

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES:**

A Study of Proposition 187 in California

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA  
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MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES:  
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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, minkälaisen kuvan suuri amerikkalainen sanomalehti, The New York Times, antaa yhdestä maan suurimmista ja nopeimmin kasvavista väestöryhmistä, amerikanmeksikolaisista. Materiaali koostuu lehtiartikkeleista The New York Timesissa ajanjaksolla, jolla keskustelua lakialoitteesta 187 käydään Kaliforniassa ennen ja jälkeen osavaltion kuvernööri- ja senaattorivaalien.

Tutkimus on luonteeltaan kulttuuritutkimusta, jossa analysoidavaa dataa verrataan taustamateriaaliin. Taustamateriaali koostuu teorioista, jotka käsittelevät amerikanmeksikolaisten historiaa, etnisyyden muotoutumista sekä vähemmistöjen mediakuvaa.

Amerikanmeksikolaisten historia Kaliforniassa ulottuu espanjalaisten saapumiseen alueelle, ja siitä alkaneeseen kansojen sulautumiseen sekä espanjalaisten ja meksikolaisten siirtymiseen nykyisen Kalifornian alueelle, joka myöhemmin liitettiin Yhdysvaltoihin. Nykyisin etnisyydetutkimuksessa on vallalla suuntaus, joka korostaa etnisen ja rotuidentiteetin muotoutumista eri ryhmien välisestä dialektisestä diskurssista, jossa identiteettiä jatkuvasti muokataan uudelleen esimerkiksi poliittisen keskustelun avulla.

Mediatutkimus on korostanut sitä, että etniset vähemmistöt, kuten afrikkalaista ja meksikolaista alkuperää olevat väestöryhmät, esitetään usein negatiivisten uutisten yhteydessä negatiivisesti. Lehdistön on huomattu enemmänkin puhuvan vähemmistöistä sen sijaan, että se puhuisi heidän kanssaan.

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan pitääkö tämä paikkansa The New York Timesin amerikanmeksikolaisia ja lakialoitetta 187 käsittelevissä uutisissa. Aloitteen tarkoituksena on lopettaa eräät sosiaaliturvaan liittyvät edut laittomasti Kaliforniassa oleskelevalta siirtolaisilta. Heistä suurin osa on meksikolaisia. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan myös laittomaan maahanmuuttoon liittyvää terminologiaa.

Tutkimuksessa selviää, että amerikanmeksikolaiset esitetään lähinnä uutena siirtolaisryhmänä eikä heidän historiaansa tuoda kovin pitkältä ajalta esille. Sen sijaan, että The New York Times ainoastaan puhuisi heistä, se useasti puhuu heidän kanssaan, sekä laillisesti että laittomasti maassa olevien kanssa. Lehti muodostaa - vaikkakin negatiivisen aiheen kautta - moniulotteisen kuvan vähemmistöistä, joka on sisäisesti heterogeeninen ja muodustuu useiden eri sukupolvien ja mielipiteiden värittämästä väestöstä. Artikkeleissa on havattavissa etnisen identiteetin muodostamista eri asia-alueilla tapahtuvalla keskustelulla, jossa identiteettiä muokataan ja verrataan muiden etnisten yhteisöjen identiteettien kanssa. Laittomasta maahanmuutosta puhuttaessa terminologia on heterogeenistä, mikä saattaa heijastella yleistä yhteiskunnallista muutosta.

Asiasanat: Mexican Americans, media representation of ethnic minorities, racial formation and ethnicity, discourse, political elections

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

United States is a nation formed by immigrant experience and people immigrate there today with the same dreams and hopes as did people 100 or 200 years ago. California is a destination of immigrants from many countries and therefore a state with a diverse population.

This thesis was born out of the desire to understand the situation of Mexican Americans in California, especially in relation to an initiative in a referendum in the 1994 elections. The intention was to see how a rapidly growing ethnic minority is pictured in news articles in a major, good-quality newspaper, The New York Times. The initiative, Proposition 187, concerned banning social benefits to illegal immigrants, a phenomenon related to immigration. Illegal immigrants in California consist mostly of people from Mexico. Mexican Americans as legal citizens in the U.S.A. have a longer history in the region than most of other Americans. I am looking at the phenomenon from several perspectives: historical, ethnical, political and media perspectives.

My hypothesis, based on the literature, is that American society is undergoing changes in its ethnic composition because of immigration. This has made certain segments of the society concerned about their position. The society and the communities it is made of, especially the white Anglo American community is looking for new ways to adjust and cope with the newcomers, and this is not the first time it has happened because the U.S.A. is a country of immigrants. Such an adjustment took place again in the 1990s. The news articles are a reflection of this. The changes in the society produced Proposition 187. My purpose is to find out how the situation in California was reported in the news articles during the election month and how one group of people, Mexican Americans, were pictured in the news articles. This thesis will therefore look to the Mexican American community and how the media treats them and conveys information about them in the news reporting on an issue related to immigration and especially to illegal immigration. The thesis will show how The New York Times (referred to as *The Times*) reports the Mexican

American people and community in its news reporting on an initiative concerning the treatment of illegal immigrants in California. The thesis will further interpret the relationship between *The Times* and the Mexican Americans during the proposition in the light of the socio-historical background of Mexican Americans, racial relations and media representation of ethnic minorities.

Other writers, such as Rodriguez and Wilson, have found in their studies on media images and on ethnic relations that firstly, minorities, including Mexican Americans, have been reported negatively, in general, in the media and often in stereotypical terms. Minorities have been reported mostly objectively in news accounts or left out altogether. The news reporting has also focused on more negative aspects of ethnic minorities, such as gang violence and politics. News headlines have largely contained headlines in which immigrant minorities have been portrayed as a law enforcement problem, a drain on public funds or as a group consisting solely of illegal immigrants (Wilson and Gutiérrez: 1985: 47). Studies have also shown that portrayal of minorities in the media has a complex effect on both minority and majority groups. Secondly, regarding the racial and ethnic relations, the model of ethnicity-based theory and its paradigms of pluralism and assimilation, may not be adequate enough to explain the current ethnic situation. Thirdly, a new model of racial formation is described as a constant process that renegotiates ethnic and racial relations and by so doing, proves old models and attitudes biased or wrong. Racial formation, the redefinition of ethnic and racial relations, takes place through racial contestation that can be in a form of politics and in its discursive contexts. Proposition 187 is believed to be a good example of such a contestation in which relations between groups are redefined. The news articles will be interpreted in the light of these research arguments and the articles are compared against their background.

The concept of ethnicity can be defined in a variety of ways depending on the speaker. Ethnicity is a current topic in the American society since its close relation to the concept of race. Race has been an issue since the birth of the

nation and it has been given different meanings in order to justify the economic and social contexts. In contemporary United States, 'race' is again an important current topic discussed in all social contexts. The country in a way is looking for a new course in its race relations, which is well illustrated by the initiative by the then president, Bill Clinton, to find a new racial discourse for the nation (Council of Economic Advisers for the President's Initiative on Race: 1998). In his speech at the University of California in 1997, President Clinton remarked:

I believe the greatest challenge we face...is also our greatest opportunity of all the questions of discrimination and prejudice that still exist in our society, the most perplexing one is the oldest, and in some ways today, the newest: the problem of race. Can we fulfill the promise of America by embracing all our citizens of all races? In short, can we become one America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? (1998:1)

On the more mundane level, race and ethnicity have also surfaced in other, more negative contexts as well, such as those of different conflict situations where race and ethnicity have been defining factors. In 1992 a racial conflagration burst into flames in Los Angeles, initiated by the police beating of an African American man. In this context, the media falsely portrayed the different ethnic groups involved. By giving attention to some groups and by ignoring the involvement of others, the media misrepresented communities, most notably the Mexican American community and their participation in this incident.

In order to study and analyse Mexican Americans, the thesis first gives the socio-historical background information of the Mexican Americans in the southwest. This is important for understanding the complex situation in California and its Mexican American population. Then the thesis shortly describes background information on Proposition 187 and discusses its birth and importance in the 1994 elections. Then there is a discussion on the topics of race and ethnicity in the United States, especially on the approach of racial formation. After this the thesis introduces research on the media image of ethnic minorities and that of Mexican Americans when applicable. After the contextual, background information there is the actual analysis and

interpretation of the articles and the relationship between *The Times* and Mexican Americans. In the end there are concluding remarks and ideas on future prospects in this area of study.



## 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Mexicans in the Southwest

In order to understand the positions that Mexican Americans have in contemporary California, it is important to look at their history in the region. Chronologically their history precedes that of the Anglo (the white, European, Protestant American) population, the Asian population and the more recent immigrant population. It can be viewed that Mexican Americans have a special and rightful position in California, as inhabitants in the region. Their position is comparable only to that of the Native Americans who have lived in the regions far earlier than any other population. The Anglos in their quest for the manifest destiny subjugated Native Americans just like they subjugated Mexican population. Manifest destiny was a belief in the cultural and social superiority of the Anglo population and it was one of the driving forces behind the American westward expansion. (See Takaki and Horsman).

The modern day southwest of the United States was part of Mexico before the Mexican-American war of 1846-48. From the Mexican perspective the area was called the Greater Northern Southwest. The native population has an even longer history in the area and the history of Mexican Americans dates back to the Spanish period. The history of the Mexican Americans can be divided into five broad time periods: the Indo-Hispanic period, the Mexican period, a period of cultural conflict during the last half of the nineteenth century, a period of resurgence in the first four decades of the twentieth century, and a period of regeneration from World War II to the present (Meier and Rivera: 1972).

The first and second period cover the development of Indian civilizations in Mexico and the arrival of Spanish conquistadors. At this time Mexican population and the conquistadors started to mix and procreate by a process

known as *mestizaje*; *mestizo* is a person of such a mixed origin. In the early 1800s, a movement to gain independence from Spain took place. During the independence period the gulf between the heartland of Mexico and the northern frontier was acknowledged widely and the gulf led to political unrest and conflict. This period culminated in the war between Mexico and the United States in 1846-48. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo Mexico lost half of its territory to the United States but only about 1% of its population.

The third period started from the Treaty lasting to the end of the nineteenth century, and is characterized by the effects of Anglo American migration to the southwest; investment of capital in mines, railroads, cattle, and agriculture. An estimated 100,000 people were annexed along with the Mexican Cession and more migrated after the cession (Gutiérrez: 1996: xx). During this period *la raza*, the people of the Mexican motherland were relegated to a minority position of a second-class citizenship. The period roughly between the 1848 and 1900s saw the Mexican American being relegated to the position of second-class citizens. They fed the labor demand in the north during the development of agriculture, mining and manufacturing in the Border States. They found themselves to be strangers on their own land. The Anglo American stereotypes pictured Mexicans similar to Indians or Blacks: lazy, inept and stupid. The Mexican men were held in contempt while the Mexican women were seen as “joyous, sociable, kind-hearted creatures almost universally, liberal to a fault, easy and naturally graceful in manners” (Horsmann: 1981: 234).

The fourth period began at the time of Mexican revolution in the early 1900s. It caused a major flood of political and social refugees to seek new places to live in the north, both in the southwestern U.S.A. but also increasingly in the midwestern agricultural and industrial districts. Estimates place the number of Mexican migrants at 1 and 1.5 million in 1880-1930 (Gutiérrez: 1996: xiii).

The contemporary period began from World War II. It marked the continuing migration of Mexicans to the north. This period witnessed the *bracero* program

(Emergency Farm Labor Program to ease the shortage of farm workers in the U.S.A. during World War II, 'bracero' means field worker), the *mojados* ('wetbacks', Mexicans who were ineligible under the bracero program but swam across border rivers to work in the U.S.A. illegally) and new immigration legislation. Nearly 5 million work contracts were issued in 1942-64. At this period increasing awareness of the Mexican culture started to spread among *Chicanos*. Claims for civil rights and economic equality surfaced among the Mexican Americans, enhanced by the civil rights movement of African Americans (Meier and Rivera: 1972). 'Chicano' was associated with the new, growing identity movement among Mexican Americans, a movement that became associated with *la raza* and *Aztlán*, the mythical and ancestral pre-Hispanic homeland embracing all of the U.S. Southwest and with Aztec (Indian) connotations. Chicano is an epithet used among Mexican Americans at least since 1920. Chicano signifies a provocative movement and willingness to fight the Anglo cultural hegemony (Fox: 1996: 120).

## 2.2 California and Mexicans

California is one of the Southwestern states with a large immigrant population, and an especially large Mexican American population. The state borders Mexico along with Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. The total length of this land border is nearly 2,000 miles (3200 km) reaching from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico. The political border between Mexico and California was created in 1848 after the Mexican-American war. The borderline took its final form in 1853 when the Gadsden Purchase was completed. In this purchase Americans bought a land area known as Sonora for 10 million dollars. South Carolinian railroad speculator James Gadsden threatened the Mexican government with the armed forces if the Mexicans would not agree, and obviously the threat worked (Vélez-Ibáñez: 1996).

In California, the Spanish founded a number of missions along the coast. They had started to explore California in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The first of these missions was set up for San Diego de Alcalá, and later the chain of missions reached all the way up to Sonoma in Northern California. The purpose of the missions was to make the Indian population Catholic and to introduce new agricultural technologies.

Most of the settlers to California came from Mexico, while some came from Spain. The newcomers from Mexico were mostly poor and generally mestizos, a mixture of Indian and Negro with a trace of Spanish (Takaki: 1993: 168). The society in which these people lived was a highly stratified one. At the top there were the Spanish-speaking *gente de razon*, 'people of reason', and there were a small number of mestizos who had the proper education among this upper part of society. Below the upper parts there were the laboring people who consisted of people with mixed origins and of the Native Americans. The elite with land and cattle were called the *rancheros* and they had a patriarchal culture. They provided their work force with all that they needed and took care of them in cases of illness. They also were godparents to the children of their workers. For the *rancheros* wealth was a means to provide for a genteel lifestyle of "splendid idleness" (1993: 168).

Mexican Americans share some cultural traits in common but because of their long history, diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, generational status in the U.S.A. and different racial backgrounds they generally form complex and diverse ethnic groups.

### 2.3 Life in California

The mission and the ranch dominated the life in California. They were both highly dependent on the availability of land and labor. After the Mexican independence from Spain, land grants were granted and the ranch economy

rapidly expanded in the 1830s. The ranch started to compete with the mission for economic domination. The ranches claimed the missions controlled the labor force, the Native Americans. The Mexican government secularized, gave the ownership over the missions to private landowners, the missions in the 1830s and the problem was solved. The justification of the secularization was that it would make California's Native Americans masters of their own destinies, benefit the missionary by freeing them for work on new frontiers, and enrich the Mexican government by providing a new source of taxation. The *rancheros* however were the main beneficiaries. Even though the ranch was the center, new towns sprung to life as well. San Jose, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Monterey were some of these new urban centers.

When the Anglo Americans began to settle in California, driven by the manifest destiny, their culture and values met with the Mexican culture and the catholic religion (See Takaki and Meier). Under the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, the Mexicans were granted the protection of the U.S. government and laws. Their right to the property was also protected, but soon the 100,000 Mexicans in the web of new laws and customs of a new country found their property being litigated to the Anglo population who also spoke a foreign language, the English. It was a clash of two distinct cultures. The Mexican put emphasis on the community whereas the Anglo American culture stressed the tradition of the frontier and the importance of the individual (See Takaki and Meier).

The diverse past of Mexican Americans in the Southwest created at least three subcultures: Californian (*californio*), Texan (*tejano*) and New Mexican (*nuevo mexicano*) There can also be distinguished at least six different groups: descendant of the early *californio* families, descendants of emigrants during World War I and the 1920s, *braceros* who came during World War II, descendants of *tejanos* who have migrated to the state, and those persons of Mexican descent totally assimilated to the general Californian community (Meier and Rivera: 1972).

#### 2.4 Undocumented (illegal) immigration

California's population in the beginning of 1994 was nearly 32 million people. There was an estimated of 8.8 million Hispanics in California in 1994 based on 1990 census count and projections. At the same period, there were 2.2 million Blacks, 3.2 million Asians, 0.2 million Native Americans and 17.2 million whites. Information based on 2000 census count estimates there are 11 million Hispanics, 2.3 million blacks, 4.3 million Asians and 16.8 million whites. In 2000, the total population had grown to 34.7 million (U.S. Census Bureau). In 1990 California was demographically 26% Latino and 57% white. By 2010, according to the state's demographers, it will be 36% Latino and only 46% white (The Economist: Jul 13, 1996: 25).

California's economy depends on trade with foreign nations and other states of the United States. It attracts people from all over the country and from abroad. Its economy is one of the largest of U.S. states and 7<sup>th</sup> largest in the world. It produces a large portion of agricultural produce in the country and the agricultural and manufacturing sectors rely highly on foreign, immigrant labor, especially that from Mexico. However, other Central and South American people cross through Mexico to the U.S.A. as well. The immigrants also move further inland in the U.S.A.

Based on updated yearly information since 1992, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimated in 1996 that in California are an estimated 2 million undocumented aliens out of the total population of 32 million. Legal immigration to California in 1994 totaled little over 200,000. Out of the total undocumented population of 5 million in the U.S.A., 2.7 million are estimated to be undocumented population from Mexico (INS data sheets and state of California demographic calculations). In 1994 some 52,000 Mexicans were admitted legally to California. Besides the legally admitted immigrants, 130,000 illegal aliens entered and 90% of them were Mexicans (The Economist: Jul 13, 1996: 25).

Most of the undocumented immigrants are Mexican by origin, and California is their primary target state. INS has estimated that between 250,000 and 300,000 undocumented aliens enter the country annually. About 40% of these enter the country legally as tourist or as other visitors and overstay their visas, thus they become illegal aliens in the country. The rest 60% enters the country without inspection either through the border or they are smuggled to the country from Mexico (Simcox: 1988: 23).

Undocumented (illegal) immigration is not a recent phenomenon though it intensified in the early 1980s and again in 1990s because of economic hardships in Mexico. California was experiencing economic recession at the time as well. Suro claims that the situation in Mexico doubled the Mexican immigration (Suro: 1998: 23). Despite the publicity the undocumented immigration receives in the media, it is only one process that takes place in the busy border region. There are commuters who work in *maquilladora* factories or in other businesses, and tourists, they all cross the border legally. And for many, the family networks extend across the border. Maquilladora are factories in the border region that produce goods to the U.S. market by taking advantage of the legislation in Mexico. The Border Industrialization Program funded the Maquilladora factories. Vélez-Ibáñez suggests that the program and the factories are an extension of old trade practices, by which he means the illegal trade Americans used to practice in California. He sees the illegal trade of that time as the most important, perhaps the major, covert instrument of American expansionist policy and an encroaching capitalist economy (Vélez-Ibáñez: 1996: 61). But despite its dynamic and transparent character, the border area is relatively poor on the U.S. side. On the Mexican side the situation is perhaps equally bad; Mexico is a sort of a waiting lounge before the trip or stay to the other side (see Barry and al.: 1994).

The first surge of undocumented (illegal) immigrants to the U.S.A. after the World War II was that of the *mojados* (see page 8). Many of the Mexicans admitted to the country under the *bracero* program returned later as illegal

aliens or they lured others to enter the country illegally. Those who came illegally did not meet the immigration requirements or they could not be employed as *braceros*. In the 1950s, INS deported illegal aliens back to Mexico. The government also legalized thousands of these *mojados*. During Operation Wetback in 1954 INS deported over one million illegal aliens back to Mexico. The government had partly false expectations regarding the program and the workers. The government wanted just a steady labor force from Mexico that could have been sent back to Mexico if and when necessary. But instead the workers became more permanently connected to the U.S.A., married or had relatives in the country, and because of this it was difficult to just send them back (Kalavita: 1992: 6). This program initially set the contours of modern Mexican immigration to U.S.A (Gutiérrez: 1996: 45).

To limit immigration, in 1965 the Congress passed the Immigration Act which continued the debate on restricting immigration and on the criteria used for deciding who could be admitted into the country. The question of illegal workers was buried in subcommittees because of strong lobbying from the agricultural interest groups. The flow of Mexicans, both legal and illegal, has provided an ample supply of cheap labor for agriculture, but also for manufacturing and service sectors of the economy. In the 1970s the illegal alien question surfaced again because of tightening economy, the oil crisis, and other domestic factors, and continued until the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). Its main provision was to introduce employer sanctions to stop the employment of undocumented aliens. The act also provided amnesty for undocumented aliens in case they could provide proof of residence in the U.S.A. before 1982. It was not very difficult to obtain false documents to prove this. As a matter of fact, California's Governor Pete Wilson, in 1994 election campaign, suggested an identity card, which should be presented at the time of employment. According to *The Times*, the suggestion caused alarm because the ID card could restrict people's freedom and privacy. Under the provisions of IRCA, more than three million sought legalization.



By 1996 the momentum for illegal immigration had regained its power and the number entering annually according to the latest estimates has been 275,000 for the whole country (Millman: 1998: 51-52). In addition, those who were legalized under the amnesty provisions of IRCA were now able to bring their close family members to the country. The effective tool, as IRCA was designed to be, became a victim of too many compromises and the door to California and the rest of the country was open even wider. Probably more people than the estimated number cross the border back and forth illegally. 60% of the illegal aliens entering the U.S.A. are from Mexico but not all of those entering stay for life but return to Mexico at some point (1998: 50-52).

## 2.5 Origins of Proposition 187

In 1992, Barbara Coe, a sixty year old woman went to a social service center in Orange County in Los Angeles area to secure some benefits for a friend of hers. She was overwhelmed by what she saw in the office. The poor nonwhites shocked her and she thought that all these people were illegal aliens applying for welfare benefits. She formed a citizen group to do something about the issue. She asked two former Reagan-era INS officials to draft a citizen's measure to be put in the November 1994 elections. An initiative is a form of referendum; an initiative can be put on referendum in state elections when a specified number of signatures have been collected on a petition (Aldrich et al.: 1986: 137). If the initiative passes in a referendum, it will become a law in a state.

The legal effects of Proposition 187 were to limit public education to the children of illegal aliens and deny illegal aliens the public non-emergency health care and welfare programs. It also became part of the election campaigns of the California gubernatorial candidates, mainly of the incumbent Pete Wilson, who embraced it in his political platform to bring the state budget

under control by reducing the costs of different social programs. Ironically, Pete Wilson had been drafting earlier legislation that increased the flow of Mexican agricultural workers to the United States.

Californians nevertheless passed the proposition overwhelmingly by 59 percent to 41 percent, but in eight counties out of the total of 58 the initiative did not pass because it did not get a majority of the votes. Proposition 187 is an initiative statute whose provisions remain state law unless disapproved by a two-thirds vote of the California Legislature or by another initiative (Migration News Vol. 1, Number 11, December 1994). Latinos voted against it nearly three to one, while African Americans and Asian American voters split on the issue (Business Mexico: 1994: 40). Almost instantly the state court blocked the law and halted its enforcement. The sections were blocked due to their possible unconstitutionality; they did not provide for due process of law or hearing before a person is denied of benefits. The only section that was not blocked was the one imposing penalties on making or using false documents (Migration News: 1994).

Eventually Proposition 187 became a subject to inaction in court. In 1998 a new Governor was elected in California. Governor Davis refused to allow the appeal to proceed and dropped the appeal. Thus Proposition 187 did not become a law in California.

Suro suggests that the passage of this initiative can be understood as a backlash against the growing foreign-born population in California. The fear of Anglo Americans of changing demographic situation produced Proposition 187. They were not afraid of Mexico, but of Mexicans in California. The Mexican American population was defending its position in the state and their right to be there. Their parents and great-grandparents had claimed their place among the Anglo American population as immigrant workers in the fields and factories of the Southwest. They were and are a part of the economy and social landscape and are transforming the ethnic composition, even the economy. Millman suggests that the Mexican Americans, among other ethnic groups, are

transforming the small-scale agriculture and causing a rural revival. By freeing farm work productivity as a result of the IRCA and the 1965 legislation, the legalized (ex-illegal) immigrants now bring their official contribution to the state treasury when they have moved to small scale agriculture away from the gray, unofficial sector of the economy (Millman: 1997: 106). Mexican Americans, by opposing Proposition 187, wanted to be appreciated for what they had become and what they were becoming in the United States. They demanded recognition of the fact that they had arrived, that they had become part of the place, and that they were not going back, and that they had also been in California for longer than the Anglo population (Suro: 1998: 116).

Mexicans have a long history in California and the rest of the southwestern U.S.A. They have become an integral part of the area, albeit the political borders have shifted. The Mexican Americans have a rich culture and sometimes a complex identity that defies the bureaucratic instruments, such as census counts, making it difficult to estimate their amount and define to what ethnic group they belong. Because of the political border between the U.S.A. and Mexico, the problem of undocumented (illegal) immigration has surfaced periodically. Because of the nature of this phenomenon, exact numbers are difficult to give. California however is the most populous state in terms of undocumented population, of whom a large portion comes from Mexico. In 1994 elections an initiative to ban certain social services from undocumented population was passed. Proposition 187 was soon banned to become a law by the court. The proposition was explained as a backlash of the still majority Anglo population of California to the growing non-white, legal and illegal, population. The demographics and the ethnic composition of the U.S.A. are changing. Ethnicity and race have been defined in different ways and in different terms throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. New models are surfacing and one of them is racial formation.

### 3. RACIAL FORMATION

In addition to the socio-historical background, the news articles will be interpreted against the theory of racial formation. I mentioned in Introduction that the theories based on ethnicity are not sufficient to explain the processes that are taking place in the American society. Immigration is a strong, continuous part of everyday life and the demographics of the cities are changing. People are confused of what to do with all the newly arrived immigrants. Therefore it is deemed important to introduce a conceptual framework that could partly explain the situation surrounding Proposition 187 and what the discourse around the proposition and Mexican Americans meant. It could be argued that the political process in California was racialized. Racial relations between Mexican Americans, illegal immigrants from Mexico and other ethnic groups were contested in this process. This redefinition of ethnicity and debate on related issues is the new paradigm for explaining racial relations and identity in the contemporary U.S.A.

Miles defines race as “not a given, natural division of the world’s population, but the application of historically and culturally specific meanings to the totality of human physiological variation” (Miles: 1989: 71). And it is these historically and culturally specific meanings that are redefined in the discourse relating to Mexican Americans and Proposition 187. The field of study of race relations also includes ethnic relations. For Miles race is not a scientific concept. Nor, in his view, has it remained a discourse of subordination but rather, it has been turned by its objects into a discourse of resistance. (1989: 72).

It should be pointed out here that ‘Hispanic’ is a more of an administrative term used in the census forms and it refers to all groups that have some Latin origins; some of the largest and most important Hispanic groups are Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Puerto Ricans (Chávez: 1996: 28). Mexican, on the other hand, is a ‘racial’ or cultural term that has historically

connoted to specific physiological and cultural characteristics. It should be kept in mind, however, that race is a very subjective term, and it should not be understood as scientifically valid concept for classifying and judging people.

### 3.1 Ethnicity-based theories

Concept of ethnicity is formed by a group of people who are at least latently aware of common interests and it can be sometimes difficult to tell at what point people become groups. Groups can be formed when some coherence among the group is established (Omi: 1986:14). Ethnicity has been a subject of studies for several decades.

The ethnicity-based theory rose in the 1920s, at the time when the Mexicans Americans had started to rewrite their own history in the United States. Cultural pluralism refers to the analogy of ‘salad bowl’, in which many people with different backgrounds but with little common and uniting ties between them coexist in the society. Assimilation refers to the process by which different groups lose their ethnic characteristics and become similar in their cultural habits. For a long time assimilation has been used to explain the formation of identity in the U.S.A., and it has been known also as the ‘melting pot theory’. Two major currents of ethnicity-based theory are those of cultural pluralism and assimilation.

Omi and Winant explain that the ethnicity-based paradigm suggest that “race was a social category” and that “race was only one determinant of ethnic group identity of ethnicity. Ethnicity itself was understood as the result of a group formation process based on culture and descent.” In other words people became ethnic in the U.S.A. and scientists have argued whether one can maintain ethnic group identities over time in an “Anglo-conformist” unitary culture. Omi argues that both currents emphasize European, white immigrants and their

cultures. Others, those not belonging to these European groups, were outside of this cultural grouping and were identified as racial minorities: such as African Americans, Latin Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans (1986: 15-16).

Groups that were left outside in Omi's view adapted a more radical racial identity that demanded group rights and recognition (1986: 20). This is especially a case with Blacks who have experienced a history of racial exclusion. Omi and Winant also argue that ethnicity-based theory failed to address experiences of slavery (related to African American experiences), colonization (related to Mexican American experiences), racially based exclusion or virtual extirpation (related to Native American experiences). That is, these people have qualitatively different historical experiences. It has also been argued that ethnicity-based theory tends to blame the victims for the experienced difficulties. Another drawback is that ethnicity-based theory does not consider national origin, religion, language or cultural differences among blacks, as it does among whites, as sources of ethnicity (1986: 21).

Two other paradigms challenged the ethnicity paradigm: class-based and nation-based theories. The class theories principally explain race by reference to economic processes. Nation-based theories rely on colonialism (Omi: 1986: 39). Omi and Winant have included perspectives such as cultural nationalism and internal colonialism in national paradigm. Cultural nationalism focuses on cultural elements, which give rise to collective identity, community, and a sense of "people hood" (1986: 42). In regard to Mexican Americans, cultural nationalism arose in the Chicano movement in the 1970s. The movement was based on the concept of *Aztlán* (see p. 9). It evoked traditional Mexican cultural values untainted by Anglo domination. Such symbolism was applied to present-day realities of Chicano life. It served more to unify previously fragmented minority groups by forging collective cultural identities (1986: 43-44).

The other perspective, internal colonialism, achieved momentum in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At that time various writers used it to

account for the upsurge in racial minority militancy. Such radical nationalist movements surfaced, for example, among Chicano and Black communities. These groups usually rejected the reform-oriented politics, basing their activities on national liberation movements in revolutions in Vietnam, Algeria or China. This perspective tried to synthesize aspects of racial oppression, such as economic, cultural and political through the invocation of a colonial model (1986: 47). Internal colonialism generally rejected the ethnicity model and its twin perspectives on assimilation and cultural pluralism. It also committed itself to the radical nationalist politics of the 1960s. Black Power was one such movement expressing new racial consciousness among Blacks. One main point of the Black Power Concept was the necessity for Black people to define the world in their own terms. At times this included a call for revolutionary political struggle to reject racism and imperialism in the United States. Views on internal colonialism were expressed in Robert Blauner's book Racial Oppression in America. Blauner uses a distinction between "colonized and immigrant minorities" in his criticism of the ethnic group paradigm. "Colonized" minorities are those whose presence in the United States was a result of a "forced entry". This could apply to the Mexicans who were colonized as a result of the annexation of the Northern Mexico to the United States in 1848. "Immigrant" minorities are those whose entry was voluntary and this is applied to mostly Europeans (1986: 49). Extended to the present day it could in a degree be applied to the latest Mexican immigrants as well.

Omi and Winant criticize the nation-based paradigm as limited to the racial dynamics of post-colonial society. In their opinion U.S. politics gives radical nationalism little space, nevertheless they think that theoretical approaches based on nation may unite the micro- and macro-levels of racially shaped experience or permit comparisons among different groups (1986: 50-51). By micro-level they refer to individual experiences of race, whereas with macro-level they refer to the community or group level of racial experience. For the authors, the nation-based paradigm is an inadequate but partial prototype for their approach, called racial formation. In that approach they see race as an autonomous field of social conflict, political organization, and cultural or

ideological meaning and they do not dispel the insights of the nation-based paradigm, but wish to offer their own synthesis.

### 3.2 Race and racial formation

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century race was thought of as a biological concept. Even in those days its precise definition was a subject of debates. Omi and Winant think that the beliefs of Gobineau he expressed in Essay on the Inequality of Races influenced the racial thinking of the mid-nineteenth century and even of the 1950s. Gobineau's basic idea was that superior races produce superior cultures and that racial intermixtures result in the degradation of the superior racist stock (Omi: 1986: 59). This idea reflects in a poem "They Wait for Us" published in Boston at the time of the Mexican-American War.

The Spanish maid, with eye of fire,  
At balmy evening turns her lyre  
And, looking to the Eastern sky,  
Awaits our Yankee chivalry  
Whose purer blood and valiant arms,  
Are fit to clasp her budding arms.

The man, her mare, is sunk in sloth-  
To love, his senseless heart is loth:  
The pipe and glass and tinkling lute,  
A sofa and a dish of fruit;  
A nap, some dozen times by day;  
Sombre and sad, and never gay.  
(Horsmann: 1981: 233)

This poem reflects some of the prevailing racial thinking and perhaps stereotypes of the time. I have mentioned stereotypes (see p. 8) that this poem also evokes. You could see in this poem reflections of today's politics; the idealism behind foreign policy could be a legacy of this poem and period, interpreted as the internationalist, democratizing paradigm of the U.S. foreign policy. Many writings from that time reflected idealism of Americans saving the world from tyranny and oppression. These patriotic poets at the beginning of the Mexican-American war often reflected ideas of Americans "carrying the



seeds of free institutions to Mexicans who would throw off their bondage and create a sister republic” (Horsman: 1981: 232-233).

The sense of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority was high at the time and the development of the United States was seen as the result of the population of “a particular, superior race, a race with innate attributes making possible the creation of a free, ever-growing government” (1981: 226). Prior to the war, there were debates on the effects of annexation of Mexico and Mexicans to the Union. In a question whether to treat Mexicans as equal politically, it was argued that race explained Mexico’s miseries, they were seen lacking characteristics for creating and supporting free institutions (1981: 240). Another person remarked, before the war, that it was mostly the land Americans were interested in, not the Mexican people. Nor could the Mexicans be admitted in the U.S.A. as equal citizens.

In his discussion on Mexican American history writing, Rodriquez says that Americans developed a detailed demonology about Mexicans. This was built on the so-called “Black Legend”. European rivals portrayed Spaniards as bloodthirsty, sexually depraved tyrants. Americans tended to transfer many of these negative stereotypes to the descendants of the first Spanish explorers of South-America and then further on to Mexicans. With the birth of Manifest Destiny in the 1840s, these stereotypes assumed a more virulent form. The Mexican defeat in the war appeared to prove Americans stereotypes correct.

Omi and Winant agree that the attempt to establish a biological basis of race has not vanished, but resurfaces in various scientific arenas. They believe that “all such attempts seek to remove the concept of race from fundamental social, political, or economic determination. They [the attempts] suggest instead that the truth of race lies in the terrain of innate characteristics, of which skin color and other physical attributes provide only the most obvious, and in some respects most superficial, indicators” (Omi: 1986: 59).

Gandy argues that even today “racial classification remains an important component of government policy determination as the identification of racial group membership is a prerequisite for the determination whether illegal racial discrimination has or has not occurred” (Gandy: 1998: 42). In his view there are today different rules for the identification of different racial and ethnic groups. He thinks that “Hispanics are among the most problematic, in that biology, geography, language, and culture are combined in ways that seem to defy uniform articulation and application by government workers.” (1998: 43) This problem is made difficult because of lack of rules for those who can make the decision on racial or ethnic classification within government. In regard to Mexico and Mexicans, Gandy makes note that in Mexico during the Spanish rule there were sixteen different categories of persons that could be rank-ordered on the basis of ancestry (1998: 45).

Contemporary social sciences favor an approach, which regards race as a social concept. It is shaped by broader societal forces and is pre-eminently socio-historical concept. Omi and Winant state that racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded (Omi: 1986: 60). This meaning is defined and contested throughout society collectively and individually in practice. In this process, racial categories themselves are formed, transformed, destroyed and re-formed. It is from this process that the concept of racial formation arises. The authors explain that the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings is called racial formation (1986: 61). Race, in this formulation, is a central axis of social relations. Gandy also reminds us that classification is not the same as identity (Gandy: 1998:48). For Gandy classification is a form of knowledge creation. This classification helps to maintain and develop systems of power. Furthermore he continues that the acceptance of one’s assignment to a racial group or category is a response to the power that can be understood as a form of domination (1998: 48). From those dominating and dominated positions,

through racial formation, new systems of knowledge and redefinitions of social position and identities are formed.

The micro and macro level of social relations have been mentioned as the individual and collective levels respectively. The relationship between these two levels is reciprocal or dialectical. There is continuity between these two levels and this continuity is expressed in our everyday experiences, in politics, in culture as well as in economy. Omi and Winant suggest that racial meanings pervade the U.S. society, extending from the shaping of individual racial identities to the structuring of collective political action on the terrain of the state (Omi: 1986: 66). The theory of racial formation suggests that racial phenomena penetrate and link these two levels of social relations. But this only describes how race is the organizing principle of social relations. It provides a classification of racial phenomena and an explanation of the continuity of these phenomena. But it does not offer a conception of the process of racial formation. To understand the process we need to realize the way in which the meaning of these phenomena is politically contested (1986: 68).

It should be understood that a racial dimension is present in every identity, institution and social practice in the United States. Race is not a fixed or static phenomenon and we need to understand race as an unstable and de-centered complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle (1986: 68).

Racial identities, institutions and social practices are transformed through political contestation over racial meanings. This occurs on levels of “personal” relationships, in “objective” relationships in work and political activity and in cultural representation (1986: 69). Racial dynamics are quite visible in social life, the dynamics inspire new social movements, policy debates, uncertainty, and they also confront institutions and local communities. Social movements occur in order that new interpretations of racial meanings can be made and that the meaning of race and racial identity can be understood in new ways. Omi and Winant state, “once reinterpreted, rearticulated, racial meanings are

disrupted and space for political contestation is opened (1986: 69). The terrain of racial interpretation is uncertain and full of conflicts. Racial theory and ideology have been addressed on this terrain in post-war America. “In the postwar United States, racial meanings have been most centrally (re) interpreted by social movements and most definitely institutionalized by the state.”

Different paradigms have surfaced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to explain ethnic relations in the U.S.A. They all have adherents and none of them has disappeared, one could say that everyone chooses a paradigm that best suits ones purpose and surrounding world. However, non-white, non-Anglo population has attacked the two dominant paradigms as Anglo-centric. To alleviate and break the hegemony of the two: cultural pluralism and assimilation, a new paradigm was developed. Racial formation could be described as a kaleidoscopic model, not a melting pot nor a salad bowl, but a model that changes at every turn of events and describes the process that is taking place. This is an essential way to look at the changing demographic landscape of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century. From that changing demographic landscape also surfaced Proposition 187 whose effects were harshly felt in the Mexican American community, but also in other ethnic communities including Blacks and Asians for example. The proposition did not go unnoticed, but received wide publicity in media. Media, although it gives a biased view of the world, is one of the major sources of information about the world, and there are few alternatives that are as readily available.

#### 4. MEDIA AND MINORITIES

We do not realize the connection between our continuous exposure to media distortions and the errors we make in subsequent decisions. Neither do we suffer the consequences that flow from our ill-informed decisions (Gandy: 1998: 23). But rather it is the subject of our decisions that suffer the negative consequences of those decisions or election turnouts. For example, it could be the Mexican American residing in the country illegally or their offspring who are legal citizens of the U.S.A. that suffer the ill decisions made on distorted information.

##### 4.1 Minorities in media

The demographic changes undergoing in the modern U.S. society have also forced the media to reexamine the ways in which they have traditionally dealt with minority groups. Wilson and Gutiérrez state that when the minority groups grow in number and when their number exceeds the number of Anglo population then the media must find new ways how to deal with the groups (1985: 11).

Wilson and Gutiérrez point out significant aspect about the concept of minority. When the word “minority” is used in its statistical sense, it refers to groups that are small in number, less than a majority. It has become, in their view, a convenient umbrella under which to put any group that is not white. But at the same time misleads us to think of those who carry the label as small not only in number, but also in importance. There is also the possibility that the issues raised by minorities appear to be less meaningful than those of the majority. In many cities across the U.S.A., people who are labeled as racial minorities form the majority of the population when the members of the individual groups are added together.

Furthermore Wilson and Gutiérrez argue that the communication media in the United States bear a special responsibility in these circumstances, because they share a portion of the responsibility for educating older residents about the newcomers. In the past, media has ignored or treated minorities in an unequal manner. In a media-dominated society such as the United States, all of the people depend on the media communication to portray and define those things that people have not experienced for themselves or even what they have experienced. People hear and learn about others through radio, television, movies, newspapers and magazines. The portrayals and news coverage of minority groups in the media can become reality in our minds, especially if we have no personal experience to balance the portrayals against (1985: 32).

#### 4.2 Functions of the media

Wilson and Gutiérrez define five central functions of the media in the U.S.A. (1985: 35-36):

- 1) *Surveillance*: the sentinel or lookout role of the media watching the society and horizon for threats to the established order and information on people or places of public interest.
- 2) *Correlation*: Interpretation and linking function of the media, which helps the audience understand, interpret, and comprehend the different things that are happening in an out of society and how they affect each other, as well as stay in touch with other in the society
- 3) *Transmission*: the socialization function of the media, which defines the society, its norms, and its values to the audience and through their portrayals and coverage, assists members of the society in adopting, using, and acting on those values.

- 4) *Entertainment*: the function of the media for diversion and enjoyment, which provides stories, features, music, and films designed to make the audiences laugh, cry, relax, or reflect, rather than gain information.
- 5) *Economic service*: the role of the media within the economic system of the society, which in the United States means that most media function as corporations serving the needs of their shareholders and other corporations by attracting audiences that will either pay for the media product or serve as the target for advertising messages.

Harold Laswell defined the first three functions in 1948. In 1959 Charles Wright added a fourth dimension, *entertainment*. This emphasized that communication can also entertain the members of the society. It is not just the TV shows and movies that function as providing entertainment for us anymore. Even politics and top political executives have become entertainment or “infotainment”, in which information and entertainment have fused together.

The men who wrote the Constitution of the U.S.A. in 1787 intended media to operate in the free marketplace. They considered the media as both the watchdog of the government and the critical communication link on which the new democratic society would depend for information. For this reason, the first amendment to the Constitution prohibits legislation limiting the freedom of the press. The press is the only portion of the private sector afforded constitutional protection. The press, while freed from the laws of the Congress, was forced to function as a business within the economic system and follow the unwritten laws of capitalism that govern businesses in the United States (1985: 37).

The media is part of the business environment and its members must behave as other corporations and businesses do, which is to earn profits by maximizing consumption of their product while lowering the costs of production and distribution. In 1982 Wilbur Schramm and William Porter added an economic dimension to the list of media's functions. David M. Potter has defined advertising as the institution of abundance, which is a unique part of the society “that was brought into being by abundance, without previous existence in any

form, and, moreover, an institution which is peculiarly identified with American abundance” (1985: 111). Schramm and Porter argued that advertising has played a central role in developing media in the U.S.A., that it is a revenue source for print, and that broadcast media required media managers to develop news and entertainment content that would attract the largest possible number of people. This gave birth to the term “mass media”.

There have been social and legal restrictions on the participation of racial minorities throughout the history of the nation, they have not been a mass audience, therefore entertainment and news content largely ignores minorities, treats them stereotypically when they were recognized, and largely avoids issues like segregation, discriminatory immigrant laws, and other issues that affected certain minority groups more than they do the white majority (1985: 113). As a result, media geared for political, national or racial minorities have been consigned to economic second-class standing; however, the minority media is important to the minorities themselves. The members of the portrayed minority groups have been either ignored in the mass media or portrayed in ways that made them palatable to the majority. In a statement from 1970 Latino media activists Armando Rendon and Domingo Nick Reyes charged that the media had transferred the negative stereotypes it once reserved for blacks to Latinos, who had become “the media’s new nigger” (1985: 117).

#### 4.3 Mass media and the collective consciousness

Wilson and Gutiérrez argue that the media reinforces a collective consciousness in the members of the audience that is necessary to attract large numbers of undifferentiated people. It is the task of the mass media to look for commonalities among numbers of the audience, such as common themes, ideas and interest areas that would attract and not offend the mass audience. In their view this meant that the content of the mass media reinforced, rather than challenged, the established norms and attitudes of the society (1985: 40).



Racial minorities were beyond the melting pot, into which the white Europeans had assimilated. Also because of the smaller size of the racial minorities they were not considered important for mass communication. For the most part, mass media treated groups that did not belong to the mainstream society either by ignoring them or by stereotyping them. Characterizations of minorities were largely based on the perceptions and preconceptions of those who did not belong to the minority groups instead of on the realities of the groups themselves. The characterizations were pictures of racial minorities as seen through Anglo eyes. Symbols and stereotypes, which were defined by Walter Lippman as "pictures in our heads", were techniques developed by the mass media for dealing with racial minorities and others who were outside the mainstream society (1985: 41).

The authors found that the news usually covered minority issues only if they posed a threat to the established order, which is in accordance with the surveillance function or in accordance with the correlation function if the media covered minorities during festivals and other such activities. Thus the mass audience only saw a slice of the minority communities and this kept up the perceived preconceptions of those communities. In fact, the media portrayals probably helped legitimize and reinforce such preconceptions and one-sided portrayals could easily become the reality in the minds of the audience (1985: 41).

#### 4.4 Effect of media on attitudes

Research since 1940s has found that the media has its greatest effect when it reinforces, not changes prevailing attitudes and values. The studies show that negative, one-sided or stereotyped media portrayals and news coverage can reinforce racist attitudes in those members of the audience who have such

attitudes already, and can channel mass actions against the group that is stereotypically portrayed in the news (Wilson and Gutiérrez: 1985: 42-43).

There was a significant case, the Zoot Suit Riots, now an outdated if compared to such events as the Rodney King episode in Los Angeles in 1992 when a beating of a black man by police officers initiated multiethnic riots. The Zoot Suit Riots (Zoot suit is flamboyant dressing style for Mexicans) occurred in 1943 when U.S. soldiers attacked Mexican Americans. It was found out that there was an increase in the negative portrayals in newspaper articles prior to the attacks on the youths by the soldiers. Racial symbols that trigger commonly-accepted images in the minds of the audience have often been used in the news coverage of minorities. Symbols are often used in times when the surveillance and correlation functions of the media are called upon to describe a change in the environment created by minorities or to define how and where minorities fit into the society. People are eager to respond to such symbols both positively and negatively. This could be compared to current events and how Arab Americans and Arabs, for example, have been treated in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. A study of national magazine coverage of Mexicans in the U.S.A. from 1890 to 1970 revealed a near absence of coverage except when elements of the Mexicans population were seen as a threat to society and subject to discriminatory acts by the public or law enforcement officials (1985: 47).

Wilson and Gutiérrez state that in the above mentioned study words such as zoot-suiters, wetbacks and Chicanos (in the militant sense) dominated the headlines of national magazines between 1890 and 1970. Recently, the term “illegal alien” has been used to symbolize a person who enters the country illegally and is said to constitute a burden on public resources. In a survey of 114 randomly selected articles from between 1977 and 1978 nearly half of the articles used symbols such as alien or illegal alien in the headlines. The largest categories of headlines dealt with immigrants as law enforcement problem or as a drain on public resources, or focused on their illegal entry into the United States or federal efforts to cope with the issue (1985: 47). Studies have

consistently shown that the media's coverage and portrayal of minorities have an effect on members of both minority and majority groups. It is a complex effect that is influenced by each person's psychological makeup, social status and age and by how much he/she uses the media (1985: 53).

The coverage of minority issues often focused inordinate attention on the more bizarre or unusual elements of minority communities, such as youth gangs, illegal immigration, or interracial violence. Emphasis on such topics resulted in new stereotype of racial minorities as "problem people", either as having problems or as causing problems for the larger society (1985: 58). Authors are calling the media to find new ways to portray the minority groups in the news reports. However, the minority press itself has a different perspective on the people it represents. Either the mainstream press should be looking for new ways or the minority press should be looking for mainstream journalists in order to mix different viewpoints.

Latin Looks, a collection of essays, emphasized the one-sidedness of Latin images in the media. The various authors point out that Latinos (who include Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans) are always represented as weak victims, instead of being shown in the plurality of ways that would depict a more truthful variety of Latinos in the 1990s society (Rodríguez: 1998: 2-3).

Men were also portrayed as the Latin lover type of a character. Some view this image as positive, but some scholars argue that the Latin lover was generally the Latin loser that is an "effete, asexual, comedic figure" who always lost the girl when she met the Yankee (1998: 3). One could think of actors such as Antonio Banderas, Andy Garcia and Jimmy Smits whether they reflect this quality or not.

This is a good place to turn more attention to the most heated racial incident of the 1990s - Rodney King episode of 1992 in Los Angeles. Though the episode started as a beating of a black man by the Los Angeles Police Department, the tension soon spread among the already tense and ethnically diverse city of Los Angeles. In the ensuing riots the Mexican Americans were both on the rows of

the police and among those that were arrested; those who looted stores and those who owned them (Suro: 1998: 221-223). Jorge Quiroga argues that the Hispanics were completely excluded in the press coverage. They were excluded as perpetrators, victims and as a community affected by the incident. Furthermore he argues that when the press failed consistently to report that one of the police officers charged was Hispanic, it framed the conflict from the outset in the familiar black/white American paradigm of racial conflict (Rodríguez: 1998: 43). So in this case the emphasis on Latin images was not even one-sided, it was missing altogether.

General points in Latin Looks about the Hispanics in media are that Hispanics are underrepresented and misrepresented in the media, and that in the portrayals of Hispanics similarities outweigh differences. The purpose of such portrayals is to construct and project images that reflect and reinforce inequality. In Hollywood films, representation of Latinos has followed the mood of larger political and economic relationships between U.S.A. and Latin America. In these representations stereotypes exist to control the “other” and to rationalize racism and legitimize imperialism and domination. Amidst all this, alternative filmmakers are deconstructing Latin media images. They are constructing new images and spaces that are “by, for, and about” the Latino community (1998).

#### 4.5 The New York Times

The New York Times has traditionally been considered an elitist paper that was mostly written by the elite for the elite readers of the American and New York City society. Later it has also been considered as a liberal paper. Due to disappearance of many other newspapers published in the New York City during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the newspaper was for many years the only major daily newspaper, besides the tabloid papers, in the city. There is also a national edition of *The Times* that is circulated in major metropolitan areas of the United

States, including the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas in California.

*The Times* was previously considered the paper of records that tracked legislative processes and initiatives in a great detail, and along with other issues dealing with the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the American government. The owner and publisher family, the Sulzbergers, has largely decided the coverage of the news and direction of *The Times*. For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the paper was covering issues that were of interest to the family and to the readers of mostly upper classes in the New York metropolitan area. Thus the paper tended to support the ideology of the large, wealthy middle and upper class society who were mostly European of origin. Nowadays the paper has shifted to a liberal standing on the way it covers news.

The paper employs a large number of journalists and editors who produce the mass of news that are published daily. However, the editors and the executive editor make the final decision on what stories are published and what the content of those stories finally is in *The Times*. All executive editors have been long-term *Times* journalists who were selected by the publisher.

*The Times*, along the years, has shifted focus to issues ranging from a variety of post-World War II domestic issues to civil rights struggles of African Americans, from clear thinking on important issues to searching political and cultural consensus in the post-Vietnam War America. *The Times* has also shifted politically towards the right and then back to liberal. Each of the executive editors have left their own mark on the paper and set its tone.

The journalists, argues Diamond (1994), needed to learn to mold or fit their news into the preconceptions of the editors, that is, to write news in a certain standardized or stereotyped way (1994: 246). And until the 1990s *The Times* was largely homogeneous in regard to the reporters' sex or ethnic origin, and before the 1990s, mostly WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant) men held the top positions, such as editorial positions at *The Times*. However, in

1974 a group of women journalist at *The Times* filed a discrimination case; the case was eventually settled outside the court, with promises of faster promotion and cash settlements to make up for past inequities (1994).

In 1992 a new age started in *The Times*, as Arthur S. Sulzberger Jr. became the publisher of the paper. *The Times* no longer was the Paper of Record or the leading national newspaper; there were several newspapers with a national or international circulation, such as the Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal. The penetration rate, proportion of the total market covered, of *The Times* was at an all time low of 10% and the lowest of any big American newspaper. *The Times* was read by 10% of New York City's population and the readers were mostly upper-income people. There was a need to take *The Times* in a new direction; Arthur Sulzberger decided to make the paper a New York City newspaper again. The city's demographic composition was changing, in 1990 census the population of the city was 43% Caucasian, 28% black, and 24% Latino and 7% Asian - the number of foreign-born immigrants in the city was largest since the last big surge of immigrants to the city. There was clearly a need to move away from the class-based readership to a wider readership covering several ethnic segments, in other words to make *The Times* a popular paper instead of the old elitist paper.

In 1992 Arthur S. Sulzberger Jr. said that "we can no longer offer our readers a predominantly white, straight, male vision of events and say we're doing our job" (1994: 373). At the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) he started to advocate making diversity "our cause". The number and promotion of women and minorities in the staff of *The Times* increased despite some skepticism among the paper's journalists.

The Kernel commission had in 1968 recommended increasing minority representation in media as reporters and editors among other posts. *The Times* adopted a policy of hiring more minorities among its staff to widen its coverage to issues that dealt with minorities in the early 1990s. But despite minority journalists covering minority issues the news they produce might still prove to

be biased and stereotyped reflecting “the dominant newsroom values, which dictate similar coverage of events by minority and non-minority news people” (Campbell: 1998: 53-56). Campbell argues that studies on news coverage of African Americans point to invisibility of minority communities in the news and of the prevalence of stereotypes in the news that get covered (1998: 53). He claims that minority journalists may inadvertently play a role in advancing the attitude of contemporary racisms. By contemporary racism Campbell understands symbolic and enlightened racism. He explains symbolic racism as a general animosity among whites towards African Americans and resistance to political demands made by the blacks. Symbolic racism also includes a belief that racial discrimination is a thing of the past. By enlightened racism Campbell refers to a situation where whites simultaneously hold views that they are liberal-minded and favor equal rights for minorities, yet they still hold the belief that underclass minorities are themselves solely responsible for not seizing the equal opportunities that American society offers (1998: 53-56).

Campbell argues that the resurgence of racism and right wing political thought clearly has roots in media portrayals and this reinforces the notion of contemporary racism; which leads him to conclude that the news media is not doing its job which is to provide Americans with the kind of information on which sound political decisions could be made (1998: 63).

The primary material that I analyze in this study is from *The Times*. The articles offer a cross-section of what was printed in *The Times* during November 1994 and the articles cover Proposition 187 in various sections of the newspaper.

News is all around us, but what does it tell us about the world we live in and about the people in this world? Media has its functions to survey, transmit, relate and make money. Several authors have argued that ethnic minorities are not represented correctly in the mainstream news media, the mass media. Instead, minorities are often represented negatively or left out for the sake of maintaining the established order. Perhaps the answer is a move away from mass media towards a more niche-specific news media where minorities, for

example, are covered correctly, but in such a case someone needs to define what is correct. But there is a risk that this does not educate the mainstream about the minorities if only the minorities themselves read the news they have written. And when those who are now in minority one day become the majority then it should be taken care that the situation that now exists does not merely reverse itself. Mass media is still needed but it needs to change its scope and endorse the diversity in the society that is looking for new ways to scope with new immigrants, illegal immigrants, ethnic groups and conflicts in society. Mass media needs to convey a good-enough, all-encompassing view of the world, a view that defines the world as is acceptable to most of us and does not ignore any groups of the society.



## 5. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

### 5.1 Methodology

The theoretical background for the thesis has been discussed in the preceding chapters. In this chapter the methodological framework used in organizing and interpreting data and the source material used as the data are described.

For the methodological framework I chose a loose adaptation of discourse analysis. The focus is however more on the interpretation of the social and racial relations between the various groups of people presented in the articles than on discourse analysis itself. Language is a powerful tool that influences our knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and identities. It has the power to represent issues and things in certain ways and this depends in large degree on how the language is used (Fairclough: 1995). News (in any form) can be seen as a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed, not as a picture of reality (Van Dijk: 1988: 4). Regarding the language used in the news, Fairclough has stated that during stable social relations the language is homogenous and coherent and during turbulent periods the language is more heterogeneous (Fairclough: 1995). By heterogeneous is meant that language itself reflects conflicts or crisis and does not agree internally or is incoherent. In other words, the words are “at war”.

Closely related to social relations is the concept of ideology that represents meaning in the service of power according to Fairclough. Ideologies are implicit assumptions found in news texts in the form of propositions and they help in producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, in other words relations of domination (ibid: 14). Ideologies may be implicitly present in the form of presuppositions, which are assumptions of social conditions and taken for granted. Fairclough sees that presuppositions are elements within the texts

and that they have been constructed earlier somewhere else. This idea links ideology to the presence of other, prior texts within a text.

Fairclough divides the function of language into three parts: 1) Relational function is the interpersonal function of language; language constitutes relations and identities. 2) Ideational function represents the belief and knowledge systems of language; language generates representations of the world. 3) Textual function represents the actual written or spoken language.

In order to understand news texts fully, not only as text, but also as a representation of the surrounding world the text need to be seen as discourse. The media language has to be analyzed, according to Fairclough, as discourse. Discourse analysis is concerned with both practices and texts, and with both discourse practices and socio-cultural practices. Discourse practices are ways in which news are produced by media workers and read by receivers. Socio-cultural practices take place of three levels: situational, institutional and societal levels (Fairclough: 1995: 16). These three levels can be seen working simultaneously in texts, a so-called multifunctional view of texts. Fairclough has tied this to his suggestion that representations, relations and identities are always simultaneously at issue in text.

Questions of knowledge, belief and ideology are equal to the representation and ideational functions of language. The wider social impact of media is not just to do with how they selectively represent the world, though that is a vitally important issue; it is also to do with what sort of social identities, what versions of self they project and what cultural values these entail (1995: 17). A clarification on discourse: it can be seen as a social action and interaction of people in real social situations or it can be seen as a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge. Fairclough furthermore uses discourse to refer to spoken or written language, but can also use it to refer to images and non-verbal communication (1995: 54). Language is a form of social practice and it defines the social construct, that is the way the society at large is built up and what discourses (as a form of knowledge) are prevalent.

For the interpretation of the data the framework of three dimensions for discourse analysis is loosely adapted. The framework corresponds to the three functions of language: textual, relational and ideational. The framework contains in its core the textual practice that is the news articles as text. Then there is the relational practice that is the interpersonal production and interpretation of the news (discourse practice in the figure) and finally on the outside and encompassing the two previous levels there is the ideational or social practice that contains the actual life world of a society including political, social, economic and cultural practices (sociocultural practice in the figure). For the study, the social function is most important and it is interpreted against the theoretical background that has been presented in the earlier chapters. The material for interpretation was divided into categories based on the textual practice. The textual practice can be analyzed and interpreted according to different variables. The variable used was theme and the texts, in other words, the news articles were categorized according to themes that rose from the texts.

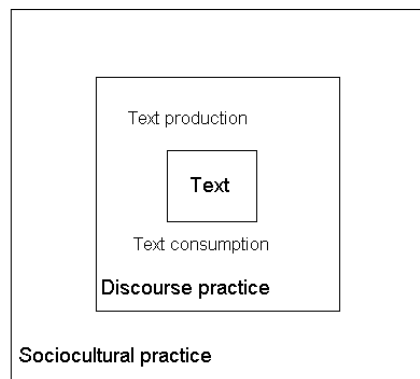


Fig. 1.0: A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event.

(Fairclough: 1995)

## 5.2 Data

The material is divided into categories. Proposition 187 and Mexican Americans in the news are analyzed through these categories. The material consists of 31 articles taken from The New York Times. The material covers a period of November 1994, which was the actual election month in California where they had the gubernatorial and the U.S. Senate elections.

The articles were selected from a total of 100 articles after a search from a news database of The New York Times using a Lexis search. These 100 articles were a search result with keywords *The New York Times* and *Proposition 187*. The number of articles was further narrowed down to a total of 31 articles based on the period of publishing, which was limited to the November of 1994; three articles were from October's editions of *The Times*. The articles were numbered chronologically from 1 to 31. See the appendix A for a table in which the article number, article type, headline and most important keywords are described.

In the data there are eight editorial articles that were published in the Editorial Desk section of *The Times*. The writers are not *The Times* journalists but people from all walks of life: writers, journalists from magazines, gubernatorial candidates, campaign and PR personnel, just to name a few. The articles, however, in a way reflect the ideology behind *The Times*, as Edwin Diamond asserts in his book on The New York Times, the competition to have one's article published in the editorial section of *The Times* can be severe and the selection of those being published goes through editors and executive editor of the newspaper, thus one could see in the selection of published editorial letters the ideology of *The Times* being reflected (Diamond: 1993). However, the editorial articles will bring additional points of view to the issues related to Mexican Americans and Proposition 187 from outside *The Times*, but interpreted as an expression of *The Times'* attitude.

The analysis is divided into three chapters based on the themes of the articles and into sub-chapters according to sub-themes. The interpretation is based on the background theory and methodology of chapters 2 through 5.1. If appropriate, new background information is presented in the analysis as well. In each category I have counted the occurrence of terms with attributes 'illegal' and 'undocumented' to see, whether their usage is consistent or not, in order to see whether Fairclough's argument about language being homogeneous in times of peaceful social period and heterogeneous in times of social unrest brings any quantitative dimension to this study. Terms are analyzed in the beginning of each category and discussed in the conclusions.

The study has been structured into the following chapters and subchapters:

- Chapter 6: Campaigns and Proposition 187 discusses and interprets how Mexican Americans were presented in *The Times* in relation to Proposition 187 and the campaign. The chapter is divided into three subchapters titled 6.1 Candidates in the campaigns, 6.2 Ethnicity in the campaigns and 6.3 Summary. The Summary section ends the chapter and presents combined conclusions for the whole chapter.
- Chapter 7: Immigration, Mexico and Proposition 187 discuss and interprets how Mexican Americans were presented in *The Times* in relation to Proposition 187 and immigration and Mexico. The chapter is divided into three subchapters titled 7.1 Immigration and Proposition 187, 7.2 Mexico and Proposition 187 and 7.3 Summary. The Summary section ends the chapter and presents combined conclusions for the whole chapter.
- Chapter 8: Effects of Proposition 187 discusses and interprets legal, medical and educational consequences of the proposition and how Mexican Americans were presented in *The Times*. The chapter is divided into four subchapters titled: 8.1 Legal effects, 8.2 Medical effects, 8.3 Educational effects and 8.4 Summary. The Summary

section ends the chapter and presents combined conclusions for the whole chapter.

## 6. CAMPAIGNS AND PROPOSITION 187

There were two elections in California in 1994. One was for the U.S. Senate and the other one was for the governor of California. The United States is a federal state and each of the fifty states is represented in the congress. Each state also has a state administration structured similar to the federal system. The U.S. congress has two separate bodies: the House of Representatives and the Senate. It is a bicameral institution. In the House of Representatives each state is represented by a number of representatives relative to the population of their state. In the senate there are two senators from each state and they represent their home states.

The term of a senator is six years and they can stand for re-election. Senators are chosen in statewide elections held in even-numbered years. Californians were electing only one senator in 1994 because each election year only one-third of the senate stands for re-election. This practice ensures that there are always senators with legislative experience in the Senate to bring continuity to the work of the Senate (Glick: 1989: 78). The two senate candidates were Michael Huffington (Republican Representative of the House) and Diane Feinstein (Democratic incumbent Senator).

The other election in California was gubernatorial. The governor is similar to the federal president but only on the state level; he or she is the chief executive of his or her state. The governor is elected for a four year term and can be re-elected any number of times. In California, a governor has strong veto powers and can delete, for instance, lines of the state budget. Governors symbolize their state and can represent any important issue they consider worth promoting (Aldrich: 1986: 149). The two gubernatorial candidates in 1994 elections were the incumbent, Pete Wilson (Republican), and Kathleen Brown (Democrat).

Media's role in campaigns can be significant and the elections are covered extensively in the media - the private and public lives of any major candidate

are an object of close scrutiny as well as the issues they represent. The media can act as agenda-setters in campaigns. Certain candidates and certain aspects of a campaign receive more coverage than others and these come to dominate the attention of the electorate. The reported issues are often chosen by their newsworthiness, whether they are especially important or highlight something negative, for example. Coverage of candidates is determined by their impact, novelty, familiarity, by issues that draw the attention of the consumers, the readers of the papers. If a candidate wants to succeed in a campaign, he or she must get positive media coverage or at least more positive than the other runners (1986: 320-323).

In the following sections, I will analyze how Proposition 187 and Mexican Americans were presented in the articles and in themes related to candidates and ethnicity in the campaigns.

### 6.1 Candidates in the campaigns

Of the senator candidates, Diane Feinstein opposed Proposition 187 while her opponent Michael Huffington favored the proposition. Feinstein won the race. Of the gubernatorial candidates, Kathleen Brown opposed Proposition 187 while her opponent Pete Wilson favored the proposition. Wilson won the gubernatorial race. Both winners were also incumbents.

The ten articles and editorial letters dealt with campaign issues, poll results, campaign financing and campaign advertising. But in terms of what issue was covered the most - it was immigration, restrictions and measurements on it. It received attention in all of the articles. Proposition 187 as an initiative to ban undocumented or illegal immigration was mentioned in all of the ten articles and it was lifted as the decisive issue in the election that would determine how a lot of the people would vote. Therefore the articles described in great amount



how each candidate stood on Proposition 187. A lot of the same information occurred repeatedly in the articles. *The Times* used a variety of terms when describing undocumented immigration. In the following table is a summary of the terms and how many times they occurred in these ten articles. In these articles terms with the attribute ‘illegal’ were used quite interchangeably by all parties, by the candidates, by *The Times* and by other persons that were interviewed. The usage of attributes ‘illegal and ‘undocumented’ was not based on what stand the person had on the proposition. But the politicians on some occasions used attribute ‘illegal’ when they were either accusing someone else for hiring an ‘illegal alien’ or when, after having been caught hiring an ‘illegal alien they were explaining the reasons for having hired an ‘illegal’ alien, they tended to use ‘undocumented’ to alleviate the situation. But when they were asserting their stand on the issue, they tended to use ‘illegal’. *The Times*, when it was not quoting anyone else, used both ‘illegal’ and ‘undocumented’ quite freely.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles, out of 10 total</b>
illegal	1	1
illegal alien	10	7
illegal immigrant	9	7
illegal immigration	8	5
illegal worker	2	2
illegal worker	1	1
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>31</b>	
undocumented	3	1
undocumented alien	8	5
undocumented immigrant	2	2
undocumented nanny	3	2
undocumented person	1	1
undocumented worker	2	2
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>19</b>	

**Table 1 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

Michael Huffington had hired an undocumented maid from Mexico. The very first Mexican person that is mentioned in all of the articles is a nanny. Also the other Latino, the Guatemalan lady hired by Diane Feinstein, was hired as a maid. The two individual Latinas are already framed in the familiar, somewhat stereotypical, role of a maid. Huffington is quoted saying: "I should have put

my foot down, ignored the pleas of my wife and children”, when he was asked why he did not take appropriate measures to dismiss the nanny (The New York Times, 28 October 1994, p.1). He then adds that he did not dismiss the nanny because his children loved him. Perhaps he did it for his children, but maybe some of the old, stereotypical attitude of Anglos towards Mexican women and men or Mexicans in general was reflected in Huffington’s reasoning.

Diane Feinstein had hired an undocumented Guatemalan housekeeper. She claims she hired the housekeeper legally and the housekeeper had produced documents indicating that she was in the country legally. A lot of uncertainty around her employment is credited to muddy records and computer problems within the government, apparently at the INS. However, the case with IRCA, as I have stated before, was that document were easy to counterfeit. Feinstein defends herself by saying that at the time she hired her maid IRCA was not yet passed and she is quoted saying that “[hiring] illegal immigrants was not yet illegal.”. Later, it was found out that the housekeeper had, at some point, hold a valid visa to work. However, during all that time she had worked for Feinstein, she had been illegally in the country. As most of the undocumented or nearly 60 % of them do, the housekeeper had also overstayed her visa and had become an illegal alien in the U.S.A.

Notable about Feinstein’s housekeeper, albeit she is Guatemalan but nevertheless a Hispanic or Latina, is that *The Times* identifies her with her name and tells that she had married legally to a United States citizen in the U.S.A. At the time of the interview she was already legal American citizen. *The Times*, although it talked with the housekeeper, does not tell the ethnic origin of her husband. *The Times* makes a subtle point; it interviewed the housekeeper, Ms. Relealegeno, and quotes her saying: “I was legal” (The New York Times, 5 November 1994, p.11). That was the only quote *The Times* uses from here. This episode illustrates well the subtlety of the immigration process in how people can stay in the U.S.A. illegally for years after initially entering the country legally and then becoming legal citizens through marriage or legalization.

When Huffington tried to obtain a working permit for their maid, IRCA had already made it illegal to hire undocumented aliens. Huffington blames politicians that “they have sent the wrong message – that breaking the law pays...” Either he is completely hypocritical or just politically shrewd and trying to mend things after he had broken the law himself. I wonder whether he really was opposing illegal immigration before this event became public or whether he became a proponent of Proposition 187 afterwards to fix things up. Initially when the news of the incident became public he denied the whole incident, but admitted to it after the Los Angeles Times revealed the news. He at some point stated that his wife had actually hired the maid. He then accused Feinstein for hiring two maids who were illegally in the country. Feinstein, on the other hand, attacked Huffington for being a hypocrite on the issue. An article ends with a sarcastic quote from Feinstein’s campaign manager Mr. Kuwata: “We are going to peel him (Huffington) like an onion” (The New York Times, 28 October 1994, p.1). This, after what Huffington had said and done, would not be difficult.

*The Times* quotes a survey from the Los Angeles Times. *The Times* was sometimes relying on information that the Los Angeles Times had published, and obviously *The Times* trusted their expertise on the city, or it was just saving its own resources and borrowed a survey that had been analyzed ready. According to the survey, the election result was going to depend on what stand the gubernatorial candidates Wilson and Brown are going to take on the proposition. *The Times* quotes Feinstein’s campaign manager saying that “a lot of people are going to vote because of how they view 187” (The New York Times, 28 October 1994, p.1).

During the campaign, *The Times* reported that there had been student demonstrations in which 10’000 students had demonstrated against Proposition 187 in Los Angeles. *The Times* does not reveal the ethnicity of the demonstrators nor the exact place where they took place for these particular demonstrations, but later it did. *The Times* also reported that there had also

been rallies in addition to demonstrations; most of them had opposed Proposition 187. Students from Los Angeles schools, *The Times* tells, and crowds of Hispanic workers in the city's garments district protested the proposition. In another protest, the paper identifies the protesters as Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans and African Americans. In connection to the proposition, *The Times* reports that some civic leaders were afraid of eruptions of lawlessness if the measure wins. *The Times* also reports that law enforcement officials around the state urged opponents of the proposition to remain calm and not to start protesting on the streets (The New York Times, 10 November 1994, p.7).

The protests were the few times when *The Times* actually brought up the ethnicity of the groups or persons involved, in this category of articles. In other occasions it usually referred to people by nationality rather than by ethnicity. *The Times* reports that protests against the proposition took place in front of the United States Embassy in Mexico City and tells that it was one protest in a series of boisterous protests against the Proposition 187. In connection to the protests in Los Angeles, *The Times* reports that extra police patrols were ordered at polling places and schools. In connection to the protest in Mexico City, *The Times* reports that about 500 people were shouting "racism, racism" near the United States embassy (The New York Times, 9 November 1994, p.4). *The Times* is fulfilling its surveillance function quite clearly by warning about possible threats if the demonstrations get out of control. But at the same time related to the protest in Mexico City, it brings into readers' attention that the Mexicans (Americans) consider Proposition 187 a racist measure and a racist attack on Mexican Americans. Both Mexicans and Mexican Americans are contesting the situation in California and want the society to pay attention to how Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants are treated. They are also letting others know that they do not accept the situation, albeit this takes place in California, they are still bound to Mexicans and Mexican Americans there. (It sounds somewhat hegemonic to call Mexicans living in the U.S.A. as Mexican Americans; Mexico is geographically part of American continent as

well, so we could call Mexicans Mexican Americans too or American Mexicans.)

*The Times* quotes a Republican lawyer on November 8<sup>th</sup>, a day before the election, saying: “It’s [Proposition 187] a great imponderable of this election...You don’t know whether to believe what people have been telling the pollsters because the proposition issue has so many overtones in it, **not the least being race** [emphasis mine]” (The New York Times, 8 November 1994, p.21). Although he particularly does not mention any ethnic group or race, he is questioning indirectly the old racial paradigms and it is notable when someone from a Republican party admits that race is an important factor to be taken into account in this election. I stated in the introduction that President Clinton also defined race as one of the most important issues that the country faces and must solve. At least the parties are both expressing same type of concerns, whether they had at that point any mutual agreement on the issue. And the lawyer notably mentions race, not ethnicity and nor any other more neutral term. It is not clarified whether he had a particular racial group, such as Mexicans, in mind or just a general notion of race, but he must be aware of the ethnic composition in California. But he admitted that this election was going to be about finding new ways to address issues related to immigration, ethnicity and race, or at least a starting point for a (political) debate on the issues.

In an editorial letter, the incumbent governor, Pete Wilson, corrects an earlier, misinforming article in *The Times*. He refutes that he never proposed that every Californian should get and carry an identification card. He says: “The Federal Government must fix what’s wrong with the employer-sanction procedures under the Immigration Reform and Control Act and provide a means of verifying legal residency. Proposition 187 would impose the same legal residency requirements as the condition of eligibility to receive services” (*The New York Times*, 6 November 1994, p.14). He does not want to make California a “passbook society” as his opponents have claimed. He ends the letter saying that “legal immigrants in California resent the charge that Proposition 187 is based on race, skin color or accent.” For him, but many of

the minority groups saw proposition 187 to be exactly about race, skin color and accent, at least symbolically, even though they might accept some of its provisions. But Wilson obviously missed that this was exactly the importance of the Proposition to many ethnic group, a wake-up call to question the very inbred racial ignorance of the political elite. *The Times* gave him a chance to clarify issues to help readers avoid ambiguity around Proposition 187 since a lot of opinions and misconceptions must have been formed around the proposition.

*The Times* calls proposition 187 a “highly divisive voter initiative that would deny to undocumented immigrants most government services, including schooling and non-emergency health care” (The New York Times, 9 November 1994, p.4). *The Times* states that immigration control was a central theme in Governor Wilson’s re-election and that three-fourths of Californians who voted for Proposition 187 also voted for Governor Wilson. However, the paper also notes that it was not only Proposition 187 that helped Wilson win, but also his ability to handle natural disasters that faced California and revive the economy.

*The Times* tells (9 November 1994, p.4) that proponents called the proposition “Save Our State” and based their argument on a claim that “California’s social services are the main magnet drawing illegal immigrants across the border.” *The Times* tells that the proposition would require doctors and teachers to give immigration authorities the names of those people they suspect to be in the nation illegally. *The Times* relies on analysts’ opinion that it is rather the California’s jobs and comparatively higher wages that will attract Mexicans, Central Americans and others across the border, and will keep those already illegally in the country from voluntarily returning home. The paper refutes the myth that social services are the main reason why immigrants, both legal and illegal, come to California. It tells that more likely jobs draw immigrants to California and the availability of jobs ensures that those who are already in will also stay. *The Times* identifies Mexicans as being one of the main groups of illegal immigrants among others, and the largest group also. I stated earlier that Bracero program initially set the contours for later Mexican immigration to the

U.S.A. During the Bracero program Mexicans did not enter the U.S.A. to receive social benefits. They entered to work and fulfil the demand for labour force. The reason, then, seems to be the same.

Californians overwhelmingly approved Proposition 187 and Governor Pete Wilson's orders to start enforcing some of the proposition's provisions were immediately blocked by Federal and state judges. *The Times* reports on the margin of 3 to 2 with which the Proposition 187 won while Wilson supported it. Remarkable in this election was that Mr. Huffington, who favored the Proposition 187, was not likely to win the senate election although the Republican Wilson had won the gubernatorial election by favoring the proposition (The New York Times, 10 November 1994, p.7).

Regarding voter distribution, who voted whom, *The Times* notes that Feinstein received support from women, liberals, Democrats, moderates and independents, and that most black and Hispanic voters gave their votes to her (The New York Times, 10 November 1994, p.7). Here again, Mexican Americans are not explicitly identified but they are hidden behind the bureaucratic term 'Hispanic'. However, we can only rely on research findings that have found that Mexican Americans are more likely to vote Democrat than Republican. The party affiliation can also vary according to the issue and different ethnic groups can form alliances between themselves and vote parties on an ad hoc basis (Saito: 1998). Feinstein was not going to be lax about illegal immigration, despite opposing Proposition 187, she is quoted saying: "to pass immigration reform [in the U.S. Congress] that will once and for all stop illegal immigration at the border, stop document fraud and illegal immigrant smuggling and remove all support benefits from those here illegally, but with fairness and justice" (The New York Times, 19 November 1994, p.10).

No election would be perfect without accusations of a voter fraud. Huffington refused to admit his loss in the election and claimed to have evidence of a voter fraud. He said that he had evidence that large numbers of non-citizens had been voting and that, according to *The Times*, he was talking mainly about the

“illegal registration of undocumented aliens, mostly of Hispanic origin” (The New York Times, 19 November 1994, p.10). He asserted that much of the fraud resulted when opponents of Proposition 187 encouraged illegal aliens to find ways to vote, *The Times* also notes that he was an outspoken supporter of Proposition 187. In one of the articles, Feinstein’s spokesman Bill Chandler is quoted calling Huffington “a spoiled rich kid and a sour-grapes loser” (The New York Times, 30 November 1994, p.11). He, a rich kid and scared of Mexicans, puts the blame on illegal immigrants whom he has mostly identified as Hispanic. The illegal Mexicans are a defenseless target, easy to blame, and their view is difficult to prove since officially they do not exist. The elections do require substantial amount of money and it certainly is going to hurt if one spends over \$28 million of own money to a campaign and loses it, as Huffington did. Quite implicitly he was expecting to win merely because he had money and to win political power with economic power by endorsing a proposition that would deport all illegal aliens who, on their part, keep the state’s economy active.

## 6.2 Ethnicity in the campaigns

For this category on ethnicity and campaigns, one article in *The Times*’ dealt with Mexican Americans, ethnicity and ethnic relations. The attitudes of several people that *The Times* interviewed were expressed in a multitude of ways. The people interviewed expressed their own views or views of the group they represented on Proposition 187, immigration and the elections.

The terms that *The Times* used in the article when referring to undocumented immigration or immigrants are calculated in the table below. In the article, persons who favored the proposition used terms with attribute ‘illegal’ more often than others who opposed it. Once, ‘illegal’ was used in a connection to



Pete Wilson favoring the proposition, as told by *The Times*. But the frequency of its use was not very often, it was used only a total of four times.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles out of 1 total</b>
illegal alien	2	1
illegal immigrant	1	1
illegal latino	1	1
Total of all illegal *	4	
undocumented alien	2	1
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

**Table 2 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

The article, titled “Minorities Join California Fight” (The New York Times, 31 October 1994, p.1) is of special importance because it describes coalition building among the Latino, Black and Asian groups. The article is connected thematically to the campaign theme, because the groups and people described in it were campaigning against or for the proposition, but it is handled here separately due to its significance.

There has been, according to Wilbur Rich increasing coalition building among these three groups. He views America as a polymorphic nation of cultural and political contradictions and states that before a group can be incorporated, it must have internal unity. But he also sees that the prospect of all Asian and Hispanic groups agreeing on a single political issue is quite remote (Rich: 1996). Rich states that ethnic groups will form coalitions if all the parties will benefit from it and serves everyone’s self-interests (1996: 54). In the 1960s Blacks and Latinos were working together but in the 1990s their differences in opinion on monolingual education and Latino’s criticism of affirmative action benefiting blacks more than them, these have caused friction in their relations (1996: 56).

*The Times* describes California “more racially and ethnically diverse” than any other state and that the minority communities are starting to rally against the initiative. *The Times* mentions three ethnic groups: Hispanic Americans, Asian

Americans and African Americans. *The Times* tells that the groups' active campaigning against the proposition, together with other opposition, is starting to have an effect: the support for the proposition has decreased. There clearly is something that unifies these groups in their fight. *The Times* states that at that point, a week before the election day of November 9<sup>th</sup>, only one in five of the Hispanic Americans support the Proposition.

*The Times* article gives voice to individual representatives of different ethnic communities thus refuting the findings in the research literature claiming that ethnic minorities are seen as object in the news (as in Latino Image) and that they are not talked to directly. In this article all the groups are given voice through their individual members. Their views are both for and against the initiative. The article also clearly illustrates Saito's point that different ethnic groups can come together, as they have done earlier during labor issues, and unite their forces on common issues. On such occasions differences were cast aside and the factor that unites different groups is the common experience of struggle (Saito: 1998: 125). *The Times* quotes Leonardo Vilchis, a community organizer in the heavily Hispanic Eastern Los Angeles, saying: "We are getting the word out to our people about what this thing would really do to ethnic groups...People just hadn't been paying much attention until recently."

*The Times* states that the white majority in the state is "frustrated that thousands of undocumented aliens continue to slip into California and that the cost of providing services to them continues to rise." The paper identifies the incumbent governor Pete Wilson as the leader of the supporters of Proposition 187. He is indirectly quoted in a passage saying: "California will go broke if services to illegal aliens are not cut." One should keep in mind that in California the governor has powers to alter the state budget and perhaps one can conclude from here that Wilson is collecting votes from citizens who are afraid of their economy being devastated by the rising expenditure of providing services to the illegal aliens. This quote also tells that it was the economy that was more important than the illegal immigrants per se.

*The Times* gives room for the opinions of the minorities. Both to those who favor and oppose Proposition 187. A second-generation Mexican American, Jesse Laguna, who favors the proposition states: “An illegal Latino can very easily cost a Latino-American a job, and nobody understands that better than an American.” He is, with this comment, also asserting his ethnic identity as an American, despite his Mexican roots. He feels united with Mexican Americans as citizens of the U.S.A. and less so with illegal immigrants from Mexico. *The Times* also quotes another person supporting the proposition, this time a first-generation Chinese American, Gil Wong, says: “A lot of ethnic people are going to support this [Proposition 187]...How can anyone rationally support providing welfare to illegal immigrants? We’re going to win.” A third proponent of the measure, a seventh-generation Mexican American, told *The Times* a solution to unifying the ethnic vote against the measure: “We’ve got an education problem, once you explain to somebody what 187 is really all about, you turn around a vote. That’s our challenge.” The representatives of younger generations were more eager to assert their anger at illegal immigrants than was the seventh-generation Mexican American, who was offering educational approach that implied a better-rounded knowledge and approach to the issue. He was not simply blaming illegal immigrants for living on welfare.

*The Times* interviewed also those who oppose Proposition 187. Frank Del Olmo is identified as an influential Mexican American voice in California and as the deputy editorial page editor of the Los Angeles Times. He opposes the proposition and has also been critical of his own paper when it published an article endorsing Mr. Wilson’s campaign, which was the first time the Los Angeles Times endorsed a political candidate in a quarter of a century. He believes that the proposition and Wilson are practically the same thing. Del Olmo said about the campaign to pass Proposition 187 that it was “desperate and cynical” and it “will stick in our craws for generations.” *The Times* quotes Del Olmo directly: “this campaign is unprecedented in the harm it does – permanent damage, I fear – to an ethnic community I care deeply about and a state I love. I know that many thousands, if not millions of Mexican Americans and Mexican citizens feel the same way.” Thus the whole of the Mexican

community is given representation by a prominent community figure that also represents and criticizes the institution he works for. Del Olmo criticizes his own paper, the Los Angeles Times, for upholding or encouraging the status quo by endorsing a gubernatorial candidate who is campaigning for Proposition 187. Of all the cities in California, Los Angeles most likely is the most heterogeneous in population and its ethnic origin. *The Times*, indirectly at least, is contesting the way how a rival newspaper stands on the issue in a city where a paper should more or less endorse the diversity of its population and be introducing more plausible and acceptable solutions to a complex issue. *The Times* gives prominent representation, through Del Olmo, to the Mexican American community, but as an out-of-state spectator with criticism of a major newspaper, the Los Angeles Times, and of the proposition in California where the Hispanic vote, according to the article, is the most powerful minority vote.

*The Times* introduces another Mexican American: Ruben Rodriguez is a second-generation American. He asserts that his family has done well in the United States since 1911, when they first entered the country, legally. He is portrayed as being worried about America, its immigration policies and his family's future if the proposition is passed. He says: "passing it [the proposition] would be a terrible step backward" and continues: "I know there's an immigration problem. But 187 is no answer.... the people who will be targeted and questioned will be the people whose skin is not white, particularly Latinos and Asians. We can't let it pass." He also points out the occupational profile of his Mexican American family (or Mexican Americans in general) and says: "We haven't all become doctors and lawyers, but we've been good, hard-working, productive citizens", and "We've gone to war when we have been called and we've paid our taxes, and we are proud to be part of the great American success story." He is portrayed as a middle-of-the-road man, not a progressive or a militant, who lives a middle-class, peaceful life. He is more of an assimilationist by attitude; his family has become part of the American society and not separated from it.

*The Times* also focuses on a second-generation Japanese American, Miya Iwataki. She finds the content of the proposition a “constitutional insult”, because it would mark some people suspected of being in the country illegally just by the way they look. She states rather bluntly, reflecting sentiments of the treatment of American Japanese in the internment camps during the World War II, that “The word ‘suspect’ just sends chills all through me” and “Am I to be treated different just because I don’t look like the white majority?” She compares the forces behind the proposition to those that caused the anti-foreign feelings during and after the World War II. *The Times* quotes a long passage from her: “During World War II, my father joined up like every good American to fight to save America and democracy. But my grandparents - - - because they had come to America from Japan, they were among those ‘suspects’ who were snatched from their homes and interned in special camps. I worry that the kind of anti-ethnic hysteria driving 187 is akin to the anti-ethnic hysteria that swept the country after Pearl Harbor.” The anti-foreign feelings partly culminated in the “red scare” and in the senator Joseph McCarthy, whose activities in the U.S. Congress caused many persons to lose everything they believed in because of suspicions of being communist. She believes that the answer to the country’s problems lies in more efficient border controls. She also points out the fact that minorities have been seen as problem people and as a possible threat to the established order. The minorities have suffered when anger has been directed at them, instead of at the correct cause of discontent, whether the cause is an institutionalized structure allowing uncontrollable immigration or segregation based on race.

The black community reacted strongly to the initiative as well. The executive director of the Los Angeles branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which according to the newspaper article is one of the country’s major black civil rights organizations, gives this community a voice. He is quoted saying: “We’ve got to send a message to the rest of the nation that California will not stand on a platform of bigotry, racism and scapegoating. A representative of the Los Angeles Urban League, a major black community organization, says: “there are black people and other minority people who are at

odds over jobs. But if you are black and you vote for 187, you're not just voting against Hispanics, but you are also voting for the kind of thing that has been used against blacks since the time began."

Here again, the blacks are not really shown to be on the same side with the Hispanics, even if they are comparing the plight of Mexican Americans to their own that has been historically within more institutionalized forms of racism. They are afraid of their own position and see it threatened by the Mexican American community. They are opposing it out of principle, not because of feeling utmost sympathy for other groups. They are contesting their own position on the ethno-racial map of the U.S.A.

*The Times* mentions student protests in schools and street demonstrations. *The Times* states that 70,000 Hispanic Americans and African Americans had rallied to show solidarity against the proposition. Many speakers had, according to the article, declared "a pernicious bias against ethnic minorities was the driving force behind the measure." Also students in Southern California had staged street demonstrations "to carry the fight and keep it at the top of the news." *The Times* also told that many student leaders from high schools were planning their (demonstration) strategy for the election campaign. The news about the protests in this article compare differently with the news on protests in the previous chapter on candidates and the campaign. In them, *The Times* was fulfilling the surveillance function to warn society against possible threats. In this article, however, the news on protests seem to fulfill the correlation and even the transmission function. The protest are portrayed as something everyone should participate in and that these protests are part of a bigger "fight" in which different groups are trying to establish and negotiate their positions, in California particularly.

### 6.3 Summary

In the category on the candidates and Proposition 187, Mexican Americans are not really talked with. They are presented more within the framework of a maid and housekeeper than within the framework of a large minority that are represented in all parts of the society: as peddlers, as workers in the service sector and as professionals in law or medicine, for example. *The Times* does not talk with Mexican Americans; they are only talked about as objects and as tokens in political campaign rhetoric and as part of the vague discourse on Proposition 187. The discourse, which was related to Mexican Americans as illegal immigrants more than it was related to Mexican Americans as legal citizens. This can be understood because Proposition 187 dealt with denying social services particularly to illegal immigrants and the political rhetoric was concerned more with that. As illegal aliens, Mexican Americans are presented as the largest group in California. As voters, Hispanics, not Mexican Americans per se, is the ethnic group that *The Times* talks about. Hispanic, on the other hand, is a bureaucratic term used by government officials. *The Times* may have adopted the term directly from poll results or the paper wanted to emphasize the official character of the elections. Only on one occasion did *The Times* talk to a representative of Hispanics, to a Latina woman. She was the housekeeper that Feinstein had hired and *The Times* only quotes her saying: “I was legal”. Compared to the number and length of quotes from other Latinos in other article categories, this was the shortest and as such, peculiar. One could have expected at least a lengthier quote. But it could also be interpreted that *The Times* wanted to emphasize that she, indeed, was legally in the country while she was hired by Feinstein and as such, could be interpreted as a positive comment for Feinstein, if not an official expression of *The Times* endorsing a democrat Feinstein for the senate. Whether it was a positive comment or an endorsement of a senate candidate, at least *The Times* wanted to bring some coherence to the ambiguous political rhetoric surrounding the proposition.

*The Times* does, however, give the readers some background to the complex issue of illegal immigration. By quoting Huffington and his message on the harmfulness of illegal immigration, one could see traces of the transmission function of the media. *The Times* fulfils surveillance function regarding the

protests that have occurred and warns people against protesting if the initiative is passed. The paper fulfils more of the correlation function when it explains the candidates' position on immigration control and focuses on their personal and political relationship to immigration.

On micro level, the article category on candidates deals with the political campaigns of the candidates. On the macro level it brings the issue of immigration and immigration control to the readers and also in some degree gives several points of views to the issue. The articles illustrate the very dialectal relationship between these two levels and how the question of immigration and illegal immigration are constant subjects in politics and in every day lives of the people from different parts of the society.

In the category on ethnicity and Proposition 187, *The Times* does not only talk about Mexican Americans, it talks with and to them. It gives their opinion on the proposition, but also describes how Mexican Americans, who have been in the country for generations, view the recent immigration. *The Times* also tells how other ethnic groups share the views of Mexican Americans and how they disagree. The article introduces ordinary citizens and some influential community leaders who all have varying, sometimes conflicting views. *The Times* fulfils correlation and transmission function, this is less about surveillance function. The multiple viewpoints on immigration and racial segregation are for telling the audience about the situation in California regarding immigration, Mexican Americans, other ethnic groups and how race relations are contested and the hegemony of white majority questioned. The Mexican American and Japanese American interviewees both bring forth segregation based on race and on differences in skin color. They both emphasize that as American citizens, but also as culturally Mexican and Japanese, they have fulfilled their duties to their country. On the other hand they have suffered the effects of discrimination, as the case with the internment camps for the Japanese points out. They have paradoxically served the country of which they are proud of, but they have to live with the consequences of racism when they are being blamed for ills in the society caused by economic



recession or uncontrollable immigration, with causes that they have little to do with directly. The ills have nothing to do with race or skin color; the ills are only reinforced and blamed on minorities because of deep seated stereotypes in the minds of most of the people, stereotypes of minorities as problem people. The hegemony and power of the white majority and politicians is questioned in the article by giving voice to so many people and which the quotes well illustrate. The powers and ideology that created the westward expansionist America are still alive in the thinking of the Anglo majority. The dialectical relationship in the discourse is used to define the concept of race and people's identities; it is brought to the forefront in the interviews of the Mexican, African and Japanese Americans. These people are not accepting their treatment as second-class or inferior citizens when they are anything but, they are serving the powered elite in wars but then they are made scapegoats for problems. And to vote no on the Proposition was a protest to the existing situation in terms of racial relations. The symbolic value of Proposition 187 was greater and more important than its content, which was sometimes accepted.

*The Times* gave the political view, or told how the politicians are viewing the proposition, but it also gave the view of those who both oppose and favor the proposition. On a larger scale, on macro level, *The Times* pointed out how the issue, proposition, is being debated and contested by different groups, both politicians and citizens. The Times depicted Anglos as politicians, and it depicted ethnic communities as citizen groups of Mexican Americans and Hispanics, but also African and Asian Americans. They all had a different approach both to the proposition and to the arguments they were using. They were looking for allies, but at the same time asserting their own position in the American society, as did African Americans when they, as a community, argued for the importance of voting against the proposition with the Mexican American and other communities, but they did so as a separate group with a strong racial identity out of solidarity towards Mexican Americans and other groups' struggle. The African American community, based on the articles, sounded more coherent as a group and with a clearer reason for voting against

Proposition 187, whereas the Mexican American community was shown as a more diverse community and with a less coherent view on the proposition. The African American community is smaller in California and thus it might be easier to establish unity, and they have a long history of racial discrimination, and have become more articulate about discrimination and rights. Mexican American community, and the Hispanic community generally, is larger than the black community in California. More members join the community every day, if you count the legal and illegal immigrants, who bring their points of view and recent experiences of becoming ethnic and racialized in California and in the U.S.A. This is likely to diversify any community in any country. Proposition 187 and Mexican Americans were for the politicians a means to reach a political goal, a victory in the elections. Proposition 187 was a cause for the Mexican Americans to fight for or to fight against it, but it was a means through which they were able to assert their identity and contest their position. In addition to being a means, it also brought immigration to the center of debate on several levels and caused reactions also in Mexico. In the following chapter, these two issues are interpreted.

## 7. IMMIGRATION, MEXICO AND PROPOSITION 187

Nine articles and editorial letters are categorized under this theme. Six articles and editorial letters deal with the way Mexican Americans are portrayed in relation to immigration and Proposition 187 and three articles deal with Mexico and Proposition 187 and their relationships to Mexican Americans.

### 7.1 Immigration and proposition 187

In the six articles and editorial letters that formed this chapter, the usage of terms with attributes ‘illegal’ or ‘undocumented’ is counted in the table below. Most of the terms with the attribute ‘illegal’ occurred in the editorial letters and were distributed quite evenly in the three editorial letters. Two persons favoring the proposition wrote two of the editorial letters and a representative of a gubernatorial candidate opposing the proposition wrote the last.. All three writers of editorial letters used terms with attribute ‘illegal’, not only the two opponents of the proposition and who had the strictest attitudes towards the illegal immigrants. Terms with attributes ‘undocumented’ were mentioned by a bishop and by *The Times*.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles out of 6 total</b>
illegal alien	12	2
illegal immigrant	12	5
illegal immigration	14	2
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>38</b>	
undocumented	1	1
undocumented worker	1	1
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>2</b>	

**Table 3 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

In an editorial letter titled “California’s Prop. 187”, the media director for Proposition 187, Linda Hayes, replies to an editorial letter. In her view the proposition is not a horrible invention by nativists, or a “nativist abomination”

as she calls it, but a logical step in saving California from economic disaster that is caused by Mexicans collecting welfare payments in California while living in Mexico and flooding schools with Spanish-speaking children. This flood in her view would increase the number of Mexicans in California to 20 million by 2004; this in turn would cause Californians, whose ethnicity she does not suggest, to immigrate to other states. This would lead to California being controlled by Mexico with Spanish as the sole language and to California being annexed to Mexico. In the end she refers to a labor union case in which illegal aliens caused wage decreases and in the end took control of the whole union while U.S. citizens lost their jobs. She grouped all Mexicans together in her total figures, both legal citizens and legal or illegal Mexican immigrants to California. Clearly the Mexican Americans who are citizens or legal residents in the country will also reproduce and add to the number of Mexican Americans in California. By exaggerating on what demographers have predicted all along, that the Hispanics are the fastest growing ethnic minority, she manages to raise panic and possibly extra hatred towards all Mexicans and not just towards the illegal immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere. But for *The Times*, as for any good newspaper, all views need to be expressed to guarantee equal representation of all groups. *The Times* refuted in one of the articles the myth that welfare benefits are the reason why illegal immigrants come to the U.S.A. and as President Salinas will later point out that Mexico itself has free health care and other social services.

An editorial letter titled “America Can’t Afford More Huddled Masses”, alluding to Emma Lazarus poem on a plaque in a museum under the Statue of Liberty, attacks some earlier writer as a misty-eyed ideologist who is not able to recognize the reality and effects of the immense legal and illegal immigration. The writer thinks that the real purpose of Proposition 187, while he recognizes that parts of it are unconstitutional, is to place the immigration issue on the table. He writes, “A halt to illegal immigration and a reduction of legal immigrants are urgently needed. If both can be accomplished, the natural birth rate of the United States will eventually reverse our population to more sustainable level” (The New York Times, 2 November 1994, p.22). The writer

reflects the sentiments and arguments that the environmental and labor movements have used for example during the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) negotiation, that immigrants and free trade agreements are harmful to the environment and American workers. *The Times* gives a wider perspective to the discourse surrounding Proposition 187. However, this editorial does not mention Hispanics or Mexican Americans in any way.

In an editorial letter titled “California Leads the Way, Alas”, Kathleen Brown’s issues director writes on Proposition 187 and how illegal immigration made the proposition receive unnecessary attention. He points out that the real issue in the elections was not the proposition. The real issue was illegal immigration. A need for serious discussion on immigration reflected unnecessarily on Proposition 187 and made the proposition a law. He also points out, factually, by saying: “For more than 100 years, Californians have routinely vented frustration and anger against Chinese, Japanese, Mexican and other legal or illegal immigrants during difficult times. But this year, illegal immigrants were blamed for almost every one of California’s problems” (The New York Times, 27 November 1994, p.11). He calls it a mistake by proposition’s opponents when they demonstrated waving Mexican flags on the streets of Los Angeles. He thought it was unnecessary and only caused opponents to lose votes. In this editorial letter, *The Times* implies how Mexicans have been used as scapegoat, a theme that has occurred in other articles also.

A representative of Americans Against Illegal Immigration states that “we’re going broke in this state” and that “enough is enough” referring to so many ethnic groups and nationalities living in California that schools teach their students in 96 different languages. *The Times* emphasizes how Los Angeles has changed because of recent immigration. *The Times* says: “Los Angeles is splitting into separate and often clashing pieces” (The New York Times, 30 October 1994, p.3). *The Times* notes that during earlier eras of massive immigration to the U.S.A. the citizens have always expressed their worry about the influence of such mass immigrations and about the prospects of assimilating the new immigrants.

*The Times* sees that the predominantly white, protestant middle-class, which itself arrived from the Midwest, is now facing a similar situation as the new immigrants from Asia and Mexico are arriving in California. But *The Times* notes that this time the arriving immigrants are coming from remarkably different cultures, compared to earlier immigration from Ireland, Germany, Italy and Eastern Europe. *The Times* states that “the latest migration is mostly Hispanic and Asian, and it has set in motion a jittery of cultural misunderstanding and racial tension.” The paper is alluding that the old paradigms used to explain the assimilation of mostly European immigrant to American society is not sufficient any longer. The paper is calling for a new approach to solve the misunderstandings that are taking place in “once-homogeneous neighborhoods” that have been transformed by the new immigrants. *The Times* also reminds that it took over 20 years of debate to decide on immigration restrictions for European arrivals and as then, new ways of understanding will be found this time as well, only the means and paradigms to explain them could be different. *The Times* quotes a researcher: “Time is the only issue. All the evidence I see suggests that the kids and grandkids of these immigrants will become indistinguishable from the rest of the society”, (The New York Times, 30 October 1994, p.3). *The Times* sees Mexican Americans and new arrivals from Mexico as one of the growing immigrant and ethnic groups, not as a group that had been established in California before the arrival of the Midwestern, protestant whites. The numbers of the Mexican immigrants have, indeed, been much larger in the 20<sup>th</sup> century compared to 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early settlements.

In a country where religion is a strong part of everyday life and where the majority of the Mexican Americans belong to the Catholic Church, it is understandable that the bishops would comment on Proposition 187. *The Times* writes on the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. According to *The Times*, the bishops urged that greater emphasis should be placed on Federal immigration policies rather than relying on punitive measures like Proposition 187. The bishops think that the proposition established an intimidating tone

that could foster, and *The Times* quotes, “harassment of persons who may look or sound undocumented” (The New York Times, 18 November 1994, p.21). *The Times* quotes bishops saying: “this proposition strikes at the most vulnerable among us – children, the sick and the needy – without addressing the larger social and political causes for the problem, especially at the Federal level.” The bishops and *The Times* do not mention Mexican Americans, but as most of them are Catholic, the implicit assumption in the newspaper is evident. The bishops are worried that the proposition could cause racist outbursts because they say that people who “look or sound undocumented” could be harassed. And by implying that the church would consider fighting the proposition in court, the church participates in the debate that would be needed in order to make the new immigrants part of the society.

*The Times* links Proposition 187 to other immigration matters on the federal, national level. *The Times* mentions Salvadoran refugees from whom the Clinton administration ended their refugee status. *The Times* states that this decision was influenced by the generally toughening attitude towards immigration in the U.S.A. One official from the Clinton administration said that the pressures (such as Proposition 187) had to be taken into consideration. The administration officials claim that it is important to show that the administration can be tough on immigration and that it does not let a temporary refugee program to turn into a permanent residence for the Salvadorans. The Clinton administration opposed the Proposition 187 but they needed to assert their decisiveness on the immigration issue. *The Times* quotes a representative from Open Society Institute, an advocacy and research center: “If the arrangement [refugee status] for Salvadorans is ended, it is likely to be another victim of raging anti-immigration sentiments” (The New York Times, 26 November 1994, p.11). *The Times* reported that the situation in El Salvador might not be stable and safe for the refugees to return yet. The Congress originally granted the refugee status to the Salvadorans, Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton extended the refugee status.

## 7.2 Mexico and Proposition 187

This section interprets how *The Times* reported the way Mexico and Mexicans reacted to the proposition. It also interprets Mexico's ties to Mexican Americans as described in the articles. Four articles were related to this category. The usage of terms with attributes 'illegal' or 'undocumented' in the articles are counted in the table below.

Term	Total occurrence	Used in number of articles out of 4 total
illegal alien	3	2
illegal immigrant	6	3
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>9</b>	
undocumented immigrant	1	1
undocumented migrant	1	1
undocumented immigrant	1	1
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>3</b>	

**Table 4 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

*The Times* reports on the protests that took place in Mexico against Proposition 187. *The Times* tells how the protesters, 40 masked men, attacked a McDonald's restaurant. *The Times* tells that McDonald's is a symbol of American imperialism to many Mexican leftists, however the paper quotes a marketing manager of McDonald's emphasizing that "all McDonald's restaurants in Mexico are franchises owned by Mexican investors that employ only Mexican staff" (The New York Times, 9 November 1994, p.3). The protesters painted messages, according to *The Times*, such as "Yankee Go Home!", "Solidarity with the Immigrants!" and "No to 187" on the restaurant windows. *The Times* reports that Proposition 187 has also caused protests among Mexican immigrants in California and drawn wide criticism in all parts of Mexican society. The article mentions that the number of police has been increased by hundreds in Southern California. Most of the illegal immigrants live there and the majority of them are Mexican according to *The Times*. *The Times* also refers to an earlier protest that took place in front of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City and it also mentions that the officials are expecting huge demonstrations if the proposition is passed. By warning about possible



disturbances, the paper is fulfilling its surveillance function. This time it is warning about possible protests in both Mexico and in California. By stating that McDonald's is viewed as a symbol of American imperialism, *The Times* also implies the protective and expansionist attitude that the Anglo migrants had towards Mexicans and the effects of this attitude.

It was not only the 40 masked men who attacked the McDonald's to protest the proposition. The government of Mexico headed by the then president Carlos Salinas, criticized Proposition 187 as well. *The Times*, in "Government Joins Attack on Ballot Idea", states: "putting aside years of cautious silence on American domestic politics, Mexico's government and governing party are pushing angrily into California's debate over whether to cut off social services to illegal immigrants" (The New York Times, 3 November 1994, p.29). The government became defiant on the proposition. The Mexican government has, as *The Times* reports, contacted Hispanic American groups in the U.S.A. *The Times* quotes Salinas saying: "Local political interests in California tend to blame Mexican workers for that society's problems." So perhaps out of national pride and out of defense of its own citizens, the Mexican government has decided to help Mexicans in California, even to fight the proposition in court. The paper reminds that the Mexican effort has remained mostly rhetorical and on the Mexican side of the border. For Mexico, then, the proposition was more about caring about the well-being of its citizens working abroad and a means to remind Americans of Mexicans' contribution to California. *The Times* quotes Salinas: "Mexico affirms rejection of this xenophobic campaign and will continue to act in defense of the labor and human rights of our migrant workers." *The Times* reports that some Mexican American leaders in the U.S.A. had calmed down the Salinas Government's efforts to win political support among Mexican migrants in the U.S.A. by warning the Salinas government that those efforts might be counterproductive. Mexican Americans are presented as possible targets for racial discrimination in California by *The Times*, and about which the Mexican government is concerned. *The Times* also says that the Mexican government is quite sure that the election debate in California will increase anti-immigrant sentiments that in

turn would cause abuses against Mexicans by both the U.S. Border Patrol and ordinary Californians.

As part of the larger integration process that is taking place between the two countries, Salinas sees that immigration will be one of the important issues in this relationship. Mexico officially accepts the situation of people crossing the border in hope of employment. Immigrants do so no matter how strict are the counter measures the U.S.A. employs on the border. The government sees the major motive behind immigration to be employment rather than better health care, education and other benefits that are largely free in Mexico. In a way, immigration is a safety valve to Mexico, a safety valve that causes the pressure to be released outside Mexico, in California, in the form of Proposition 187 in this particular case. But the blame does not fall on Mexico alone, the institutionalized structures that were created before the 1990s, such as Bracero program, are part of the cause, not to mention large differences in wealth between Mexico and the U.S.A.

The Mexican president, Salinas, reacted to the proposition and the question of immigration. He wanted negotiations between the U.S.A and Mexico on a freer flow of migrant workers, like on free trade, as an only means to control the northward flow of migrant workers. The president does not want the workers to go to the U.S.A. but his remarks, suggests *The Times*, are an important indication that Mexico is frustrated with the hardening American attitude against illegal immigrants. *The Times* quotes him: "I am not proposing that millions of Mexicans go to the United States – we want them in Mexico" (The New York Times, 14 November 1994, p.11). Salinas sees that the trade treaty needs to be complemented with an agreement for controlling the flow of migrant workers. He believes that in the future the people might be moving more freely in the spirit that moves goods between the countries according to the NAFTA treaty. In the Business diary section, *The Times* implies that if American companies wish to make business in Mexico then the Proposition might have a negative influence on their business prospects. *The Times* says

“but the big tent may not be big enough for both notions [Proposition 187 and good business with Mexico]” (The New York Times, 13 November 1994, p.2).

President Salinas and his successor Zedillo both are reported to have said that Proposition 187 is misguided and xenophobic; they have also expressed their willingness to fight the measure in courts. *The Times* reports that news of the elections and its effects have been widely published in Mexican newspapers. It also reports several other official or unofficial protests as well as shopping boycotts. However, *The Times* reports that President Salinas ensures that the attitude Mexico has towards Proposition 187 does not reflect the general attitude the country feels towards the U.S.A. Because the Clinton administration is also opposing the proposition the protests in Mexico are not as severe as they otherwise could have been. The freshly negotiated North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has, *The Times* notes, contributed to improving the relations between the two countries as the employment situation in Mexico has improved.

These passages from *The Times* illustrate what Lowenthal has described in his study on relations between Mexico and California. He claims that the Mexico is extending its domestic policies and politics across the border to California’s Mexican population and is in a way interfering with another nation’s politics (Lowenthal: 1993). In the context of this study, the interference is probably largely due to the general integration of economic ties between the two countries, *The Times* says that despite the Mexican’s anger over the proposition, it will not seriously threaten the expanding economic ties between the two countries. But on the other hand, it might temporarily halt and slow down the development of business connections between the two countries. Some Mexicans did feel angered about the propositions, as the protests in Mexico City and attack on a McDonald’s restaurant point out. But it could also point out that the Mexicans are considering all Mexicans as part of the Mexican nation, no matter in what political state they are living in. And as such, the Mexican government defends its colonized population in the U.S.A. and

emphasizes the feeling of community. The emphasis on community was one of the inferior traits that the Anglos gave to the Mexicans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 7.3 Summary

In the category on immigration and Proposition 187, *The Times* emphasizes several different viewpoints, but it does not talk with any Mexican American or Mexican immigrant. The Mexican and Mexican Americans were grouped together, the category deals with immigration in general and some distinction between different groups should have been made. The Mexican Americans, as chapter 6.3 well illustrates, have been in the county for many generations and as a group they are heterogeneous. *The Times* does in a way ignore the history of Mexican Americans. They are shown here as part of the new immigration wave from Mexico, Asia and the rest of the Americas. But nevertheless, they are shown as one of the largest immigrant groups that are going to change the country in a profound way.

*The Times* correctly placed the immigration as the central issue. The Mexican Americans were however pictured as “breeders”, who fill California with their offspring and with the illegal and legal immigrants from Mexico. They were also pictured as the scapegoats who, for years, have been attacked against for different reasons. *The Times* does not call them scapegoats nor breeders, it only describes what the situation is or has been in terms of racial conflict or how biased the perception of some groups is of Mexican Americans: as part of the homogeneous lot, that all come from Mexico. By placing the immigration as the central theme, *The Times* does try to alleviate the situation and does not itself blame Mexican Americans or Mexicans for anything. But even though it does not blame them directly, it however passes information that could, if interpreted one-sidedly, be used against Mexican Americans. But the paper does warn readers about possible racial discrimination against people who look and sound different. In this sense the paper fulfils surveillance function.

Instead of talking with Mexican Americans, the paper relies on expert opinion. It talks with scientist from Rand Corporation, bishops, official from the Clinton administration, authors on immigration control and on groups directly

connected to the proposition. Thus *The Times* fulfills a transmission function by educating the readers on the complexities of Proposition 187.

In the category on Mexico and Proposition 187, *The Times* talks with the Mexican government, individual Mexican Americans or Mexicans are not talked with. They are, however talked about as labor force or as targets for racist attacks. They are shown as subjects of concern for the Mexican government and as subjects that Mexican American leaders want to protect from the protective acts of Mexico's government. In this category, both sides are shown to be defending their own interest. Mexico protects its citizens' right in California and Mexican American leaders want to protect Mexican Americans and Mexicans in California. Mexican Americans were a means in a political discourse.

These articles illustrate how delicate the situation is and what affects a political border between two countries has on the lives of people. Mexico's citizens feel unity with Mexicans and Mexican Americans in California and they see the U.S.A. as a xenophobic country where their Mexican American relatives and friends could be victims of racist attacks.

The Times fulfils correlation and surveillance functions. The government and decision makers are implicitly warned about the threat of Mexico meddling with the internal politics of the United States. It also reminds the U.S.A. that it should treat its Mexican American population with respect if it wants to maintain friendly relations with Mexico. It also reminds about Mexican's contributions in U.S.A. The Proposition brought immigration to the forefront and while it caused strong reactions on both sides of the border, it also affected Mexican Americans and illegal Mexican immigrants in several ways in California.

## 8. EFFECTS OF PROPOSITION 187

One of the consequences of Proposition 187 was that it raised discussion on difference, difference between people and how the perception of difference is deeply ingrained in human mind. Before going further to discuss the other effects of the proposition, it would be worthwhile to consider some views that were expressed in *The Times*, they reflect the consequences of Proposition 187 after it was passed, and also the tone of the debate.

The articles that reflect these tones were all editorial letters written by three individuals who were not part of the permanent staff of journalists, but external contributors. However, as I have argued earlier in chapter 5.2 (see page 42), the views expressed can be considered as those of *The Times*. The table below contains the terminology regarding the usage of terms with attributes ‘illegal’ and ‘undocumented’.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles out of 3 total</b>
illegal	3	1
illegal alien	3	1
illegal families	1	1
illegal immigrant	3	3
illegal immigration	1	1
<b>Total of illegal *</b>	<b>11</b>	

**Table 5 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

A famous, conservative writer William Safire who writes columns for *The Times*, among other publications, contributed one of the views. In the editorial that was titled as a question, “Self-deportation?” (The New York Times, 21 November 1994, p.15), and written after Safire had talked to Governor Pete Wilson, Safire corrects some of his views on Proposition 187 that he had previously expressed in the same section. The title can be understood as a doubt on the purpose and effects of the proposition. Safire had called Wilson “the best candidate with the worst issue [Proposition 187]”. Wilson, via Safire, asserts that he is not anti-immigrant, only anti-illegal immigrant, and claims

that all the legal immigrants are themselves highly anti-illegal immigrant as well. *The Times* quotes Wilson: "One in four Californians are legal immigrants and don't need lectures on the contributions of legal immigrants. In fact, they are the most vociferous critics of illegal immigration.... The issue is the rule of law." Safire himself points out that a large portion of Latinos favor limiting illegal immigration and then admits that most of the proposition's supporters are neither racist nor nativist (favoring own citizens at the expense of immigrants). But then Safire continues: "Support from those who resent all immigrants, legal or not, surely came Wilson's way, but it does not mean he shares their prejudice." Here Safire is admitting that prejudiced people did vote for Wilson, he uses 'prejudiced' instead of 'racist' or 'nativist'. Wilson also corrects a claim, made during the campaigns that teachers would have to report illegal immigrants to officials by saying that it is the school administrators' task to check the status of enrolling students. To this Safire points out that the illegal aliens have a right to receive education by reference to *Plyler vs. Doe* decision by the Supreme Court (see page 80). Safire then points out that Wilson's goal with Proposition 187 was to make the living conditions of illegal aliens so miserable that they would voluntarily leave the country. In Safire words: "Ebenezer Scrooge is my hero, too, but that neatly theoretical "economic disincentive" won't disincen - - because being miserable here doesn't compare with the misery they ran away from." Safire points out that the conditions in their country of origin are probably more miserable and so they will stay in the U.S.A. Safire sees that the proposition is unfair and against the American spirit. He would rather have the children, of illegal immigrants or illegal themselves, at school to become potential taxpayers than on the streets and in life of poverty or crime. Safire concludes: "But in terms of practicality and of American spirit, a government policy of making any child's life miserable is still an abomination."

Another view was expressed in "How Nativism Infects California Proposition" (*The New York Times*, 30 November 1994, p.22), a response by a writer from New York to the editorial letter "Self-deportation?" by William Safire. The word 'infect' alludes to California being contaminated with a disease of



Proposition 187, as if the whole state was down with an epidemic. The writer argues that the proposition, in contrary to what Safire or Wilson said, is indeed a good example of nativism and a nativist measure. To say that it is not nativist is like deceiving oneself. She sees that calling the proposition only anti-illegal immigrant and being supported by legal immigrants, as Pete Wilson did to William Safire, does not remove the fact that it actually is nativist. She calls attention to the nature of contemporary nativism by saying that even if it is not directly racist and while people are not overtly and openly showing their hatred towards immigrants, it does not mean that there is no bias on the background. She claims in her letter that “it is the complex interweaving of many apparently harmless but baseless assumptions regarding race, poverty, dependence or gender that makes for the most insidious and enduring nativism”, and she continues that “at its heart, nativism suggests that there are measurable, substantive distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’.” She ends by stating that when one goes on assuming that illegal immigrants steal the jobs from American citizens, live on welfare and reproduce irresponsibly, one accepts the legitimacy of difference and strengthens the existence of nativism. The writer here plays with the fears, which the proponents of the opposition raised, of illegal immigrants contaminating the population with diseases. She alludes that the proposition in fact infected the population of California with nativism.

These two points of view illustrate that the Proposition woke deep concern about the ideology concerning prejudices, racism and nativism. The proposition was not only about neither illegal immigrants nor limited only to Mexican Americans, but about the wider, ongoing debate of deep-rooted, apparently harmless ways of thinking and defining the world. The concern about the contemporary nativism relates to Campbell’s’ arguments on symbolic and enlightened racism (see pp. 36-37), that claim that prejudice is a thing of the past and that the minorities can but blame themselves if they are not able to capture the opportunities of American society, the “American spirit” that Safire is calling for in his editorial and to which the government is denying access from the children despite they are illegal (as in this particular case).

*The Times* asks whether the proposition was passed half accidentally, while people thought they were sending a message to Washington to come up with a means to control immigration, they actually were sending a message to immigrants, especially illegal immigrants and people related to them. A message that said you are not welcome anymore. People voted for the proposition because, in all likelihood, it seemed to be unconstitutional and it was not going to stand in court. As if Californians had never thought about a possibility of the Supreme Court upholding the proposition. And now, according to *The Times*, it is too late to say, “We only wanted to scare you.” *The Times* also questions “what might have happened, for instance, if the election had taken place at a major harvest time, when half the field force is made up of illegal aliens?” *The Times* reminds that a series of harvest strikes would have had a different effect on the election result and continues that “Latino leaders often resort to lyrical reminders of how handsomely Mexicans treated those who stole California from them. This kind of cant goes nowhere; but if Cesar Chavez [a Chicano farm union leader who united Mexican farm workers (see Fox)] were alive, he would have taken the debate to the bottom line (The New York Times, 15 November 1994, p.29).” Here the Times is alluding to the incoherence of the Mexican American community, that is has lost its sharpest edge and is not defending its interests as it once used to. As if the Mexican American community is becoming part of the surrounding society and does not feel so united internally anymore, but more integrated to the whole of society which allows different, conflicting views to be expressed, even from inside of an ethnic community.

### 8.1 Legal effects

Three articles directly dealt with the legal effects of Proposition 187. The emphasis was on the state court ordering restraining order on most of the provisions of the proposition. The terminology regarding ‘illegal’ and

‘undocumented’ are described in the table below. This is the only category in this study where the occurrence of terms with attribute ‘undocumented’ is greater than that of terms with attribute ‘illegal’. *The Times* had a factual and official attitude when it reported the legal effects. It also talked with mostly lawyers who tended to use terms with ‘undocumented’ more than with ‘illegal’. The usage of the term could also imply the legacy of *The Times* as the “paper of records” when it tracks cases in courts or in legislature.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles out of 3 total</b>
illegal immigration	1	1
illegal immigrant	2	1
illegal alien	2	1
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>5</b>	
undocumented	2	2
undocumented alien	3	3
undocumented immigrant	4	1
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>9</b>	

**Table 6 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

*The Times* emphasizes the fact of a federal judge blocking the enforcement of Proposition 187 on the basis that the proposition would cause both undue hardships to those it affects and pre-empt law enforcements powers reserved for the INS. *The Times* quotes the federal judge, who blocked the proposition, after he heard complaints from civil rights and immigrant groups saying: “I find that there is a balance of hardships that tips in favor of the plaintiffs”, (The New York Times, 17 November 1994, p.16). *The Times* quotes the judge continuing: “There are serious questions as to due-process violations, liberty interests and also property interests.” *The Times* also reports, in another article, that the restraining order came as no surprise by referring to a Supreme Court decision, *Plyler v. Doe*, 1982, that granted illegal immigrants the right to free education. The Supreme Court judges said that it was unjust to penalize children for their parents’ illegal activities. The decision did not grant public education as a constitutional right but cited, according to *The Times*, the “lasting impact of its [education] deprivation on the life of a child”. *The Times* asks that whether by that logic the other provisions of the proposition should be

discarded also because deprivation of health care, food and shelter would fit this category with education (The New York Times, 20 November 1994, p.14). In a short article that appeared in the Business diary section, *The Times* reminds that “there is still, some insist, this thing called the Constitution” (The New York Times, 13 November 1994, p.2). But *The Times* also reminds that the Supreme Court case provides strong precedent for opponents and proponents alike.

*The Times* relies on facts when it reports and describes the meaning and content of the proposition, as it has in all of the articles. This factual attitude may explain the near absence of the term ‘illegal’, it is only used once in the two articles. Regarding the proposition, *The Times* mentions that the impact of the proposition, despite it only applies to California, has been felt in the whole country but particularly in Washington, D.C. (the federal capital) and in states that also have large undocumented immigrant population.

What is notable however, is the fact that *The Times* treats both sides in relative equal manner: it quotes both opponents (plaintiffs in court) and proponents (defendants in court) of Proposition 187. But when it comes to proponents, *The Times* devotes only short passages to the civic groups that favor the proposition. When *The Times* wants an opinion from the proponents it turns to state lawyers that were defending the proposition in court, instead of turning to the civic groups. *The Times* quotes one founder of the Proposition 187 movement. The majority of the quotes are from the state lawyer (defendant) and the second largest number of quotes is from the plaintiff’s side, from representatives of civil rights and immigrant groups. Excluding the lawyers quotes, the proponents and opponents from civic groups both vouch for victory in court and their anticipation of a long battle. However, when *The Times* quotes a plaintiff’s lawyer from American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), it draws attention to the real, everyday consequences of the proposition, and gives more room to the plaintiffs’ opinion. The lawyer, from ACLU, is quoted saying: “People in this community, in large numbers, have stopped using services. We have surveyed 10 clinics that serve the undocumented in Los

Angeles, hundreds of persons per day, and that population has dropped precipitously. We have the gravest of irreparable injury”, (The New York Times, 17 November 1994, p.16). *The Times* reports equally on the state lawyers’ viewpoints and their arguments that the state would enforce the proposition in a way that would be both constitutional and humane. *The Times* quotes a state lawyer: “We believe that once our regulations are put into place, there will be no violations of due process.” Thus *The Times* gives representation to both sides, but the emphasis is on the lawyers’ arguments and legal proceedings and consequences, in accordance with the correlation function of the media. In addition to being an immigration issue and reconstruction of ethnic relations in the country, Proposition 187 becomes a legal matter to be solved in court.

## 8.2 Medical effects

There were three articles that handled the medical consequences of the proposition. The table below describes the usage of terms with attributes ‘illegal’ and ‘undocumented’. In these articles *The Times* talked with illegal Mexicans who themselves were using terms with attribute ‘illegal’.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Total occurrence</b>	<b>Used in number of articles out of 3 total</b>
illegal alien	4	2
illegal immigrant	9	3
illegal mother	1	1
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>14</b>	
undocumented alien	3	2
undocumented immigrant	2	2
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>5</b>	

**Table 7 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

*The Times* reports that the illegal immigrants are staying away from medical clinics because they were frightened by the passage of Proposition 187. *The*

*Times* interviewed representatives from the clinics. In addition to the clinic personnel, *The Times* also talked with Mexicans at clinics. In addition to medical representatives and Mexicans, *The Times* also spoke with representatives of the proponent and opponent groups for the proposition.

The opponents of Proposition 187 were afraid that a health crisis would be the consequence while the opponents said that no health crisis would follow because all the illegal aliens would return to their counties of origin. *The Times* states that as a result of the proposition health care workers would need to report illegal immigrants to federal officials. *The Times* reports on the drop of patient load in clinics serving mostly poor Hispanic patients in Los Angeles and San Francisco. This is in accordance with the surveillance function. *The Times* quotes a director from one clinic saying: "they're confused and feel threatened", (The New York Times, 12 November 1994, p.9). The paper also quotes immigrant patients at the clinic, one patient said: "I know people who are afraid to visit the clinic, afraid of being deported" and another patient says: "[undocumented immigrants] are afraid that if they come, they won't be able to have a doctor take care of them because they are illegal."

According to *The Times*, the falloff in clinic visits has been notable among patients who can postpone treatment. The paper reports that only half of normal number of patients is showing up for immunization shots, even for easily communicable diseases that could cause an epidemic. *The Times* quotes a Mexican American woman, who has brought her son to the clinic: "I know people who are avoiding school and who are not going to the doctor unless they are very, very sick" (The New York Times, 21 November 1994, p.10). *The Times* quotes another Mexican woman who is at the clinic saying: "Some people warned me I should not bring Timothy [her son] to the doctor, but I had to. You find yourself wondering whether the next person you meet will demand, 'Show me your papers!' What will happen? What will happen to Timothy?" To which *The Times* quotes first the proponents answer: "that the problem is created by illegal immigrants themselves", by which *The Times* means to say that the proponents imply that the illegal immigrants should

return to their country of origin and that they should not come to the country in the first place. Then *The Times* quotes, in more length, a lawyer from ACLU saying: “If proposition stands, there won’t just be people kicked out of school and health clinics...There are thousands and thousands of families in California that could be broken up because some members - - parents or children or relatives - - are documented and other are undocumented. After letting this go on for so long, rightly or wrongly, we can’t, as a nation, suddenly turn on these people. There’s got to be a better answer”, (The New York Times, 21 November 1994, p.10).

*The Times* reports on possible health crisis in California if Proposition 187 will be enforced. *The Times* had talked to a lawyer from the California Association of Hospitals and Health Systems. The lawyer says: “The statute essentially sets up an entire category of Typhoid Marys among us, spreading diseases”, (The New York Times, 12 November 1994, p.9). ‘Typhoid Mary’ refers to stigmatized victims of disease who could be immune to a disease with which they are unknowingly infecting others. ‘Typhoid Mary’ was an immigrant woman in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. She worked as a cook infecting people with typhoid fever (Source: Ask Yahoo). *The Times* also quotes a doctor of infectious diseases at the University of Southern California School of Medicine saying: “I think it [Proposition 187] could not help but to have a negative impact on TB statistics...It is certainly not to a public health advantage to scare people away from public health care.” The doctor also reminds that the risk of getting a communicable disease could be high by asking: “Who’s your maid? Who’s busing the dishes at the table where you eat? Who’s around your children in day care?” *The Times* also quotes a leader of a voter campaign for the initiative replying to the health risk: “It’s certainly not going to happen if the law is enforced and these people are returned to their home countries.” In one article *The Times* quoted a state lawyer who said that it is going to take at least 60 days to start enforcing the provisions of the initiative. Deporting illegal immigrants, the possible health risks, would not happen overnight.

In the articles dealing with health effects of the proposition, *The Times* talked to several Mexican people who were interviewed at different clinics. They all voiced their concern for their future and some of them were quoted in the passages above. Notable is that *The Times* again talked with them and by quoting a Mexican man saying: "I don't live off the government or off welfare...I have a good police record, so I am not afraid", *The Times* seemed to be refuting the arguments that illegal immigrants come to the country because of social and health benefits or that illegal immigrants (minorities) are but troublemakers, as the press has been claimed to be describing minorities according to the research findings (see Media and minorities).

*The Times* describes how Mexicans have learnt to run their daily errands without being questioned for proof of identity or residence. One woman claims in the article that no one had asked for any proof of legal residence and that she had learnt to go places where no one would ask any questions to run her daily errands by saying: "You learn where to go and how to do things" (The New York Times, 21 November 1994, p.10). Another woman is quoted in the same article on the changed atmosphere saying: "You can feel it out on the street now, the hate...Since I came from Mexico four years ago, it is much different. Then people seemed happy to have someone who would wash dishes or mown lawns for little money. But now the same people say to your face, 'Go back where you came from.'"

In an editorial letter in which the health effects were discussed, the writer calls for "massive" civil disobedience, both because of proposition's inhumanity and impracticality, not to comply with the proposition. The writer, and through the writer, *The Times* hopes that the proposition will never be enforced and the writer places hope on the courts to rule wisely on the proposition (The New York Times, 20 November 1994, p.14).



## 8.2 Educational effects

One of the articles mostly dealt with educational effects, but there were passages in other articles about schooling as well and they have been quoted when appropriate. The table below describes the usage of terms with attributes 'illegal' and 'undocumented'. Mexican American students themselves were using terms with attribute 'illegal'. Once, a term with attribute 'illegal' was used when *The Times* reported on the views of non-Hispanic, white students. Term 'undocumented friend' was used when *The Times* was referring to a white student and her view on her undocumented friends.

Term	Total occurrence	Used in number of articles out of 1 total
illegal alien	2	1
illegal immigrants	2	1
illegal immigration	1	1
<b>Total of all illegal *</b>	<b>5</b>	
undocumented friend	1	1
<b>Total of all undocumented *</b>	<b>1</b>	

**Table 8 Terms used for undocumented immigration or immigrant and their occurrence**

The Hispanic students hope to escape the poverty of their lives to a good life with the help of their high school education. But after the proposition passed, *The Times* reports, the students are now afraid since many are illegal aliens and as many as 400,000 illegal students are estimated to be in California. *The Times* quotes a graduating Mexican student, Antonio, who is illegally in the state. He says: "They'll kick me out of the school. I am just getting ready to graduate and now this? I can't go back to Mexico. What am I going to do out there on the streets? Getting in some kind of trouble? It's just so unfair (The New York Times, 11 November 1994, p.28)". He is more integrated with the American society and does not see any future for him back in Mexico.

Even though the court blocked most provisions of Proposition 187, students are still worried of their future, as another Mexican student point out: "You have been living in this country and going to school in this country for years and

nobody has said anything to you or asked you anything and then, all of a sudden, you are facing deportation. Is this what America is all about?" This also reflects William Safire's views on "American spirit", the children would be better in school than deported back to Mexico or forced to live on the streets. Another Mexican student says that the proposition is racist and will not help solve the problem of illegal immigration. He says: "The proposition is just an excuse to beat up on people out of frustration. The only way stop illegal immigration is to stop it at the border, not to go after people long after they have been here." (The New York Times, 11 November 1994, p.28). And as echoing how wrong and big the (unintentional) message that the proposition sent to immigrants was and how uncritically it was passed by the Californians, another Hispanic student defiantly says: "People who like to say now that illegal immigrants are a problem are about to find out just how big a problem they really can be." This reflects a very defiant attitude with which the illegal immigrants are ready to contest the situation and their treatment.

On the non-Hispanic, white students *The Times* says that they see illegal immigration as a problem and that it must be dealt with directly because they are concerned about the rising tax burden on Californians. They do not want illegal students to be expelled from schools, however. *The Times* quotes a non-Hispanic student saying: "I understand their [undocumented students] point of view. We try to talk it out peacefully. But they are still here illegally and they should try and respect our country. They should try to come here the right way (The New York Times, 11 November 1994, p.28)."

The situation regarding illegal students is according to *The Times* awkward and ambiguous. Proposition 187 requires the officials to expel from school children of undocumented workers who grew up in the U.S.A., speak English and know little about their native culture on the other hand, but on the other hand the proposition does not tell anything about children in households where another parent is legalized under IRCA legislation, the other parent is undocumented, and an infant is born U.S. citizen. According to *The Times* many teachers in public schools detest the idea of becoming INS agents. *The Times* also reports

how people urged, in the radio, children not to be afraid of going to school. The paper quotes an assistant principal of a high school saying: “We never ask them for any documentation about where they come from...we never felt police questioning is our job...we’re supposed to start asking for immigration documentation and we’re supposed to report those who we find don’t have any. It’s not going to be a pleasant task,” The New York Times, 11 November 1994, p.28).

#### 8.4 Summary

In the category on legal effects, *The Times* emphasizes the judicial aspects of Proposition 187 and its shaky constitutional status. *The Times* fulfils correlation and transmission functions. Mexican Americans are indirectly present as members of the community and as illegal immigrants who constitute part of the Mexican American community. This was the only category in which terms with attribute ‘undocumented’ surpassed terms with attribute ‘illegal’.

In the category on medical effects, *The Times* paid attention to the medical consequences of Proposition 187. Mexican Americans were present, but mostly as illegal immigrants. In this category *The Times* did talk with several illegal Mexicans. All the mentioned illegal immigrant were from Mexico. *The Times* fulfils correlation functions in this category, but also surveillance as it pays attention to the possible medical epidemics by interviewing several health professionals. It also pays attention to the fact that immigrants can easily become targets of accusations for being threats to the society while spreading diseases.

In the category on educational effects, *The Times* questions the values of the U.S.A. and fulfils transmission function, because it talks with many Mexican students who question the values of the American society through the

educational effects of Proposition. As a consequence of Proposition 187 illegal students would face deportation and some students as whether that is what America is all about. The Mexican students that *The Times* interviewed emphasized that they were becoming Americans and were more integrated with American society than with Mexico from where they had left. The students also became involuntary victims of hardened attitudes towards illegal immigration that was reflected on them and their schooling.

In all the categories *The Times* questions the rationality of Proposition 187 through the interviewed people. It talks to a variety of representatives of American society, ordinary Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans, civil rights activists, doctors and teachers, lawyers and state officials. While it represents both sides of the Proposition, the emphasis is more on the opponents of the proposition, but factually both sides get to express their views.

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

In the introduction of this thesis I presented my hypothesis that was based on the research findings, which were discussed in the theoretical background. Based on the study, the American society is undergoing changes and it was clearly shown in the articles on Proposition 187. Immigration as a cause of that undergoing change surfaced as the real issue behind Proposition 187. This helps explaining why it became such an important issue in the 1994 gubernatorial and senate elections in California. It was an issue that everyone had something to say about and all the different groups also expressed their views.

The reason for the thesis was to show how one particular ethnic group, Mexican Americans were presented in The New York Times. Mexican Americans were, as a group, especially related to Proposition 187 because they are the largest individual ethnic group making up the illegal population in California. However, the large majority of them are legal residents or citizens of the U.S.A. *The Times* made it clear by presenting demographic information. The Mexican Americans were not solely presented as a group of illegal immigrants in *The Times*, as some of the research has argued. They were, instead, shown as an ambiguous and heterogeneous group that was not unanimously either opposing or favoring Proposition 187. They were, on the other hand, not placed in the correct historical context, at least not in the extent that they should have. They were presented as recent arrivals in California, albeit as such the largest immigrant group. It was not mentioned in detail enough that they have been living in California longer than most other groups.

Omi and Winant (see p. 26) have said that race is given meaning by specific social relations and historical contexts. This historical context was partially denied from the Mexican Americans in *The Times*, as it represented Mexican Americans as recent arrivals from Mexico. In *The Times* Mexican Americans and Mexicans were in a sense reconstructed as a race in the light of illegal

immigration into historyless group of people. Omi and Winant argue that it is this classification that helps to maintain and create systems of power. In this system of power the Mexican Americans were seen as illegal, problem people. But as it is from this classification and reformulation of racial identity that racial meaning can be disrupted and space for political contestation is opened (see pp. 27-28), *The Times* also opened the floor for debate and contestation. The political contestation did take place in the form of protests against the proposition and in the forming of alliances between Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups.

Since the data consisted of articles that dealt with Mexican Americans and Proposition 187, illegal immigration received wide attention in the articles. However, the Mexican Americans were not depicted as only problem people, as the studies have found nor were they only depicted in stereotypical terms. Except in the category dealing with candidates (chapter 6.1) Mexican Americans and Hispanics were framed within the roles of maids and housekeepers. But this was the only context in which some stereotyping occurred. In this category they were presented as a means for politicians in their campaigns. In all the other categories, Mexican Americans were depicted as students, mothers, soldiers, and bakers, and in other middle-class professions. They were also depicted as representing several generations that all had different views about being American and different degrees of assimilation into American society. Since the proposition was about limiting and denying social services to illegal immigrants, *The Times* also depicted them as drain on public funds or as problem people, but they were depicted as such through the proponents of the proposition. The opponents' counterarguments were given an equal amount of space or even more space in *The Times*. In overall, the picture *The Times* gave of Mexican Americans was relatively pluralistic and many sided. *The Times* was trying to educate others of the newcomers, but the context in which it did so, was highly negative. Because of this, The Times may have, while it tried to change the views regarding Mexican American, enforced the prevailing attitude towards Mexican Americans. They did become

a victim of massive protest movement because of their illegal cousins from Mexico.

I also argued that the ethnicity-based models of assimilation and pluralism are not adequate models alone to explain the conflicts and reconstruction of ethnicity and racial identity in contemporary America. I suggested that a new model that better deals with the complexities surrounding ethnic identity and inherently the American identity is needed. The racial formation is one of the new paradigms that have surfaced after the civil rights movement. Based on the study and on the views regarding ethnicity expressed by the Mexican Americans and others in the articles, one could say that in some degree assimilation and pluralism are needed for the new ethnic and immigrant groups to adapt into the surrounding, pluralistic society and adopt the basic values, the “American spirit”. The groups, so to speak, need to establish themselves and their identity before they can become an ethnic group and before they can contest their identity further. In terms of this contestation and de- and reconstruction of one’s and everyone else’s identity in the constantly evolving, conflict-centered discourse, the Mexican Americans in this study were shown to be an incoherent group that was not consistent and coherent enough to have one, clearly defined identity. However, at the same time they were contesting their own identity(ies) against identities of other ethnic minorities, but also against their own, multiple identities. The other ethnic groups in this study, most notably the African Americans, seemed to have a more coherent identity and were also more vocal on issues dealing with racial discrimination and racial identity.

The social turbulence in California was also illustrated with the usage of the terms. I divided the terms into two groups: terms with attribute ‘illegal’ and terms with attribute ‘undocumented’. Quantitatively, number of terms with attribute ‘illegal’ was larger than the number of terms with attribute ‘undocumented’. That is understandable, since the nature of the proposition was negative and it was about illegal immigration. But in terms of what Faiclough has said about the coherence of language, it was significant that *The*

*Times* itself used both attributes in a very heterogeneous, random way. Fairclough has said that in turbulent social periods, the language usage is more heterogeneous than during peaceful social periods. The discourse, both on textual level, and on relational and ideational level, was diverse. The situation in California regarding Proposition 187 was very conflictual, argumentative and turbulent. In terms of consequences, Proposition 187 caused a mass action against illegal immigrants in a large scale. The proposition was passed, but eventually it never became a law. As large part of illegal immigrants are from Mexico or could be classified as part of Mexican American community through and because of their ties with Mexican Americans, the media did have a negative effect on Mexican American community when the proposition was passed. The argumentation about the consequences continued in court, and in the end, Mexican Americans gained a victory as a group when the proposition was not enforced as a law.

The Mexican Americans were talked with; *The Times* interviewed individual Mexican Americans instead of just talking about them. The community was given voice and representation as one ethnic group among the many and as one of the important ones in contemporary U.S.A. They were depicted as the group that is going to have an effect on how the U.S.A. as a nation is going handle the latest immigration of people who are culturally different from the immigrants that came into the country in the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this context, they are themselves a diverse group of people, a group that also represents European legacy through their Spanish ancestry. In that sense, the “other” that the Anglo population sees in Mexican Americans is a reflection of the “other” that the Europeans or Anglo Americans are afraid of admitting exists in and is part of them as well. In other words, racial formation is taking place and both Anglo and Mexican Americans identities will eventually be transformed into yet another form of American identity.

Proposition 187 was also an indication of the ongoing globalization discourse. Goods and services are moving with more freedom than the people who are needed to produce and consume them. As the Mexican government reacted to



Proposition, it reacted within the context of labor and free trade. The labor that is now moving back and forth across the Mexico-U.S.A border, as international and national economic cycles fluctuate, is not bound by any agreements, as is the case with trade. And that was what Mexico wanted: to negotiate on the free movement of people. In this sense, Proposition 187 was about finding a way to control the movement of labor. Similar situation can be found in Europe: while the labor moves freely within the European Union, limits are wanted on those who would like to arrive from outside Europe, with hopes similar to those of many Mexicans who cross the border illegally to the U.S.A.

Fairclough has said that for analyzing social change in a society, the material should cover a period that is long enough, several years, in order to see the changes in society and in discourse. However, in this study I wanted to interpret a social phenomenon at one particular, clearly defined point in time in order to see how Mexican American community was described and compare that against the theoretical background from several fields. I could have also chosen only one field and focused more on that. But I believe that in order to get a more “realistic” and coherent view of a certain phenomenon, such as Proposition 187 and Mexican Americans, it is more beneficial to get a general rather than a very specialized view.

For the future prospect in this field and on this subject, it would be interesting to compare, first of all, how *The Times* reported on Proposition 187 during a longer period of time, starting from the very first article in which Proposition 187 was mentioned, and to follow the whole life-cycle of the proposition and see how Mexican Americans were presented. I would also study how Mexican Americans were represented in other news in *The Times* and whether they were represented in any positive news. Secondly, it would be interesting to compare how several newspapers reported the proposition, for example, one could study the articles from the Los Angeles Times, The New York Times and a Mexican American newspaper, and to compare how Mexican Americans are pictured in them. A third possibility would be, instead of only studying the proposition, to study how *The Times* represent several ethnic groups and their relationship with

the Anglo Americans in order to see how the society is changing in terms of racial formation or ethnic relations.

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## APPENDIX A

<b>Article number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Section</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Lead themes/keywords</b>
1	Oct 15	Editorial Desk	California's Prop. 187	illegal aliens, nativism, deportation
2	Oct 28	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: California; California G.O.P. Candidate Admits Hiring Illegal Alien	campaign, elections, Michael Huffington, hiring illegal nanny, campaign based on restricting illegal immigration
3	Oct 30	Week in Review Desk	In California, Numbers Add up to Anxiety	immigration, economic situation in CA, plurality of languages in school, complexity of the situation
4	Nov 1	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: California; Minorities Join California Fight	campaign, elections, ethnic and racial diversity, opposition of groups to the proposition
5	Nov 2	Editorial Desk	America Can't Afford More Huddled Masses	immigration, negative impact of immigration
6	Nov 3	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: Mexico; Government Joins Attack on Ballot Idea	campaign, elections, Mexico's government's response to the proposition
7	Nov 4	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: California; Immigration Issue Flares in Senate Race	campaign, elections, confusion in the election race, illegal immigration
8	Nov 5	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: California; Senator's Employee Lacked Work Papers, Agency Says	campaign, elections, INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), Senator Feinstein, illegal maid
9	Nov 6	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: Spending; Democratic Candidate for Governor Halts TV Ads	campaign, elections, Kathleen Brown cancelled her TV advertising campaign
10	Nov 6	Editorial Desk	Wilson Never Called for 'Identity Card'	immigration, Pete Wilson correcting his earlier statement on illegal immigration
11	Nov 8	National Desk	The 1994 Campaign: California; Senate Candidates Trade Bitter Exchanges over Immigration	campaign, elections, California's Senate race, expensive and vituperative
12	Nov 9	Foreign Desk	Protesters in Mexico Ransack a McDonald's	Mexico, 40 masked men protest Proposition 187 in Mexico City
13	Nov 9	National Desk	The 1994 Elections: The Nation California; Gov. Wilson's Comeback Ends in Re-election Victory	campaign, elections, Pete Wilson re-elected as the governor, proposition 187 most likely to pass
14	Nov 10	National Desk	The 1994 Elections: States California; Californians Pass Measure on Aliens, Courts Bar It	campaign, elections, new law passed, cutting services to illegal aliens, Wilson's orders to start enforcing it were blocked by Federal and state judges



15	Nov 11	National Desk	The 1994 Elections: California; Curb on Aliens Dims Dreams in Hollywood	education, Hispanic students, famous Hispanics, dreams, illegal alien students
16	Nov 11	National Desk; Law Page	California Immigration Measure Faces Rocky Legal Path	immigration, anti-illegal immigration initiative raises political debate and legal issues
17	Nov 12	National Desk	Fearful Aliens in California Staying Away from Clinics	medical, illegal immigrants, proposition 187 makes people avoid medical clinics
18	Nov 13	Financial Desk	Business Diary: November 6-11	business, American business wants to profit in Mexico, proposition 187, constitutionality
19	Nov 14	Foreign Desk	Mexican Chief Urges Talks on Freer Flow of Migrants	Mexico, Mexican anger over proposition 187, US-Mexico talks on migration and free trade
20	Nov 15	Editorial Desk	We Only Wanted to Scare You	illegal aliens, teachers urging children of not being afraid to go to school, unprecedented consequences
21	Nov 17	National Desk	Court Blocks New Rule on Immigration	courts, federal judge blocks Proposition 187
22	Nov 18	National Desk	Bishops Assail Rule Hostile to Immigrants	immigration, catholic bishops want a federal immigration policy instead of local, punitive measure
23	Nov 19	National Desk	The New Congress: California; Feinstein Claims Victory in Senate Race	campaign, elections, Diane Feinstein won Michael Huffington in the senate elections
24	Nov 20	Week in Review Desk	Nov. 13-19: Just Say No; California's Proposition 187 Meets First Legal Roadblock	courts, opponents of the proposition 187 won a temporary retrieve in court
25	Nov 20	Editorial Desk	Why Proposition 187 Won't Work	illegal aliens, proposition became the headache its opponents promised it would be
26	Nov 21	National Desk	In California, Uncertainty Chills Illegal Aliens	immigration, personal story of an illegal immigrant
27	Nov 21	Editorial Desk	Essay; Self-Deportation	illegal aliens, pro-initiative
28	Nov 26	National Desk	Salvadorans May Lose Status as Refugees	immigration, refugees, Clinton administration ending a protection program for Salvadorans
29	Nov 27	Editorial Desk	California Leads the Way, Alas	illegal aliens, lessons learned from the 1994 election
30	Nov 30	Editorial Desk	How Nativism Infects California Proposition	nativism, reply to article #27, proposition 187 as a nativist initiative
31	Nov 30	National Desk	The Lame-Duck Congress: California; Feinstein Opponent Hopes to Uncover Ballot Fraud	campaign, elections, Huffington claims a ballot fraud and he should have been elected.