Art on the Border:

Political Dialogue and the Use of Visual Art in the

U.S.-Mexico Border Debate

by

Kelly Erin McCarty

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved April 2011 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Michelle Tellez, Chair
Michael Stancliff
Joseph Segura

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2011

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to answer the question: "What do artistic representations add to the dialogue about the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration beyond political rhetoric and popular media portrayals?" Drawing on political communications (as put forth by Edelman and Altheide), socio-political construction (particularly the White Racial Frame put forth by Feagin), and collective memory theory (especially those of Halbwachs and Pollak), this thesis uses a dual-coding, content analysis to examine the linguistic and visual messages disseminated through news media. Then, interviews with and the work of six immigrant artists are examined for their contribution to the information put forth in the news media.

This study finds that news reporting bias falls along a continuum from pro-immigration to extreme anti-immigration (labeled "fearful" reporting). The news media skew strongly toward anti-immigration to fearful in bias, and there is no opposite pro-immigration bias. Through observations of artists' work, the study concludes that artistic representations of the border can fill this strongly pro-immigration void on this bias continuum.

iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1: Introduction and Review of Literature

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the ways in which Mexican-born visual artists use their work to contribute to the dialogue surrounding the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration policy. Through a political communications framework, I use content analysis as the primary method for analyzing news media portrayals and artists' portrayals of immigration and border issues in the United States. While political communications methods traditionally hold up the news as the foremost means of communicating about politics in the United States (Leighley, 2004), I apply a political communications framework to discover the contribution of artistic representations of immigration and the border to the policy debate.

Today and throughout history, immigrants have been framed in the news media as a "problem" or a "threat" in U.S. society. Undocumented immigrants, more specifically, are framed as criminals that need to be excluded from the U.S.'s populace and territory. This thesis tries to identify from whence this framing comes and, at a deeper level, note how the status of immigrant (and specifically immigration legal status) is socially and politically constructed.

At its heart, this analysis intends to explore how a group of individuals is represented by outsiders versus how they choose to represent themselves and to propose ways all people might regain power over the popular representation of their own identities. Thus, the

conclusions of this analysis are intended to reach beyond this case study to recommend modes of regaining power in popular communication and representation.

This study seeks to understand what immigrant artists contribute to the debate over immigration and the border in the United States. To this end, a review of relevant literature begins this study, observing various theories and studies pertaining to news media, artistic representation and border studies. Political communications theories observe the ways in which political ideas and events are communicated to the public. Theories of socio-political construction seek to explain the ways in which individuals' and groups' identities are constructed in social and political arenas. Similarly, collective memory theory seeks to explain ways in which groups create and explain their own past. Taken together, such theories help to explain how immigrants are constructed politically and socially in the United States today. To give a context to this case study, a brief history of U.S.-Mexico border and immigration policy debates is provided. Finally, reviews of past studies observing social or political representations of the border and the "immigrant" in the U.S. media is included, along with a brief review of Latin American and Chican@ art history.

In order to establish the tone of the political debate over immigration and border policy in the United States today, chapters two and three look at news reporting and news photography covering immigration and border policy issues and debates. Chapter Two tries to

identify the linguistic tone of the debate, observing the ways in which immigration and border issues, events and debates are presented in major U.S. print and broadcast media. Afterwards, Chapter Three discusses the contribution of photographic journalism in the debate - identifying major themes in photographic representations of the border in the news media. Chapters four and five look at the work of immigrant artists. Chapter Four draws on interviews with six Mexican-born artists in order to observe the intentions of artists, discovering how and why they wish to contribute to the immigration and border debate. Building on these artists' statements, Chapter Five analyzes the artists' work in order to define what their art communicates. This analysis is fully based on what the artists themselves explained they were trying to communicate. Finally, Chapter 6 brings all these analyses together to define exactly what it is that artists contribute to the debate surrounding the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration policy.

Theories of political communication and socio-political constructions

Political scientists, for many years, have studied how humans communicate political events and ideas. Most political communications theories assume a democratic society with a free media system (Leighley, 2004). Historically, scholars viewed communication systems as part of a top-down process: political actors (political elites, politicians, legislators, executives, etc) "make" the news - meaning they make statements, pass laws and take other actions that shape politics; media organizations

"report" the news, in a supposed "objective" manner; and the public absorbs the news. Scholarship in this area has been categorized by Leighley (2004) into five "models of mass media" which includes: reporters of objective fact model (theories that suggest mass media is merely a "conduit for information"), neutral adversary model (theories suggesting the role of the press is to uncover the "truth"), public advocate model (theories posit that the role of mass media is to provide information to allow public to make good political decisions), profit-seeker model (theories that acknowledge mass media are privately-owned business enterprises and that they act as such), and propagandist model (theories that acknowledge that report to legitimize the interests of the status-quo) (p.12). Leighley importantly notes that most adherents to the propagandist model assert that "for the most part citizens are unaware of the media's function" in reinforcing the status quo (p. 12).

On top of these traditional theories, there are some variants, especially in the era of new media (most especially, social media). Today, an increasing number of scholars deny the idea that the political communication system is simply a one-way, top-down process, but argue that communication is continued by the public absorbing and then reacting to news (through voting, protesting, responding to opinion polls, etc), which then inform political actors of the populace's opinions (Cook, 1998; Davis, 2001; Leighley, 2004). At the same time, more scholars are

also noting an increasingly disinterested public audience reliant on "sound bite news" (Leighley, 2004).

In addition, other scholars (Bagdikian, 2000; Jamieson & Campbell, 2001) have discussed alternative influences on this communication system. First, given the corporate structure of the news media in the United States, media organizations do not only report the news, but also frame the news based on corporate agendas. In other words, news organizations are swayed by commercial considerations (such as advertising) and editors'/owners' demands. News corporations are heavily influenced by stories that sell; hence the news industry adage "if it bleeds, it leads," which speaks to the need to titillate and entertain readers or viewers (Altheide, 2004).

Given the hierarchical structure of the corporate news media system, media owners and editors have great power over what is reported in the news. Although conservatives decry the "so-called liberal media" by noting that reporters are generally liberal, Eric Alterman (2004) points out that "reporters could be the most liberal people on earth…but for all the reasons discussed [in his book] it would hardly matter. They simply do not 'make' the news." (p. 25). In essence, journalists simply supply labor in the news media system. Alterman also points to increasing consolidation of news media corporations in the past two decades (from 50 major media conglomerates in 1983 to a mere 6 in 2004), and notes that "to ignore the power of the money at stake to determine the content of

the news in the decisions of these executives…is indefensibly childish and naïve" (p. 27). In particular, he notes, news media conglomerates are trying to appeal to corporate executives, for advertising revenue, and thus have a disincentive to truly investigate and expose social ills.

Thus selling stories and appealing to advertisers are both factors influencing media "agenda setting." Even public media are not immune to these offenses, as they must compete for viewers and attract public and philanthropic funding. Despite these myriad causes of bias in the news industry, the general public still approaches news media reporting as objective fact and thus fail to question what the biases may be (Edelman, 1988). This interferes with political action on the part of the public, as what is reported, when it is covered, and how the reporting is framed influences how the public responds to political events.

As Murray Edelman (1988) points out in *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, "political reality" is constructed as a "political spectacle" by news and other forms of media. The term "spectacle" implies it is something to be watched, rather than actively shaped. Edelman also notes that enemies, leaders, and political problems are social constructions. Political "problems" are rarely new circumstances, but are brought to the fore when it serves political ends. Thus, a given problem is framed in a way that justifies a certain solution, despite the fact that it may not be the absolute truth or that the solution would actually perpetuate the problem (Edelman, 1988).

Building on this concept, David Altheide discusses media spectacle and the construction of fear. Altheide (2004) points out that "media sociology has shown very clearly that news and politics are immersed in the entertainment format" or the belief that "any event can be summarily covered and presented as a narrative account with a beginning, middle, and end." (p. 293-4). In the U.S. media today, "audiences spend more time with [such] formats, the logic of advertising, entertainment, and popular culture" which has led to the news trend of "infotainment" (p. 294).

The infotainment framework in the news today has led to an increasing "emphasis on [mass-mediated] fear" (p. 3). Altheide (2002) notes that few news media audiences today can distinguish the entertainment format from the news, and thus "with enough repetition and expanded use, [mass-mediated fear] becomes a way of looking at life" (p. 3). Altheide theorizes that as infotainment and fearful formats slowly become the norm, audiences continue to take news reporting for objective fact and fail to extract the facts from the spectacle. Such blending of information and entertainment in mass media can be seen in *Fox News Channel*'s *The O'Reilly Factor*. While most media analysts call the program a "talk show" and, as Alterman (2003) uncovers, the show is "deeply relaxed about the factual basis for the arguments" and claims made on the show (p. 35), *Fox* promotes the show as "an unequaled blend

of news analysis and hard-hitting investigative reporting."[1] Such claims

lead audiences to believe claims made on the program, when, at it's heart,

the program is a spectacle and meant to entertain.

　　With the shared efforts of the news media and politicians, the

political spectacle has become a way of leading public opinion. Each

politician and news media outlet has a set agenda to accomplish, whether

it is ideologically or financially driven, acknowledged or denied. These

theories of political communication are particularly important to note

when considering the portrayal of immigrants and border policy in the

United States' news media.

Collective memory theory and perceptions of political reality

　　Crucial to the construction of the immigration and border debate is

the way history has been constructed to frame the debate. Collective

memory theory has historically observed the importance of commonly-

held beliefs, public opinion, and the framing of political debates.

Collective memory theory has its roots in the Holocaust. With the end of

the Holocaust and with the subsequent rise of totalitarian regimes in the

latter half of the Twentieth Century, scholars began studying how people

can be led to participate in (or at least turn a blind eye to) genocide, mass

murder, and other human rights violations. These scholars saw that when

an entire society is led to believe in a certain history or account of events,

---

[1] See http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/personalities/bill-oreilly/bio/
#s=m-q

they would act accordingly (in the case of the Holocaust, the myth of the Aryan race won over a majority of the population and led them to condone the extermination of the Jewish population). This line of inquiry gave rise to the study of collective memory.

While no unified definition exists, the original theory, proposed by Michael Halbwachs (1992), posits that collective memory is the shared memory of any given population. Halbwachs' theory is built on the idea that no memory exists without the frameworks imposed by society. Memories are created within society (not in a vacuum) and memories are recalled in society. In essence, society informs how individuals perceive their "own" memories. Any particular event or memory is informed by the social meaning that is brought to bear on the event or memory. Even when we are alone, social meaning influences our perception and recall of events and memories.

Collective memory is determined by the dominant culture in a society. In the United States, for example, we could say that the dominant culture that defines collective memory is that of white, Protestant, heterosexual men. This dominant culture imposes its collective memory on the entire society, despite the fact that it does not include people of color, people of other faiths, people of alternative sexualities, and women (Cobas & Feagin, 2008b). These minority groups are influenced by the dominant collective memory and forced to recall experiences according to the dominant group's social meanings. Thus, collective memory is often at

the service of social classes and power hierarchies, and those with the most power have the greatest incentive to continue to perpetuate the dominant memory (Halbwachs, 1992).

Building on Halbwachs' theories, Tzvetan Torodov (2000) studied the Holocaust and Twentieth Century totalitarian regimes to create a theory on the abuse of memory. His theories supported the ideal of a "right" to one's own memory. He defined the abuse of memory as any forced erasure or recall of memory against the will of an individual or group. According to Torodov, it was equally reprehensible to force an individual to forget their history or to recall any memory they wish to forget. It was an especially heinous abuse to do this in order to serve the interests of those in power. A very strong example of this abuse of memory is found in Argentina's "Dirty War," when military officers who willingly admitted to atrocities were smeared and discredited by the highest commanders of the military (Verbitsky, 2004). This amounted to the forced erasure of memory, exactly as described in Torodov's theories.

Cobas and Feagin (2008b) further develop these ideas, in a specifically U.S. context, in their article "Latinos/as and White Racial Frame: The Procrustean Bed of Assimilation." They show that constant exposure to the "White Racial Frame" causes four forms of consent to this frame by minority groups: (1) acceptance of elements of the racial frame, (2) active enactment of the racial frame, (3) internalized self-oppression, and (4) application of frame to other minority groups (p. 42). The authors

conclude that media framing creates a strong, subconscious oppression that tells "Latinos/as to learn well their subordinated 'place' in society" (p. 52).

While many collective memory scholars primarily study the use of collective memory to maintain hegemonic power by the dominant groups in a society, Michael Pollak (2006) observed methods by which the oppressed groups could re-take collective memories. In every society, he posited, there are actually multiple collective memories, each assigned to different groups. Each individual adheres to the collective group memory that best allows her or him to understand her or his own experience. Despite these varied group memories, there is a dominant memory that pervades the society based on the ruling class's version of memory; in the U.S., this dominant memory would be the White Racial Frame discussed by Feagin and Cobas (2008b). The dominant memory of any society Pollak identifies as the "official memory" of the society. The memories of minority groups or groups without dominant political power, he terms "underground memory."

Using this distinction, Pollak explains how revolutions and social and political movements are begun. Pollak observed a number of historical civil wars, revolutions and movements. What he found was that the uprisings began when the dominant memory ceased to explain the conditions in which the majority of the population found itself - in other words, when the dominant memory no longer fit the majority of

individual's memories (be they minorities or of the dominant class). He called this a "rupture" in memory. When people begin to seek a better explanation, underground memories can compete to explain the circumstances and bring the underground memory into a position of dominance.

Writing without reference to collective memory theories, Arjun Appadurai (2006), in his essay *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger,* studies the treatment of minorities in the age of globalization and makes various interesting observations that can be applied to collective memory theories. Appadurai looks at the trend in increasing genocide, terrorism and xenophobia as globalization increases. He notes that such reactions are a product of national majorities beginning to fear the increasing power of minorities in a globalized world, thus threatening the dominant group's ability to control memory and policy. These majorities, desperate not to lose political control as they become a minority in the global world, respond to this perceived loss of control by attacking and demonizing the minority in terms of the threat they pose to the purity of the majority group's values, history, language and traditions. Without drawing this exact conclusion, Appadurai is noticing that these reactions rely on appeals to the collective memory of the dominant group to demonize minorities. Appadurai notes that as globalization increases, responses by majority groups around the globe are becoming increasingly violent and alarmist (he points to such examples as Kosovo and Rwanda).

Given that the U.S.'s Latin@ population is growing five times faster than the white (or black and white combined) majority, those who fear losing their dominant power use collective memory to gain popular support for laws that would stem the flow of migrants or throw them out altogether (Colburn, 2002). In fact, nativist groups in the U.S. even draw on twisted versions of what they see as the Latin@ or Mexican collective memory as a means of gathering momentum for an anti-immigrant movement (for example, Pat Buchanan warned of the "Aztlan Plot," which will be discussed at length in the next section) (Chavez, 2008).

Framing the Border: Historical Constructions of the U.S.-Mexico Border

As Gloria Anzaldua (1987) observed in her work *Borderlands/La Frontera*, "The U.S.-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* (is an open wound) where the third world grates against the first and bleeds." This is as true today as it was when she wrote the words in the 1980s, as the border has become a locale where economic disparities, trade liberalization, and cultures come together; at times creating a unique borderlands culture, while at other times creating a cultural clash (Segura & Zavella, 2007, p. 1-5).

Fifty years ago, border policy was considered "low" politics, meriting little attention from politicians or the media. Globally today, border enforcement has become the thing of "high" politics, especially on the borders between states separating "First World" and "Third World"

13

countries[2](Andreas, 2009). These countries Peter Andreas (2009) terms "buffer" states and gives the examples of Mexico, the gateway to the United States, and Morocco, a major point of migration between Africa and Europe. This elevation, Andreas explains, has also led to the conflation of immigration, law enforcement, and national security in the media as the spectacle of border militarization becomes evermore heated in the national spotlight (Andreas, 2009).

Since the mid-1980s, the United States' border policy has run counter to an overall policy of trade liberalization (Murphy-Erfani, 2009). In general, the United States, through the passage of treaty agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) and Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), has established a pattern lowering barriers to manufactured and agricultural goods, but this has led to an equal and opposite build up of barriers against people and illicit products (ranging from illegal drugs to counterfeit goods). These barriers tend to target the supply of people and illicit products rather than the U.S. demand, a point of contention in border policy debates and, by all accounts, a counterproductive stance in practice, albeit extremely politically popular (Murphy-Erfani, 2009; Andreas, 2009).

The border has an "irresistible symbolic appeal" for media and politicians (Andreas, 2009). For example, the political spectacle of the

_____

[2] Or as Madison prefers to call them "Overdeveloped" and "Exploited" Countries (Madison, 2001).

border has focused on visuals of immigrants climbing walls by the dozens, on rhetoric framing immigrants as "illegal" and on the association between migrant workers and illicit drug smuggling. This has "helped define the nature of the problem and limit the range of acceptable policy solutions" to border policing and militarization while rendering comprehensive immigration reform unacceptable (Andreas, 2009, p. 8). Talking about the root causes of immigration requires discussing the failures of capitalism, NAFTA, free trade economic policies, poverty, the causes of poverty, racism, xenophobia, and a myriad other issues that are seen as unrelated or too complex by those who propose border militarization as the sole solution to the U.S.'s immigration "problem" (Chavez, 2007, p. 192).

Further, the current "attempts to exclude the immigrant from the body politic imply that illegal lives are expendable" (Inda, 2007, p. 135). Military operations on the border frame illegals as a threat, giving credence to the idea of an "illegal invasion" (Chavez, 2008). The increase of a military presence on the border forces migrants into dangerous desert passes, and has killed an average 300 migrants *every year* since 1994 (Inda, 2007). The political indifference to these deaths further enforces the view that migrant lives are "expendable" (Inda, 2007). In this way "illegality is both produced and experienced" (Chavez, 2007, p. 192).

As Leo Chavez (2007) discusses in his essay "The Condition of Illegality," societies that receive immigrants "often resist the demographic

and cultural changes associated with the arrival of foreign bodies" (p. 193). For this reason, receiving countries attempt to define who is acceptable for entry into their countries and who is not. Thus, undesirable bodies are excluded from the body politic (or, if present, are illegal), but those who are desirable or undesirable are historically constructed based on the context. However, all of these frames rely on the primary framing of undocumented migration as a crime, thus "illegal" immigrants are first and foremost criminals and, in punishment of their illegal act, deserve to be stripped of their rights (Romero, 2005).

Mae Ngai (2004) puts this problem in different terms, stating that "the illegal alien crosses a territorial boundary, but, once inside the nation, he or she stands at another juridical boundary" (p. 6). In other words, the immigrant has entered the United States territorially and is physically part of the U.S. populace, but the illegal immigrant is not legally present and has no legal rights. The illegal immigrant is simultaneously inside (physically) and outside (legally) the U.S. body politic. However, both Romero and Ngai agree that neither the condition of being an immigrant nor the status of illegality are inherent qualities (characteristics inherent to the immigrant) nor natural laws (inalienable or "God-given" laws), but rather is "a product of positive [or man-made] law" (Ngai, 2004, p. 6). Essentially, immigration is created by a border, which is in itself a construct. Illegal immigration is based on an arbitrary political preference system that includes and excludes bodies as it will.

Recalling the theories of political communication noted previously,

I use Edelman and Altheide's theories as a framework to understand the

current immigration debate in the United States, an issue that is not a new

phenomena. Historically, immigrants of all nationalities have been

framed and re-framed as posing various threats based on the historical

context (depression, war, terrorism) (Ngai, 2004; Romero, 2005). As

Peter Andreas (2009) points out in *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-*

Mexico Divide, too often politicians and the media "skillfully use images,

symbols and language to communicate what the problem is, where it

comes from, and what the state is or should be doing about it" (Andreas,

2009, p. 8).   Andreas explains this in terms of the "illegal immigration

problem" the U.S. is said to be experiencing. While 40-50 percent of

immigrants who are illegally in the U.S. are visa overstayers, the

overwhelming debate around stopping illegal immigration focuses on

policing the border (Andreas, 2009, p. 88). This popular policy solution

remains, despite the fact that "border enforcement has never been a

particularly effective or efficient deterrent against drugs and illegal

immigration" (Andreas, 2009, p. 9).

As various authors have observed (Alterman, 2003; Altheide, 2002;

Andreas, 2009; Chavez, 2007; Cobas & Feagin, 2008b; Edelman, 1988 &

2001; Ngai, 2004) the political construction of problems are framed to

justify solutions that promote current power structures and hierarchies.

These constructions are framed in the United States today by what Cobas

and Feagin (2008b) term the "White Racial Frame" which "has long included not only negative racial images, stereotypes, emotions, and interpretations, but also distinctive language and imaging tools used to describe and enforce the racial hierarchy" (p. 40). This racial framing is perpetuated strongly in the media not only by what the news says about race, but also by what it takes for granted about differences in race.

Political debates then, as presented by political elites and perpetuated by the news media, are framed as desired ends justifying the political means of achieving them, when it is in fact the means that were the original idea and the ends are inventions or are falsely linked to the means (Edelman, 1988; Edelman, 2001).

History of U.S.-Mexico Border Policy

As Peter Andreas (2009) points out, contemporary calls to "regain" control of the U.S.-Mexico border gives the impression to the general public that the border was at some point under control, which is an absolute falsehood. This ignores three important facts. First, for most of U.S. history, the government essentially ignored its international borders. Second, the actual physical location of the border has changed many times. Third, in different historical periods, the U.S. government actively encouraged illegal immigration or lowered immigration restrictions (through guest worker programs) for the cheap labor the migrant workers supplied (Ngai, 2004).

For the purpose of giving a brief context to this study, this summary will begin with the 1984 presidential campaign, in which then-presidential candidate Ronald Reagan gained popular support in expressing the need to "control" the border, but offered little explanation as to how (Andreas, 2009). His election was then followed by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (Andreas, 2009, p. 86). The IRCA introduced minor changes to immigration law, legalized many immigrants already in the country, and introduced minor employer sanctions for employing undocumented workers.

In 1992, Pat Buchanan, in his presidential campaign, was the first to localize the U.S.-Mexico border as a site of an "illegal invasion." This quickly led to the July 1993 escalation of border enforcement enacted by the Clinton Administration. In a compromise with a majority Republican congress, the Clinton Administration tripled the INS budget - doubling the number of INS officers on the border - despite overall government downsizing at the time (Andreas, 2009).

In 1994, Pete Wilson revived his dying gubernatorial campaign by glossing over his own administration's mismanagement of tax funds and blaming California's fiscal problems on illegal immigrants draining the welfare system and attempted to deny public services to undocumented migrants living in California (Inda, 2007). The U.S. Border Patrol, as an institution, helped to support Buchanan and Wilson by releasing video

footage of immigrants overrunning the border in hopes this would lead to greater funding (Andreas, 2009).

Two years later, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 deployed 90% of all border patrol officers to the U.S.-Mexico Border, set harsh sentencing guidelines standardized for immigrants and smugglers, authorized the building of a physical border wall, stipulated that the military could be deployed to the border to help gain "control," and streamlined the deportation process (Andreas, 2009).

At the same time, NAFTA was being implemented. As "the architects of NAFTA failed to design North American economic integrations in such a way as to generate sufficient trade provisions to protect Mexican's basic human rights to a living wage," NAFTA led to a rise in immigration as Mexicans looked for living-wage jobs (Murphy-Erfani, 2009, p. 73). In an ironic way, NAFTA created the immigration "problems" that politicians expected NAFTA to prevent. When it was realized that NAFTA would not create the economic conditions for prosperity in Mexico, the United States continued (and still continues) to pursue free trade initiatives aggressively. As Mexicans sought employment to survive elsewhere, the United States cracked down on immigration and blamed Mexico for the creation of these conditions. Essentially, NAFTA is based on the notion that free trade creates prosperity for all, but ignores the fact that this prosperity is possible only

when there is free flow of goods, services, ideas and, most importantly, people across borders.

Under the George W. Bush Administration in 2005, the bill HR 4437, known as the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act, sought to increase border policing, to make living in the U.S. illegally a felony, destroying any hope immigrants had for gaining citizenship. This was countered by a Senate version with a guest worker program and a path to citizenship (Andreas, 2009). This bill never became law. It passed in the House, but was tabled by the Senate in January 2006 (Civic Impulse & Govtrack.us, 2006).

Despite this increase in border enforcement, the U.S. has seen an increase in migration overall (both legal and illegal) (Colburn, 2002). In 1980, there were 14 million immigrants living in the United States. In 2000, there were 35 million (Colburn, 2002). It remains to be seen what the Obama Administration's impact on the militarization of the border will be, and while he has long stated his support for comprehensive immigration reform, he has continued to funnel money and troops into the militarization and policing of the border (Wagner, 2010).

Construction of the "Border" and the "Immigrant" in the Media

In *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, Murray Edelman (1988) points out that "political language *is* political reality" (p. 104). What he means is that the terms used to frame debates influence how the public perceives the issue itself. In the immigration debate, these terms are key

21

to perception. Both pro- and anti-immigration advocates themselves debate the best terms to use to gain adherents to their cause; "illegal immigrant," "illegal alien," "undocumented migrant," "unauthorized worker" and "in-migrants" are just a few of these terms (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). Most agree that "illegal alien" is the most problematic, as "illegality is socially, culturally, and politically constructed" and alien is an extremely loaded term with a linguistic association with extra-terrestrial beings (Chavez, 2008, p. 25).[3] It is also troubling that the immigration debate is primarily framed in terms of "illegal" immigration, and largely ignores the problems and discrimination faced by legal immigrants (especially Latin@s[4]) in the United States.

A primary problem with immigrant and Latin@ representation in the media is that Latin@s have historically been underrepresented in

_____

[3] The debate around the best terms to use could be (and have been) the subject of their very own studies, and, while this thesis will note how the use of these terms frame representation in the analysis, it is not the purpose of this thesis to study these terms alone.
For the purposes of clarification and transparency, I do wish to state that in this literature review and throughout the analysis, I will use the terms utilized in the sources sited and by the interviewees. Thus, the terms used to identify immigrants who are living without documentation in the United States will vary and should *not* be taken as the author's personal preference for certain terms over others.

[4] The spelling of "Chican@" and "Latin@" is used in this paper due to the preference of the author. Generally, these same terms are spelled using a forward slash ("Chicano/a") or parenthesis ("Latinos(as)"); alternatively, the Spanish male neuter form is used ("Chicano" to represent male and female). These terms inherently preference one gender or the other. Therefore, the author prefers to use the "@" which includes both an "o" and "a" in the same space, representing the most gender neutral construction of the term that is in common usage today.

media corporations (Escalante, 2000). Thus, Latin@s have had a difficult

time combating the representation of themselves and other people of color

in the U.S. media. In a study of Latin@ representation in the U.S. media

(both news and television programming), Escalante (2000) observed that:

> Stories featuring people of color tended to portray them as
>
> welfare recipients; as lacking in educational, job and
>
> linguistic skills; as residents of crime-ridden neighborhoods,
>
> and as 'illegal aliens;' and as people who cause problems in
>
> society (p. 136).

Escalante also found that, of Latin@s in the media, 53% are

reporters and are not in a position to define policy and set agendas. It is

particularly important to note that major media conglomerates make

breaking into the industry difficult for Latin@s. Most U.S. media

conglomerates are run by white men, and the two largest Latin@ media

outlets in the U.S. (Telemundo and Univision) are run out of Latin

America, not by Chican@s (Escalante, 2000).

Escalante also notes a study that found that from 1982 to 1995, the

number of Latin@ characters in television shows (sitcoms, dramas, etc.)

decreased; and found that during the 13 years, 60% of Latin@ characters

were portrayed as bad people (criminals, liars, etc) as opposed to 37% of

white characters. Rivadeneyra, Ward and Gordon (2007) more recently

observed that this under-representation continues to occur (improving

only marginally in the past 30 years) and that it has contributed to lower

self-esteem and low feelings of social worth among Latin@ youth and young adults.

Leo Chavez (2008) makes an extensive study of the history and development of the "Latino Threat Narrative" that has been constructed through the immigration debate as a way of encouraging tougher punishment for illegal immigrants. As he explains:

> The Latino Threat Narrative posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups, who ultimately became part of the nation. According to assumptions and taken-for-granted 'truths' inherent in this narrative, Latinos are unwilling or incapable of integrating, of becoming part of the national community. Rather they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formerly theirs (the U.S. Southwest) and destroying the American way of life (Chavez, 2008, p. 2).

Before Latin@s, Chavez notes, there have been other persecutions of immigrants (German, Catholic, Chinese, Japanese, south and eastern European, and African), but what is different about the Latino Threat Narrative is that it (1) includes Latin@s who have been in the U.S. Southwest since before it was the U.S., (2) focuses on the illegality of the migration of this ethnic group, and (3) continues to persecute third or fourth generation Latin@s as not "American" where other immigrant

groups have been accepted as having been "Americanized" after a generation or two.

In addition, Chavez states that the Latino Threat Narrative relies on two main theories: The "Quebec Model" and the "Aztlán Plot." The "Quebec Model," posits that, like Quebec in Canada, the U.S. Southwest will become a culturally and linguistically distinct region and will eventually seek to be a self-governing and distinct entity. Chavez (2008) notes that the proponents of this model rely on the idea that Latin@s are a group of "foreigners who stay foreign" (p. 29).

The "Aztlán Plot" (mentioned earlier) was first posited by Pat Buchanan. He pointed to the belief that the ancient homeland of the Aztecs (Aztlán) extended far into the United States, and theorized that the "Latino invasion" was part of a plot by Latin@s to take back their mythic homeland of Atzlán by conquering U.S. non-Latin@ citizens (Chavez, 2008).

In his book, Chavez then sets out to see what parts of the Latino Threat Narrative stood up to to evidence gathered on Latin@ immigrants and descendants, and found that no part of the narrative was upheld. He did find that legalized immigrants have higher incomes, higher educational attainment, and are more likely to have health, home, and car insurance than their undocumented counterparts. In addition, he found that, among first generation Latin@s, one out of four speaks English as much as Spanish at home, and, by the third generation, most no longer

speak Spanish at all. This directly contradicts the idea that Latin@s wish to remain ethnically and linguistically separate.

Important to the construction of the image of migrants, multiple scholars take issue with the fact that there is little distinction made between immigrants from different countries and that most immigrants are referred to as "Mexicans" (and other nationalities in various other communities in the U.S., such as Cubans in Miami). Chavez and Escalante place heavy blame on the media for this classification.

Heavy emphasis on an immigrant "invasion" also fails to discuss and address other problems, like the lax enforcement of employers creating the demand for immigrant labor, the dependence of the U.S. economy on undocumented labor, and the fact that the vast majority of immigrants living illegally in the United States are simply visa overstayers (Andreas, 2009, p. 88). It also fails to account for the fact that 12.4% of U.S. citizens are foreign-born, and only a small number of them initially immigrated illegally (Escalante, 2000; Gómez-Quiñones, 2000; Inda, 2007).

"Antidotes" to the Political and Media Spectacle

Leo Chavez, attempting to discover an antidote to reporting on immigrants, states that "drawing attention to the lived experiences of undocumented immigrants...is perhaps the most compelling way of illuminating the contradiction of contemporary capitalism" (Chavez, 2007, p. 195). Similarly, Murray Edelman (1988) notes the need for "antidotes"

to the political spectacle, which he suggests to be direct action, counter-discourse, humor and art.

Art, Edelman states, has the ability to refute the idea that fact is the same as truth and can liberate the mind from conventional thought, both creating meaning and allowing meaning to be projected onto the creation. Art can more easily deal with complex issues than traditional news media, who are limited by time- and word-limits. Also, as Edelman points out:

> "Art provides the cognitive and emotional resonances such political actions carry, and it may play a part in providing details as well...Art can emancipate the mind from stereotypes, prejudices and narrow horizons. It repeatedly generates new and useful ways of seeing the world around us" (Edelman, 1995, p. 6 & 12).

In addition to visual art being an antidote to the political spectacle, it can also communicate in ways not limited by words. In fact art "reflects [artists'] views of themselves and the world and becomes emblems of resistance to the conditions they face" (Gómez-Quiñones, 2000, p. 50). This is especially true of immigrant art.

For non-citizen immigrants, who are disenfranchised and literally have no political voice (as they do not have suffrage rights), the experience of exploitation and discrimination is "exquisitely expressed in the arts" (Gómez-Quiñones, 2000, p. 50). For citizen immigrant artists, art is also a means of communicating politically in the face of social

discrimination and political under-representation, as they can speak as an artist, not just an immigrant or Latin@. Art can be viewed away from the artist, allowing art to speak without pre-judgement from the audience based on stereotyped notions of who the artist might be because of how the artist looks.

Overview of Mexican and Chican@ Art

Chican@s, native-born Latin@s, and immigrant Latin@s have a diverse and vibrant history of artistic creation within the United States. Dominant trends in migrant art show that since the 1980s, immigrant art focused on self-assertion and identity-creation, and in the mid-1990s, this began to include a humorous, but thoughtful critique of the dominant society (Vargas, 2000).

The two Mexican art movements that have had the most influence on the artists involved in this study are the Mexican Mural Movement and the Popular Graphic Tradition.

The Mexican Mural Movement began in the 1920, just following the Mexican Revolution. The movement was popularized by Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siquieros (Ades, 1993, p. 156). Murals were used in celebration of Mexican history, indigenous heritage, and the role of workers, and played a part of the social realism movement. Murals continue to be an important form of artistic creation in Mexico and have been a primary form of Latin@ artistic expression in the U.S. since the 1960s, growing out of the People's Art Movement. Murals have been a

28

powerful component of the civil rights, student, and women's movements within the Latin@ community in the U.S. In the United States, muralists have begun to mix U.S. popular culture and Mesoamerican iconography to make powerful political statements and critiques. These trends, themes and iconography have grown outside the mural movement and have become major components of Chican@ and Latin@ art in general (Ades, 1993; Vargas, 2000). Muralist traditions and the mixing of U.S. and Mesoamerican iconography play an important role in the works of the artists in this study.

Posters and prints have played an important role in Mexican art, beginning with the work of José Guadalupe Posada and the *Taller de Gráfica Popular* in the early 1900s (the *Taller* begin founded in 1937) (Ades, 1993, p. 111). Mexican revolutionary artists were particularly drawn to printmaking because of the ability to make many copies, what they saw as a more democratic means of artistic production. In Mexico, printmaking continues to be a staple in political art work, particularly in Chiapas and Oaxaca. During the 1960s civil rights movement in the United States, Chican@ and Latin@ artists have looked to screenprinting and monoprints to mimic the style of posters from the Cuban Revolution era. Then and now, Che Guevara (el Che), Bob Dylan, Malcom X and Zapata have been very popular images in Latin@ printmaking work (Vargas, 2000). These prints have travelled far beyond the realm of "fine art" and have been used to plaster walls and to hand out at rallies (ibid).

Formally-trained (and some untrained) Chican@ and Latin@ fine artists have been a strong voice in attempting to join non-Western and Western artistic traditions in an attempt to simultaneously protest, critique and combine Latin@ indigenous and classical Western art traditions (Ades, 1993; Vargas, 2000).

Within these two artistic movements, Chicana and Latina artists have fought to emphasize a female perspective. The Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche feature prominently in many Chicana/Latina artistic productions, and many female artists follow in the traditions begun by Frida Khalo. Chicana and Latina artists often look at distinctly female challenges to being Latina and to immigration (Vargas, 2000).

The 1990s brought about a "New Chicano Art." These new artists have been trying more to appeal to a broad U.S. audience. As Vargas explains, Chican@ artists realized that they "must invent a new paradigm of empowerment to liberate both themselves and the oppressor" as a means to gain support for civil rights outside the minority populations in the U.S. (Vargas, 2000, p. 208). With this, Latin@ and Chican@ artists are expanding into film and computer art, but printmaking and muralism have still remained a major medium for politically-active artists.

Conclusions

Taken together, these various theories and histories come together to help give a background to this case study. In the chapters that follow, news media representations of immigration and border policy will be

analyzed and compared with artistic representations produced by

immigrant artists to determine how art can be viewed as an alternative

mode of political communication and contribute to the border and

immigration policy debates.

Chapter 2: News Reporting, Bias and the Border

Introduction

Murray Edelman suggested that, in order to counter this spectacle, an alternative form of political communication should be found, what he terms an "antidote" to the spectacle. In his book *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Representation Shapes Political Constructions*, Edelman develops the idea that art can serve as an ideal antidote to the political spectacle, albeit he deals in the abstract. This thesis is meant to develop this idea and show what precisely art can contribute to a specific context, the U.S.-Mexico immigration and border debate.

This chapter seeks to establish what precisely is communicated through the news media about immigration and border policy and debates. This must be established in order to suggest what contributions artistic representations might make to the debate. Therefore, this chapter examines eight different news sources' reporting (four print sources and four broadcast sources) about immigration and the U.S.-Mexico border, and, using content analysis, draws conclusions about what is being communicated through the reporting.

News Sources

A broad analysis of news media reporting was undertaken, encompassing both print and broadcast media. Ten years of reporting was analyzed from eight different news sources (a sample of 50 stories per

news source). Only major news sources were considered for inclusion, as they reach the largest population within the United States.

Print Media

Print sources were chosen based primarily on geographic location of publication. A wide distribution of geographies were selected; from east and west, north and south.

The New York Times was selected to represent print news reporting on the East Coast of the United States. The *San Diego Union-Tribune* was selected to represent the West Coast. The *Chicago Sun Times* was selected to represent both northern and midland states, and *The Dallas Morning News* was chosen as a southern and midland state.

Circulation, as reported by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (published Sept. 30, 2010),[5] are:

Table 1

Weekly Circulation of Print Media Sources

	Weekly Circulation	Saturday Circulation	Sunday Circulation
The New York Times	876,638	915,865	1,352,358
San Diego Union-Tribune	224,761	266,785	286,518
Chicago Sun Times	250,747	197,824	237,367
The Dallas Morning News	264,459	250,979	373,815

Significantly, these print sources also represent two newspapers published in border states (the *San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Dallas*

---

[5] http://abcas3.accessabc.com/ecirc/newstitlesearchus.asp

Morning News). While the other two sources are published in locations far from the border, they are published in places with large migrant populations (*The New York Times* and the *Chicago Sun Times*).

Broadcast Media

As broadcast media are syndicated throughout the country, the geographic location of the place of production is less significant than the means of distribution of the programs. The two major cable news networks were chosen: *Cable News Network* (*CNN*) and *Fox News Channel.* The programs analyzed from *CNN*'s reporting include: *The Situation Room, CNN Newsroom, American Morning, Anderson Copper 260 Degrees, Lou Dobbs Tonight, Glen Beck* (on *CNN* from January 2006 to October 2008)*, Paula Zahn Now, Nancy Grace, Larry King Live, Live From..., On the Story, CNN Saturday, CNN Live Events, CNN Live This Morning,* and *CNN Morning News. Fox News Channel*'s programs include: *Fox Special Report, Fox News Sunday, On the Record with Greta Van Susteren, Hannity, Hannity's America, Your World with Neil Cavuto, The O'Reilly Factor, The Big Story with John Gibson, Hannity & Colmes, Glen Beck* (on *Fox* from January 2009 to present) and *The Big Story with John Gibson.*

In addition, the *American Broadcast Company* (*ABC*) was chosen to represent broadcast networks' news reporting. *ABC*'s news programs include: *Nightline, Good Morning America, World News Sunday, Weekend America, ABC World News with Charles Gibson,* and *ABC*

World News Tonight. Last, *National Public Radio* (*NPR*) was selected to

represent radio broadcasting. The programs analyzed from *NPR*'s

reporting, include: *All Things Considered, Talk of the Nation, Morning

Edition,* and *Weekend Edition.* For all broadcast reporting, only

transcripts were used for coding, and no video was watched.[6]

Transcripts utilized to code broadcast news reporting tended to

cover entire broadcasts of certain shows, including an hour or more of

broadcasting. In these cases, each show would include multiple stories,

which could include multiple biases. Thus, only the first story of the

broadcast referring to immigration or border issues was coded for this

analysis. For call-in shows, only the initial presentation of the story was

coded.

Story Limitations and Search Parameters

News stories were compiled using the LexisNexis Academic

database. Stories were limited to those which included any reference to

"Mexico," "Mexican(s)," "immigration," "migration," "immirant(s)," or

"migrant(s)" in its headline and was limited to stories printed or broadcast

between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2010 (giving a ten year

---

[6] This decision was made due to limitations of LexisNexis, which provides
transcripts only and in order to standardize coding between television and
radio broadcasts. It was also intentional, as this chapter is intended to
only look at linguistic framings of the border, leaving visual framings of
the border to the subsequent chapter.

overview of reporting).[7] Fifty of the resulting stories were randomly

selected using a random number generator. Fifty stories were considered

adequate (averaging five stories per reporting year) to give a general feel

for the tone and themes communicated by the news sources.

Finding the Bias: Coding News Reporting

Explanation of Coding

Each news story was coded for words used to refer to immigrants

and aspects of tone. These, taken together, then were used to assign a bias

to each article.

Among words used to refer to immigrants, the key terms of the

analysis depended on three dynamics: the words meaning immigrants

(immigrant, migrant and alien), the words associated meant to identify

legal status (illegal, undocumented, unauthorized, etc), and the words

utilized to describe immigrants (laborer, worker, criminal). Nationality

references were also included in the analysis.

Tone encompassed various aspects including:

- Presentation of perspectives on issues presented

    This mode of analysis observed the presentation of arguments

    and counter-arguments to any debate relevant to the topic being

    reported. If equal attention was given to each side, this

_____

[7] The specific search parameter used was: "HLEAD(mexic!) w/p hlead
(immigra! or migra!) AND Length>500 AND Section(news) AND Date
(geq(01/01/2000) and leq(12/31/2010))"

contributed to a "neutral" tone; whereas dominant coverage of a certain point of view earned a "critical" or "praising" tone.

- Words and phrases used to present a topic

  The specific choices of words and phrases to present topics was a key factor in analysis. Word choice is a clear indicator of bias and tone.

  For example, *ABC News* reported on June 27, 2007 that "Mexican workers are *transforming* the dairy industry and maybe even *saving* it" due to immigrants' "*work ethic*" (Moran, 2007, emphasis added). This has a clear pro-immigrant, praising tone. As a counter example, immigrants are portrayed on *The O'Reilly Factor* as Mexico getting to "export their poverty problems" on Oct. 27, 2006. This has a clear anti-immigrant, critical tone.

- Choice of story

  While news coverage may be informative in tone and contain little linguistic bias, the choice of story is an important means of discovering the news source's overall bias. The inclusion or exclusion of certain topics reveals bias. For example, the choice to cover stories of the suffering of immigrants as they attempt to cross shows sympathy toward immigrants (and thus a pro-immigrant bias), whereas a story covering crime immigrants

have committed in the United States shows an anti-immigrant bias.

- Individuals included as references

    The choice of whom to reference and quote in a story is also important to showing bias. When discussing U.S. immigration policy, for instance, the choice to include the opinions of immigrants themselves can show a pro-immigrant bias. For another example, *NPR*'s coverage of an ethnic studies ban in Arizona included a sizable interview with a professor of diversity studies, credited by the interviewer as having been a force in introducing ethnic studies into U.S. education. This is coded as a bias in praise of pro-immigrant actions.

These four factors were taken into account in coding each of the stories.

Reporting Bias

After each story was coded, it was labeled according to eleven categories referring to bias. For each source, a number of stories were excluded as "off topic" (for example, stories about butterflies migrating from Mexico), "passing reference" (for example, a story about a real estate agent whose father was an immigrant, but the focus of the story was real estate), and "duplicate story" (on occasion, two of the same story were included in search results for a single source). These are not included in this analysis.

These eleven categories of tone were sorted into four biases. Within these four biases, there were variations within sub-categories of bias. In general, these biases lie along a spectrum or continuum of biases which range from pro-immigrant to anti-immigrant.

1. Pro-Immigration
    1. Sympathetic to immigrants
    2. Praising pro-immigration/immigrant policy or actions
    3. Critical of anti-immigration/immigrant policy or actions
    4. Informing of deeper issues
2. Neutral
    1. Informative
    2. Equal treatment of perspectives
3. Anti-Immigration
    1. Informative, but mildly anti-immigrant
    2. Critical of pro-immigration/immigrant policy or action
    3. Praising anti-immigration/immigrant policy or actions
    4. Hostile toward immigrants
4. Fear/Fearful Reporting

While reporting biases were expected to be found along a pro- to anti-immigrantion continuum, an outlier emerged. Thus, a fourth category was created. "Fear/Fearful Reporting" was created as a far outlier beyond anti-immigration, where little information was presented and reporting seemed very sensational in nature.

The following chart lays out the exact numbers of stories for each bias category for each of the news sources:

Table 2

News Bias by Media Source

	Pro-Immigration	Neutral	Anti-Immigration	Fearful	Not Counted
New York Times	24	20	1	2	3
Chicago Sun Times	26	15	5	0	4
Dallas Morning News	16	26	1	0	7
San Diego Union-Tribune	14	24	6	2	4
Cable News Network (CNN)	5	25	12	5	3
ABC News	19	14	3	2	12
Fox News Channel	1	9	25	10	5
National Public Radio	33	11	0	1	5
Total	138	144	53	22	43

As a graphic representation:
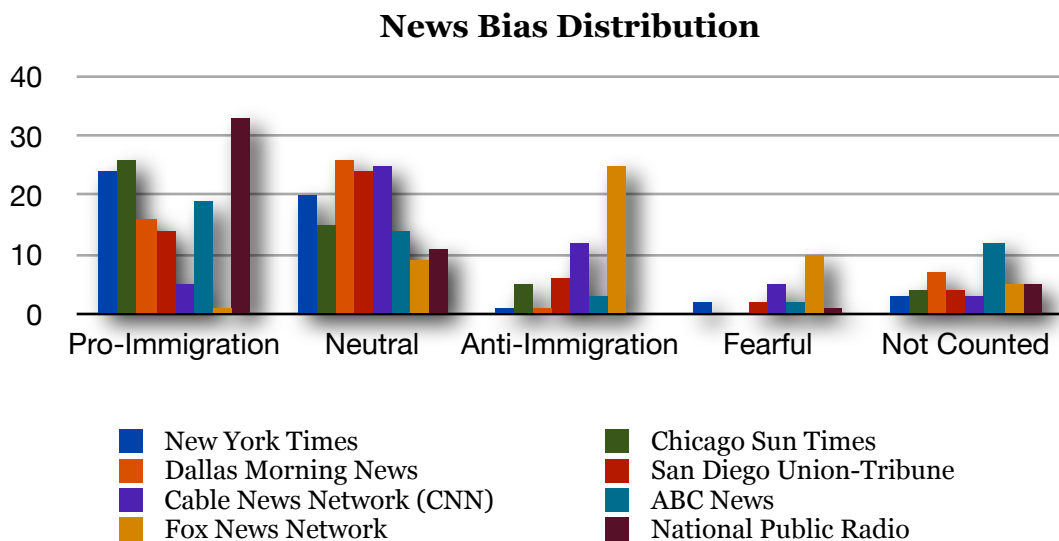
Figure 1. News Bias Distribution

Figure 1 represents the bias of news reporting comparatively by the news media. As can be seen, each of the news media sources is higher in certain categories, generally on one or the other side of the news continuum. Appendix A includes charts representing each individual news source's bias. In general:

- *The New York Times* reporting held a pro-immigration (48% of reporting) to neutral bias (40%),

- The *Chicago Sun Times* reporting held a pro-immigration bias (52%),

- *The Dallas Morning News* reporting held a neutral bias (52%),

- The *San Diego Union-Tribune* reporting held a neutral (48%) to pro-immigration (28%) bias,

- *CNN* reporting held a neutral (50%) to anti-immigration (24%) bias,

- *ABC* News reporting held a pro-immigration (38%) to pro-immigration (28%) bias,

- *Fox News Channel* reporting held a strong anti-immigrant (50%) to fearful (20%) bias,

- *National Public Radio* reporting held a strong pro-immigration bias (66%).

Figure 2 shows the general bias in the news media.

Overall Reporting Bias
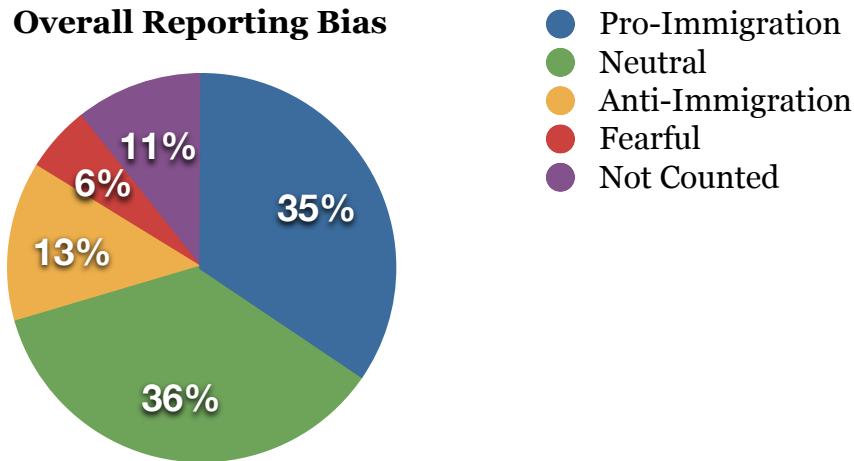
Figure 2. Overall Reporting Bias

This graph shows that a majority of reporting is split, nearly equally, between pro-immigration reporting and neutral reporting. Together, these two categories make up over two-thirds of media reporting. Anti-immigration and fearful reporting nearly makes up another third of reporting (at 19%). The majority of what remains is anti-immigration reporting, but with a 6% fearful bias.

Word Choice Referring to Immigrants

An important measure of the political and social representation of immigrants in news reporting is related to the words used to refer to immigrants. As every word choice carries a variety of connotations, the choice to use "immigrant," "migrant" or "alien" itself implies deeper meanings. As Kevin Johnson (1996-7) points out, "the word 'aliens' today often is code for immigrants of color, which has been facilitated by the changing racial demographics of immigration" and prioritizes immigrants'

"otherness" (p. 267). He discusses this in relation to its preferred use in U.S. immigration law. By contrast, for example, the United Nations overwhelmingly preferences the terms "migrant" and "undocumented workers" in its conventions and organs (United Nations General Assembly, 1990).

Thus, this analysis of word choice referring to immigrants focuses on three aspects of each reference to immigrants. The choice of term to mean immigrant: immigrant, migrant or alien. The term immigrant implies permanence, as its definition would suggest. Migrant is used often in reporting as interchangeable with immigrant, but, by definition, connotes a person with little or no intention to settle in the place in which they work. Last, alien can refer to both "a foreigner" or "a hypothetical or fictional being from another world."

Secondary to the term chosen as a synonym for immigrant, the choice to call the individual or group "illegal" or "undocumented" has major implications for bias and presentation of the subject. The choice to label an individual as an illegal immigrant implies a link to criminality, whereas undocumented means "not recorded" and eliminates the connotation to crime and illegality.

Last, other adjectives applied to the first two terms can also imply bias. The most common adjectives used in association with immigrants are laborer/worker, criminal, or a term defining nationality.

Analysis uncovered 74 different combinations referring to immigrants, the most common of which were (in no particular order) "immigrant" alone, "illegal" alone, "illegal immigrant," "undocumented immigrant," "migrant" alone, "illegal alien," "undocumented worker," and "illegal worker." These references also included such combinations as "Mexican migrant workers," "unlawful Mexicans," "border jumpers," "criminal illegal aliens" and "OTMs" (Other Than Mexicans). A full list of the terms used can be found in Appendix B.

For analysis purposes, one mention of "illegal immigrant" counted as one instance of "immigrant" and one instance of "illegal." The following chart provides the count for which each of these instances was used in reporting:

Table 3

Word Choice by Media Source

	New York Times	Chicago Sun Times	Dallas Morning News	San Diego Union Tribune	CNN News	ABC News	Fox News Channel	National Public Radio	SUM	%
Immigrant	116	64	81	74	56	75	91	110	667	28.27%
Migrant	15	4	9	11	0	6	2	39	86	3.65%
Alien	3	0	0	6	251	22	58	2	342	14.50%
Illegal	94	51	58	38	316	84	174	53	868	36.80%
Undocu-mented	7	6	25	35	13	13	13	35	147	6.23%
Laborer/worker	10	5	25	17	10	11	1	33	112	4.75%
Criminal	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	7	0.30%
Nationality	29	19	13	19	5	12	16	17	130	5.51%

As this chart shows, the term "illegal" is most used, with "immigrants" being the second most used. As these numbers suggest, very often the term "illegal" is used alone, implying that the only possible noun

the adjective could be modifying is immigrant. Graphically, the chart

above can be represented thus:

Total Mentions Immigrants

Legend:
- Immigrant
- Migrant
- Alien
- Illegal
- Undocumented
- Laborer/worker
- Criminal
- Nationality
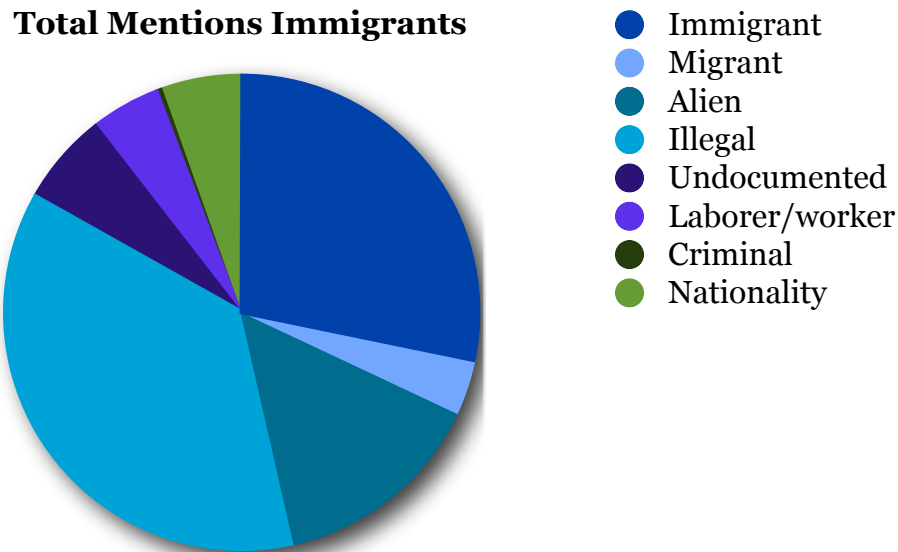
Figure 3. Total Mentions of Immigrants by Term

As this figure makes clear, the majority of reporting uses the term

"illegal," either in conjunction with a noun that it is modifying or alone, as

a noun identifying a type of person. By contrast, "undocumented" is

obviously not a preferred term in the news media (though it is the term

pro-immigration activists tend to prefer). In fact, on a few occasions on

broadcast media, "undocumented" is used to mock these activists.

The second most utilized term is "immigrant," followed closely by

"alien." In contrast to assertions by immigrants that they come for work

and employment (see Chapters Four and Five), only 4.75% of mentions

link immigrants to work.

Last, 0.3% of mentions overtly link immigrants with criminality by

using the term "criminal illegal aliens." However, this easily draws the

association between this term and the more often utilized term "illegal alien" (which already implies criminality).

Understanding the Bias: News Analysis

Of all the reporting, 35% showed a pro-immigration bias, versus 36% neutral and 13% anti-immigrant bias. Combined with "fearful" reporting, this number increases from 13% to 19%. While together fearful and anti-immigration reporting is slightly greater than half of the pro-immigration reporting, it is the extreme nature of the reporting rhetoric that is troubling. Most specifically, there was no opposite extreme beyond the pro-immigration bias on the continuum that rhetorically counterbalanced the "fearful" category's rhetoric on the extreme side of anti-immigration bias.

Most news sources showed a majority of neutral reporting. *Fox News Channel* was positioned on the extreme of anti-immigration reporting, with thirteen more anti-immigration and five more fearful stories than any other news source. *National Public Radio* represented the pro-immigration extreme, but represented a less extreme bias than *Fox*, with only seven more pro-immigration stories than any other source.

Interestingly, *Fox News Channel* is followed by *CNN* in the number of anti-immigrant and fearful reporting, which is perhaps a comment on the need for drama and "infotainment" to keep viewer attention on 24-hour news networks.

In word choice, 28% of references to immigrants used the precise word "immigrant," while the next most commonly utilized term is "alien" (at 15%). The word illegal is utilized 36% of the time in connection with the term utilized for immigrant. In fact, the term "illegal immigrant" is used 399 of 1,137 total mentions (or 35% of total mentions). The term "illegal" alone is used 83 times (or 7% of all mentions).

The most troubling statistic is that only 5% of mentions directly link immigrants to work, using the term "laborer" or "worker." Given that reporting on immigrants and immigration often focuses on the "burden" immigrants place on social services and welfare systems, this is especially troubling. The few exposés on the causes of immigration and the intentions of immigrants mention that the object of most immigrants in traveling to the United States is to seek better wages and employment, not to take advantage of the U.S. welfare system. This shows one aspect where immigrant artists are crucially important, as will be discussed in the fourth and fifth chapter.

In addition, the high use of "illegal" to modify "immigrant" and to itself stand as a synonym subtly reinforces the criminal nature of immigrants' arrival in the United States. However, only 0.3% of mentions explicitly use terms like "criminal" (as in "criminal illegal aliens"). In addition, many articles do subtly link illegal immigration and drug trafficking, and a few articles even mention that illegal immigrants are "potentially terrorists" (*Fox News Channel*, Aug. 10, 2007) or that

loosening border controls will let in "illegal aliens and the unknown terrorists among them" (*CNN*, April 13, 2005). In rhetorical terms, "illegal" implicates intentional criminal activity, whereas "undocumented" sounds more accidental. Additionally, "criminal illegal aliens" most often refers to drug or human smugglers, but the term associates these criminals with the migrant workers referred to as "illegal aliens." Rhetorically, this places criminals and workers within the same class of people.

Another interesting note is that most stories are not positively supporting their own bias, but criticizing the other side. Within the pro-immigration bias, only 12 stories are praising pro-immigration policies or actions, whereas 38 stories are critical of anti-immigration policies or actions. Similarly, within the anti-immigration bias, 7 stories are praising anti-immigration policies or actions, with 19 stories being critical of pro-immigration policy or actions.

Within the neutral bias, there was an interesting contrast. Only 15 stories presented an equal treatment of both sides of a debate, whereas the remaining 144 neutral stories relied on reporting "facts" (which, in this analysis, were stories that summarized reports from think tanks, the INS or ICE, Border Patrol, etc. or that covered statements by politicians without any apparent commentary). This highlights the fact that few newspapers supply balanced reporting with equal treatment of the various opinions in the immigration debate, preferring to emphasize a single side in the debate.

Secondary Trends

There are a few interesting trends that were not quantifiable, but that are worth mentioning that arose in the coding and analysis. First, in stories that covered the impact of immigration on the home countries of immigrants, there was an interesting juxtaposition between immigrants as heros and traitors to their own countries. As this was not part of the analysis, the number of such instances has not been tracked nor quantified, but would lend itself to an interesting analysis.

Second, the location of the print news media seemed to significantly influence the choice of stories that were covered. The *Dallas Morning News* - not being on the border, but a major city in a border state - focused on the economic and political issues surrounding immigration. The *New York Times* and *Chicago Sun Times*, being further from the border, tended to report primarily on the immigrant experience in the U.S., with less focus on border policy or Mexico's role in determining border policy. Last, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*'s coverage was primarily focused on border policy decisions and border enforcement; this is predictable, given the fact that San Diego lies directly on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Further study would be needed to understand the tendencies of the broadcast media's choices. It appears *Fox News Channel* and *CNN*'s coverage is dominated by stories focusing on domestic implications of immigration, while *ABC* News and *National Public Radio* reporting tends to focus on the broader context of immigration, with both sources covering

stories on the border and on the Mexican side of the border (exploring

more root causes of immigration). This establishes further *Fox* and *CNN*'s

dedication to the "infotainment" scheme and emphasizes its "fearful"

framing of the immigration issue through a focus on an "us" versus "them"

framework (Altheide, 2002 & 2004).

Important Trends in Portrayals of Immigrants and Immigration

Substantively, one of the most important trends in the data is the

dichotomy between legal and illegal immigration. The legal status of the

immigrant is clearly very prominent in reporting, as 43% of all mentions of

immigrants make some reference to the immigrant being either "illegal" or

"undocumented."

Even stories that did not explicitly concern immigration status still

included mentions of an immigrant's status. In fact, one story labeled as

"passing mention" and thus not included in the analysis, made reference to

the fact that the person profiled in the story was the daughter of illegal

immigrants, even though this was completely irrelevant to the story.

One of the most interesting facets of the media's fascination with

the legal versus illegal dichotomy is the implication that legal status is a

permanent state of being rather than a temporary legal definition. Some

stories make reference to "possible," "potential," or "would-be" illegal

immigrants and "former" illegal immigrants. While logically, these

individuals are not "illegal immigrants" if they have not yet passed illegally

into the United States, if they have left the United States, or have gained

their legal status, the media seem to treat illegality as a permanent stain

that mars those who intend to migrate or have migrated illegally.

One further dichotomy that is interesting to note is that stories tend

to analyze border policies and debates in terms of the potential harm or

benefit to the U.S. or to Mexico, but little analysis is given to policies that

would be beneficial to both countries at the same time or that harm both

countries at the same time. The harm or benefit seems mutually exclusive,

presenting immigration policy as a zero-sum game. This is seen especially

in representations where immigrants are portrayed to be "taking" citizens'

jobs, when in fact economic analyses show immigrants support overall

economic growth and do not take citizens' jobs.

Factors Influencing Analysis

There are two primary complications that may slightly skew data

for this analysis. First, while this study was only intended to look at news

coverage (thus excluding news opinion and commentary, of the type found

in editorials, op-eds, and opinion and commentary programs), the stories

were selected via a precise parameter entered into LexisNexis. While the

parameter tried to control for news, a small number of columns were

included in newspaper reporting, and news commentary programs were

included in *CNN* and *Fox News Channel* reporting (which forced inclusion

of such programs as *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, *Larry King Live*, *The O'Reilly

Factor*, and *Hannity & Colmes*). These opinions may have skewed data,

but were coded in LexisNexis as news, and were thus included in deference to the search parameter. Their inclusion as "news" does, of course, raise questions about the standards and definitions of "journalism" today (Altheide, 2004).

Secondarily, interviews on the broadcast news posed a challenge to analyzing tone, but in all cases an attempt was made to focus on the tone set by the host. This was done by looking at who the host prompted to answer questions (in the case that multiple guests were included) or whether the host tended to challenge or agree with the guest. The reason for this choice was to discover the overall reporting bias of the news source.

Conclusions

These conclusions are supported by a limited study conducted by Ross, Carter and Thomas (2009) observing only *New York Times* reporting on the border, which found that reporting framed the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico as one of "conflict and contention" and that "journalists discursively positioned the border as a militarized battleground" (p. 38).

In the end, this analysis finds that while pro-immigration bias (138 stories) is greater than anti-immigration bias (53 stories), there is an extreme anti-immigrant bias that goes beyond anti-immigration rhetoric to a fearful framing (22 stories). While this still seems like a much smaller number, the venue must be taken into account. The fearful stories were

primarily put forth by *CNN* and *Fox News Channel*, which together have a much larger audience base than any of the more pro-immigration print news media or *National Public Radio*. Thus, while there are fewer stories, the fearful bias is amplified due to the broad reach of the media sources that are the most sensational and most rely on the "infotainment" frame. This shows that the news media cannot be a force for positive social change where immigration and border policy is concerned, as it relies on agendas set by stories that entertain in order to sell.

Beyond the bias, there are certain associations and characterizations of immigrants that span across the continuum of biases. Reporting generally disassociates immigration from work issues, referring to migrant workers only 5% of the time. However, as will be shown in Chapter Four, immigrants themselves report nearly 100% of the time that their immigration - and those of their family and friends - was prompted due to a desire to find better employment. Here is just one preliminary indication of where artists might be able to correct media perceptions.

Similarly, illegality is commonly associated with immigration (nearly 37% of the time). However, as Chapter One discussed, illegality is socially, politically and historically constructed. The idea of an "illegal immigrant" is itself a construct, not a characteristic of the individual. In addition, the focus on the illegality of the migration distracts from the U.S. demand for labor that encourages the illegal migration. This too stands as

a puzzling contradiction that artists may have the potential to highlight and critique in this debate.

Given the hierarchical and corporate style of the news media, which creates a certain political pandering to the status quo, if activists would truly seek to change the dialogue surrounding the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration policy, the news media are not the ideal form of communication. While it reaches the masses, powerful corporations make breaking into the industry difficult for minorities. By contrast, art may not reach the masses, but artists have far more outlets for expressing their opinions in a manner over which they maintain creative control.

Chapter 3: Capturing the Border

Introduction

In addition to linguistically defining the public's image of the border, the news media are also responsible for many of the visual images of the border. This is significant because many U.S. residents will never visit the border themselves. This is a particularly important facet to study when considering art and artists' contribution to the visual and linguistic notions of the U.S.-Mexico Border for two reasons. First, to compare artistic images only to linguistic messages sent through news media would be to compare a complete form of political communication (artistic representation) and only half of another form of political communication (news media linguistic messages only).

Secondly, and far more importantly, it is important to include visual messages sent through the news media because there is evidence that visuals are more memorable than linguistic messages. The saying goes, "a picture is worth a thousand words." Newhagen and Reeves (1992) actually performed a study to prove this effect in media. They asked individuals to recall news stories that these individuals had been shown six weeks before, and overwhelmingly individuals could recall the actual news articles if visuals had not been included. If visuals had been included in the story, individuals primarily remembered the messages sent by the visuals. This has been supported by other studies as well (Gunter, Furnham & Griffiths,

2000; Garry et. al., 2007). Thus, any news analysis would be incomplete

without considering the visual images included in the media.

As Peter Andreas (2009) notes, "Public perception is powerfully

shaped by the images of the border which politicians, law enforcement

agencies and the media project" (p. 9). In studying news magazines and

their influence on the immigration debate, Leo Chavez suggests that

"photographs carry with them the power imparted by their close

representation of reality" when, in fact, "news photographs impart

messages that are not purely denotive or 'objective'" (Chavez, 2001, p. 57).

In other words, audiences take photographs to be representations of the

truth, without considering that the photo they see on the news page or on-

line was chosen from among hundreds or thousands due to markers that

frame the images in time and signs to signify a meaning the editor wishes

to communicate (Chavez, 2001, p. 57).

This chapter builds upon the linguistic framing of immigration and

the border discussed in the previous chapter by analyzing the visual

portrayal of the border by U.S. news media sources. This is not meant to

be an exhaustive analysis, but a broad overview of the images put forth in

the media.

News Sources

Using a Google Images search, the search term "U.S.-Mexico

Border" was used, restricting results to the individual website of the same

print and broadcast media that were utilized for the previous chapter. In

this chapter, all the same news sources will be analyzed, with the exceptions of *National Public Radio* and *Chicago Sun Tribune* (which do not make their photo images available on Google Images).[8] Google Images was selected as the search engine in order to standardize the results, as different search engines use different algorithms to perform searches. Assuming the order of the images was the most "relevant" (according to Google's complex algorithms), for each set of search results, the first three results were utilized.

Image Categories and Coding

After a thorough analysis of each of the images, four general categories in which these images could be placed became apparent: images of militarization, images of surveillance, images of violence, images of "invasion" and neutral images. There were five images that portrayed militarization, seven images of surveillance, two depicting violence and six neutral images. Some of the analysis splits an image into two categories (represented in the chart as .5).

---

[8] Meaning full search parameter was "U.S.-Mexico Border site:<url for news site>"

Table 4

News Media Photograph Categorizations by News Source

	Militarization	Surveillance	Violence	Invasion	Neutral
New York Times					3
Dallas Morning News	0.5	2.5			
San Diego Union-Tribune	0.5	0.5		1	1
ABC News	1		1		1
CNN	0.5	1	1.5		
Fox News Network		2		1	

Images that were coded as being categorized as militarization showed any U.S. or Mexican official armed or in military garb. Of the images of militarization, one each was included by the *Dallas Morning News*, *San Diego Union-Tribune, ABC* News, and *CNN*.

The images considered as surveillance showed individuals in a border context looking or surveying an area. The images in this category came from the *Dallas Morning News* (3 images), the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (1 image), *CNN* (1 image) and *Fox News Network* (2 images). Images of violence showed scenes that implied a violent act had or would occur. There was one such image included by *ABC* News and two by *CNN*.

Images of invasion corresponded with rhetoric discussed in the previous chapter. The image of invasion from the *San Diego Union-Tribune* shows DEA agents unpacking packs of marijuana from a truck (an

invasion by drug dealers). The other image, provided by *Fox News Network*, shows migrants running toward the border (an invasion by migrants).

The neutral category showed images that resisted categorization. Three from the *New York Times* were landscape photographs of the border wall, with no people or other objects. One image came from the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, which showed a family sitting at the border in part of a protest, but they are obviously peaceful. The last neutral image was an *ABC* News reporter chatting with Border Patrol agents.

Images Speak: What images communicate about the Border

The New York Times had the most generic photographs of the border. None of the images include humans nor do they show much activity. Two of the images are distance shots, showing a long expanse of the border and much of the land on either side. From this perspective, the border looks small and unimposing, like a fence between two ranches or farms. These pictures show a peaceful border.

The third image is particularly striking: a shot from the U.S.-side of the border, showing the wall and the slums on the side of a hill on the other side, which the caption notes is Tijuana. The wall seems to be keeping the poverty of Mexico out of the United States. The slums on the other side of the border make the border wall seem tiny and feeble; the visible poverty overpowering the border wall. Interestingly, the search

term did not include "wall," but most image results returned from the *New York Times* were of the border wall.

These images seem in-line with the *New York Times*' almost equally split pro-immigration-to-neutral news reporting; simply showing images of the border wall to allow the reader to apply her or his own frame to the pictures.

All of the photographs included in the *Dallas Morning News* show some kind of surveillance. A gun is the focal point of the first image - a gun slung over the shoulder of a man on a boat, equipped with walkie-talkie and other equipment. The man is looking out into the distance with his eyes in shadow, but clearly watching something. His equipment and arms suggest he may be a national guard patrol or border patrol agent. The caption makes the visual much more interesting: the man is a game warden, out to protect wildlife on the border. The "danger" of the border is re-emphasized by the visual of a heavily-armed, well-equipped game warden. The second image is similar, but shows three men (also game wardens) patrolling in a boat. The last image shows a border patrol agent waving from a truck, in front of a line of additional trucks waiting to cross the border. There is an overwhelming number waiting, re-emphasizing the sheer size of the transit across the border.

Interestingly, the *Dallas Morning News* was the news source that reported the most on U.S.-Mexico policy meetings and statements. As I argue in Chapter 2, this could be a result of Dallas being a city further from

the border, but within a border state. Thus, while their readers will want

to know what is happening on their state's border, they may not be quite

as concerned with actual day-to-day happenings on the border (as *San

Diego Union-Tribune* readers, for example). For this same reason, the

readership of the *Dallas Morning News* may find it important to know

that their state is being kept "safe," and thus the newspaper may include

more images of surveillance.

The *San Diego Union-Tribune* had the most varied images. The

first includes a family sitting at the border, looking at the other side, as the

caption explains, participating in a protest. Two individuals look at them

from the other side, emphasizing the closeness of the border. Of all the

images included in this analysis, this is the most tender portrayal of border

events and the only one not emphasizing drugs, violence, vigilance or

invasion along the border.

Another *San Diego Union-Tribune* photograph included showed

DEA agents unloading a truck completely filled with packets of marijuana.

The amount of marijuana is staggering and seems to be evidence of the

power drug smugglers have to invade the country. In a similar style, the

final photograph shows former Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger in a

military-style helicopter looking out at the San Ysidro border crossing.

There is an overtly concerned look on his face, which makes the viewer

question what it is that he is seeing to put this expression on his face. Both

of these images depict strongly negative images of the border, which clash

with the tender image of a family sitting peacefully talking with individuals on the other side of the border. While the *San Diego Union-Tribune*'s linguistic reporting is generally neutral, these images present a very different picture, especially the latter two images which portray the border as a place of danger and illegality.

The *Fox News Network* images were very diverse. The first shows a group of migrants running toward the border. They are clothed in dark colors, and the border in the distance seems like an easily surmountable obstacle. This is ideologically consistent within *Fox News*' overwhelmingly anti-immigration rhetoric, primarily focusing on what *Fox News* portrays as the apparent disregard migrants have for U.S. sovereignty.

The other two images show border watchfulness and vigilance. The first of these images shows a border patrol SUV driving along the border wall, between the wall and a row of bright lights lining the border. With the dust trail kicked up by the SUV, the scene looks like a shot out of an action movie, glorifying the role of the border patrol. The second photograph shows a man with a very large camera dressed like someone on a vacation. The section of the border wall where he is standing is a few posts held together by two thick, metal wires running along the posts. The man rests his arm on one of the posts, showing he could easily pull himself over the border. Once again, this picture enforces *Fox News*' rhetoric

about the border being insecure and implying it is citizens' duty to secure the border.

The images from *ABC* News, like those of the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, seem to contradict the results from Chapter 2, which coded *ABC* News' reporting as overwhelmingly pro-immigration. The images include the best examples of border militarization and violence, with the first image result showing military troops positioned near the border and the second of a dead body. Without the caption, one might think the first photograph was taken within a war zone, but the border is visible just behind a hill where the troops are positioned, standing at attention. The second image shows a body sprawled on the concrete of a city street, blood visible spreading away from the body, with police officers scattered across the scene. The caption also emphasizes the violence, mentioning that "forensic experts" are examining the "body of 14-year-old" boy under the Paseo Del Norte border bridge, the border crossing point between Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. Both of these two images are the most extreme in this study in their portrayal of militarization and border violence, which is a strong contradiction with the general tone of *ABC* News' reporting. The third image was coded as neutral: a journalist chatting with Border Patrol agents.

The image results from CNN.com were very similar to those provided by *ABC* News. The first image shows two border patrol agents, one keeping lookout, the other, with a face mask, bending over something

unseen. The second shows a team of police, which looks much like a

SWAT team, pouring out of large, black SUVs with large machine guns.

The third image, like the second photograph from *ABC* News, shows police

in Juarez surround an unseen body on a neighborhood street. Unlike with

ABC News, these extreme portrayals are consistent with CNN's general

anti-immigration to fearful tone in reporting and they are some of the

most extreme examples of border violence and need for border

enforcement.

Conclusions

When taken together with the linguistic framing of the border

outlined in the previous chapter, these images suggest a further anti-

immigrant skewing of news media representations of the border and

immigration policy. The limitation of the categories of images to those

that represent militarization, surveillance, violence and invasion (with

only five neutral images) shows a strong fearful framing of images of the

border. This amplifies the fearful messages in the language used by news

sources by visually reinforcing the messages. As Chavez noted,

photographs are taken as truth and thus, perhaps, also proof of the

messages disseminated in the news stories.

As Sparks (2010) explains, multiple studies conducted in the past

twenty years point to what he calls a dual-coding theory of news media.

He explains that "when a vivid image is presented alongside verbal

information, it might actually tend to distract people from processing the

verbal information efficiently" (p. 187). If this theory is brought to bear on these results, this changes the conclusions to be drawn from the previous chapter. The conclusions of the coding analysis in Chapter Two showed 35% pro-immigrant reporting, 36% neutral reporting, 13% anti-immigrant reporting, and 6% fearful reporting. Such conclusions would show a neutral to pro-immigrant bias in the media in general. By contrast, the image analysis of this chapter reveals a strong negative portrayal of the border, revealing an anti-immigrant bias. However, if the dual-coding theory is brought to bear on these contrasting conclusions, visual representations are more memorable to audiences than linguistic representations. Thus, it can be concluded that the public receives more negative messaging than positive.

If this this dual-coding theory is considered in conjunction with the finding in the previous chapter that there is an extreme anti-immigrant bias evident in some news reporting (the fearful bias), it becomes apparent that there is a strong anti-immigrant skewing in the news media. It is this strong anti-immigrant frame (backed by many political and economic elites) against which any pro-immigrant movement must contest to create social change. Thus, pro-immigrant activists must create equally strong, convincing and emotional arguments to contest the framing of immigrants in U.S. society today. The next two chapters suggests art as a possible antidote to news media framing in the U.S. and explores what contributions art makes to the immigration and border debate.

Chapter 4: Immigrants Speak through Art

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand what immigrant artists contribute to the U.S-Mexico border and immigration debate. Chapter One laid a groundwork for understanding the debate through news media and alternative forms of political communication. Chapters Two and Three explored the linguistic and visual framing of the border and immigration issues, to which this and the subsequent chapter can compare framing of the same issues by immigrant artists.

This study closely observes the work of six Mexican-born artists who have moved to the United States to discover how the experience of immigration is portrayed in their work. Mexican-born artists were selected because, as one artist so aptly noted in her interview, "*como inmigrante, puedo entender la lucha de los demás inmigrantes*" ("as an immigrant, I can understand the struggles of the other immigrants"). This same idea is supported by academic literature. While Chican@ artists produce important work about immigration and the border debate, there is some mis-representation of the issue and experience. As Juan Gomez-Quiñones (2000) points out "self-violence, self-pathos, and even self-pity are found in some of the art that refers to immigrants by artists who are empathetic toward immigrants but who are not immigrants themselves" and, at times, "mistake[s] pity for solidarity" (p55). In essence, nothing

can stand-in for direct experience in being able to accurately represent an experience such as migration.

Therefore, three male and three female[9] artists were chosen who met three guidelines: (1) they were born in Mexico, (2) they currently produced or presented their work primarily in the United States, (3) they had immigrated to the United States at some point in their lives. The degree to which their art was influenced by their migration experience was not a formal determining factor, but had some impact on the who was invited to participate. Artists were chosen from two sources: the book *Contemporary Chicana and Chicano Art: Artists, Work, Culture and Education* and the gallery exhibition "Footprints" (opening at Bragg's Pie Factory on August 6, 2010 in Phoenix). Artists included in the book and gallery exhibition were invited to participate if he or she met the three conditions for inclusion. The six artists included in this final project were the six to agree to participate.

Artists were asked a series of fifteen questions in an interview format. The questions, included in Appendix C, asked the artist to discuss his or her own immigration experience, his or her perception of the representation of immigrants in politics and in the media, and, finally, his or her artistic response to these representations.

---

[9] A balanced representation of genders was sought as to equally represent the experience and expression of female and male immigrants.

The artists interviewed in this study were Oliverio Balcells, Cristina Cardenas, Enrique Chagoya, Francisco Delgado, Isabel Martinez and Carolina Parra.

Art and Artists: A Response to Media Representation

Before beginning an overview of how artists attempt to leverage their art to counter media portrayals of the border and immigration, a brief introduction of each of the artists and his or her art work is warranted.

Oliverio Balcells

Mr. Balcells is originally from Guadalajara, Mexico. He currently resides in Phoenix, Arizona. He describes his art as Mexican contemporary social art, focusing on history and the presentation of individual characters within his art. His work attempts to present "solutions" by portraying immigrants themselves.

Cristina Cardenas

Ms. Cardenas is also from Guadalajara, and currently resides in Tucson, Arizona. She describes herself as a border painter and describes her work as "*neo-figuratismo mágico*" (new magical figure art). Her art work features both realistic and magical portrayals of individuals, mostly women, which mix U.S. and Mexican iconography.

Enrique Chagoya

Mr. Chagoya is from Mexico City, and currently resides in San Francisco, California. His work, he says, is satirical. He says by using

satire, he intends to encourage debate about social and political taboos. His work draws on iconography from classical art, religious art, U.S. pop culture, and Mexican icons to mix and blur genres and cultural lines.

Francisco Delgado

Mr. Delgado grew up moving between Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua and El Paso, Texas. He says his art lies somewhere between social realism and magical realism. His focus is on social narrative and storytelling, revealing the impact of border policies and issues on the lives of the individual.

Isabel Martinez

Ms. Martinez is from "a small pueblo" in Mexico. She currently resides in Los Angeles, California. While her choice of medium and her style varies, she says the focus of her art work is on portraying artists at their work in a way that reveals what they feel.

Carolina Parra

Ms. Parra currently resides in Sonora, Mexico. She has lived, at times, in Phoenix, Arizona. She concentrates her work on "*arte figurativo*" ("figure art"). What she finds most important about her art is that she focuses on her technique to make portraits that help others understand immigrants.

Confronting Media: How immigrants talk about the border

In the last chapter, this study showed that there is a generally anti-immigrant bias in the U.S. news media and suggested this as the framing

which supports the generally anti-immigrant trend in the nation today. In their interviews, the six artists who participated in this study discussed the inadequacy of media portrayals of border issues and suggested how their work attempts to correct portrayals of the border and immigrants.

Artists' interviews reveal a very different picture of Mexico than what is portrayed by U.S. news media, which generally portray Mexico as a place of poverty, corruption and drug violence. Artists instead focus on the rich history and beautiful culture of their home country. Ms. Cardenas notes Mexico's "rich culture" and encourages those who disparage Mexico to "go to Mexico City and see all the beautiful buildings or the beautiful European architecture that we have." Artists also focus on the cultural hybridity of Mexico, mentioning the advanced Mayan heritage and the "cross-cultural mixing that happened in colonial times" (Chagoya).

The ways in which artists view the border is also significantly different from media portrayals. This is most obvious in the very distinction that immigrants themselves make between the border as a physical boundary and a psychological presence.

When discussing the physical border, the artists were extremely critical of U.S. border policy, pointing to the intimidation of all immigrants, U.S. economic protectionism, conservative vigilante groups and racism encountered at the border. The six artists negatively mentioned U.S. border policy 15 times. The majority of the artists' criticism focused on the consequences of border policies, with statements such as

"*creo que no está bien en que la gente se cruce ilegalment, pero tampoco que creo que sean criminales ni que han de ser traado como criminales*" ("I think it is not good that people cross illegally, but I also don't think that they should be criminals nor that they have to be treated as criminals") (Parra). However, other criticism did involve the fact that policy was an unrealistic response and is a "waste [of] taxpayers' money" (Chagoya). For example, two artists noted that a wall is useless in the face of human economic necessity forcing them to immigrate; as Mr. Chagoya noted, "That you cannot stop with the Wall of China."

In addition, artists discuss the experience of crossing the border, and all of the artists mentioned some feeling of fear when near the border. In total, the six artists mentioned feeling fearful of the way they would be treated crossing the border 13 times. Artists also mention association of the border with "drug issues," "human traffic issues," "extremes of distrust" and "misunderstandings."

Beyond the physical and political meanings of the border, most artists discuss the border as a psychological presence; as Mr. Chagoya discussed, there are borders "beyond geo-political borders." Artists discuss the border as something that is intended to divide, but that the border, in fact, causes interesting interactions between the people of either side. Most artists discuss a cultural fusion between peoples and cultures of the U.S. and Mexico. Mr. Delgado stated that he sees "the border not only as a division, but also a place where two cultures are united…[to] make our

71

own unique culture." Ms. Parra discussed her belief that "*hay una fusión importante de las culturas de México y los Estados Unidos*" ("there is an important fusion of the cultures of Mexico and the United States). Interestingly, Mr. Delgado and Ms. Parra were the two artists who discussed this fusion most; they are also the two artists who most frequently move between the U.S. and Mexico.

In contrast, there were also artists who discussed the border as a place of cultural collision. Mr. Chagoya noted that, in his experience living in a border town, he experienced "the worst of possible cultural collisions you can imagine" and posits the border as a place "where maybe the extremes of distrust take place."

With a different perspective, Mr. Delgado discussed his view that border dwellers, in general, "respect each other" and "tend to be peaceful." He pointed out "it's other people that are coming from outside - other parts of México, other parts of the U.S. - that are creating this friction between us."

Whereas the news media focus on immigrants and legal or political issues, the artists used no special terms to refer to immigrants beyond "immigrant" and "people." In general, they did not talk about legal status, except two who mentioned their own status ("*yo como ilegal en algún momento*" - "me being illegal at one time." "*me vine como indocumentada*" - "I came as undocumented"). Mr. Chagoya offered a critique of traditional terms applied to immigrants, specifically taking

issue with the term "illegal alien," saying "I love that lingo, like I come from another *planet*!" He offered his preferred term: "refugees of economic necessity."

In discussing their own immigration experiences, the artists expressed their feelings of deception or disappointment ("I was kind of very naïve when I came here," "*mi decepción fue muy fuerte*" - "my deception was very strong"). Others felt a renewed dedication to their culture ("When I moved to this country, it was the first time in my life I had to think of myself as a Mexican"). Still others discussed the challenge of learning English and integrating into a new culture and society.

Countering media stories claiming that immigrants place a burden on social services, immigrants themselves say the intention of the majority of immigrants in coming to the United States is to seek work. Three artists discussed this aim directly, the other three implied it indirectly. Immigration, they said, is undertaken by "people who just, no matter how hard they work, they may never move ahead in their lives." Ms. Martinez put this most eloquently:

> "*no todos somos, este, como te dijera? Que queremos que el*
> *país nos este manteniendo, que nos este dando welfare. No!*
> *No! Vinimos muchos profesionales que por falta de*
> *oportunidades en nuestros países venimos acá.*"
> "we are not all, um, how would I tell you? That we want the
> state to maintain us, that it gives us welfare. No! No! Many of

us come as professionals that, for lack of opportunity in our countries, have to come here."

When asked if the border played a role in their personal identity, all artists said unequivocally that it did. Three artists identified themselves as "border dweller[s]," "border painter[s]" or "bordeño[s]," which Mr. Delgado defined as "a person from the border: it's a little bit Chicano, a little bit Mexican, a little bit U.S. mainstream. A little bit of everything."

Media Portrayals and Artistic Representation

The immigrant artists interviewed all said they did not feel that their true identities as immigrants were reflected in U.S. media. There were six main points on which they objected to media portrayals of immigrants and immigration:

1. **Rarely do the news media report on good news on border issues or about immigrants.** As Mr. Balcells said, "You don't get to hear the good news…never." Ms. Cardenas agreed that "there's always all this news about tragic lives lost in the desert," but not enough fuss made to change anything.

2. **Immigrants are portrayed as a threat.** As Mr. Chagoya noted, "suddenly, though, illegal immigration is a major threat than any of these people that blow up the tower [on 9/11]…the immigrants are, you know, terrorist or smugglers or vandals or illegals, stuff like that"

3. **Immigration and border issues are presented on a superficial level.** Ms. Cardenas objected to the fact that "sometimes people just cross the border to Nogales in the States and they think that's Mexico."

4. **The influence of nationalism on media portrayals of immigrants.** On this point, Mr. Chagoya was most vocal, noting "[this] sudden xenophobia I think has more to do with different topics...by all these, like, ultra-nationalist groups"

5. **No solutions are offered by those reporting the news or quoted in the news.** Lamenting news media coverage of the border region he calls home, Mr. Delgado complained that "in the news, in the media, you always hear, you know, there's no solution, that it's always going to be like this"

6. **Immigrants are blamed for national problems.** Ms. Martinez objected to this misrepresentation, stating that "*siempre tratan de dirigirse algo para distraer al pueblo de lo que realmente está sucediendo...nos culpan siemptre a nosotros*" ("they always try to direct to something to distract the people from what really is happening...they always blame us")

Beyond what is generally reported in the media, immigrants shared their experiences as non-citizens in the United States and the treatment they received in the land that they now call home. Specifically, they pointed to:

1. **The racism directed at immigrants** - "the 1070...and this governor who has no idea, who is totally a racist" (Cardenas).

2. **The insulting stereotypes of immigrants** - "seeing people just having a stereotype of Mexicans; a certain kind of, you know, illegal alien or basically somebody who basically wears a sombrero and guarachas" (Chagoya).

3. **The fear immigrants feel almost constantly, especially those who are undocumented** - "It's bad to hide all the time...to be afraid of the police" (Cardenas).

4. **The terrible treatment they receive** - "you are a label here, so you are dehumanized" (Chagoya), "*te abusan la gente cuando tu llegas...te pagan a veces menos de mínimo...tienes que hacer muchas cosas que no te gustan*" ("they abuse you when you arrive...they pay you less than minimum wage...you have to do things you don't like") (Martinez).

5. **The feeling that they must struggle to attain everything** - "you wake up, and then you fight...you fight with the guy because you don't pronounce well, because you have an accent...they pretend that they don't understand you" (Cardenas).

6. **The impact of anti-immigrant policies on future generations** - having parents who are undocumented makes kids live in fear "and it's bad to them" (Cardenas).

7. **The blame placed on immigrants for social ills** - "*los inmigrantes...ellos son los culpables*" ("the immigrants...they are the guilty ones") (Martinez)

8. **The public generally ignores immigrants' plights** - "and [the University of Arizona] was kind of ignoring what was going on - the whole university" (Cardenas).

Mr. Chagoya, the only artist living more than 400 miles of the border, pointed out that, while he has encountered incredible amounts of racism and prejudice when visiting Arizona, "in places like the Bay Area or New York or places where there's immigration from all over the world, there's a history of coexistence and people get to know each other, and your differences are not a threat, but rather wealth."

In response to such treatment, the artists suggested four ways in which they felt immigrants react. For one, they expressed the personal growth that comes through struggle; Mr. Balcells suggested that "you mature as a person because you are living in a country that is not yours." Five of the six artists noted feeling some sort of personal growth as a response to anti-immigrant treatment they have received.

Second, the artists noted social development as result of negative treatment of immigrants. Ms. Cardenas expressed her belief that the treatment of immigrants allowed them, as a group, to develop stronger ties to strengthen one another's resolve. Third, two artists mentioned immigrants' desire to fight back against poor treatment; Mr. Delgado

suggested that some immigrants "are not afraid to say what they're feeling." Last, three of the artists discussed their faith in U.S. natives recognizing they were wrong to be hostile toward immigrants, especially to the point of forcing them (through hostile immigration policies) to leave their states. As Ms. Cardenas noted, "they will, after a while, realize, 'oh, we need it! Come back!'"

Creating Art to Challenge Minds

When asked their motivation for making art, each artist had a unique answer, but taken together their responses reflected three major goals: (1) to transmit their own culture, (2) to tell personal stories or feelings, and (3) to correct portrayals of immigrants to fight injustice.

Ms. Cardenas explained the goal to transmit her own culture, saying:

> "I got kind of uncomfortable being I was the only Mexican,
> Latino, Mexican American student in the whole, whole
> building, so that brought me to tell who I was in that time,
> who I am right now, to the people that I was seeing every
> day."

Mr. Chagoya and Mr. Delgado both shared that the intention of their art was to tell their own personal stories or feelings on a subject. Mr. Delgado said, "I love to tell stories about people…from my experiences, from the experiences of my family, cousins, people that I meet in the streets; people that tell me their stories, and I project it into the work." Mr.

Chagoya said his motivation comes from an even more personal place. "Art," he said, "is just a way to exorcise your own fears, your own demons."

In regards to the third goal, every artist expressed a desire to create art that corrects popular notions of immigrants and to fight injustice. Mr. Balcells said that he felt it was important to address the popular images of immigrants in the United States, which is what inspired him to become a more political artist. Ms. Cardenas described her horror over the number of migrants dying in the Arizona-Sonora desert as what prompted her to create more political artwork. She said, "I was like, 'wow! This is not good, I should say something.'"

"*Como inmigrante, puedo entender la lucha de los demás inmigrantes*" ("As an immigrant, I can understand the struggle of the other immigrants")

The artists were asked to describe in detail what they felt their art communicates to audiences and what role artists play in creating understanding within the immigration debate. Five main themes emerged:

To show a different perspective in the immigration debate. Four artists identified this as a goal of their art work. Mr. Chagoya objected to the fact that he saw the immigration debate being driven by "very vociferous, narrow-minded political groups," and used his art to encourage others to reconsider these groups' views.

To show the perspective of immigrants in the immigration debate. Similar to the first goal, four artists identified portraying the immigrant's perspective within the immigration debate as an important goal of their art work. Ms. Cardenas describes that her art "it's always about who am I, what's my experience, and what my people is saying…the people, the immigrants."

To educate and activate the public. Every artist mentioned that they found it extremely important to use their work to educate the public and motivate them into action. Ms. Parra expressed that in her art she aimed to specifically speak to those "*que a lo mejor no está de acuerdo con nosotros o no se apoyan a nosotros, es demostrar de que nosotros también somos productivos, somos personas que valemos*" ("that at the best are not in agreement with us and that do not support us, to demonstrate that we too are productive, that we are people that matter.

To encourage enlightened dialogue. Four artists noted that they want the audience to walk away from their work thinking about immigration issues in a different way that prompts self-examination, within the viewer, which on a social level promotes a more enlightened dialogue about the border. Mr. Chagoya expressed this neatly, "I don't think art changes the world, at all…but I think art could help people think about [critical issues]…if people take [away] a thought-provoking situation, that's good enough for me." He added, "They have a laugh, they think about it. That's great!"

To encourage other immigrants to better their situations. Only one artist, Ms. Cardenas, expressed an interest in using her art work to encourage other immigrants to continue to struggle, "trying to say 'no, no, no, *no te dejes, no te dejes.*' You should work hard and try harder."

All of the artists agreed that art alone cannot change the world, but still, each in his or her own way, expressed her or his belief that art motivates action because it communicates in a non-phonetic, direct, and emotional way. As Ms. Parra explained, "*Es un medio más, el arte, para demostrar que existen sentimientos y existen pensamientos en el ser humano que pueden plasmarse con color y ayudar que la gente reflexione sobre las cosas*" ("It is one medium more, art, that demonstrates that there exist feelings and there exist thoughts in the human being that you can give expression in color that helps people reflect on things").

Conclusions

These interviews revealed six ways in which artists believed art can contribute to the immigration and border debate in the United States. First, art has the ability to express a message in a positive way that can be beautiful, intriguing and critical, all at once. While news reporting must adhere to certain standards and is limited in its form, artists have a multitude of techniques and forms at their disposal and are not limited by formal rules. These limitless boundaries allow artists to create work that examines contradictions in an unassuming manner, allowing audiences to slowly absorb the messages disseminated through art.

Second, art is a strong and direct means of communication. Artists

can create art and display it, and there is little intermediary (perhaps other

than an art gallery) that gets between the artist and the audience. Art can

be as direct or subtle as the artist finds appropriate, which allows artists

flexibility to change their message depending on the artist. News

reporting does not have such flexibility of form and method.

Mr. Chagoya points out that, third, art is "free from ideological

constraints" and is thus free to show complicated situation without

pandering to a certain ideology. While artists themselves do have their

own ideology, there is no hierarchical system which tells them that they

can or cannot produce work reflecting that ideology. Unlike journalists,

who merely supply the labor to corporate news media conglomerates,

artists are the owners of their own work and have freedom to

communicate accordingly.

Fourth, individuals can have a strong reaction to an image, which

can be a spark to action. Whereas news reporting is limited to reporting

"facts" within a news media frame, art is free to communicate whatever

message is desired by the artist. Ms. Cardenas noted taking audience

reaction into account, and she tried always to create work that would upset

people or inspire them to act. The fifth point relates to the fourth, and is

built upon the idea that art connects to a non-linguistic, emotional side,

which is more apt to excite, anger, or upset people to action. As Mr.

Balcells noted, art appeals to a more positive, emotional side, whereas

news media reporting appeals to a more-logical, sometimes-negative side, which is less likely to inspire or anger someone into action.

Last, art can point to contradictions in policy and rhetoric. News media reporters are not in a position to question the status quo. Often journalists ignore underlying assumptions (as noted by Cobas and Feagin in presenting the White Racial Frame), and produce work that reinforces current assumptions about immigrants and immigration. By contrast, artists have no vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and thus are able to challenge it. Additionally, art can communicate much more information and emotion in a single image than many stories combined. As Ms. Cardenas noted, the adage is very true in this context, a picture may indeed be worth a thousand words in changing the debate surrounding immigration and border policy.

This chapter has outlined the ways in which immigrant artists believe they can use their art to contribute to the debate surrounding immigration and border policy. Chapter Five will observe what specifically the artists and their work have to contribute to the debate.

Chapter 5: Artists Re-Imaging Immigration

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine how artists use their work to create a dialogue about the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration that questions or contradicts the popular main-stream social and political construction of the these issues. Thus far, this paper has discussed the linguistic and visual ways in which the U.S. media portray the border. In addition, it has covered the ways in which immigrants themselves talk about the border and how the artists interviewed saw their work fitting within the dialogue of the border. Now in this chapter, the art work itself is considered and analyzed.

For each artist, two to three art works were considered. The art works chosen were art works the artist him/herself chose to show the author, and analysis is based on what the artists themselves discussed about the works in order to speak to the intentional messaging behind the art works. For two artists, a single series of works was considered. The works are considered alone and, in the end, as a body of evidence of how art can be used to portray the border and immigration. No formal coding structure was utilized. This chapter merely observes the images presented and possible messages that could be communicated or inferred from the images.

Immigrant Artists and their works

Oliverio Balcells

While most of Mr. Balcells current work observes immigration and border issues, the works considered in this paper are part of what he informally referred to as his "Who I Am and What are You" series. Using mixed media (painting and photography), he has made a series of images that use photographs of people mixed with his paintings to talk about the image individuals have (or lack) of immigrants.

His work *Reforcemos lo que nos une* (*Let's Reinforce that which Unites Us*) mixes Mexican indigenous icons with Hohokam and Yaqui Native American icons as a background, with a foreground of hands holding onto a tied-up hammock. The mixing of icons, he explained, draw from iconography of where Mr. Balcells traces his heritage and the iconography of the indigenous people of the land where he now resides. Both are iconographies of the native peoples of the two lands, and leaves European immigrants out of the equation. In this way, Mr. Balcells sets European immigrants and their decedents as the true aliens to the land in the Americas. This is further emphasized in the counter-positioning of icons for the sun and moon, earth and ocean, which represent flow and flux, showing the temporality of all conditions, emphasizing that current views of immigration will change and flow; that current trends are not constant throughout all time.

The most powerful aspect of this image, as he pointed out, is that the hands in the photograph are the hands of his children, whose mother is U.S.-born and white. His children, in this photograph, are symbolic of so many mixed families which are created by current immigration trends; families that are often ignored by policy makers and media reports.

Balcell's work *Manos del inmigrante* (*Hands of the Immigrant*) also has a painted background and a photographic foreground. The painted background is the view of Phoenix seen by travelers landing at Phoenix's Sky Harbor Airport. The photographic image is two sets of hands, held out in a proffering position. In this image, Mr. Balcells is attempting to make apparent what is generally hidden from visitors, which is the contributions immigrants make to the communities they visit. As Mr. Balcells explains, "these are the hands who built your business, your park, your schools, your streets...these are the hands of the immigrant." This image also emphasizes the manual labor performed by immigrants in the United States.

His work *Sin ella, todo había sucio* (*Without her, all would be dirty*), has a painted background of the United States, Mexico and Canada, as viewed from space and a photographic foreground of a cleaning lady with her push cart of cleaning supplies. This image is one that is common in U.S. society, and is utilized in this image to show the role of immigrants in society. The woman is turned away from the camera, her face hidden, making her anonymous. She is a representation of all immigrants who

86

must work in such a profession. Further emphasizing her role in beautifying the U.S., there is a trail of flowers, where her feet may have fallen, leading from Mexico and up through the United States, showing that she makes improvements and beautifies the places she has been.

Mr. Balcells work shows the important role immigrants play in communities across the United States. His work is overtly humanizing, pointing out the commonalities immigrants have with U.S. citizens, putting a recognizable face on immigrants and emphasizing the contributions immigrants make to the United States and local communities.

Cristina Cardenas

Ms. Cardenas work is extremely personal, and portrays her own experiences and concerns about immigration. One of her most popular series of paintings she called her "Santas Series," which show women saints (santas) of her own imaginings. The *Santa de Guadalajara* painting shows a woman breaking out from between bars with wings of agave, a common Mexican plant. The Catedral de Guadalajara features prominently in the background. In many ways, this image is a self-portrait, showing the artist overcoming obstacles because of the strength given her by her history and culture. *Yo como soy como Xochipilli* (*I as I am, am like Xochipilli*) is another painting in this series, and shows a woman with a head like the Aztec god Xochipilli, the god of art. In this way, the *santa* is a "princess of music and art" or a portrayal of the artist as

an Aztec princess. Both of these painting show the importance of immigrants' heritage in giving them strength to overcome the obstacles that they face. In a more personal context, these images tell the story of the artist's own history and heritage to try to create an understanding between her and the people who view her art work.

Additionally, Ms. Cardenas showed a painting she called "The Border," which shows a severed arm and leg, hanging from a barbed-wire fence and bleeding. The purpose of this painting is to show the suffering of immigrants as they attempt to cross the border. As she commented, "it happens everyday" and is caused by weather, coyotes and drug dealers. The image bears a striking resemblance to the "rape trees"[10] that have been found on the border, though this may not be the artist's intention. In any case, the image is meant to emphasize the horrors of what happens to immigrants as they attempt to cross the border.

Ms. Cardenas work focuses on truth telling. Her work is very personal and tells her own stories about what she faces as an immigrant in order to put a human face on immigration and create understanding. Her work, like that of Mr. Balcells, is about humanizing the image of the immigrant.

---

[10] Trees containing women's bras or panties to notify other migrant women crossing the border that someone was raped; it is uncertain if these are placed by random criminals, border patrol agents, or coyotes. There are theories for all three. (Inda, 2007)

Francisco Delgado

Mr. Delgado's paintings, part of a new series on which he is working, are very striking images, using a cockroach as a symbol for immigrants. He paints everyday scenes in which immigrants would be participating, and, where immigrants should be, he paints in cockroaches.

This choice, he explained, is to communicate two contradictory messages. First, immigrants are seen and treated by many as vermin, a group they want out of their country. As people have a strong aversion to cockroaches, also seen as vermin, he chose this representation. Second, cockroaches are incredible survivors, and he also made this positive association between immigrants and cockroaches. This is a bold choice, and the images, in their extreme commentary, have an incredibly high shock value.

In his first painting, a cockroach pushes a little white baby in a stroller. The immigrant woman caring for a white child is an everyday image, seen in parks and playgrounds across the United States. At the same time, as Mr. Delgado stated, immigrants are treated as an unwanted infestation, so if that logically carries, the nanny should be seen as a cockroach. However, in the service context, immigrants are usually seen as necessary. Mr. Delgado's image shows these two conceptions of immigrants as a logical contradiction. Most interestingly, Mr. Delgado has tried to make the face of the cockroach show tenderness and protectiveness to emphasize this contradiction.

In his second image, Mr. Delgado has painted a doctor holding a new-born cockroach aloft. This is a strong critique of the current national debate over "anchor babies" and 14th Amendment rights to citizenship. Rather than viewing these infants as U.S. citizens, they are seen as a further infestation, which means their rights may be taken away. Mr. Delgado pointed out that, just as the cockroach is a different species and the doctor is unsure what to do with this new-born (as he looks upon it in curiosity and disgust), immigrants are treated similarly, as very different and the public is unsure what to do with immigrants.

Mr. Delgado's work stands in contrast to Mr. Balcell's and Ms. Cardenas' work. Whereas their work tries to humanize images of immigrants, Mr. Delgado's work dehumanizes in the extreme, and, in this, shows a strong critique of the dehumanization of immigrants that occurs in everyday life.

Isabel Martinez

Like Ms. Cardenas, Ms. Martinez's work is extremely personal. Five images from her "*Welcome to America*" series were analyzed for this paper. These images were painted when Ms. Martinez first arrived in the United States (before she was granted amnesty by former President Reagan in 1986) and are self-portraits. Each of the images shows "*el tipo de trabajo para inmigrantes, como el de ir a los barres, el de bailar con los clientes, el de ser, este, trabajar como mesera y atender a los clientes...tomar con los clientes*" ("the type of work for immigrants, like

that of going to bars, that of dancing with clients, that of being, or, working as a waitress and attending to clients...drinking with the clients").

All of these images are blurry, for which Ms. Martinez gave no explanation. However, different reasons could be given for this choice. First, she mentioned that her life at the time seemed like a blur. Alternatively, she could be trying to erase her own memory, to forget the pain and degradation which came with these jobs. Additionally, it could be because immigrants themselves are "blurry" within U.S. society; they are critical to society, yet rarely in the public eye. Further, the choice could be due to a desire to make the immigrant anonymous, and thus allow the viewer to fill in the face with the image the viewer has of an immigrant to see if it fits or contradicts the image.

The images are painted in drab colors, which, as she explained, was a choice she made to communicate the depression she felt at the time. All of the women have pained expressions, and are reminiscent of traditional images of the Mexican folk character *La Llorona* (the Weeping Woman).

The viewer cannot distinguish the race of the women or men, which may allow the image to speak to the plight of immigrants in general, and not just those of Latino descent. On the other hand, this could also be erasing the identity of the immigrants, making them more like some abstract generic that is portrayed in the media.

These images generalize the conception of the immigrant, showing the general plight of people. Most strongly, these images show the

desperation that drives immigrants to take degrading jobs. As Ms.

Martinez herself mentioned, some people were willing to do anything,

even "*llegar a la prostitución…lo importante era sobrevivir*" ("to resort to

prostitution…what was important was to survive"). Her images show both

the pain of the immigrant in having to accept such work and the abuse

they have to endure. Her work also humanizes the image of the

immigrant, showing the feelings they have beyond what is portrayed in the

general media.

Carolina Parra

Most of Ms. Parra's work utilizes figure drawing and much of her

work are portraits of individuals. However, her portraits force the viewer

to encounter the individual that is being portrayed; without context,

without pretext, but as a unique individual.

Her image, which was featured recently in Phoenix in an anti-SB

1070 gallery exhibition called "Footprints," is entitled "*Don José, Looking

for a Better Life.*" This is a portrait of a migrant worker, who looks like he

could have just gotten off the job. This image, she noted, was her attempt

to show the essence of a Mexican worker in the form of a portrait. What is

most striking is that his eyes dominate the foreground, and the viewer is

forced to look him in the eye as they view the portrait. In a way, this is a

way Ms. Parra forces the viewer to encounter the immigrant, whereas they

could ignore them in everyday life. Her emphasis is on Don José as a

worker in order to show the good immigrants do (in her words, to show

"*que hacemos un bien*"). It is important to note his apparent pride in his heritage, given the large tag on his hat reading "*Hecho en Mexico*" ("Made in Mexico").

Her second image, "*Alguna vez imagine que volaba*" ("One Time I Imagined I Flew") is also a portrait of an individual who looks very like Ms. Parra herself. The image is looking upward toward the sky, showing that she has aspirations to reach beyond her current circumstances. The individual is not obviously an immigrant, but is drawn as a generic woman, with brown enough skin she could be Latina, but pale enough skin she could be of European descent. In this way, she shows the immigrant as no different from any other individual, citizen or otherwise. She shows that immigrants have dreams and aspirations, just like everyone else. In this way, her portraits are a way of personalizing the immigration debate and humanizing the image of the immigrant.

Enrique Chagoya

Mr. Chagoya's images are probably the most unique of this sample, and certainly his images are more overtly critical of politics and history than any of these other artists' works. Mr. Chagoya chose not to discuss his art work directly, so this analysis is based on his discussion of his general art work.

One image analyzed was chosen from his artist book "*Codex Espangliensis: From Columbus to the Border Patrol*," which is a collaboration project undertaken with Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Felicia

Rice. The image is a collection of wildly different iconography. First, a traditional-style print is apparent (along the lines of the work of Posada) of Mexican peasants (*peons*) from the pre-Mexican revolution era being slaughtered by Mexican army soldiers of that day. The slaughter is being assisted by U.S. comic book characters. A helicopter flies above the scene, with a speech bubble reading "We're broadcasting this LIVE!" This emphasizes the spectacle involved in media reporting.

In the text next to the image, the phrases "Free Trade Art," "Support NAFTA guey," and "Free trade art for the clepto-Mexican connoisseur" stand out. This text places a context in which to view the image by Mr. Chagoya. The image is a critique on people who enjoy Mexican artifacts, food, and so forth, but ignore the treatment of Mexicans in Mexico and the U.S. In addition, it is a strong critique of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). In much media reporting in the United States, the causes of immigration are violence, poverty and drug trafficking in Mexico. In such reporting, the U.S. is portrayed as a hero who is trying to help Mexico solve its problems. In Mr. Chagoya's work, the U.S. is a superhero, but it is aiding in the massacre, killing the Mexican peasants even more efficiently than their own government.

In Mr. Chagoya's "*New Illegal Alien's Guide to Critical Theory,*" there is a strong critique of politics and history. According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, critical theory focuses on ethics, history and politics and "must be explanatory, practical and normative all at the same

time." In Mr. Chagoya's "guide" to Critical Theory, images are jumbled together in non-sensical and even contradictory ways. There are trash bags, a mop and bucket sitting next to an arch imprinted with the title of the piece. A 1950s-era model's body is topped with an Aztec head, asking "*Habla Aramaic?*" ("Do you speak Aramaic?"), which may be a critique on the push to make English the official language of the United States (especially considering former "Texas governor, Miriam 'Ma' Ferguson, barred the teaching of foreign languages about 80 years ago, saying, 'If English was good enough for Jesus Christ, it's good enough for us.'" [11]).

Additional images included in the "guide" include renderings of U.S. pop art, traditional drawings of Caribbean slaves, comic book-style military jets, European art works with indigenous masks, old anatomies of slave's heads, a modern anatomical drawing of a head, and the Virgen de Guadalupe wearing a bandana. This is a way of critiquing the current telling of history and philosophy that leaves out groups of people.

Conclusions

Each artist has his or her own way of portraying immigrants, but each is focused on bringing immigrants out of the shadows and showing them as individuals and humans, worthy of respect and rights. Most commonly, there is a strong use of either humanization (as with Mr. Balcells, Ms. Cardenas, Ms. Parra, and Ms. Martinez) or extreme dehumanization (as with Mr. Delgado and Mr. Chagoya). Humanization

---

[11] See http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/23/opinion/23kristof.html

tactics are used to take back images of immigrants appropriated in the media in order to re-portray and re-position immigrants as individuals, worthy of rights and respect. Dehumanization tactics are used to make popular notions of immigrants laughable, in order to critique them.

Most of the artists, other than Mr. Chagoya, do not worry about the role of politics in immigration and border issues. They portray immigrants as people, trusting other people to recognize the similarities between themselves and immigrants in order to sympathize with their plight. Politics surrounding immigration and the border, the artists seem to imply through their work, are not the ultimate source of change. Rather, change will come when U.S.-natives can recognize immigrants as contributors to their communities, as neighbors, as individuals, as people with the same problems, as people with the same rights, and so forth.

There is a difference between the use of universality and specificity. Some artists use their art to make immigration personal, to show the audience that when they talk about immigration they are talking about individuals who are impacted personally. Other artists use their art to emphasize scale to show that when the audience thinks about immigration and makes decisions about immigration policy, they are determining the fate of many individuals.

Last, and most commonly, the artists' work has very little to do with the actual border. Whereas media reporting focuses on the border and has little to do with people, artists portray immigration in terms of people.

96

Most specifically, immigration issues impact *humans*. This is primarily

done through the portrayal of bodies: bodies hanging on the border wall,

bodies forced to do demeaning jobs, bodies standing in to represent the

artist, bodies replaced by cockroaches. Bodies are the focus of the images,

not the border. This is important to highlighting border and immigration

policy's impact on humans individually and specifically.

Chapter 6: Re-Imaging Immigration

Having observed the contributions that both the U.S. mass media and immigrant artists make to the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration debates, this case study moves on to some overall conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis. Chapters Two and Three observed U.S. news media sources and the messages disseminated by these sources both linguistically and visually. The analyses in these chapters found that linguistic messages run pro-immigrant-to-neutral. At the same time, the visual messages were overwhelmingly negative. Considering dual-coding theory, which states that visual messages are more memorable than linguistic messages, this skews the media to a neutral-to-anti-immigrant bias. In addition, there is an extreme anti-immigrant bias, labelled as "fearful," which was not counterbalanced by any opposite extreme pro-immigrant bias.

Chapters Four and Five explored interviews with and the works of immigrant artists from Mexico. This analyses revealed that there is an effort by artists to re-portray immigration by creating more human and personal images of immigrants, which is largely absent from news media reporting.

This concluding chapter will explore the contrasts between news media and artistic representations of the border, ending with the major conclusion: what art can contribute to the border debate.

Nature of Medium

Most generally, the nature of the medium used to communicate political debates and dialogue influences the messages disseminated through the medium. The corporate style of news media means that the stories have to "sell." While artists do have a goal of selling their art work, economic gain was rarely mentioned as a motivating factor in artists' work.

Seven of the eight news sources discussed in this study operate according to a corporate model. These news sources rely on subscriptions (either for delivery of a physical paper, online access to news, or cable subscriptions) and advertising for their revenue. Their reliance on subscriptions means that stories have to appeal to and hold the attention of a diverse audience. In addition, their reporting must not conflict with the interests of advertisers.

To counter such a model, some would hold up public media. In this study the most pro-immigrant bias was seen in the remaining source, *National Public Radio*, which is the major U.S. public media source. However, the corporate model is still at work in public media as *NPR* must appeal to their individual donor base (just like subscriptions) and must meet the requirements of foundations and corporate donors (much like advertising).

These two financial motivators, for both private and public media, direct and limit what stories are published and what messages are

disseminated. As discussed in Chapter One, journalists have little say in what is reported, having to cave to the demands of editors and owners. These motivators also cause news media to aim to entertain viewers as much as inform them, giving rise to the term discussed in Chapter One of "infotainment." As was seen, the most anti-immigrant and fearful stories were put forth by *Fox* and *CNN* (35 fearful from *Fox* and 17 fearful from *CNN*).

While art can be sold, merely selling art work was rarely mentioned as an ultimate goal and was never cited as motivating factor in deciding what message to disseminate in the work. Most of the artists that participated in this study mentioned other jobs that supported the artists' careers. Thus, artists see their art work as an intellectual or spiritual endeavor, but not a means of employment. The artists in this study were art teachers, college professors, consultants, and so forth.

Due to the fact that art does not have to sell, the artists are able to be more thoughtful. Their work appeals to thoughtful, critical review by their audiences, countering the "infotainment" frame that is seen in the news media today, which amuses passive audiences with sound bites and teasers. Art requires its audiences to interact more fully and critically with the art work to have a deeper and more meaningful interaction with the artistic medium. Artists, if not reliant on income from their work, may represent issues as they see fit, as they have no editors or owners to obey.

In fact, a number of artists mentioned they intentionally use their work to make their audiences uneasy or upset.

Policy Versus Personal

News media had an overwhelming focus on politics and economics (in other words, they had a policy perspective). Most reporting on border and immigration issues had little to do with individual people. Instead, the news media presented stories in terms of their economic or political impact on the citizens of the United States.

Even stories that might be called "human interest stories" were reported using a policy perspective. For example, in an *ABC News* report, a journalist visits a small village in Mexico and, instead of discussing the day-to-day struggles of the people living there, reported on the economic conditions forcing the people of the village to leave. Interestingly, most human-interest, pro-immigration stories covered the policy forces at work in Mexico that forces migration rather than reporting on the treatment of immigrants in the United States. This showed that the news media have little desire to criticize domestic political, economic or social policies that contribute to the conditions in Mexico that force immigrants to leave.

On the other hand, artists were able to show the more personal impact of immigration and border policy on immigrants as they can speak from personal experience or the experience of family and friends. Once again, this recalls Ms. Martinez's statement that "*como inmigrante, puedo entender la lucha de los demás inmigrantes*" ("as an immigrant, I can

understand the struggle of other immigrants"). To these artists, border and immigration issues are personal, and they portray them as such.

When the news media approach reporting from a policy perspective, it buries the impact of events on an individual scale. It is hard for the audience to comprehend the implications of a single policy decision, when framed only in terms of economics and politics. This is where artists can fill a void, telling individual stories to help audiences understand national political decisions have a very individual impact.

Dehumanization and Generalization Versus Humanization and Personalization

The overwhelming use of the terms "illegal" and "alien" to describe immigrants, coupled with the implication that "illegal" is a permanent characteristic rather than a temporary definition, strip immigrants of their humanity. In addition, most news reporting ignores individual experience and instead focuses on the experience and portrayal of the group at large.

As discussed in detail in Chapter Five, artists focus on using their work to humanize the border debate. Many artists input the bodies of immigrants into their art in order to put a human face to the abstract construction of "the immigrant." Multiple artists discussed that their work was meant to make the debate more personal.

Reporting Versus Critical Analysis

The news media, in their attempt to appear neutral and without bias, do concentrate on reporting political decisions, survey or study

results, events and other "facts." Rarely do the news media concentrate on providing any kind of critical analysis about or solution to border and immigration issues. Those that do offer "solutions" tend to be pundits on *CNN* and *Fox*.

Artists noted that they try to offer solutions to immigration and border issues through their work. They discussed how they try to present the personal and social impact U.S. policies have made on migrants. In addition, they try to represent the contribution made by migrants on the U.S. (like Mr. Balcells' *Sin ella, todo había sucio*). Also, they are able to question the reporting and framing of immigrants. For example, Mr. Delgado's painting of a cockroach nanny shows the logical contradiction between thinking migrants are pests and undesirables, when they are an integral part of U.S. society and economy. In these ways, artists are able to offer a critical analysis that is absent from news reporting.

Forum for Dissemination Versus Forum for Debate

News media are traditionally viewed as a fairly one-way form of communication. This point was discussed thoroughly in Chapter One.

On the other hand, artists try to encourage debate through their art. They can do this by encouraging debate among their audience and by creating a dialogue between themselves and their audiences. Viewing art is generally a social activity (in that audiences go with their friends or colleagues to art galleries). This means that there are other viewers with whom an audience member can share and debate their views and opinions

of the art work itself. In this way, artists are able to use their work to insert their own ideas into the dialogue among their audiences.

In addition, artists discussed the fact that they take into account the reaction of the audience to their work in order to continue to modify their message and perfect their ability to communicate effectively. Thus, there is a feedback loop that occurs in art. The artists communicate with their art work, they gauge the dialogue that results, and then they are able to modify their future work based on the reaction.

This tends to be a more interpersonal relationship than any feedback loop occurring in the news media system, where audiences voice their approval or displeasure with a news source's reporting by subscribing or unsubscribing to their delivery services. Apart from letters to the editor, there has been little dialogue between news audiences and news sources. This is changing with newer forms of social media, but a substantive change in how media organizations choose to report the news remains to be analyzed.

Use of Emotion: Logic and Anger vs. Critical Thinking and Constructive Emotion

News media reporting generally tries to rely on a logical reporting frame. By presenting what seem to be "the facts," news media sources are able to direct the thinking of their audiences. Thus, using seemingly factual information, news media organizations are able to construct the border in the popular imagination. In addition, as this study found, the

so-called logic and facts used in news media reporting tends toward

criticizing pro-immigration stances and praising anti-immigration stances.

This is often done by creating a logic in which an immigrant who comes

without papers is "illegal" and thus a criminal. As the framing would

imply, as criminals, immigrants cannot have good intentions for the

people of the United States, and thus are simply in the country to

"steal" (another term associated with criminality) welfare from the

populace. By portraying this "problem" as out of control, the news media

relies on the fearful framing to create public paranoia. This creates anger

and resentment that reinforces a negative perception of immigrants.

Such arguments do rely on logic, but very rarely are the

presuppositions of this logic questioned. This idea of intentional

criminality (wanting to come to the U.S. to steal welfare and evade taxes)

belies the economic circumstances that force immigrants to migrate.

Studies showing the positive economic impact of immigrants are also

buried underneath the overwhelming reporting on the amount of money

spent on undocumented immigrants by social services, which has been

shown to be negligible compared to immigrants' economic contributions.

Thus, by unquestioningly asserting that immigrants are a "problem" and

showing the "logical" conclusions that follow, the media incites anger, a

destructive and negative emotion.

The critical use of reason to observe and analyze the

presuppositions made in the news media can lead to work that can

contradict the media's seemingly logical conclusions. Reason, in its philosophical sense, implies the use of laws of thought to question underlying suppositions, without blindly accepting faulty logic. When questioning the assumptions made in media logic, the audience can find contradicting information, which may indeed lead to sympathy or other constructive emotions.

In this way, reason and emotion are very complementary, and one may lead to a seeking of the other. In a way, art appeals to emotion, especially the work detailed in this study. By showing the more personal and human side of the immigration and border debate, artists hope that their audience will become more sympathetic to the plight of the immigrant. These emotional pleas can create strong feelings in the viewer, and these feelings, especially when they contradict the logic one has come to believe, can lead to questioning; they can prompt the critical reasoning and analysis of media logic that may lead to better understanding of the issues. In this context, art and the emotionality that it can portray may be a more efficient way of delivering insight about an issue in a way that logic may not be.

Border as a Line Versus Border as a Psychological Division

In the images sourced from the news media, there were a number of images of the border wall itself. Other than the images of the border wall, most of the other images showed policing of the border (through images of violence, militarization or surveillance). In all these images, and in news

reporting, the news media portray the border as a wall or a line, but always a physical boundary.

Artists can show a broader idea of what the border means. First, they show the impact of policies on the individuals who immigrate and those left behind in their homelands. In this sense, the border is a psychological place of division between family and people. The focus and emphasis on bodies de-emphasized the border as physical location and more of a place of individual struggle.

Last, artists try to critique the very notion of a border and immigration by representing the universality and commonality of all cultures. Some of the artists mix U.S. and Mexican iconography in the same works in order to emphasize these commonalities. Other artists simply drew portraits of immigrants, working and going about their lives, to show the similarities between immigrants and native citizens. In these representations, the emphasis is on similarity and how the border creates an artificial sense of difference.

Contributing to the Debate

On the continuum of reporting there was pro-immigrant, neutral, anti-immigrant and fearful bias. There was no counterbalance on the pro-immigrant side to the fearful bias on the extreme side of the anti-immigrant bias. Given the dichotomies between news reporting and artistic representations discussed in this chapter, it would seem that art

can supply this opposite, pro-immigrant extreme in the political dialogue over the border.

Art can contribute this perspective to the debate in multiple ways. First, art can be highly critical of the fearful and anti-immigrant reporting by presenting personal stories and supplying strong opposite emotional reactions to fear. Art can inform the public and communicate political ideas to their audiences. They do this by conveying the true essence of immigrants or by demonstrating why immigrants must migrate. This creates understanding which may be able to oppose fearful and extreme anti-immigrant rhetoric.

As a strong example of how art can contribute to the border and immigration debate, consider how artists contribute to the notion of the migrant worker. In Chapter Two, analysis found that only 5% of news reporting link immigration with the desire for employment and work (through term mentions of "worker" or "laborer"). Far more frequently, news stories emphasize the strain immigrants place on social services, as if this was the reason migrants choose to come to the United States.

Opposing this representation, five out of the six artists directly referred to the need to find gainful employment as their reason for immigrating as well as the reason for their friends' or families' reasons for immigrating. This shows a gross misrepresentation by the media of migrants' reasons for coming to the United States. This misrepresentation is the basis upon which much of the anti-immigrant rhetoric in media and

politics is built. For this reason, it is incumbent upon artists to change and correct this misconception. Mr. Balcells does this well in his *Sin ella, todo había sucio*. Mr. Delgado, Ms. Parra and Ms. Martinez also use their work to show immigrants hard at work in the United States. Such representations of migrants can counter the news media portrayals the disassociate migrants from the work they do in the United States.

In conclusion, artists can contribute to the U.S.-Mexico border debate in the United States by providing an emotional and pro-immigrant counterbalance to the emotional and anti-immigrant framing that was the fearful bias. Art can be a strong method of political communication that can help encourage pro-immigrant reform.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ades, D. (1993). (Ed). *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1920 - 1980*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Alterman, E. (2003). *What Liberal Media? The Truth About Bias and the News*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Altheide, D. (2002). *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Altheide, D. (2004). Media Logic and Political Communication. *Political Communication*, 21(3), p. 293-296.

Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute Press.

Andreas, P. (2009). *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bagdikian, B. H. (2000). *The Media Monopoly*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Chavez, L. R. (2001). *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Chavez, L. R. (2007). The Condition of Illegality. *International Migration*, 45(3), p. 192-196.

Chavez, L. R. (2008). *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens and the Nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Civic Impulse, LLC. & Govtrack.us (2006, January). *H.R. 4437: Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005*. Retrieved from http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h109-4437.

Cobas, J. & Feagin, J. (2008). Language Oppression and Resistance: the case of middle class latinos in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(2), p. 390-410.

Cobas, J. & Feagin, J. (2008b). Latinos/as and White Racial Frame: The Procrustean Bed of Assimilation. *Sociological Inquiry*, 78(1), p. 29-53.

Colburn, F. D. (2002). Migration in *Latin America at the End of Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cook, T. E. (1998) *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Davis, R. (2001). *The Press and American Politics: The News Mediator*. New York, NY: Longman.

Edelman, M. (1988). *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Edelman, M. (1995). *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Representation Shapes Political Constructions*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Edelman, M. (2001). *The Politics of Misinformation* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Escalante, V. (2000). The Politics of Chicano Representation in the Media. In Maciel, D. R., Ortiz, I.D., and Herrera-Sobek, M. (Eds.), *Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Garry, M., Strange, D., Bernstein, D. M. & Kinzett, T. (2007). Photographs can distort memory for the news. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 21 (8), p. 995-1004.

Gómez-Quiñones, J. (2000). Outside Inside - The Immigrant Workers: Creating Popular Myths, Cultural Expressions and Personal Politics in Borderlands Southern California. In Maciel, D. R., Ortiz, I.D., and Herrera-Sobek, M. (Eds.), *Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Gunter, B., Furnham, A. & Griffiths, S. (2000). Children's memory for news: A comperison of three presentation media. *Media Psychology*, 2, p. 93-118.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. (L. A. Coser, Trans.). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1925).

Hallin, D. C. (1992). Sound Bite News: Television Coverage of Elections, 1968-1988. *Journal of Communication*, 42, p. 5-24.

Inda, J. X. (2007). The Value of Immigrant Life. In Segura, D.A. and Zavella, P. (Eds.) *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jamieson, K. H. & Campbell, K. K. (2001). *The Interplay of Influence: News, Advertising, Politics and the Mass Media*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Johnson, J., Rush, S., & Feagin, J. (2000). Doing Anti-Racism: Toward an Egalitarian American Society. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29(1), p. 95-110.

Johnson, K. R. (1996-7). "Aliens" and the U.S. Immigration Laws: The Social and Legal Construction of Nonpersons. *University of Miami Inter-American Law Review*, 28(2), p. 263-292.

Lakoff, G., & Ferguson, S. (2006). The framing of immigration. Rockridge Institute. Retrieved March 28, 2011, from http://academic.evergreen.edu/curricular/ppandp/PDFs/Lakoff%20Framing%20of%20Immigration.doc.pdf.

Leighley, J. E. (2004). *Mass Media and Politics: A Social Science Perspective*. New York, NY: Houghton-Mifflin

Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical Ethnography: Methods, Ethics and Performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Murphy-Erfani, J. (2009). Crime and Violence in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands: NAFTA's Underground Economy as a Source of In/security, with comparisons to the EU. In Staudt, K., Payan, T., Kruszewski, Z.A. (Eds.) *Human Rights Along the U.S.-Mexico Border: Gendered Violence and Insecurity*. Tuscon, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Newhagen, J.E. & Reeves, B. (1992). The evening's bad news: Effects of compelling negative television news images on memory. *Journal of Communication*, 42, p. 25-41.

Ngai, M. (2004). *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pollak, M. (2006). *Memoria, olvido, silencio*. La Plata: Ediciones Al Margen.

Rivadeneyra, R., Ward, L. M. & Gordon, M. (2007). Distorted Reflections: Media Exposure and Latino Adolescents' Conceptions of Self. *Media Psychology*, 9, p. 261-290.
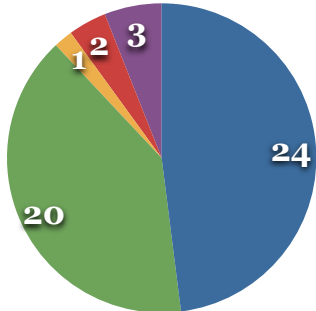
Romero, V. C. (2005). *Alienated: Immigrant Rights, the Constitution, and Equality in America*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Ross, S. D., Carter, D. L., & Thomas, R. (2009). Reporting the U.S./Mexico border in times of peace. *Media Development*, 56(1), p. 35-39.

Segura, D. A. & Zavella, P. (2007). Introduction. In Segura, D.A. and Zavella, P. (Eds.) *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Sparks, G. G. (2010). *Media Effects Research: A Brief Overview*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.

Torodov, T. (2000). Los abusos de la memoria. Barcelona: Editorial Paidos - Asterisco.

Vargas, G. (2000). A Historical Overview/Update on the State of Chicano Art. In Maciel, D. R., Ortiz, I.D., and Herrera-Sobek, M. (Eds.), *Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Verbitsky, H. (2004). *El vuelo*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.

Wagner, D. (2010, Oct 9). National guard troops promised by Obama now patrolling Arizona border. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from http://www.azcentral.com/news/articles/ 2010/10/09/20101009arizona-border-national-guard-troops.html.

United Nations. General Assembly. 69th Plenary Meeting. Resolution 45/158. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. 18 Dec 1990. Official Record (1990). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/ documents/ga/res/45/a45r158.htm.
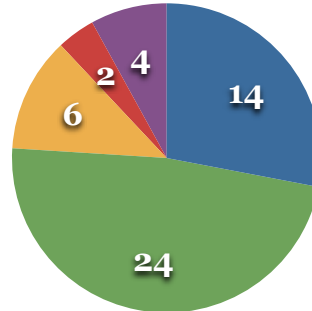
APPENDIX A

NEWS MEDIA CHARTS

Legend: ● Pro-Immigration ● Neutral ● Anti-Immigration ● Fearful ● Not Counted

New York Times
24, 20, 1, 2, 3
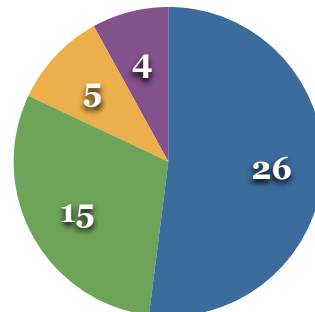
San Diego Union-Tribune
14, 24, 6, 2, 4

Dallas Morning News
16, 26, 1, 7

Chicago Sun Times
26, 15, 5, 4
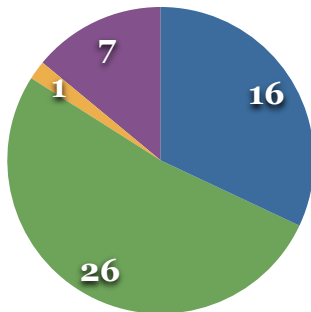
ABC News
19, 14, 3, 2, 12

Fox News Network
1, 9, 25, 10, 5
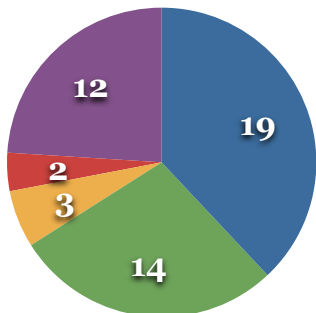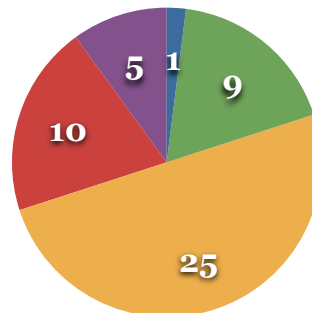
CNN News
5, 25, 12, 5, 3
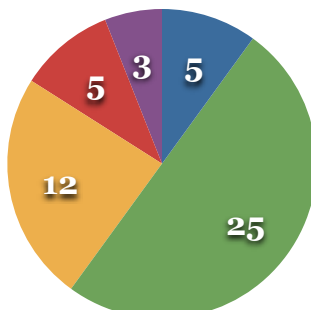
National Public Radio
33, 11, 1, 5
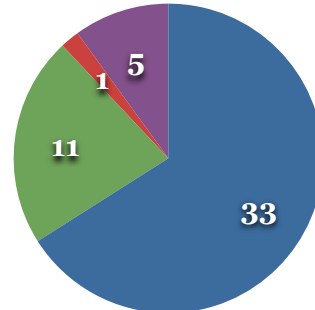
APPENDIX B

LIST OF REFERENCES TO IMMIGRANTS IN NEWS MEDIA

immigrant
illegal
illegal immigrant
former/possible illegal immigrant
undocumented immigrants
illegal immigrant students
immigrant students
undocumented students
illegal immigrant families
Mexican immigrant
Oaxacan Immigrants
Other Than Mexicans (OTMs)
Mexican illegals
Mexican Nationals
illegal Mexican immigrant
Undocumented Mexicans
undocumented Mexican immigrants
Hispanic immigrant
Ecuadorean immigrant
Mexican-born immigrants
illegal immigrant from Mexico
Latino immigrants
Undocumented Latinos
migrants
illegal migrants
undocumented migrants
economic migrants
Mexican Migrant
Central American Migrants
illegal Mexican migrants
non-Mexican immigrants
Illegal non-Mexican immigrants
Non-Mexican Illegal Aliens
undocumented Mexicans
aliens
illegal aliens
Mexican illegal aliens
undocumented aliens
criminal alien
criminal illegal immigrants
criminal illegal aliens
illegal immigrants with criminal records
illegal Mexican workers
low-wage workers from Mexico
immigrant day laborers
Undocumented workers
illegal laborers
undocumented laborers
undocumented Mexican workers
laborers from Mexico
immigrant workers
migrant workers
illegal workers
illegal alien workers
Mexican workers
Mexican immigrant workers
Mexican migrant workers
illegal Mexican workers

117

Hispanic workers
illegal foreign workers
expatriate
Border Hoppers/Crossers/ Jumpers
illegal residents
undocumented residents
unlawful Mexicans
Mexican national
illegal entrants
undocumented people
illegal people
illegal crossers
illegal parents
would-be immigrants
unauthorized immigrants

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS GUIDING ARTIST INTERVIEWS

- What is your art about? What do you feel you try to communicate primarily through your art? Are you trying to communicate at all?

- How would you describe your work to someone who has never seen it?

- Where does the inspiration for your come from?

- How would you describe your experience relating to the U.S.-Mexico border? U.S. borders in general?

- When you think about the U.S.-Mexico border, what do you think about?

- Does the U.S.-Mexico border play a role in your identity?

- What are your feelings on U.S. policy regarding the border?

- How do your personal feelings and experiences on the U.S.-Mexico border play a role in your art?

- Are there any particular phrases you hear people use (particularly politicians) about the border that you feel strongly about? Positive? Negative?

- How does your art address this rhetoric?

- What do you hope your audience takes away from viewing your art?

- How does viewing art differ, in your opinion, from hearing political statements?

- What does artistic interpretation offer to the debate about the border that is different from political discourse?

- In what ways does artistic production add to the debate? challenge the debate? problematize the debate?

APPENDIX D

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FOR STUDY

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Michelle Tellez FACULTY/AD
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	04/13/2010
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	04/13/2010
IRB Protocol #:	1003005013
Study Title:	Art on the Border: Problematizing Traditional Political Dialogue through the Use of Visual Art in the I Debate

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.