigrants to smugglers, as the *Republic* does. Generally, it can be claimed that the *Republic* often makes unfounded connections between SB 1070, undocumented immigration, and violence. It therefore is noteworthy that the *Daily Star* takes a different stance, by only referring to economic matters concerning SB 1070, especially the costs of the bill. This distinction cannot just be found in the news stories, but also in the editorials. However, both newspapers are clearly against implementation of the bill.

Language use can reveal inequality and discrimination, especially in relation to categorization. An important example are the terms ‘Latinos’ and ‘Hispanics,’ which reveal

an unequal relationship, because they are terms given by Americans. 'Latinos' do not see themselves as such. In the news articles undocumented immigrants are referred to as 'Latinos,' and only the Mexican nationality is related to this term, suggesting that Latinos are Mexicans. However, the *Republic* has attempted to give Latinos a personal voice as well. When analyzing the whole article, in the second article protester Alfredo Gutiérrez is depicted as a knowledgeable person, by paying attention to his professional role in society. In the third article, three Mexican citizens give their opinion. Unfortunately, only the fourth example gives personal importance to a Latino in the most important part of the article, namely within the lead and first three paragraphs. However, within those three paragraphs the nationality of Miranda is not provided and she soon becomes one of '100,000 Latino undocumented immigrants.' Latinos are thus mainly represented as a group.

The contextual information provided within the textual analysis mainly shows similarities between the framing of news stories in the *Republic* and opinions of politicians. The depiction of the Arizona-Mexican border as dangerous and in need of more security in the first article corresponds to the idea that politicians can increase their number of voters by paying attention to immigration and making people afraid of violence at the border. The connection between Mexicans and undocumented immigration made in the third article is also made by politicians in Congressional hearings. In addition, the fifth news article shows the concern of Americans that undocumented immigrants use American federal money for their own purposes, which is a concern also raised by politicians in the Congressional hearing. This concern corresponds to the results of the study by Fryberg et al., which was presented in the introduction. As was explained there, however, undocumented immigration actually had positive effects on the economy. Moreover, crime rates had dropped when immigration rates increased.

*Limitations and Recommendations*

The question 'why' has not been answered in the contextual analysis. A distorted representation of Latinos is provided, most importantly by connecting them to crime. Undocumented immigration is also connected to Latinos. It is important to conduct research in why Latinos are connected to crime, and consequently why undocumented immigrants and Latinos are represented as the same group. The same argument can be made for the representation of the Arizona-Mexican border and Mexicans in relation to crime. It is indeed well known that drug violence is prevalent in Mexico's border area. However, the newspaper articles tend to blame Mexicans for this, without providing a historical context of Mexico or a detailed analysis of Mexico's policies. Furthermore, nothing has been said about the demand for drugs in the United States. People's motivation to participate in drug smuggling should be investigated, before a conclusion can be drawn from any criminal record.

When it comes to language analysis, the scope of this analysis is limited. Out of 45 texts about SB 1070, only five have been extensively analyzed. Investigating the larger perspectives taken in all articles may result in different findings. It would also be interesting to investigate newspaper articles over a longer time, additionally including more media sources such as television. For example, Ortega has argued that especially television news at the time of SB 1070 created fear among undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, only minor attention has been paid to the placement of articles in the newspapers. Moreover, pictures and picture descriptions have generally been left out of the analysis but this does not mean that these parts of news stories are unimportant. Even more importantly, it would be worth investigating journalist's motives for representing the border and Latinos the way they do, and the possibilities they see for different representations.

It can be concluded that within the scope of this analysis, the main claim is proven. On the one hand, based on the textual analysis, Latinos and the Arizona-Mexican border have

been negatively depicted. The *Daily Star* has proven that, for example, the prevalence of references to crime are gratuitous. On the other hand, it must be said that the *Republic* has made attempts to provide different perspectives on the events surrounding the bill. Ideology, values, and opinion are indeed inherent to language use. However, the issues surrounding SB 1070, the Arizona-Mexican border and Latinos being as complicated as they are, it is "important to keep in mind [...] that news organizations are [generally] run by people who want to find the truth" (Ortega).

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Attachments<sup>1</sup>

Articles 1 and 2, front page of April 23, *Arizona Republic*:

## Brewer offers plans to tighten border security

By Alia Beard Rau and Glen Creno

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

As Gov. Jan Brewer contemplated how to proceed on the nation's toughest legislation against illegal immigration, opponents of the bill converged in protest at the state Capitol on Thursday and Brewer announced efforts to beef up law enforcement along the Arizona-Mexico border.

At a speech Thursday night before a crowd of Arizona Latino leaders, Brewer reiterated, "I am not prepared to announce a decision on Senate Bill 1070. What I decide will be based on what's right for Arizona."

Brewer has not said when she will take action, but political observers expected her to act today.

See BREWER Page A16



CHERYL EVANS/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Brewer declines to reveal her intentions on the immigration bill as she leaves a Thursday speaking engagement with Chicanos Por La Causa, held at the Sheraton Phoenix Downtown Hotel.

## Bill ignites outcry from students and Latino advocates

By Yvonne Wingett

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

While a poll indicates a 70 percent approval rating for Senate Bill 1070, the tough immigration legislation awaiting the governor's veto or signature also has unleashed a groundswell of activism among Arizona's young people and Latino advocates at a level not seen since immigration marches in 2006.

Legions of Latinos marched on the state Capitol on Thursday, many of them high-school and college students. Others expressed their opposition on the Internet, posting updates on the social-media sites Twitter and Facebook, and urging friends to ask Gov. Jan Brewer to veto the bill.

Senate Bill 1070 would make it a state crime to be in the country illegally. It requires local law enforce-

See OPPOSITION Page A17

### COMPLETE COVERAGE

#### Changes made to bill

Some promised changes to the bill win early OK, but one lawmaker says they don't go far enough. **A16**

#### Difficult questions

One reader with a classic American story wants to know, "Am I a legal Hispanic?" **E.J. Montini, Valley & State, B1**

#### Photos from the rallies

See more from Thursday's immigration-bill protests and get updates today at **news.azcentral.com.**

1. The continuations of articles have not been included in the attachment, because they are illegible when copied in a word document. For the same reason, the editorial from April 28 from the *Arizona Republic* has not been included.

Article 3, page A10 of April 28, *Arizona Republic*:

## Mexico warns citizens about tough law

By Dennis Wagner  
THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

**NOGALES, Ariz.** — The Mexican government on Tuesday warned its citizens to use extreme caution if visiting Arizona because of the state's tough new immigration law, which gives local police authority to stop and detain illegal immigrants.

Although the law won't take effect until this summer, the Mexican government is telling immigrants and visitors to start carrying U.S.-issued documents now or risk arrest.

"It must be assumed that every Mexican citizen may be harassed and questioned without further cause at any time," the Mexican Foreign Ministry said in a written statement.

Gov. Jan Brewer's spokesman, Paul Senseman, called the travel advisory "misguided."

"Since the new Arizona

law simply regulates immigration the same way that federal law and federal authorities currently regulate it, it seems misguided to be angry exclusively with Arizona."

At the border Tuesday, most people interviewed said that they weren't aware of the new Arizona immigration law or of the Mexican government's warning.

Carlos Alfredo Ortiz, 39, owns a restaurant in Nogales, Sonora. "It's a real worry," he said of the new law. "I think it's basically racism. I don't think it's right that because of the way a person looks, police can stop him."

The idea of a boycott of Arizona sounds good because it would send a message, he said, but would hurt a lot of innocent people in Arizona who had nothing to do with passing the law.

Mayra Gonzalez Perez, 28, said she understands

the law may have been passed because Arizona wants to stop smuggling and deaths and illegal immigration, but thinks the way the state is going about it is wrong.

"It won't change anyway," she said.

Daniel Saucedo, 49, of Nogales, Sonora, spent 45 minutes waiting in line to enter the U.S. to buy about \$60 in auto parts.

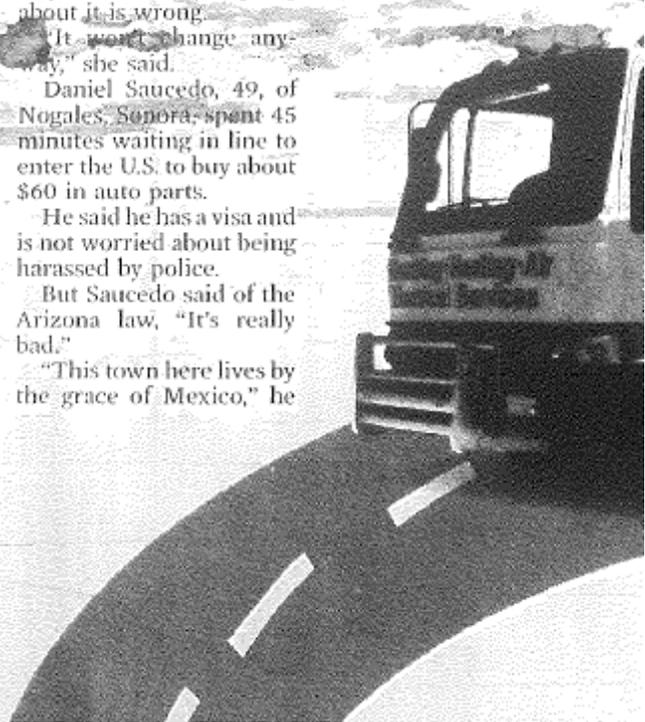
He said he has a visa and is not worried about being harassed by police.

But Saucedo said of the Arizona law, "It's really bad."

"This town here lives by the grace of Mexico," he

said. "One day, the people won't come from Mexico anymore."

Reporter Ginger Rough contributed to this article.



Article 4, front page of May 2, *Arizona Republic*:

# Violence is not up on Ariz. border

Mexico crime flares,  
but here, only flickers

By Dennis Wagner  
THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

**NOGALES, Ariz.** — Assistant Police Chief Roy Bermudez shakes his head and smiles when he hears politicians and pundits declaring that Mexican cartel violence is overrunning his Arizona border town.

"We have not, thank God, witnessed any spillover violence from Mexico," Bermudez says emphatically. "You can look at the crime stats. I think Nogales, Arizona, is one of the safest places to live in all of America."

FBI Uniform Crime Reports and statistics provided by police agencies, in fact, show that the crime rates in Nogales, Douglas, Yuma and other Arizona border towns have remained essentially flat for the past decade, even as drug-related violence has spiraled out of control on the other side of the international line. Statewide, rates of violent crime also are down.

While smugglers have become more aggressive in their encounters with authorities, as evidenced by the shooting

See **BORDER** Page A8

Article 5, front page of May 4, *Arizona Republic*:

## Poll: Most in U.S. want better border control

But many fear Latinos may be harassed under tough laws

By Alan Gomez  
USA TODAY

Two-thirds of Americans want the government to do a better job of securing the borders, but they are sympathetic to illegal immigrants who have been working hard and staying out of trouble, a *USA Today*/Gallup Poll

says.

Eight in 10 Americans are concerned that illegal immigrants burden schools, hospitals and other government services, and 77 percent worry that they drive down wages, the survey says.

Yet 77 percent are concerned that stricter laws would mean illegal im-

migrants and their families who have lived productively in the United States for years would be forced to leave.

The seeming contradiction reflects the difficulty in grappling with the issue, said Tomas Jimenez, a fellow at the nonpartisan New America Foundation.

See IMMIGRATION Page A6

Article 1, front page of April 23, *Arizona Daily Star*:

## Brewer's plan moves Guardsmen to border

By Howard Fischer  
CAPITOL MEDIA SERVICES

PHOENIX — Gov. Jan Brewer unveiled her border-security plan Thursday, one that consists largely of moving around funding for existing National Guard units and providing one-time grants for local law enforcement.

Brewer also railed against the Obama administration for failing to do more.

In a press conference at the state's National Guard headquarters, Brewer said it is the not the job of state government to secure the border.

"But we have no other choice," she said. "Those who have failed to protect us have shown only weakness and delay."

She said President Obama and his top officials have "simply turned a blind eye to the issues that Arizona is being overrun by illegal immigration, terrorizing the citizens."

"No matter the cost, no matter the sacrifice, we cannot shirk government's principal responsibilities to the citizens we serve to provide safety and security," she said.

But Brewer, citing the condition of the state budget, said there actually is only so much the state can do on its own.

One of the changes is to reorganize how the state uses federal funding it already gets for its Joint Counter Narco-Terrorism Task Force. Maj. Gen. Hugo Salazar, the adjutant general of the Arizona National Guard, said shifting those funds from existing duties — he provided no specifics — would allow for

soldiers to spend more time doing surveillance.

He stressed, though, that Guard soldiers are not law enforcement personnel and won't be out looking for and apprehending illegal immigrants. Salazar said the funding for the existing border troops limits their role to providing support to law enforcement.

The governor also asked Salazar to have Guard units conduct more of their required annual training in Southern Arizona — something he could not guarantee.

"We are exploring that," the general said, while noting there are "legal aspects" that need to be worked out.

The other part of her plan sets aside \$10 million in federal stimulus money to provide grants to local and tribal police agencies to propose ways they can assist border-security efforts. She also directed the state Department of Public Safety to come up with plans to help border counties if they seek assistance.

Pretty much everything else is contingent on the Obama administration's coming up with help that it has so far failed to provided, including Brewer renewing her call for the federal government to fund an additional 250 Guard soldiers along the border and a request for additional pilots and helicopters for the Guard.

The governor conceded she's not hope-

See BREWER, A4

Article 2, page A4 of April 23, *Arizona Daily Star*:

# Capitol protest urges Brewer to reject new immigration bill

By Howard Fischer

CAPITOL MEDIA SERVICES

PHOENIX — The state Capitol saw its third day of protests Thursday against the tough new immigration law approved by the Legislature this week and awaiting the governor's signature.

Between 200 and 300 high school- and college-aged demonstrators, some from Los Angeles, marched around the Capitol building, exhorted by leaders on bullhorns, calling on Gov. Jan Brewer to veto the bill.

That was followed by a press conference featuring religious leaders of most major denominations denouncing the legislation and joining the call for a veto.

Brewer acknowledged the wide-ranging criticism calling the measure unjust, but questioned if those critics have really studied the measure.

"I think that there's been a lot of misrepresentation—a bit on some of the issues," the governor said. "You listen to one media outlet and you listen to another, it's conflicting, you know?"

Brewer said the legislation can be "difficult to understand," which is exactly why she hasn't acted yet on the measure, which was sent to her on Monday.

"We're going over it with a very fine tooth (comb) and do what is right for the people of Arizona," she said.

But Gerald F. Kicanas, the Catholic bishop of Tucson, said Brewer's contention that critics don't understand is off base.



CHERYL EVANS / THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

The crowd was mostly made up of high school and college students like Brenda Alcibar, 16, of Laveen.

"We have reviewed this bill in all of its modifications," he said in an interview after the press conference. "It's going to harm our community."

Kicanas acknowledged Brewer would be going against what appears to be popular sentiment in favor of new laws aimed at illegal immigrants if she vetoes the bill, but said he and the other two Arizona bishops "will do whatever we can to support that courageous decision."

Article 3, front page of April 28, *Arizona Daily Star*:

# Mexico issues travel warning

## Tells citizens to skip state due to immigrant measure; binational forum canceled

By Mariana Alvarado and Phil Villarreal  
*ARIZONA DAILY STAR*

The Mexican government is urging U.S.-bound shoppers to avoid Arizona or prepare for unprovoked harassment by police.

The governor of Sonora has called off the binational Arizona-Mexico Commission meeting — suspending the tourism and trade meeting for the first time in 50 years — as federal politicians urged him to interrupt partnerships with Arizona.

And at least one Mexican airline, Aeromex-

ico, will cancel flights to Phoenix, claiming demand is down because of Arizona's new immigration law. Some nonprofit organizations and community leaders in Nogales and Hermosillo, Sonora, joined the call for an economic boycott of the state.

Issued on Tuesday morning by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, the travel warning says "there is a negative political environment for migrant communities and for all Mexican visitors."

The warning also says no criteria has been established for when, where and who

See **BACKLASH, A14**

**SN** On StarNet: See the online version of this story to read the full text of Mexico's travel advisory at [azstarnet.com/news/local](http://azstarnet.com/news/local)

### LATEST DEVELOPMENTS



#### President Obama calls for a permanent fix

The president says Democrats and Republicans must find a solution on illegal immigration in the wake of Arizona's "poorly conceived" law. Story on Page A14



#### Neighboring state increases financial pressure

First it was San Francisco lawmakers. Now more California and Los Angeles politicians are seeking to sever contracts and curtail their dealings with Arizona. Story on Page A14



#### Social networks buzzing about Arizona measure

Calls for boycotts and other punishments for Arizona gain momentum on social-networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, but state's businessses fight back. Story on Page A14

# 3 held in Pinal deputy's shooting

## Crews scour desert again for others possibly involved

By Janet Kungler  
ARIZONA DAILY STAR

Three suspected illegal immigrants were in custody Saturday as "persons of interest" in the shooting of a Pinal County deputy near Casa Grande, authorities said.

The three were among 17 people, all suspected illegal immigrants, detained by deputies and U.S. Border Patrol agents during a search for those involved in the shooting of Deputy Louie Purull,

53, said Lt. Tamatha Villar, a Pinal County Sheriff's Department spokeswoman.

The three in custody appeared to match the descriptions given by Purull, who was shot, apparently by smugglers, in the desert about 25 miles west of Casa Grande Friday afternoon, Villar said.

Authorities searched the area Saturday looking for two other men who were reportedly armed with two AK-47s and possibly a handgun, she said.

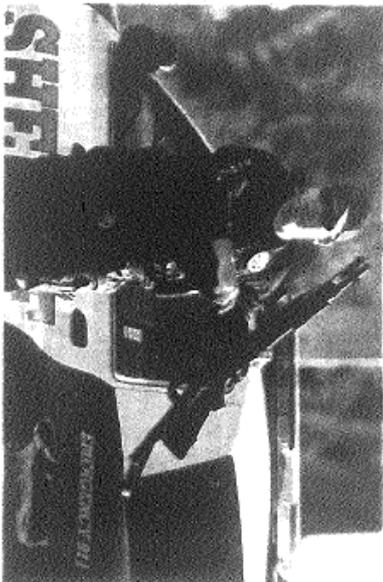
One of the men was wearing a green or brown army-fatigue-type long-sleeve shirt with tan pants, a baseball hat, a black handkerchief covering his face and black hiking boots or shoes.

The other man was wearing a gray hooded sweatshirt drawn around his face, green pants and black and white Air Jordan-type sneakers, Villar said.

The Sheriff's Department is not releasing any information on whether any weapons or other evidence had been found, she said. Neither would she specify where the group was found, citing the investigation.

Purull was shot while doing surveillance in the desert near Arizona 84 and Interstate 8, she said. The deputy came upon a haul of marijuana before he was ambushed, she said.

See SHOOTING, B4



OSCAR PEREZ / CASA GRANDE DISPATCH - A Pinal County deputy prepares to search the desert near Stanfield, which is just off Interstate 8.

# Horne: Ajo used \$1.2M on Mexicans

## State audit finds schools illegally enrolled students

By Alexis Hilscocher  
ARIZONA DAILY STAR

State School Superintendent Tom Horne is seeking \$1.2 million from the Ajo School District after an audit found that it illegally enrolled Mexican students as Arizona residents.

The audit findings released Tuesday analyzed 269 open-enrollment students for the last three

fiscal years and found that 231 did not meet Arizona residency requirements, resulting in overfunding from the state.

"The issue here is not citizenship or documentation, but residency," Horne said in a news release. "Each morning, children cross the border and take buses to the public schools in Ajo where they have been educated at the expense of Arizona taxpayers."

The Ajo School District requires students to provide documentation of residency but failed to exercise sufficient due diligence in determining residency for the stu-

dents, according to the audit. However, Ajo School District Superintendent Robert Doolley does not feel that is the case.

"The administration and the school board want to comply with Arizona law," he said. "We have plans to appeal and to work with the Arizona Department of Education to mitigate their claims."

Students were enrolling in school by claiming residency in uninhabitable trailers, vacant RV spaces and an abandoned motel in Lukeville, the audit showed.

In other instances, Arizona residents were asked to serve as guardians for Mexican children in order to enroll them in school.

Doolley said he isn't fully convinced that the audit proves that the students didn't live at those residences when they enrolled, saying the students could have moved and not filed a change of address.

Still, the school district is working off the list provided by the Department of Education and asking those students to provide additional proof of residence, Doolley said.

If a student cannot provide adequate proof, he or she will be removed from the district. Doolley is concerned that there will be an impact on student attendance in the days to come.

Horne has been focused on this issue for years, utilizing investigators to videotape students crossing the border at the Lukeville port of entry and boarding buses to Ajo schools. The school district has about 500 students, according to the state.

Most recently, auditors videotaped at least 13 vehicles with as many as four children each and at least 27 pedestrian students crossing the border on March 10.

See AJO, A3

Example 1, front page of May 1, *Arizona Republic*:

## PINAL COUNTY SHOOTING

# 5 attackers are hunted after ambush of deputy

By Dennis Wagner  
and Craig Harris

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Five men suspected of smuggling drugs across the border ambushed a Pinal County Sheriff's deputy Friday in a remote area south of Phoenix, underscoring the border-related violence that has catapulted Arizona and its new immigration law onto the national stage.

The rugged desert area where the shooting occurred,

south of the junction of Interstate 8 and Arizona 84 in south-central Arizona, is considered a high-traffic drug- and human-smuggling corridor.

Though the officer was only slightly wounded, the shooting quickly took on national significance, as supporters of the controversial new state law pointed to the violence they say it was designed to help stop.

See SHOOTING Page A6

Example 2.1, front page of April 29, *Arizona Republic*:

## Many Arizonans speak out in defense of tough new law

By Connie Cone Sexton

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Craig Chenery understands chasing the American dream. It's what brought him to the Valley from a small village in England, propelling him to get permanent residency and work toward citizenship. What he can't understand is why others are so willing to break the law to be here.

"As a legal immigrant, it frustrates me that there is such an illegal problem here," the 35-year-old Avondale resident said.

It's why the computer-network administrator is a staunch supporter of Arizona's

See SUPPORTERS Page A8



TOM TINGLE/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Ron Swanner, a postal worker from Chandler, supports the state's new immigration law.

Example 2.2, front page of April 30, *Arizona Republic*:



MICHAEL SCHENNUM/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Shailesh Ghimire, a Nepal citizen who carries a U.S. green card, says, "I can see both sides (of the issue)."

## As Arizona fight rages, some wait to pick sides

By Anne Ryman  
THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Given all the heated rhetoric over Arizona's immigration law, it would seem everyone has a strong opinion.

But a small percentage of people are reserving their judgment, or at least their willingness to cheer or pound their fists, until they see how enforcement of the new law plays out. They are not inclined to show up at protests or argue at work. Although they may have opinions, they don't spend a lot of time reading or watching news reports about reaction to

See **UNSURE** Page A4

Example 3, front page of April 28, *Arizona Republic*:



NICK GZA/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Adriana Miranda, an undocumented immigrant, tearfully says she's leaving Arizona.

## Many migrants, legal and illegal, say they're planning to leave state

By Daniel González  
THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Adriana Miranda leaned against the door frame and started to sob.

Her husband hasn't found steady work in a year. Then, on Friday, Arizona Gov. Jan Brewer signed the tough anti-illegal-immigration law that will allow police to arrest illegal immigrants like her. It was the last straw. After seven years in Arizona, the family was moving.

"Yesterday, we sold our trailer," Miranda, 38, said between sobs. "We don't know exactly where. Another state."

Miranda is not alone. More than 100,000 undocumented immigrants have left Arizona in the past two years because of the bad economy and earlier enforcement crackdowns. Now, a new wave of Latinos is preparing to leave. And it isn't just illegal immigrants: Legal residents and U.S. citizens

See **REACTION** Page A11

### IMMIGRATION LAW

**Travel warning:** Mexico tells its citizens to use extreme caution visiting Arizona. **A10**

**Legal point:** Similar day-labor measure in Cave Creek was ruled unconstitutional. **A12**

**City suit:** Phoenix mayor says he'll sue. **B2**

Editorial April 23, *Arizona Republic*:

# IMMIGRATION BILL HOLDS HIGH PRICE

Arizona faces sticker shock and buyer's remorse if Gov. Jan Brewer signs the immigration bill on her desk.

The bill is not an answer to a long-standing failure of the feds to fix the border.

It will not stop illegal immigration. To do that, the federal government needs to pass immigration reform that imposes order at the border, creates a legal flow of needed workers and helps bring the nation's undocumented workforce out of the shadows.

This bill does none of that.

If the governor signs it, this bill will cost the state in many ways.

The price tag:

» Mounting divisiveness in a state that should be pulling together out of its economic hole.

» Negative national media that includes biting satire and jaw-dropping characterizations of Arizona as land of backward people and oddball notions.

» Economic boycotts, including one called for by our own U.S. Rep. Raul Grijalva, who says conventions, businesses and tourists should punish his state for "discriminatory policies."

» Lost economic-development opportunities, which will include companies that find Arizona's new apartheid image to be incompatible with their mission, as well as lost opportunities to increase commercial ties with Mexico —

something other states are actively pursuing.

» Lost revenue as legal Mexican tourists, who spent \$2.7 billion in Arizona in a recent year, decide to shop elsewhere.

» Unknown legal costs to defend the bill in court.

» Unknown costs to local law enforcement, which will face lawsuits for racial profiling if they make immigration control their top priority, as the bill mandates, and lawsuits from bill supporters if police show too little enthusiasm for their new duties.

This bill won't stop illegal immigration. But it sure will add to the crushing costs of illegal immigration Arizona already carries disproportionately for the nation.

Maricopa County Attorney Rick Romley, who was just appointed to fill the position he previously held for 16 years, says Arizona needs a bill to address the problems illegal immigration creates in our state. Just not this bill.

He calls on the governor to veto SB 1070 and work with the Legislature to find common ground on a better approach. This bill, he says, "is tearing apart" our community.

Yes. It is. And that very unproductive division of our community into "us vs. them" will only get worse if the bill becomes law.

That's another cost Gov. Brewer can avert by vetoing this bill.

Editorial April 24, *Arizona Republic*:

# ARIZONA POLITICS HITS A LOW POINT

A fundamental principle of law is that it should protect the innocent. Of all the damage made possible by Gov. Jan Brewer's signature on Friday to Senate Bill 1070, the worst is not the harm to the world's judgment of Arizona or to this law's economic consequences.

The worst effect is its grave potential for causing harm to innocent, taxpaying American citizens who no longer can feel certain of the law's blindness.

That is the terrible harm of it. SB 1070 lifts the blindfold of Lady Justice and commands her to see one different from the other, irrespective of innocence. Brewer's televised signing ceremony for this harsh, unnecessary legislation constitutes the low point of an administration we have come to admire for its often surprising grit in the face of hard times. We held out hope for more.

Whether Arizona pays a price for indulging the whims of state Sen. Russell Pearce, R-Mesa, is no longer the issue. We are paying a price. Not since the dismal days of our nationally infamous fight over a holiday to honor the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., has the profile of Arizona descended this low.

It isn't as though the potential consequences of this law are unapparent. We have been down this road before.

The terrible "Chandler Roundup" of 1997 still stands as a

warning of what may lie ahead. Then, like now, local police officers demanded proof of citizenship of people they suspected might be in this country illegally. Scores of American citizens lacking "papers" were cuffed. An international outrage erupted. SB 1070 opens the door to the return of those brutal neighborhood-dividing days.

Also Friday, Brewer signed an executive order to establish law-enforcement training she hopes might mitigate the worst potential effect of SB 1070, racial profiling. A nice gesture, certainly. But a few hours of additional training is unlikely to alter the now-evolving relationship of local police to their citizenry, a relationship made infinitely more difficult and attenuated by the signing of SB 1070.

We are not blind to the political challenge facing Brewer. She is a Republican facing stiff competition in an approaching election, and not signing SB 1070 likely would have doomed her candidacy.

That is her political problem, however. Not Arizona's.

She is certainly correct on one count. The widespread popularity of this punishing legislation would be far weaker if Washington, D.C., would act seriously to do its duty regarding Arizona's southern border.

This is very bad law. And this is not the end of the fight against it.

Editorial May 6, *Arizona Daily Star*:

# City Council doing the right thing

**OUR VIEW: SB 1070 bad for the economy, and legal challenge won't cost taxpayers**

**T**he Tucson City Council made the right decision Tuesday when it approved a legal challenge to SB 1070, the harmful pseudo-anti-illegal-immigration law that has prompted boycotts of Arizona from across the country because of the possibilities for racial profiling.

Tucson must make it clear that our community welcomes visitors, values our diverse residents and protects civil rights.

To be clear, the legal action will not — repeat not — cost city taxpayers money. City manager Mike Letcher told the *Star* on Wednesday that the challenge will be done pro bono, which we believe is the responsible way to proceed given the financial straits the city is in.

The irony, of course, is that revenue in the city of Tucson, as in much of the state, is heavily dependent on sales-tax revenue. A boycott of Arizona will be felt in Tucson's pocketbook, so it is in our community's interest to challenge the flawed law and get it resolved as quickly and thoroughly as possible.

City officials said that Phoenix is likely to take the proportionately larger financial hit from a boycott, because it has a much stronger existing convention business. Tucson hoteliers, however, are reporting that people have called or e-mailed to cancel room reservations, saying they cannot in good conscience come to Arizona because of the immigration law.

A University of Arizona study found that Mexican visitors spend more than \$7.35 million each day in Arizona stores, restaurants, businesses and hotels — that's \$7.35 million each day.

"Visitors from Mexico know they're treated well here," Letcher said. But the perception of Arizona has been damaged — and

not only among Hispanics.

Mayor Bob Walkup said, "SB 1070 fails to protect the rights of our citizens, puts our police officers at unnecessary risk and is already damaging our local economy."

Tucson's legal challenge, and our support of it, should not be interpreted as support for illegal immigration.

We have long called for actual, comprehensive immigration reform. In order to secure the border — and specifically Arizona's stretch of it — people seeking employment must have a legal, clear way to come to the United States to work.

SB 1070 is bad for Arizona. It's bad for business, bad for our state's standing in the nation and internationally and it's an embarrassment that colors all of Arizona. There are many, many Arizonans who reject what the Republican-majority Legislature has done to our state.

Tucson must make it clear that we are not part of this misguided effort, and a legal challenge will help to do that.

Perception and reputation matter, especially when individuals, municipalities and businesses decide where to spend their money.

From a practical standpoint, this challenge is vital. Our metropolitan area relies heavily on tourism dollars and retail spending from tourists.

"The heart of this community is open and has been welcoming," Letcher said Wednesday.

SB 1070 is doing real harm to our state and is not the way to solve the problems attendant to a broken immigration system.

The Tucson City Council is doing the right thing by fighting SB 1070.

We hope other Southern Arizona municipalities follow Tucson's lead.

Editorial April 24, *Arizona Daily Star*:

# Grijalva raises ire, receives threats

OUR VIEW: Overblown rhetoric on both sides of immigration bill hampers discourse

Rep. Raúl Grijalva had a bad idea and clung to it: urging conventions and businesses to boycott Arizona in order to make clear how destructive a proposed immigration bill would be.

But the response — so many death threats that Grijalva felt compelled to close his Tucson and Yuma offices on Friday — is symptomatic of how polarized and hyperbolic our civic “discussion” has become.

Grijalva’s offices have received death threats in the past, but to our knowledge never before so many or so vituperative or so ugly that he shut down offices to protect his staff.

Spokesman Adam Sarvana told the *Star*’s Rhonda Bodfield that Grijalva’s office received “pretty scary calls,” including two from a person “who threatened to ... blow everyone’s brains out then go to the border to shoot Mexicans.”

A bad idea should not spur threats of violence. A bad idea should generate debate, conversation and dialogue.

The governor signed the bill on Friday.

We understand that emotions run high on some issues — health reform, border security, illegal immigration among them.

But the overblown, over-

wrought language used during the “debate” about these issues shuts down discussion and inflames more hot-blooded language — and behavior.

State Sen. Russell Pearce, the Mesa Republican who authored the immigration bill that allows local police to check immigration status, appeared on MSNBC and described those who opposed the bill as “the anarchists.”

Ridiculous, of course. But such over-amped name-calling doesn’t extend the discussion; it shuts it down.

“I can’t imagine Arizonans now reverting to German Nazi and Russian Communist techniques ...” Cardinal Roger Mahony of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles wrote in his blog on Sunday.

Also overblown. The Nazis were about extermination and so was Josef Stalin. However bad the immigration bill is, it’s not remotely about killing people.

Grijalva’s call for a boycott is a mistake. We doubt he intends to hurt those who would suffer most — lower-paid workers in the tourism business.

But the reaction is out of whack with reality.

We rue the decline of civic discourse.

We implore those who have strong opinions to couch them in grounded, civil language.