Ideologies Toward Language Minority Students:

A Study of Three Newspapers in Arizona

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2012 by the
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May 2012

ABSTRACT

The presence of language minority students in American schools is a growing phenomenon in present-day times. In the year 2008, almost 11 million school-age children spoke a language other than English at home. Educational language policy is largely influenced by the attitudes that society holds regarding the presence of language minority speakers in the community. One of the sources of these attitudes is the written press. This research aimed at identifying and analyzing the ideologies that newspapers display in connection with language minority speakers. The underlying assumption of the study was that the English language occupies a dominant position in society, thus creating a power struggle in which speakers of other languages are disenfranchised. Using critical theory as the theoretical framework enabled the study to identify and oppose the ideologies that may reproduce and perpetuate social inequalities. The methodological approach used was critical discourse analysis (CDA) which aligns with the main tenets of critical theory, among them the need to uncover hidden ideologies. The analysis of articles from English-language (The Arizona Republic and the East Valley Tribune) and Spanish-language (La Prensa Hispana) newspapers allowed for the identification of the ideologies of the written press in connection to two main hypothetical constructs: education and immigration. The analysis of the results revealed that the three newspapers of the study held specific ideologies on issues related to the education of language minority students and immigration. Whereas the East Valley Tribune showed an overarching ideology connected to the opposition of immigrant students in schools, the hegemonic position of the

English language, and a belligerent stance toward the immigrant community, The Arizona Republic showed a favorable attitude to both English Language Learners and immigrants, based on reasons mainly related to the economic interest of the state of Arizona. La Prensa Hispana, on the other hand, showed ideologies favorable to the immigrant community based on humanitarianism. In summary, the results confirm that newspapers hold specific ideologies and that these ideologies are reflected in the content and the manner of their information to the public.

DEDICATION

To Monica,

For your infinite support all these years.
The accomplishment is as much yours as it is mine.

To Miguel, Andrés and Ava,

For cheering me so much and giving me perspective about what truly matters.
I am lucky to be your father.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thankfully, I was not aware of how much work and sacrifice completing a doctoral degree entails when I decided to apply for admission in the graduate program at ASU. Since then, quitting crossed my mind a few times. However, every single time that I went through one of these crises, Monica, my wife, was there to encourage me to continue. Without her unwavering support this dissertation would never have been completed.

An appreciation for the value of education is something that usually is instilled in an individual at an early age. I had the fortune to grow up in a family that treasured education and had a strong humanistic view of the world. Looking at this world from a critical point of view is something that I learned from my parents and siblings. Values such as social justice were given to me by them.

I would also like to acknowledge the immense contributions to my intellectual formation made by my professors at ASU. Dr. Terrence Wiley opened up for me a whole new field in which I quickly became interested, language planning and policy. It was a pleasure to be in his seminars. I have also been fortunate to have Dr. Carlos Ovando in my committee, always supportive and available. Dr. Gustavo Fischman, who challenged me to find the answers. And Dr. Teresa McCarty, who not only astonished me with her work but also had the kind word when I needed it.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The presence of language minority students in American schools is a growing phenomenon in present-day times. The number of school-age children who spoke a language other than English at home increased from 3.8 to 10.9 million (from 9 to 21 percent of the population in this age range) between 1979 and 2008 (U.S. Department of Education, 2010).

Historically, there is no doubt about the multilingual nature of the United States. North America was home to more than 300 languages before the arrival of the Europeans. However, the linguistic alignment of the country showed a clear pattern of dominance of the English language over the rest of the languages early on. Whenever English came into contact with other languages, a linguistic and cultural power struggle ensued. This was the case with the expansion of the United States toward the Southeast (Louisiana Purchase in 1803), which erased the French language almost completely, the West (Mexican Cession of 1848, Gadsden Purchase of 1853), with the change of the role of Spanish from majority to minority language, and in all the territories inhabited by Native Americans where the indigenous languages either perished or came close to extinction. Nevertheless, today the United States is still one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world (McCarty, 2004). This diversity has its origin not only in the migratory movements of the past but also in the increasing population trends of the immigrant segment of the population today. In fact, immigrants are the fastest growing part of the U.S. population (Lukose, 2007).

Latinos make up most of the immigrant population. They also represent the largest ethnic segment of English language learners in schools. As noted by Hamann, Wortha, & Murillo Jr. (2002), an increasing number of Latinos are settling in parts of the United States that traditionally have had little or no Latino population (e.g. Maine, Georgia, Indiana). The accommodations given to school-age children in most cases have been a type of pull-out program where they receive English as a second language instruction while their native-English speaking peers receive instruction in content areas (this was the case at the rural school in North Carolina where the researcher taught between 2001 and 2003. Three Mexican siblings arriving to the school in mid-year were pulled out of class every day for one hour to be helped with homework by a non-Spanish speaking teacher's aid. This witnessed phenomenon echoes Hammann at al's (2002) comment in the sense that "[Latino students] are often taught by less credentialed teachers." (p. 2)).

The political and linguistic expansion of the English-speaking population on one hand and the migratory trends of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the other, created situations where English encountered other languages. Language policies were issued with the intent of regulating the use of languages by the members of society. At times, these policies showed a degree of tolerance toward the minority languages and on some other occasions they completely restricted their use (Crawford, 2004; Ovando, 2003; Ovando & Wiley, 2003). One way in which language policies manifested themselves was through medium-of-instruction policies. As Tsui and Tollefson (2004) put it, "[m]edium-of-

instruction policy determines which social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities, and which groups are disenfranchised" (p. 2).

One of the factors influencing language policy in the context of education is the attitudes that society holds regarding the presence of speakers of minority languages in the community. These attitudes have different origins, one of them being the written press, which has been said to have a powerful influence in the formation of attitudes in society (Cottle, 2000; van Dijk, 1987). Although circulation data show a decrease in the number of newspaper readers (Plambeck, 2010), the number of online readers has steadily increased in the last decade (Kawamoto, 2009). Therefore, the capacity of the written press to reach the general public is indisputable.

In consequence, studying the ideologies that newspapers display in connection with language minority students becomes a necessity to understand how public opinion may inform policy-making. Making sense of the role of the written press demands an in-depth study of their ideologies, since these ideologies have a crucial role in how news regarding language minority speakers are portrayed, what news are actually represented, and what image of language minority speakers is conveyed through the newspapers.

To identify the prevailing ideologies of the written press regarding the education of language minority students, this study adopted as its theoretical framework that of critical theory. The underlying assumption of the study is that the English language occupies a dominant position which reflects the desire of

certain English-speaking groups to retain a position of power in society. Studying the role of the written press in this struggle between the dominating groups and the dominated ones involves analyzing the concept of social justice. Doing so under the lens of critical theory provides a perspective with which to examine the relationships among linguistic and ethnic groups in the United States. This study explored the processes by which situations of social inequality are produced, sustained, or fostered by the intervention of the written press in society. The ultimate goal is to reduce inequality and promote social justice (Tollefson, 2006).

Statement of the Problem

The situation in which language minority speakers find themselves within the communities of which they are part is one that requires a careful and detailed analysis. The media, and in particular, newspapers, play a key role in framing the public's perceptions of language minority speakers (Wiley, unpublished manuscript, 1995; Van Dijk, 1988a, 2000). It has been affirmed that the media is a key actor in the emergence of social attitudes and beliefs (Johnson, 2008, van Dijk, 1987). Newspapers in particular have been proven to be responsible for the reproduction of certain ideologies (van Dijk, 1988b) and for particular representations of social relations (Cottle, 2000).

Studies, different in location and scope to this one, have been conducted examining the way immigrant populations are portrayed in the written press. Some of these studies have been carried out in the context of a particular political background (for example, Wright's (2005) study of the ideologies surrounding the

anti-bilingual debate in Arizona and Santa Ana's (1999) review of the portrayal of ethnic minorities in California at the time of the passage of Proposition 187).

An important aspect of this study was to verify whether newspapers contribute to what has been termed as the characterization of the immigrant category as part of the U.S. national identity, either under a positive or a negative lens. This characterization has happened in both the educational system and the larger national context (Lukose, 2007). Another point of interest was to confirm whether newspapers differentiate between the different sub-groups embedded in the immigrant category (e.g. refugees, asylum seekers, illegal immigrants, legal immigrants, and so on) (Lukose, 2007).

Also along these lines, the study aimed at verifying whether the narrative to which Lukose (2007) and Villenas (2007) refer is in fact present in newspapers. In other words, the study sought to answer the question of whether Latinos in the United States are perceived and portrayed by the written press as immigrants and therefore as different from the non-immigrants or whether, on the other hand, they are considered part of the national discourse of democracy and citizenship, undistinguished from other groups of the population.

Claims have been made in the literature (Hamann et al., 2002) in the sense that what has been termed as "diaspora Latinos" regularly face instances of racism in addition to the problems associated with their status as working class and language minority speakers. This study also attempted to clarify if the written press contributes to this narrative in which Latinos are systematically placed in a subservient position.

The problem that this study tried to solve is whether the written press maintains a precise ideological stance in their representation of language minority speakers and, if so, will also identify specific ideologies associated with the representation of news related to this particular group of the population.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the prevailing ideologies of the written press in their representation of news events related to language minority speakers. Given the impact that the written press has on forming public opinion, such a study has the potential to clarify the reasons why the public holds certain attitudes in regard to language minority speakers. The ultimate goal was to identify the ideologies that the written press reflects when reporting about language minority speakers. A more detailed review of the literature regarding ideologies is presented in chapter 2. The theoretical framework section in chapter 1 explicitly states the definition of the term ideology used in this study.

Research Question

The primary focus of this study was the analysis of the specific ideologies of three newspapers in Arizona in regard to the portrayal of news related to language minority students. At stake is the possibility that the written press may be influencing public opinion by the display of certain principles or values related to the presence of this group of the student population in the schools. A review of significant literature, as stated in the previous section, revealed that the written press indeed influences public opinion. Taking this as a starting point, the purpose of this study was the identification of the ideologies of the written press

regarding language minority students. In consequence, the primary research question of the study was:

What are the prevailing ideologies of the written press regarding the education of language minority students?

Under this overarching pre-existing research question, the following research questions emerged as the analysis of the data took place:

1. How do newspapers represent news related to language minority students?
2. What are the salient themes portrayed by the newspapers in relation to the marginalization of language minority students?
3. How are issues related to immigration represented by the newspapers?

Significance of the Study

This study is particularly relevant in that it sheds light upon the issue of how the education of language minority students is being portrayed by the written press. By analyzing what types of news reports are being chosen for publication and how those same news reports are being reported, the research has unveiled the open and covert ideologies of the written press regarding the presence of students whose primary language is other than English in the schools. Analysis of the texts allowed for the emergence of a series of hypothetical constructs and a narrative that unveiled these ideologies. As such, the study is an extension to previously conducted studies based both on the broader topic of immigration (Santa Ana, 1999, 2002) and the local political context of policy-making related to language minority students (Johnson 2005, 2008; Wright, 2005). The significance of this study lies in that (1) it shows the contrast between English-

speaking and Spanish-speaking newspapers; (2) it shows the diverging ways in which news is reported within the sub-group of English-speaking newspapers; and (3) it singles out ideologies connected to one narrow topic, the education of language minority students.

Additionally, the study aids in understanding how public opinion is formed in issues related to the education of language minority students. Given the importance of newspapers and their potential to reach and influence a large part of the population, ascertaining precisely the nature of its ideologies becomes a necessity in the process of making sense of the public trends on this topic. Understanding the ideologies of the written press will help practitioners and scholars in the field of education inform the public in the policy-making process.

Theoretical Framework

The decision to adopt this particular framework was based on the purpose of the study, namely the unveiling of the existing ideologies of the press regarding the education of language minority students. Critical linguistics focuses on the relationships among language, power, and inequality (Tollefson, 2002b).

Critical theory, in which critical linguistics is embedded, looks not only at the processes that create and sustain social inequality but also at the struggle to reduce inequality in order to achieve greater social justice (Tollefson, 2006). Taking into account that linguistic minorities have historically been dominated by the hegemonic policies of the majority group, critical theory was the natural framework of reference for this research.

Critical theory deals with issues related to language, power relations, and inequality in the social structures (Tollefson, 2002). Ethnic and linguistic minorities, given their status as minorities, are prone to policies and practices of discrimination by the majority group. In this context, "critical theory generally investigates the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring out greater forms of social justice" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 44). Critical theory also involves taking a stance in favor of the disadvantaged and taking position in favor of social justice (McCarty, 2002). The purpose of critical theory as a theoretical framework is the identification of and opposition to ideologies that reproduce and perpetuate social inequalities, including socio-economic and political asymmetries connected to language status and function (Ricento, 2006).

Precisely, the disadvantageous position in which certain groups usually find themselves is what has led to the emergence of a new field in applied linguistics. This field has been named critical linguistics, an offspring of critical theory, and its main area of interest is the "study of language within its social, political, and historical context, with a primary concern of (in)equality, linguistic discrimination, and language rights" (Tollefson, 2002a, p. 3). Critical linguistics, then, centers its attention on the relationship among language, power, and inequality (Tollefson, 2002a). In some cases, the approach focuses on the study of social and cultural change through the use of language. This is the case with Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, which he defines as a method "on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups", at the same

time that “it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it” (Fairclough, 1997, p. 259). The term ‘critical’ involves showing hidden connections and causes as well as proposing interventions (Fairclough, 1992). In sum, critical discourse analysis works to expose hidden ideologies which emerge and are reproduced in the discourse of the individuals and institutions (Mayr, 2008).

Elsewhere, Tollefson has affirmed that “critical theory generally investigates the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring out greater forms of social justice” (Tollefson, 2006, p. 44). Using this point of view, Tollefson (2006) affirms that critical theory encompasses two key assumptions. The first is that structural categories such as class, race, and gender are central to understand social life. The second asserts the inseparable link between epistemology and research methodology on one hand and ethical standards and political commitments to social justice on the other.

Critical theory, then, involves taking a stance in favor of the disadvantaged, analyzing the causes for the existence of an unfair situation and proposing ways to correct it. This is what McCarty (2002a) does in her analysis of the educational policies related to language planning and policy in the indigenous context. In her justification of the study, McCarty notes that “this is not a disinterested or dispassionate account. It reflects my position as an invested outsider, and is guided by a commitment to social justice” (2002a, p. 286). The quest for social justice, according to Tollefson, takes place within the framework

of several constructs: power, struggle, colonization, hegemony and ideology, and resistance (Tollefson, 2006). These notions inform the field of critical language policy and set the parameters by which research in language planning and policy is conducted.

The theoretical underpinning of critical theory includes, according to Tollefson (2006), authors such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Gramsci, and Habermas, among others. To begin to understand the basic principles of critical theory, one must begin with the notion of critical social research which has as its central tenet the empirical analysis of the social forms of domination and the proposal of constructive strategies of resistance in the context of civil society (Morrow & Torres, 2002). According to Morrow and Torres (2002), both Freire and Habermas positioned themselves within the idea that history displays a constant struggle for democratization and the realization of human autonomy. Precisely, Freire's premises were laid upon a conflict theory of society. Freire perceived the role of the subordinate classes as active and fundamental in the process to transform society (Freire, 1993). This process of transformation was central to his vision of critical pedagogy in which the relationship between teachers and students is based on democratic and transformative principles (Shor, 1993).

The concept of critical theory, then, is directly related to the discourse over social transformation and emancipation. Habermas, along with the Frankfurt School, undertook the "commitment to penetrate the world of objective appearances and to expose the underlying social relationships they often conceal"

(Giroux, 2001, p. 8). By means of critical thinking the Frankfurt School aimed at achieving self-emancipation and social change (Giroux, 2001).

The reproduction of social and economic relations and institutions was also the focus of Bourdieu's work on the role of educational systems (Collins, 1993). Using the concepts of capital, field, and habitus, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/2000) give an account of how different uses of the language serve the purpose of separating social classes: the relationship between social origin and academic achievement is dependent upon the "unequal social-class distribution of educationally profitable linguistic capital" (pp. 115-116). Linguistic capital is understood as the class-related traits of speech with inherently different values depending on the field or market where they are used. The linguistic habitus is the class-linked relation to language. Bourdieu and Passeron conclude that both in terms of linguistic capital and habitus, one group is able to provide what the system expects and the other is not (Collins, 1993). Bourdieu also referred to this notion as the cultivated habitus which becomes in certain contexts the legitimate linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1972/2007).

In regard to the concept of ideology, this study uses Van Dijk's definition, which explains the term as "the basic and general, that is, shared, socio-cognitive system of a group, culture or society" (van Dijk, 1991, p. 36). It is important to note that ideologies are organized according to societal norms and values. In terms of ideological reproduction, "group members tend to favor the acquisition, confirmation and application of precisely those systems of beliefs and opinions that may be used to monitor the practices that benefit the in-group and its

members" (van Dijk, 1991, p. 37). On some occasions, power relationships are legitimized at an ideological level. This is accomplished by controlling group attitudes and ideologies. When this is the case, the exercise of power changes from a coercive nature to a persuasive one. This has the effect of implanting certain sets of beliefs into a group as if those beliefs were theirs. One of the most effective ways to do this is through the use of the media (Van Dijk, 1991). From this perspective, ideologies are part of cultural systems, organizing the social practices embedded within those cultures. Ideologies, generating precise attitudes about specific issues, "organize large portions of our social life and are based on fundamental goals, interests, and values (van Dijk, 1987, p. 194).

Van Dijk (1998) explains the above definition of ideologies by making two fundamental assumptions. First, ideologies, and also opinions, involve beliefs and mental representations. Hence, the cognitive perspective of ideologies; but also, ideologies are social, institutional, or political, which requires an analysis of ideologies in terms of societal structures.

Limitations

The sampling procedure that was used for the study presented a limitation in its range. Since studying the entire universe of texts -all the written press in Arizona- was not feasible, a necessary selection had to take place. This selection was made on the basis of the circulation of the newspapers (The Arizona Republic), the geographic locale (East Valley Tribune) and the language of publication (La Prensa Hispana). However, this presented the issue of whether the findings of the study can be generalized to the entire population of newspapers

in Arizona. The limitation, then, exists, in the inability to expand the findings beyond the newspapers analyzed.

Also, it is necessary to note that sampling based on the collection of central or critical cases inherently has a degree of subjectivity. It was the researcher's decision which texts to include and which ones to exclude from the study.

Delimitations

Narrowing the scope to the study of newspapers and discarding other types of media such as the television and the internet allowed the research to focus on one specific albeit fundamental type of media, making the analysis manageable while maintaining its significance.

As stated previously, the object of the study was the texts of a selected group of local (Arizona) newspapers. The selection of texts was based on their connection to the central issue of the study, namely the education of language minority students. The broader topic of immigration was also analyzed. However, other topics were intentionally left out, such as parental involvement in schools, the programmatic choice to educate ELLs, and the representation of border issues in the reporting of news related to language minority students. These topics, due to their length and significance, had to be treated separately.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Language minority students in Arizona are the object of a number of regulations concerning the educational model used to educate them. These policies include A.R.S. (Arizona Revised Statues) § 15-752, which requires Arizona schools to teach English; A.R.S. § 15-751, Definitions, 5, which requires English language learners to be grouped together in a structured English immersion setting; A.R.S. §15-752, which set the goal for ELLs to become fluent in English in one year; A.R.S. § 15.756.01, which requires a minimum of four hours per day of English language development during the first year a student is classified as ELL; and A.R.S. § 15-756.01 (D), which requires cost efficient, research-based models that meet all state and federal laws (Structured English Immersion Models of the Arizona English Language Learners Task Force, 2011).

The regulations mentioned in the previous paragraph have different legislative origins (i.e. Proposition 203, approved by voters in the year 2000, Arizona English Language Learners (ELL) Task Force, established on September 21, 2006 under the authority of Laws 2006, Chapter 4) but all of them constitute manifestations of what has come to be known in the academic world as language planning and policy. Since this study focused on English language learners and the manner in which they are portrayed in the local newspapers, a logical point of departure for the literature review is the analysis of the basic definitions of language planning and policy.

Basic Definitions in Language Planning and Policy

Language has been described as an instrument for social planning (Haugen, 1987). The question of whether language can be planned was answered in clear terms by Joshua Fishman almost four decades ago when he asserted that language not only can be planned, but has been planned and will continue to be planned. The question, rather, is how to successfully plan language in the most effective manner according to pre-specified criteria (Fishman, 1974).

The field of language planning has been widely defined in the literature. One of the classic meanings of the term language planning is Haugen's, who divided language planning into four different aspects (Haugen, 1983, 1987): (a) norm selection, which involves choosing a particular language or variety; (b) codification, by either choosing one language variety over others or creating a new variety composed of the main dialects; (c) implementation, which requires conscious efforts to adopt and use a language; and (d) elaboration, which entails the expansion of the language functions. Haugen (1987) cautioned that his was not a complete theory of language planning but rather a description of the processes followed by language planners. These four aspects of language planning complemented Kloss's division between status planning and corpus planning.

Under Kloss's model (Kloss, 1977), language planning is partitioned into two different fields. Corpus planning and status planning. Whereas the first, corpus planning, focuses on the selection of particular forms of a language as standard, the second, status planning, refers to the functions that a language

performs in a community. For example, the adoption of a new word by the organism in charge of regulating linguistic matters is an instance of corpus planning; the decision to adopt a particular language as official for a community is a case of status planning. Although both branches of language planning imply calculated attempts to regulate the use of a language, status planning has been used in the past as a tool to grant certain groups advantages that other groups did not enjoy. Along these lines, It has been noted that "[h]istorically, rights and privileges have been distributed selectively based on the recognition of legal status" (Wiley, 2002a, p. 40, italics in the original). However, even the apparently more objective task of codifying a language is value-laden and ideological in nature (Fishman, 2006).

The differentiation between these two components of language planning has its significance, then, for considerations related to language rights and language policy (Cobarrubias, 1983).

In addition to these two forms of language planning, Cooper (1989) added a third dimension, acquisition planning, which would be characterized by the actual implementation of a strategy or program leading to the use of a language by a certain population. In other words, acquisition planning deals with the way a language is learned (Mar-Molinero, 1997, 2007). For Mar-Molinero (2007), this latter aspect of language planning contains the most significance, since the success of language policies depends largely on the design of the educational policies. Other authors have referred to acquisition planning as language-in-education planning. This term includes activities leading to language and literacy

goals in the schools and to the teaching of heritage languages in informal settings (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2005).

Going beyond these three now classical aspects of language planning, a fourth category has been identified in the literature: norm planning. This last form of language planning has been described as the interaction of the three other forms described above (Mar-Molinero, 2007). Cobarrubias explained norm planning as an activity including three tasks: (a) empowering minority languages to satisfy the communicative needs of individuals; (b) increasing the number of speakers and the linguistic competence of the existing speakers; and (c) expanding the geographic range of the language (as cited in Mar-Molinero, 2007, p. 354). An example of norm planning is the normalization laws of Spain during the 1980s in which the use of the regional languages was fostered through a series of regulations aimed at protecting and expanding those languages.

Aside from the division of language planning into different fields, Spolsky suggests that language policy has three components. The first is its language practices. The second is language beliefs or ideologies. The third is the efforts made to modify or influence language practice through interventions, planning, or management (Spolsky, 2003). We can see, then, that the term language planning and policy may refer in broad terms to such diverse fields as the use of a language in a community to the conscious and deliberate attempt at prescribing a particular use of a language. Cooper (1989) offered his definition of language planning from a behavioral point of view, affirming that "[l]anguage planning refers to

deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45).

Hornberger (2006) integrated Kloss and Cooper's conceptual definitions into a coherent framework in which the types and approaches of language planning and policy are combined to create a series of dimensions within the field. For the types, Hornberger used the differentiation between corpus, status, and acquisition planning. The approaches are divided into policy and cultivation, following Neustupny's distinction (Neustupny, 1974). The policy approach included any activity related to the determination of linguistic varieties and their distribution (selection of a national language, codification through the publication of grammars, orthographies, etc.). On the other hand, the cultivation approach had to do with the functions that languages would fulfill in society (efficiency, and constraints in communication, for example).

Besides the definitions of the basic concepts related to language planning and policy, it is important to take into consideration the topic of language rights. English language learners were found in the study to be under the scrutiny of the local newspapers in matters related to both their education and the broader issue of immigration. Consequently, the following two sections will examine the fundamental notion of language rights in society and in education respectively.

Language Rights in Society

Language diversity is one of the main points of interest in the field of language planning and policy. The significance of a particular language in a community is emphasized or downplayed depending on the orientation of the

status planning given to that language. Likewise, actions of acquisition planning determine whether a language is learned by a community. In the case of majority languages, some countries adopt governmental decisions through organisms created for this purpose. This is the case in France and Spain, for example, with the Académie Française created in 1635 and the Real Academia de la Lengua created in 1713, respectively.

Minority languages, however, have historically received less attention and protection. In the case of the United States, where English is clearly the dominant language, there has traditionally been a social stigma against non-English speaking individuals, to the extent that they are sometimes considered illiterate because they cannot speak English, regardless of whether they are literate in other languages (Wiley, 1996a). In fact, the trend to expand the majority language to the communities where other languages are spoken has been the aim of language policies since the inception of the United States. Some authors have laid the claim that language use is beyond control due to its very personal nature (Shohamy, 2006). Nevertheless, whereas this may be the case with specific use of a language, there are multiple instances in the history of nations where a particular language has been imposed upon the population. This imposition has led to the annihilation of numerous languages in some cases, as with the American Indian languages, which fell from at least 300 before the arrival of the Europeans to 175 today (McCarty, 2002a). In other cases, the enforcement of a particular language has been accompanied by the ostracism of others, as was the case with Basque and Catalan in Spain during most of the 20th century (Fishman, 1991).

From the vantage point of critical theory and the resultant critical language planning, the area of language minority rights is one in which the constructs of power, struggle, colonization, hegemony, ideology, and resistance mentioned by Tollefson (2006) converge to develop an ideology based on the protection of language rights. For some authors, language policies should have as their central tenet the protection of these linguistic rights, even to the extent of including them within the category of human rights. This is the case for Skutnabb-Kangas, who defines linguistic human rights as "those (and only those) linguistic rights that, first, are necessary to fulfill people's basic needs and for them to live a dignified life, and, second, that therefore are so basic, so fundamental, that no state (or individual or group) is supposed to violate them" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006, p. 273). From this definition, Skutnabb-Kangas goes on to affirm that linguistic human rights are among the most important rights for minorities, especially those dealing with education and more specifically with medium of instruction policies. The protection and promotion of these rights is what ensures that minorities have the chance at choosing integration in society as opposed to being forced to assimilate (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). Expanding the concept, May (2006) contends that linguistic human rights are based on three key principles of international law. The first entails the recognition and protection of the languages of national minorities within the nation-states; the second is the right of the speakers of minority languages to use their language as part of their individual rights as citizens; the third grants the right to formal inclusion within the public life only to the languages of the national minorities of the nation-state while

safeguarding the right of other ethnic minorities to cultivate their languages and cultures in the private domain. Elsewhere, May (2001) has affirmed the necessity of implementing active measures of protection in favor of minority languages. These measures may take the form of what he calls group-maintenance approaches to bilingual education, which are additive in nature as opposed to the subtractive views of transitional bilingual programs. The ultimate goal of the group-maintenance model of bilingual education is to create a plurilingual nation-state where the minority languages are both legitimized and institutionalized (May, 2001).

Wiley (2001a), citing Kloss, mentions four different approaches that the government may take in regard to the presence of heritage languages: promotion, accommodation, tolerance, or suppression. Continuing to cite Kloss, Wiley (2001a) suggests that historically the preferred stance taken by governments has been one of laissez-faire or tolerance, although this position has varied depending on the time and the group concerned. In his seminal book The American Bilingual Tradition, Kloss (1977) reviews the minority laws and rights regarding language since the inception of the United States. Kloss's stance was that language and ethnic minority groups were assimilated into the mainstream Anglo language and culture "not because of nationality laws which were unfavorable toward their languages but in spite of nationality laws relatively favorable to them" (Kloss, 1977, p. 283). At the same time that he contended that these language and ethnic minority groups voluntarily gave up their heritage languages in order to advance socially, Kloss affirmed the role of the dominant English-

speaking majority in discouraging language retention among the minorities. In sum, Kloss attributed the loss of heritage languages to both voluntary decisions of the minorities and the attitudes of society against them.

Kloss's work, though useful to understand the language policies in place in the United States from an historical point of view, has been amply critiqued in recent years. Wiley's (2002a) critique of Kloss's theories, including The American Bilingual Tradition, reviews and analyzes Kloss's work under the lens of his ideological past, providing an account of the relationship between this author's early work in its historical context and his subsequent career. Some of the major criticisms provided by Wiley (1996b) in relation to Kloss's contribution to the understanding of the development of language policies in the United States are: (1) Kloss uses a Western European paradigm, associating linguistic assimilation with economic and political assimilation; (2) Kloss fails to point out the differences between the experiences of the Western European immigrants and those from Asia and Latin America. Also, he fails to acknowledge the experiences of indigenous and colonized peoples; (3) even though Kloss does acknowledge instances of discrimination, he contends that these come from society rather than from the state itself, disdaining the existence of a systematic institutional racism and language discrimination; (4) Kloss offers no analysis for the attitudes and practices of American society regarding social practices related to language and ethnic minority groups; and (5) Kloss chose to admit the relationship between languages policies and institutional racism. In sum, even

though Kloss made important contributions to the field of language planning and policy, his work needs to be put in context of the time when it was produced.

Language Rights in Education

The question of how language rights are represented in the educational systems of the nation-states has been analyzed under different points of view. However, the common denominator in the analysis found in the literature is the tension between majority and minority languages as they compete to occupy the public and private spaces of the community.

Language planning within education has been characterized by the presence of the concepts of power and inequality in the educational system (Paulston & Heideman, 2006). Nonetheless, language policies in education usually play a central role in the resolution of language conflicts. These conflicts are the consequence of the struggle to fill the social, economic, and political space in the community. In order to gather support, language policies develop rationales which are usually related to ideologies of nation and national identity (Tollefson, 2002b). These rationales must be based on a series of assumptions about language that the public holds. McGroarty (2002), reviewing the literature in this area, identified a series of core values that the American public bears which influence the perspective that communities take regarding policy decisions in education. She makes the assertion that these values correspond to specific social conditions existing at any given time and that, in consequence, are subject to change. This is what Ricento (1998) designated as deep values, the representation of the accumulation of national experiences and intellectual

traditions which create hegemonic frameworks in society. In terms of the formation of a national language policy, deep values refer "to attitudes and beliefs about language and cultural (including national) identity" (Ricento, 1998, p 89). The dynamic nature of values is expressed, for example, in the ample support that the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 had among the public at the time of its enactment and its ensuing dismantling by increasingly hostile constituencies (Crawford, 2000, 2004).

It has been argued, though, that values and the ideologies upon which they are based serve the purpose of justifying policies of exclusion and inequality (Tollefson, 1991). Language policies have an inherent ideological nature which, according to Tollefson (1991), contribute to the continuation of the existing power relationships. The identification of the values society holds in regard to language minority education is decisive to understand common misconceptions about language diversity. After all, these misconceptions are widespread among the public and have the potential to influence policymaking (Wiley, 2005). In sum, public attitudes are one of the factors contributing to language choice and planning (Haugen, 1987).

The topic of linguistic minorities' access to language rights in education was thoroughly examined by Wiley (2002a) in the context of the history of the United States. This author noted the distinction between the right to access an education that provides participation in the social, economic, and political life of the community, and the right to an education in one's native language. Language policies, making use of their power to reflect social relations in society (Macías,

1987), affect how these two interpretations of educational linguistic minority rights are implemented. It is useful to clarify at this point that a heritage language speaker has been defined as "someone who has been raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (Wiley, 2001b, p. 35, citing Valdés). Heritage languages are those languages other than English that have a particular family significance to the learners (Fishman, 2001).

It has been affirmed that the hegemonic tensions existing in the United States, since its inception to the present day, among different ethnolinguistic groups with unequal social, cultural, political and economic power are a consequence of the principle holding that "those in power tend to determine whose cultures and languages will be affirmed in public life" (Ovando & Pérez, 2000). Depending on the ideological orientation of the policy-makers, these hegemonic tensions are resolved in favor of one among several choices, ranging from the promotion of a unified school curriculum, language, and culture to an education embracing ideals of pluralistic democratic principles and values (Ovando & Pérez, 2000). For example, the choice of a bilingual education program is far more than a politically neutral decision. Instead, it becomes a confrontation between groups for material and symbolic resources, which may result in abandoning the debate over the choice of an educational program based on its effectiveness and instead considering ideological issues such as national identity and unity (Cummins, 2003). In this example, the choice to base an

educational program in the use of English and another language as opposed to basing that program on only English has as a direct repercussion (a) the promotion of English and another language or (b) only English. The promotion of the majority or dominant language alone is usually tied to nationalistic ideologies that tend to marginalize and denigrate the minority languages (Shohamy, 2006).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) has argued that educating children in a language that is not their own is the main pedagogical reason for illiteracy in the world. Such an approach, she contends, is the result of social engineering aiming at the compulsory assimilation of language and ethnic minorities. The goal of this type of state-initiated reforms is the homogenization of the different groups existing in a community under the values of the dominant group, which are presented as standard and universal rather than as particularistic and changing. The goal of homogenization was pursued, for example, in American schools during the first half of the twentieth century, when Americanization classes aiming at the integration of immigrants into mainstream society were offered. Schools, in fact, did not take responsibility for aiding language minority students with their linguistic, cultural and cognitive transition into American society (Ovando & Pérez, 2000). This shows, as McCarty (2004) points out, that "medium-of-instruction policies are neither historically nor socially neutral" and that "choices about media of instruction, whether officially sanctioned or not, concern struggles for political and economic participation, democracy, and human rights" (p. 72).

The historical trends of language minority education have been the object of some detailed studies (Ovando & Wiley, 2003; Ovando, 2003). These trends

have been characterized by the refusal by the dominant groups to acknowledge the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the country in some cases and, whenever this reality was conceded, by attempts at eliminating it. A key construct in these attempts was the emergence and support of the 'melting pot' metaphor, which appeared in American discourse at the beginning of the twentieth century. The idea behind the metaphor was that all immigrants are welcome in American society and that the cohesion of the country depended on the willingness of the new immigrants to integrate themselves into the mainstream society. In the literature, the melting pot construct has been defined as the "biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type" (Gordon, 1964, p. 85). Apart from the problematic use of the term 'indigenous' in this definition, the definition creates a visualization of the phenomenon of immigration which leaves no doubt about the process by which new arrivals become assimilated into the mainstream American society: immigrants are dissolved into a boiling mixture to be changed into new products (Pugh et al., 2000). Even though the concept of melting pot has been widely critiqued and has been abandoned in the scholarly discourse due to its exclusionary nature (Abrahams, 1971; Ovando, 1994; Ramírez, 1974), it is still present today in the public debate (see Moskowitz, September 20, 2010, for an example of the melting pot concept used in reference to language diversity).

Language Policies in Education

A study of the language policies in the United States reveals the fluctuating nature of the approaches to the use of language in the public sphere. Detailed descriptions and analysis of these changes exist in the literature. Ovando (2003) reviewed from a historical point of view the different periods in which the history of the United States can be divided in regard to language policies at the same time that he gave an explanation for the resistance and hostility that bilingual education endures in the United States. This animosity toward bilingual education, he said, "is rooted in nativistic and melting pot ideologies that tend to demonize the 'other'" (p. 14). These concepts will be revisited below.

Macías (1987) also made a separation of the language policies into divergent stages. The first stage, which encompassed the time between the founding of the country and the first quarter of the twentieth century, included both tolerance-oriented and repression-oriented policies, aimed at different groups. Language policies were tolerant toward the colonizing groups and repressive toward the colonized ones. The second period, comprising the twentieth century, saw a change from repressive to restrictive language policy, first, and a revision of the restrictive policies later.

Aside from the historical review of language policies, linguistic issues may be viewed from different standpoints: Ruíz (1988) made the distinction among language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource, postulating for the latter as a way to enhance the status of minority languages and ease tensions between majority and minority communities. Thinking about

language as a resource leads inevitably to considering the role of languages in the schools. Along these lines, McCarty (2004) asserted that "medium-of-instruction policies are neither historically nor socially neutral" (p. 72). The implications of these policies affect such basic domains as the political and economic participation of individuals in the life of the country, democracy, and human rights. Factors such as race, social class, power, and control play a key role in determining language policies affecting education (McCarty, 2004). In the case of language minority students, there is a basic right that goes hand in hand with the right to access an education -which is widely recognized as an elemental concept in our society today: the right to an education mediated in one's mother tongue (Wiley, 2002a).

Additionally, a meaningful education must be one that takes into consideration the students' backgrounds. Not doing so would be failing to recognize the individuality of students and the particular set of circumstances they bring to the schools. Multicultural education, which emerged in the 1960s, addresses cultural diversity at the same time that it "fosters pride in minority cultures, helps minority students develop new insights into their culture, reduces prejudice and stereotyping, and promotes intercultural understandings" (Ogbu, 1992, p. 6). One core issue is that of the relationship between the minority cultures and the American mainstream culture (Ogbu, 1992). To be effective, a minority education program must be designed with this point in mind.

Multicultural education may have multiple purposes. These, following Gibson's (1976) topology, are: (1) equalize educational opportunities for minority

students; (2) teach students to value and accept cultural differences; (3) preserve and expand cultural pluralism in the American society; and (4) produce learners competent and functional in two different cultures. Such a program would permit students to gain an understanding of their role in American society, facilitating the process of searching for meaning and identity (Ovando, 1990).

However, it is the case that educational and language policies are sometimes promulgated on the basis of ideologies. These ideologies are influenced by the local or national discourse on issues affecting them. In the case of language policies, California's Proposition 200, approved in 1998, and Arizona's Proposition 203, approved in 2000, are examples of instances in which language policies were set by a specific ideology influenced by the discourse in matters of immigration (the recipients of those language policies were, in some cases, immigrants). One of the ways in which ideologies are shaped is through the use of metaphors in the discourse of the political class and the mass media. The next section will analyze the use of these metaphors that have the potential to affect ideologies.

Focusing on the object of this study, the next section examines the literature regarding the presence of ethnic and linguistic minorities in the media.

Significance of the Media in the Representation of Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities

The question of the significance of the media in terms of influence over public opinion has largely been analyzed by the academic literature. The focus of attention has been the functions that the media, in general, performs in societies

with a multi-ethnic nature, as is the case in most of the world, including the United States. The consensus among the different studies is that the media plays a fundamental role in the construction of multi-ethnic spheres in society (Husband, 2000). Such is the importance of the stance that the media takes in reference to multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic issues that it may be responsible for holding the largest influence in institutionalized forms of racism (van Dijk, 2005). The impact of the media can only be explained by the fact that it is the most important source of information for most people. Media discourse is, in fact, the main source of attitudes and ideologies of ordinary citizens (van Dijk, 2000). The significance of the media is such that its "role as a prevailing discourse and attitude context for thought and talk about ethnic groups is probably unsurpassed by any other institutional or public source of communication" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 41). In sum, the significance of the written press is such that it unambiguously affects social attitudes and beliefs (Johnson, 2008; van Dijk, 1987).

In regard to the representation of ethnic and linguistic minorities by the written press, it must be noted that the media in general and the written press in particular have a crucial role in the public representation of social relations (Cottle, 2000). These social relations include the presence of the immigrant population and the relationships of this group with the majority group in society. The written press, then, approaches the news reporting process under the umbrella of certain ideologies, which may show the dehumanizing picture that the written press gives of immigrants (Santa Ana, 2002, 1999), the xenophobic elements of news reporting (Igartua et al., 2004), or the use of specific messages that seek to

directly influence public opinion (Johnson, 2005; Santa Ana, 1999; Wiley, unpublished manuscript, 1995; Wiley & Wright, 2004; Wright, 2005).

The interest in the media -and in newspapers in particular- for this study was based on the fact that the mass media is "the single most influential source of the public's daily comprehension of the changing social climate" (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 49). It is also important to note that newspapers share with other forms of mass media two important traits (Santa Ana, 2002): The first is that they have control in terms of access: newspapers have a unique ability to access the public and to decide who has access to the public through them. In consequence, it may be the case that some groups are granted access to the public whereas others are denied this same access. The second trait is that newspapers have the ability to control the shape of the message. A specific event is interpreted by a particular newspaper in a distinct and precise way. This, in turn, has the potential to influence how the public perceives that specific event.

The importance of the journalistic coverage of news events related to education is such that the ideological debate surrounding policies that affect schools goes far beyond the local level to reach the national debate. At this stage, the coverage that newspapers give to education news has a remarkable influence on policies affecting the schools (Crawford, 2004).

Newspapers have been found to play a role in the emergence and reproduction of power relations based on ethnicity and race (van Dijk, 1991). Ideologies of racism and ethnicism are present in this pattern of representation of ethnic and language minorities. Even though this type of ideologies is also spread through

every day talk (van Dijk, 1987), they are also propagated in institutional documents, school textbooks, and the written press (van Dijk, 2005). Contrary to the idea that racism and ethnicism are mostly present in the private sphere of individuals, public discourse (as the one represented by the written press) is prevalent in the spread of prejudice and discrimination (van Dijk, 1993). Among the different forms that this ideology may take, one is based on the particular representations given to the concept of race by the media (Cottle, 2000).

For some authors, newspapers (and the media in general) produce an advocacy imbalance, serving as an outlet for certain groups to express their views while rejecting the same opportunity to those with opposing views (Crawford, 2004). This results in a journalistic bias that has the potential to sway public opinion toward a certain state of mind in particular issues. Crawford (2004) analyzed this bias in reference to California's Proposition 227, an English-only initiative. The results of the analysis displayed what he called a self-reinforcing cycle in written press coverage (p. 371): negative messages about bilingual programs were disseminated by the media, which shaped public opinion leading voters and policy-makers to defend anti-bilingual education policies, which in turned influenced the media to continue with the dissemination of negative messages about bilingual education.

In a study by McQuillan and Tse (1996), these authors found that there exists an important disconnect between research on bilingual education and the views expressed in opinion pieces from newspapers and magazines. Whereas an ample majority of the research produced in the period 1984-1994 showed the

positive effectiveness of bilingual education programs, less than half of the opinion pieces of eight national newspapers and magazines took a positive stance toward bilingual education. In this case, newspapers chose to depart from the empirical evidence as shown in the body of research. Instead, the choice was to defend a particular stance based on an ideological position.

Revisiting the issue of control, news agencies (among them, newspapers) have an enormous amount of power to decide what becomes news. However, even though news may be thought of as a way to represent reality, first and foremost they are the products of an institution (Machin, 2008). This is why knowing the broader discursive practices in which news appear becomes a necessity.

Ideologies, Language and the Written Press

Ricento (2006) makes two important points in regard to ideologies: first, ideologies are present not only in concrete acts or situations but also in abstract constructs and conceptual frameworks. Also, ideologies are inherently present in every discourse. In other words, there is no discourse where a certain ideology is not present.

Language is a very apt tool to disseminate ideologies, since it allows for facts or ideas not only to be conveyed but also to be distorted. As such, language has been termed "an instrument of control as well as of communication" (Hodge & Kress, 1979, p. 6). Fairclough (1992), in opposition to claims to the contrary made by Althusser, denied that all discourse is inevitably ideological. For Fairclough, discourse is ideological if and when it contributes to the existence of

power relations. For this to happen, that is, for discourse to be ideological, society must be characterized by relations of domination (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) defined ideology as "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (p. 87).

Taking the concept of ideology to the context of the analysis of journalistic texts, it is important to keep in mind that ideology invariably involves a particular presentation of reality (Hodge & Kress, 1979). The choices about how to represent reality made by the news writer and the specific newspaper in which the news piece appears reveal a specific ideology.

The particular manner in which news is selected and presented by a newspaper also constitutes an ideological discourse. As Santa Ana (2002) pointed out, the shaping of the message is as important as the selection of the content in the attribution of a particular ideology to that message. Far from expressing these ideological discourses openly, in fact newspapers usually conceal their ideologies in the personal discourse of the reporters. The newsworthy event is then represented in such a way that it expresses "the events of the day both in terms that are consistent with the ideological presuppositions of the news institution and in terms that are expressed in the personal voice of an individual news writer" (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 55).

The relationship between language and ideology has been amply debated in the literature. For example, Wodak (2007) affirmed the presence of a close

relationship between language, beliefs, opinions, and ideologies. Two interpretations have been given for the latter term. In one, ideologies are seen as false theories about reality which can be replaced by scientific theories; the second views ideology as "an unavoidable moment of all thinking and acting" (Wodak, 2007, pp. 1-2).

Woodlard (1998), looking for a way to define ideology in the context of language, affirmed that the representations of the point of intersection between language and human beings is what constitutes language ideology.

The relationship between language and ideology has also been explained as one in which language is used as an instrument of social control (Wiley, 1996a). Keeping control of the power structures in society can be achieved, for example, by spreading a series of misconceptions about language diversity among the public, which leads to the support of some policies and the rejection of others. The attempts to influence public opinion through the use of these misconceptions have been documented in reference to the English-only ideology (Wiley, 1996b, 2005). Also, the role of ideologies in the adoption of language policies has been studied from a socio-historical perspective to show the effect that those ideologies have on the subordination of non-English speaking groups in the United States (Ricento, 2000; Wiley, 2000).

From a historical standpoint, racism and lack of tolerance for linguistic diversity have been connected (Wiley & Wright, 2004). This intolerance for the presence of languages different than English has traditionally been supported by an ideology of English dominance that sustained the use of language as an

instrument of social control. This ideology of English monolingualism has garnered sufficient support in the last thirty years to be considered hegemonic (Wiley & Wright, 2004). A manifestation of this ideology is the English Only movement (for an extended discussion of the English Only movement, see Crawford, 2000 and Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Ideologies supporting linguistic assimilation historically had two main goals in regards to the struggle for social control. The first of these goals has been the deculturation of the language minority for the purpose of subordination. The second is the support of acculturation efforts as a means for assimilation. These two goals reflect ideologies of racial, cultural, and linguistic superiority among the dominant English speaking elite. This ideology was used, for example, to justify the domination of the Native-American population. A supposed ideology of White cultural, religious, and economic superiority accounted for the attempt to eliminate the Native-American cultures, languages, and lifestyles (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

It is important to keep in mind that ideologies play a crucial role in the enactment of specific language policies and practices, delimiting the scope of language planning and policy-making (Ricento, 2006b). Particular ideologies about language in general or about specific languages shape the form and the content of the norms and regulations affecting the education of language minority students.

Thus, language policies are influenced by the prevailing ideologies in society at any given time. Language policies are understood here from a

sociocultural point of view, in the sense that they refer to "modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power" (McCarty, 2004, p. 72). As such, language policies represent ideological constructs that "reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society" (McCarty, 2004, p. 72).

As a result, the specific language policies adopted will shape the education that language minority students receive. Language minority students include not only immigrant students but also students born in the United States and whose primary language is different from English. Given their condition as a minority -on linguistic as well as on ethnic grounds in most cases-, their relationship with the majority group, that of the native English speakers, is subject to the social, economic, political, and cultural tensions inherent to the power struggle between majority and minority groups.

Considering this tension, the issue of linguistic rights has been discussed amply in the literature related to the education of language minority students (for example, Crawford, 1995; Macías, 1987; Mar-Molinero, 2000; May, 2005; McGroarty, 2002; Ovando, 2003; Ruíz, 1988; Wiley, 1988, 2002). An important distinction to make is that the term linguistic rights refers to linguistic minorities: dominant linguistic majorities automatically enjoy the right to use their language "by virtue of their position of dominance and power" (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 69).

The right of language minority students to access a meaningful education has been established in the courts of law on repeated occasions in the past one

hundred years (for a comprehensive review of the most significant court decisions, see Wiley, 2002). However, what exactly constitutes a meaningful education has been amply debated in the public sphere. The three-prone test to determine the suitability of educational programs for language minority students was set forth in the court case Castañeda v. Pickard in 1981 (U.S. Supreme Court) ruling that they: (1) be based on solid theoretical grounds; (2) have an appropriate plan for implementation; and (3) produce positive educational outcomes (Wiley, 2002).

However, even though vague yet real parameters have been established to guide schools in the design and implementation of suitable educational programs for students belonging to a language minority, the actual manner in which students are taught is heavily influenced by the public's attitudes toward this group of students. Ricento (1988) explains that deep values -the accretion of national experiences and intellectual traditions which create frameworks from which policies are created- generate attitudes that are dominant in society. As an example, Ricento cites the idea that cultural and linguistic pluralism is opposed to national unity, a notion that has been debunked by scholars (Crawford & Krashen, 2007). As stated previously, the press may play a crucial role in the diffusion or such notions, accurate or not, expanding and encroaching them even more deeply in society.

These popular attitudes, which in part may be the product of the ideological views represented by the press, have the potential of serving as a motivation "to use language as an instrument of social control" (Wiley, 1996a, p.

105). Also, the significance of these ideologies strives in the diffusion of misperceptions about language diversity. This is the case with the dominant monolingual English language ideology (Wiley, 1996b, 2005). These misperceptions include: (a) a blame on language diversity for the existence of illiteracy in the United States; (b) varieties of English weaken standard English; (c) lack of English oral skills translates into lack of English literacy; and (d) bilingual education is responsible for keeping language minorities from learning English (Wiley, 2005).

Identifying and analyzing the ideologies of the press regarding the presence of language minority students in the schools is a crucial step toward understanding the dissemination of misconceptions among the public, which perpetuate a situation in which the linguistic and ethnic minority groups find themselves in a disadvantaged position.

Review of Studies Focusing on the Presence of Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities in the Media

A number of studies were located analyzing the portrayal of language minority groups in the media. Van Dijk produced several classic studies focused on the reproduction of racism in the press. In Communicating Racism, van Dijk surveyed the Dutch and American press looking for the way in which racism is reproduced in everyday talk (van Dijk, 1987). In Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America, he explored the relationships between ethnicism and racism and also between discourse, language use, and communication in the context of those two geographical areas (van Dijk, 2005). Elite Discourse and Racism took

a global look at the prevalence of prejudice and discrimination in the public discourse (van Dijk, 1993).

Other studies found in this area include Santa Ana's (1999, 2002), which surveyed the popular press in search of metaphors illustrating the dehumanization of the immigrant population in the California context, and Johnson's (2005, 2008), probing the ideologies of the press in Arizona in regard to the passage of popular initiatives affecting the education of language minority students. In the same Arizona context, Wright (2004, 2005) conducted a thorough study of the processes by which the English-only initiative was approved.

Role of the Press in the Formation of Public Opinion

The views of society about ethnic and linguistic minority groups are shaped to a great extent by how these groups are portrayed in the press (Wiley, in progress; Van Dijk, 1988a). Therefore, the starting point for the conceptual framework of this study must be the role that the press plays as a mediating agent in the formation of public opinion.

Studies of the media and its role in the formation of public opinion have been conducted in several areas. Van Dijk's classic studies on the representation of racism in the press lead him to affirm that the media holds the largest influence in institutionalized racism (van Dijk, 2005). Husband (2000) focuses his attention in the functions that the media fulfills in multi-ethnic societies and the elements that are necessary for the construction of a multi-ethnic sphere. Santa Ana (2002, 1999) conducts metaphor analysis in print media in relation to the immigrant population, concluding that there exits a public perception dehumanizing

immigrant workers. Igartua et al. (2004) study the presence of xenophobic components in the press.

The media is one of the main sources of new information for most people. Aside from private communications among individuals, limited in scope, most new information is gained through access to the media in one of its forms (television, radio, press). However, the role of the media conveying news to the public goes further than that: media discourse is the main source of attitudes and ideologies of ordinary citizens (van Dijk, 2000). Accepting this role of the media as a transmitter of ideologies, it is safe to assume that the media has a direct impact on policy-making. The public selects representatives for the different public offices based on the affinity between the candidates and the voters. Identification with a particular ideological approach is usually what determines the selection of a specific candidate. Wright (2005)'s study on Arizona's Proposition 203 illustrates how the affiliation of a candidate to a particular ideology played a critical role in the election of that candidate for public office (in this study, one of the candidates for superintendent of public instruction ascribed himself with the English Only movement, which put him in line with the dominant ideology among the electorate).

Consequently, it can be presumed that the media affects how people acquire information about the world and shape opinions about different topics. Thus, the media plays a key role in the emergence of social attitudes and beliefs (Johnson, 2008, van Dijk, 1987). The prominence of the media in the daily discourse for most people is such that its "role as a prevailing discourse and

attitude context for thought and talk about ethnic groups is probably unsurpassed by any other institutional or public source of communication" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 41).

Given the importance of newspapers in mass communication, a careful analysis of the manner in which they present the news is necessary. Far from being neutral in their transmission of news to the public, newspapers have an active role in the reproduction of certain ideologies (van Dijk, 1988b). These ideologies may be openly presented or may be covertly included in the transmission of apparently objective information. In either case, the role of the media in general and the newspapers in particular in the public representation of the social relations is critical (Cottle, 2000). The ideologies of press outlets influence how social relations are represented, directing the perception of those social relations among the public.

However, the role of the press is not limited to the mere representation of a particular view of social relations. Besides being responsible for the production of news (the term 'news' should be understood here as the representation of an event) the press is also responsible for its reproduction. Bourdieu's (2007) notion of habitus as a system of dispositions or acquired schemes of perception, thought, and action which inform the actions and responses of individuals in their daily lives is directly related to how language ideologies are reproduced in society. The significance of the notion of reproduction is that it entails a consensual social action from and interaction within members of the dominant group (van Dijk, 1987). This study, being concerned with the role of the press in the reproduction

of certain ideologies, adopted van Dijk's (1991) definition of reproduction as "the dialectical interaction of general principles and actual practices that underlie the historical continuity of a social system" (p. 33).

Another key construct in the role of the media reproducing certain ideologies is that of class. Understanding potential instances of discrimination against ethnic and linguistic minority groups who are placed in the lower socio-economic levels of society requires that the concept of class be taken into consideration. Discrimination produces a system of social inequality (van Dijk, 2005) in which minorities have limited or no access to the resources enjoyed by the majority, resulting in a social structure that benefits some individuals and harms others. Some authors have advocated for an approach to language policies in education that takes into account an ideology of democratic pluralism in which discrimination on the basis of social categories such as ethnicity and language is abolished and where the social and political gap between the different linguistic groups is reduced. Policies that combine the retention of the languages and cultures that form the identity of the different linguistic minorities that at the same time provide the necessary means to allow those same minorities access to a meaningful education will translate into a reduction of the inequalities in the distribution of economic resources (Tollefson, 2002a).

Regardless of the particular ideological approach that may be proposed to regulate the education of language minority students, the fact remains that the continuity of the existing social structures is ensured by the media by exercising its institutional authority over certain groups. When this happens systematically,

that is, when the discriminatory practices against a certain ethnic or linguistic group or groups take place repeatedly on the basis of individuals being part of a particular group, a societal structure of racism is perpetuated. This racism may be present in three different forms (Essed, 1991): first, the practices of the media may lead to the preservation of a status quo that privileges the values of the dominant group while placing artificial limits on the progress of the minority group; second, the media may take a stance that problematizes the minority's perceptions of social reality; finally, the media may present an active effort to counter opposition to racism by means of intimidation, pressure to assimilate, cultural isolation or a denial of racism. Even though Essed presents these manifestations in regards to the phenomenon of racism against Black women, they can also be applied to minority groups in general. In sum, members of the dominant group tend to reproduce the dominant ideologies of their group.

Control over the content and structures of ideological representations of ethnic minorities ensures dominance over the ethnic situation (van Dijk, 1991). Johnson's (2005) study on the metaphors present in the media at the time of Arizona's referendum against bilingual education (Proposition 203) exemplified how control of news production may ensure the diffusion of certain ideologies and the definition of the ethnic situation. In another study about Arizona's referendum on bilingual education, Wright (2005), utilizing local and national press articles, editorials and letters to the editor, surveyed the trends and ideologies regarding the anti-bilingual initiative. In his study, he not only concluded that the debate over bilingual education was politically motivated but

also that it contributed to a broader national debate over immigration in which illegal immigrants and the Hispanic community were the targets of direct attacks. A similar study conducted by Santa Ana (1999) also analyzed the media in reference to the portrayal of ethnic minorities in the local press at the time of the Proposition 187 referendum in California. Aside from political circumstances of the moment, Pugh et al. (2000) conducted a detailed study of the range of metaphors used to express thought and language in discussions of diversity. As these studies exemplify, the general principles in regards to the exclusion of ethnic and linguistic minorities in society remained unchanged after political action occurred.

In consequence, the debate over language minority education is heavily influenced by ideologies related to the concept of race. In the case that the concept of race is transmitted uncritically to the public, the media is participating in a phenomenon of racialization and contributing to reproduce a mindset based on the notion of race (Downing & Husband, 2005). This reproduction, occurring over time, leads to the unchallenged acceptance of the concept. It is then that race becomes an acceptable concept to define individuals or groups, often in terms of "them" versus "us," which may be used as an ideological basis for discrimination. With this in mind, this study followed van Dijk's (2005) definition of racism as a social system of domination understood as power abuse. Power implies the preferential access to and control over scarce social resources (van Dijk, 2005). This definition includes instances of ethnicism or constructed differences of ethnicity, culture, and/or language.

Racism and Discrimination

The coverage of immigrants created by the media is often put in a negative light, usually to report criminal activity. However, the positive contributions of immigrants to the cultural, social or economic life of the country are seldom represented. Discriminatory or racist ideologies may take two different forms. The first includes reproduction in the media of racist discourses issued by individuals or groups. The second consists of the discriminatory trends in the discourse utilized by the media to report news events. In regard to the second component, the discriminatory trends that exist in the discourse of the media, it may include two sub-components: one being the manipulation of the discourses and the other being the manipulation of the image of the groups part of the discourse (Bañón Hernández, 1996). These different manifestations of racism may lead to discrimination against minority groups and to the advancement of the ideology of the majority group. The representation that the press makes of ethnic minorities contains the following recurrent themes: (1) ethnic minorities are less represented in the press; (2) ethnic minorities are usually portrayed in reference to problems for the majority group; (3) ethnic events are described under a majority point of view; (4) topics relevant to the daily life of ethnic minority groups are seldom discussed; and (5) racism is systematically underreported (van Dijk, 1987).

The concept of race, then, plays a fundamental role in the system of beliefs that guide the attitudes of the public toward language minority students. The reason is twofold: first, there is a public perception of the linguistic minority

student as an individual belonging to a race or ethnic group differentiated from the majority (even though in some areas linguistic minorities are in fact the majority of the population). The other reason is that the media has the potential to propagate an ideology of exclusion in regards to the education of students part of a linguistic minority (see Johnson, 2008, for an example of how the media shaped public discourse in the case of Arizona's Proposition 203 in the year 2000).

Van Dijk (1991), focusing his attention in the racist ideologies in Europe, defines racism as "a complex societal system in which peoples of European origin dominate peoples of other origins" (p. 24). Then, he affirms that the acceptance of a concept of race is what gives grounds to the phenomenon of racism. Van Dijk, as referenced above, contends that the media is responsible for the propagation of the concept of race, even though this construct is today being denied by a number of scholars (Blaut, 1993; Downing & Husband, 2005; Willinsky, 1998). Instances of open racism may not be as frequent today as they were in the past but a more subtle form of racism is still prevalent, one stemming from forms of discrimination based on a supposed cultural superiority (Van Dijk, 1991). These manifestations of prejudice are known as ethnicism because they are not based on the idea that a race is superior to another but rather in the supposed superiority of a cultural manifestation over another.

Elsewhere, van Dijk has defined racism in terms of the domination of one group over other groups based upon a constructed difference in ethnicity, physical appearance, origin, culture or language. It is important to note that power encompasses "preferential access to and control over scarce social resources"

(Van Dijk, 2005, p. 2). In consequence, racism is a form of discrimination that can manifest itself not only as an act expressly directed against a member of the dominated group or against the entire dominated group but also in more subtle ways resulting in preventing the dominated group or its members from gaining access to the economic, political, social or cultural resources. The latter manifestation of racism is more common today: instances of ethnicism in which socio-cultural differences are defined and placed on a hierarchical rank. These positions exist among individuals who claim not to be racist and are also present in the popular media. In these cases, the differences among ethnic groups are presented to emphasize supposed negative traits of the minority group (Essed, 1991).

It is precisely this institutionalized form of racism what constitutes the focus of Hills's study on the fears that language debates provoke among the public. In her study, Hill affirms that the function of the discourses regarding language use in society is to reproduce a racist culture in which the main tenets are what Hill calls the dominance of Whiteness and the subordination of color (Hill, 2001).

Also, Cain's work on the connection between language, ideologies, and the media in the geographical context of California reveals how journalistic discourse may disregard fundamental considerations affecting the basic needs of students. This was the case, as shown in Cain's study, after the passage of Proposition 227, when the Los Angeles Times "ignored the extraordinary challenges of teaching and learning in the context of an unfamiliar language *as if*

the vote itself changed the reality of second language learners' academic challenges" (Cain, 2002, italics in the original).

Chapter 3

METHODS

Choice of Qualitative Methodology

The study followed a qualitative approach. Qualitative research has been defined as a "research that involves analyzing and interpreting texts and interviews in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular phenomenon" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Merriam (1998) affirms that "[q]ualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (p. 6, emphasis in the original). The presence of certain ideologies in the newspapers regarding the education of language minority students implies the transmission of these ideologies to readers who use these ideologies to construct specific realities.

Additionally, qualitative methods allows for multiple interpretations of the data, an important element given the uncertainty of the findings before the implementation of the study. Qualitative research permits this adaptation to multiple realities (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Within this method, a heuristic, descriptive, and particularistic approach was possible.

The choice of method for a research is dependent upon three different factors: (1) the goals of the research; (2) the existence and availability of data and informants; and (3) the financial, human, and technological resources available (Ricento, 2006). Also to consider is the fact that each particular method is associated with a series of theoretical assumptions: "methods are not isolated in

space, but are either explicitly or implicitly related to theoretical assumptions and structures" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vettter, 2000, p. 5).

Critical Discourse Analysis

The model for this study's analysis of the data was van Dijk's interpretation of critical discourse analysis (hereinafter, CDA). Van Dijk (1988, 1991) defined discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodological approach to language and language use. Its main goal is "to produce explicit and systematic descriptions of units of language use [...] called discourse" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 24). Discarding the use of content analysis as superficial, van Dijk (2000) rationalized the use of discourse analysis to explain the "role of public discourse in the reproduction of racism, and how the news systematically conveys positive images (mental representations) of Us, and negative ones about Them" (p. 48). Using a discourse-analytic method for analyzing texts from the press has the capacity to elicit data related to opinions, beliefs, and arguments (Wodak, 2006). Van Dijk (2000) suggested going beyond the superficial content analysis of isolated words and use instead a detailed discourse analysis that "may provide insight into the underlying mechanisms of how discourse embodies ethnic stereotypes and attitudes [...]" (p. 41). This results in a deeper understanding of the discourse used in the text in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk, 2000). In brief, the use of CDA is justified based on the need to "provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality" (van Dijk, 1993).

CDA is an approach of discourse analysis focusing on linguistic and critical social research. As such, it gives priority to the ways in which texts reproduce power and inequalities in society (Peräkylä, 2005). As part of this approach, CDA has the ability to acknowledge and identify the complex nature of ideologies in discourse and social processes at the same time that it helps uncover and analyze ideologies which perpetuate socioeconomic and political asymmetries. (Ricento, 2006a).

CDA has been attributed a series of principles. The purpose of this study fits within these principles, which, as outlined by Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000, p. 146) and Fairclogh and Wodak (1997, p. 271-280) are:

(1) CDA is concerned with social problems. The interest is not in language or the use of language per se, but in the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.

(2) CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse. The social relations of power have a predominantly linguistic and discursive nature.

(3) Discourse constitutes society and culture. There is a dialectical relationship between society and culture. This implies that every instance of language use contributes to the reproduction and/or transformation of society and culture, including power relations.

(4) CDA determines whether language use is ideological. Ideologies are understood as "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The determination of whether a

discursive event is ideological is achieved by analyzing the text, considering how that text is interpreted and received, and by the social effects that is has.

(5) Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. Discourses are always connected to other discourses.

(6) The link between text and society is mediated. CDA makes connections between social and cultural structures and processes and the properties of text.

(7) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Various interpretations can be reached depending on the audience of the discourse and the amount of context information included.

(8) Discourse is a form of social action. CDA is socially committed to uncovering power relationships.

Clearly, CDA takes a stance in favor of dominated and oppressed groups, acting against dominating groups and openly declaring its emancipatory interest (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Precisely, Titscher et al. (2000) affirm that CDA focuses on dominance and power relations within society. In consequence, the study of the relationship between the media (the popular press) and the language minority population in the schools can be placed within the areas of application for this approach, since it would imply an analysis of social power. The starting point is "the assumption that inequality and injustice are repeatedly reproduced in language and legitimized by it" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 164). Furthermore, the study of the mass media -and the press- falls within the methodological parameters of discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1985a). CDA, as theoretical and methodological framework, employs methods of data collection, analysis and

interpretation that are specially designed to uncover hidden ideologies (Lawton, 2007; Ricento, 2006a). Fairclough (1988) has justified the use of CDA in the context of the press by affirming that this approach avoids taking discursive events in isolation. Rather, it takes the wider social fields and processes into consideration.

The importance of the use of CDA in this study lies in the emphasis given to discourse as an action rather than a structure of language (Santa Ana, 2002). The assumption of this study is that language is used in newspapers with the aim of concealing social practices that can be construed as unjust and unfair, practices that reinforce inequalities of wealth and power (Santa Ana, 2002).

It is important to note that CDA arises as a method "on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups", at the same time that "it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 259). Since ideologies in the written press are seldom explicit, the study needed to uncover the hidden connections and causes of the discourse used by the written press regarding the reporting of news related to ethnic and linguistic minorities. Showing hidden connections and proposing interventions is another key element of CDA (Fairclough, 1992). As Ricento (2006) pointed out, CDA fulfills the need for "methods of data gathering, analysis, and interpretation that are carefully scrutinized for the 'hidden' promotion of ideologies" (p. 47).

There are three fundamental elements in CDA, as described by Rogers (2004): (1) a view of the social world under the lens of critical theory; (2) an

interest in the relationship between language and discourse in the construction and representation of the world; and (3) an analysis based on methods that allow the description, interpretation, and explanation of those relationships.

CDA focuses its attention in the relationship between language and society, helping analysts to describe, interpret, and explain these relationships. The critical component of CDA has been given different interpretations: the first states that the aim of CDA is to uncover power relationships and inequities in society; the second interpretation looks at the relationship between form and function of language; finally, CDA presents a critical element in the sense that it explicitly confronts social problems through analysis and social and political action (Rogers, 2004).

In addition, Rogers (2004) affirms that discourses have a strong social, political, racial, and economic content. One of the traits of discourse enumerated by Rogers (2004), citing Gee, is that discourses are inherently ideological. Values and viewpoints are present and defined in discourses, reflecting and constructing the power relationships that exist in society.

The central object of CDA, then, is language in use, which is directly related to specific social practices with implications in the political aspect of society through issues of status, solidarity, distribution of goods, and power (Gee, 2004). These social practices include common activities aimed at shared goals based on shared knowledge of the roles of individuals (Gee, 2004). In Gee's opinion, all language is inherently political, understanding by politics those

"social relationships in which things like status, solidarity, or other social goods are potentially at stake" (p. 33).

In terms of methodology, Fairclough's model of CDA involves a series of analytic procedures including "description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal domain of analysis" (Rogers, 2004).

It is important to point out that CDA has been the subject of critiques based on its theoretical and methodological underpinnings. Rogers (2004) summarizes these critiques in the following: (1) the political and social ideologies of the analyst are projected into the data rather than appearing from the data; (2) analyses contain an unequal balance between social theory and linguistic method; (3) analyses are disconnected from their social contexts; and (4) the methodology is not systematic or rigorous.

Discourse-Historical Approach

The justification of the election of the discourse-historical approach to CDA can be explained by the fact that this particular approach places its main focus on the historical context of the social issue at stake at the same time that it integrates the known knowledge about the historical sources and the backgrounds of the social and political fields where the discoursive events exist (Lawton, 2007). The process under this approach involves two steps. First, the background of the study is amply discussed, providing as much context information as possible. Then, a discourse analysis of the texts related to the research question is

conducted with the objective of generating a series of hypothesis related to the central issue.

The discourse-historical approach attempts "to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 266). This approach elaborates on van Dijk's socio-cognitive method incorporating different types of schemata which are central for the production and comprehension of the texts. The discourse-historical approach is designed to analyze implicit prejudiced utterances and identify instances of prejudiced discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Therefore, a requirement of the discourse-historical approach to CDA is to include the historical background in which the study takes place. In consequence, the historical context and background information was included in the analysis of the results to form a narrative leading to the research question. Understanding the discourse of news events required that these events were first located in the socio-political reality in which they were used (Machin & Mayr, 2008).

Procedures

Given that the purpose of the proposed study was the identification and analysis of the ideologies of three newspapers in Arizona in regard to the presence of language minority speakers in the schools, the first step toward this process was the recognition of what constituted the unit of analysis for the study. Following the summary of decisions generated by Titscher at al. (2000), the process for the identification of this unit of analysis was as follows:

Texts as research objects.

The media has been acknowledged to play a key role in the public representation of unequal social relations as well as in representing the power struggle in society (Cottle, 2000). The selection of newspapers as the object of this study was done by virtue of the crucial role of this form of mass media in large-scale communication (van Dijk, 1988b). Given the importance of the newspapers in the formation of opinions among individuals, its contents, structures, and strategies of production needed be assessed (van Dijk, 2000, 1988).

News refers to texts or discourses in newspapers containing information about recent political, social or cultural events (van Dijk, 1988b). These texts serve as a depiction of a situation (Titscher at al., 2000), namely the particular characterization that the popular press makes of the immigrant population in regard to instances of language planning and policy in the context of education.

Titscher et al. (2000) suggested following van Dijk's definition of text, taking as a starting point the idea that texts are sequences of sentences with a macro-structure. This macro-structure is comprised of the "underlying thematic and propositional framework that enables the text to hang together" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter, 2000, p. 29).

Given the amount of data that was collected, the analysis forwent the micro-structures of the news items (e.g. syntactic elements and rhetorical devices) and instead focused on the macro-structure of the texts, including the topics and themes of discourse and the review of the semantic patterns (Wiley, unpublished

manuscript, 1995). The obvious advantage of using already available texts (instead of texts generated and collected for research purposes) is that this collection technique precluded all influence on the data collected (Titscher et al., 2000).

Selection from the universe of possible texts.

The universe of possible texts was comprised of all the written press in the United States. From this universe, a first selection was made based on the geographical location of the study. Since the objective of the research was to ascertain the ideologies of the written press in Arizona, the obvious decision was to limit the study to the newspapers located in this state. Among the possible newspapers, three were selected based on the criteria of circulation and language: The Arizona Republic, the East Valley Tribune and La Prensa Hispana.

According to data from the Audit Bureau of Circulations (a non-profit organization that audits circulation) for the six month period ending on March 31, 2011, The Arizona Republic was the 14th most-circulated newspaper in the United States, with a daily circulation of 337,170 (511,764 on Sundays). It is the most-circulated newspaper in the state of Arizona. The newspaper is published in Phoenix and is owned by Gannett Company, Inc., who also owns the national newspaper USA Today. Gannet is the largest newspaper publisher in the U.S. in terms of circulation. It also owns a number of radio stations around the country as well as several popular web sites.

The East Valley Tribune, published in Tempe and owned by 10/13 Communications Group, an affiliate of Thirteenth Street Media, has a circulation

of 97,573 copies. It is published three times a week (Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday) and covers the cities of Mesa, Tempe, Chandler, Gilbert, Apache Junction, and Queen Creek. It was chosen because of the coincidence of the geographical area it covers with the physical location of this study.

La Prensa Hispana is the largest Spanish language newspaper in Arizona (out of a total of nine publications). Published weekly in Phoenix, it has a circulation of 64,925 copies. It is owned by Manny García. Table 1 summarizes the language, circulation, and ownership for the three newspapers.

The decision to include a Spanish-speaking newspaper was made to establish a basis for comparison with the two English-speaking newspapers. More specifically, one of the purposes of the study was to verify whether the newspapers published in English offered their readers a different perspective about news related to the education of language minority students and the topic of immigration than the newspaper published in Spanish.

Selection of the material.

The purpose of the sampling procedure was to make a deliberate selection of articles to ensure that the topics and concepts considered to be essential to the research question (language minority students and immigration) were represented sufficiently (Titscher, 2000). In other words, the goal of the sampling procedure was to collect central or critical cases.

Articles from the Arizona Republic were accessed online through Arizona State University's research database services. The specific database used was ProQuest. Through ProQuest's indexing, an advanced search was performed and

articles were located. Two searches were conducted, one for articles related to language minority students and another for articles dealing with the topic of immigration. The parameters used for the first search were "English language learners" and "bilingual education" (using the Boolean operator "OR"). No document type was selected. For the second search, the term "immigration" was entered for the search field, January 1, 2006 to July 30, 2011 for the date range field, and "Editorial" for the document type field. Results were sorted by date, from newest to oldest. False positives were discarded after a first reading. Articles deemed appropriate by reason of their topic were copied as pdf files into the researcher's computer hard drive. A backup copy of the articles was made on a weekly basis and stored in an online storage server.

Articles from the East Valley Tribune were also accessed online. This access occurred directly through the newspaper's digital archives. The goal of the search was to find articles dealing with the issues related to language minority students on one hand and immigration on the other. In consequence, two separate searches were performed. In one the terms "English language learners" and "bilingual education" (with the Boolean operator "OR") were used to elicit articles dealing with language minority students. The date range was January 1, 2006 to July 30, 2011. In the case of articles dealing with language minority students, no document type was selected. However, in order to limit the boundaries of the search, and due to the large amount of articles related to immigration, the document type for this category was limited to opinion. As with the case of The Arizona Republic, results were sorted by date, from newest to

oldest, and read to determine their inclusion in the sampling. After false positive were discarded, the rest of the articles were copied and stored in the computer in the way described above.

La Prensa Hispana offers its archives in digital format starting in January of 2007. Each edition of the newspaper from that date is available in zip format. Once the file was unzipped, a pdf file contained each of the pages of the edition. Each edition contains 40 pages which are stored in 40 different pdf files. The ones corresponding to the editorial pages are categorized under the file names C6 and C7, which corresponds to the page numbering of the paper edition. After opening both files (C6 and C7), a first reading of the contents determined whether any of the articles in those pages met the criteria for inclusion in the sample (dealing with language minority students or immigration). If an article was found that met the criteria, a screen shot was taken of that particular article (with the goal of isolating it from the rest of the page). The screen shot was saved as a pdf file and stored in the appropriate folder of the computer. The format of the archives of La Prensa Hispana made it impossible to perform automatic searches (whereas The Arizona Republic and the East Valley Tribune had an URL for each article, La Prensa Hispana has stored its contents in pdf files). In consequence, the process described above for the selection of articles from La Prensa Hispana had to be performed 240 times, one for each edition of the newspaper starting in January of 2007 and ending in August of 2011.

The year 2006 was chosen as the starting date for the collection of articles due largely to the fact that a significant immigration law was passed in 2007. The

state's Legal Arizona Workers Act constituted the first major recent legislative effort to curtail the rights of undocumented immigrants and marked the beginning of a series of laws targeting this population. The Legal Arizona Workers Act imposes fines (up to the suspension or revocation of the business license) on business owners who knowingly hire undocumented immigrants. It also imposed the obligation to employers to use the "E-verify" system, which checks the employment authorization of individuals hired after December 31, 2007. Appendix 1 shows the immigration timeline in Arizona. Selecting articles from one year prior to the enactment of the employers sanctions law allowed for the collection of articles to form the background of the events between 2007 and 2011.

This interval provided a sufficiently large sample as to allow for conclusions to be drawn about the most recent ideological approaches present in the written press in relation to the topics of the education of language minority students and immigration.

Table 2 shows the number of articles selected for the database by year and newspaper.

Analysis of data.

A Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) package, Atlas.ti, was used to record and analyze the data. The justification for the use of electronic coding was based on the need to efficiently store, manage and reconfigure a large corpus of data in a way that enabled the researcher to reflect analytically about the process and the findings (Saldaña, 2009). This electronic

coding facilitated the inherent tasks of a qualitative approach, including the interpretation of data through the identification and coding of themes, concepts, and processes (Lewins & Silver, 2007).

First, the files containing the articles were uploaded into Atlas.ti. Then, following van Dijk's (1991) typology, the gathered samples were coded for a number of standard properties or attributes: name of the newspaper, date, theme, and discourse genre. Also, a subjective summary of the item was recorded. A system of elaborative coding in which the textual data was analyzed in order to develop theory was used (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

The data was analyzed following Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) model. This bottom-up process began with the selection of relevant text from all the raw text chosen in the sampling stage. This involved a second reading of each article (the first reading had been previously performed to assess whether the article met the criteria for selection into the database). This reading was carried out with the research concerns in mind. The consideration of relevant text was given to passages within the articles that were directly connected to the research concerns. The relevant text was selected in Atlas.ti in the form of what this software calls "quotes," or excerpts from the articles. These quotes may be linked to one or more codes and may be also linked to memoranda or, using the terminology of Atlas.ti, "memos". Coding was based on an inductive approach in which codes were identified in a grounded way at the same time that the data was read (Lewins & Silver, 2003). In some cases, more than one code was assigned to the relevant text. This happened when a consideration was made that the text

pertained to more than one category at the same time. A list of codes is provided in Appendix D (codes are expressed following the notation ::)

The use of codes allowed for the identification of repeating ideas. When the subject matter or topic of the quotes coincided, themes were singled out. Themes are defined as implicit topics that organize groups of repeating ideas (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). For example, the code *assimilation* corresponds to the theme *the assimilation of immigrants*. The appearance of themes started to become apparent when the data analysis (and the subsequent assignment of codes) was well under way.

The next step involved the grouping of themes into hypothetical constructs, which are larger and more abstract ideas drawn from the themes. Following with the example of the code *assimilation*, which represented the theme *the assimilation of immigrants*, the addition of this theme to other themes dealing with the immigrant population resulted in the hypothetical construct labeled *depiction of immigration issues in the newspapers* (the other themes being *the DREAM Act. the restrictions of the rights of immigrants, the strain in resources that immigrants cause in the community*, *the marginalization of immigrants,* and *the portrayal of immigration as a problem).*. In the same manner, the addition of the themes *the disenfranchisement of ELLs, the academic placement of ELLs in schools, ELLs and social issues, and ELLs and the NCLB Act* resulted in the hypothetical construct labeled as *marginalization of ELLs.* Finally, the themes *headlines that distort the message, the financial cost of educating ELLs, lack of a balanced view on an issue, predisposing readers in a*

certain direction, and *academic achievement* resulted in the hypothetical construct labeled as *characterization of ELLs in the newspapers*.

Finally, the hypothetical constructs were arranged into a narrative which summarized the findings about the research concerns. This narrative can be found on chapter 5 of this dissertation. See Table 3 for an outline of the themes and hypothetical constructs.

The study followed van Dijk's (1998, pp. 61-63) suggestions for ideological analysis. These suggestions are:

1. Examine the context of the discourse: an ideological analysis requires knowledge of the facts.
2. Analyze which groups, power relations and conflicts are involved: this involves the identification of written expressions in the text that refer to the basic categories defining the interests or identity of the group the author belongs to.
3. Look for positive and negative opinions about Us and Them: the ideologies expressed in a text may reproduce social conflict, domination and inequality. The conflict is usually represented as Us versus Them.
4. Spell out the presupposed and the implied: ideologies are usually implied, presupposed, or hidden.
5. Examine all formal structures that (de)emphasize polarized group opinions: these formal structures may be graphic elements, overall

organization of the discourse, lexical choice, and the syntactic structure of clauses and sentences.

Justifiability and transferability.

The qualitative nature of the study implied that its essence was fundamentally subjective in the interpretation of the data that was collected. Nevertheless, to ensure that the study followed the required standards for qualitative research, the concepts of justifiability of interpretations and transferability of hypothetical constructs were used. Justifiability was guaranteed with the transparency and communicability of the data analysis and the coherence of the hypothetical constructs. Transferability was verified through the application to more universal situations of the most abstract patterns found in the hypothetical constructs (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

Chapter 4

RESULTS

Characterization of ELLs

The hypothetical construct labeled characterization of ELLs encompassed five major themes: The distortion of the message in the headlines, the representation of the education of ELLs from a purely financial standpoint, the lack of counterbalance of a specific ideological stance, the predisposition of the public in a certain direction, and the (mis)representation of issues related to the academic achievement of ELLs. These were instances in which news related to ELLs were presented in such a way that distorted the news event being reported. Among these themes, the most salient ones in terms of frequency were the lack of counterbalance and the predisposition of the public opinion in a certain direction. In the first case, the articles presented a conflict related to ELLs under the point of view of one of the sides in the conflict without a reference to the other side. In the second, the articles made a clear effort at leading the reader toward a specific stance in an issue. The difference, then, in the two themes strived in whether the article did or did not make a clear and direct effort at predisposing the reader toward one particular stance on an issue.

Most of the quotations (selections of relevant text from the articles) identified under the construct of characterization of news related to ELLs belonged to the East Valley Tribune (86 quotations). The Arizona Republic included 17 quotations. None were identified for La Prensa Hispana. See Table A4 for a complete breakdown.

The presentation of the results includes quotations from the newspapers. These quotations have been identified by date and newspaper. The following abbreviations have been used: AZR for The Arizona Republic, EVT for the East Valley Tribune, and LPH for La Prensa Hispana. Quotations from the latter have been transcribed in Spanish with its English translation.

The first of the themes under the overarching hypothetical construct of the misrepresentation of the news related to ELLs is related to the headlines.

Headlines that distort the message.

This theme encompassed instances in which the article included a headline which distorted the message of the news event being portrayed.

This was the case in a March 10, 2010 headline in which the East Valley Tribune presented the following statement:

> Judge backs foes of AZ's English-learning (EVT, December 22, 2009) [Code - Characterization::Headlines; Memo – The title gives the impression that the plaintiffs in the Flores case are against English learners]

This headline clearly misrepresented the events narrated in the article. It gave the impression that the plaintiffs in the Flores case were against English learners. The use of the expression foes or enemies leads the reader to think that the Flores case was brought up by individuals who were against students learning English when the reality was quite the opposite: the plaintiffs defended the interests of a group of ELLs in Nogales and, by extension, of all ELLs in Arizona.

The Flores case, initially filed in 1992 by a group of parents in the Nogales School District, revolved around whether the state of Arizona was funding programs for ELLs adequately. The focus of the case was the compliance

(or lack thereof) of the state with the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA). This law, dating from 1974, makes it mandatory for schools to ensure students' equal participation in education by removing any barriers that individual students or groups of students may encounter. The plaintiffs in the Flores case argued that the state of Arizona did not ensure the removal of the linguistic barrier that ELLs face in English-speaking programs by ensuring that these programs are funded at a level that is adequate to the needs of the students. After 17 years of litigation in state and federal courts, the United States Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 vote that the state of Arizona was not in violation of the EEOA, remanding the case to the U.S. District Court to determine whether the Nogales school district is in compliance with the EEOA. The case, then, is currently in the district court pending a ruling. The argument used by the plaintiffs has been that Arizona is indeed in violation of the EEOA because it is segregating ELLs for four hours a day and in doing so the state is denying access to curriculum and equal education opportunities to ELLs (Center for the Law in the Public Interest, 2011).

The misrepresentation occurs also in the case of commentaries published in the opinion pages of the newspapers. This was the case in a column that analyzed the situation of English language teaching in Arizona. The writer of the commentary, who was appointed by Tom Horne to the ELL task force, defended the actions of the superintendent of public instruction in regard to the education of ELLs. The headline for this op-ed was:

Horne advancing English learning (EVT, March 19, 2009)

As discussed before, op-eds are by nature ideological in the sense that a position is taken and defended on an issue. However, when there is no counterbalance to a certain ideological line, the reader may be pushed to believe that there is no alternative to that point of view. This was the case with this op-ed, which affirmed, among other things, that "ELLs are receiving the best possible education at the lowest feasible price" (EVT, March 19, 2009).

Thus the misrepresentation is construed not only through the distortion of facts but also through the failure to represent more than one ideological point of view on an issue. This was also the case in an op-ed with the following title:

> Judge's fiscal demands hinder progress on ELL (EVT, April 12, 2008)

In this case, the Flores case was explicitly represented as an issue revolving around the idea of money, discarding the possibility that the plaintiffs might have sought an improvement in the educational conditions of ELLs. In addition, the case was presented as one confronting the state legislature and the department of education, on one side, and a federal judge on the other, rather than one in which a group of parents sued the state in behalf of their children. Furthermore, the author suggested that the funding required by the schools to offer the state-mandated 4-hour English Language Development (ELD) block to ELLs (a funding request that was rejected by the state's department of education), would revert to teacher's salaries rather than to purchase materials, hire additional teachers, and other expenses associated with the new program. The ideological stance taken by the author of the commentary was far more concerned with the financial cost of educating ELLs than with the quality of the education that these

students receive. Again, the ideological nature of op-eds is not what is at stake but rather the lack of counterbalance on the issue. Only one point of view was presented.

Headlines may present issues in ways that reflect the attitude of a newspaper toward a particular issue. The growing Hispanic population in Mesa prompted the East Valley Tribune to publish a series on the changes occurring in this city. This headline illustrates the point:

> Demographic change may be disturbing, but can't be reversed (EVT, November 1, 2005).

The use of the adjective "disturbing" is disturbing in itself and leaves open the question of whether the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune was voicing its own discomfort with the demographic change or whether it voiced the discomfort of the community, that is, a pre-existing feeling toward the growing Latino population. A detailed reading of the editorial piece clarifies the uncertainty in the sense that the headline refers to the feelings of those who fear the presence of Hispanics in their communities. However, headlines have the characteristic of being able to stand alone. Readers often peruse newspapers paying attention to headlines exclusively. In this case, this headline may have led the reader to believe that the demographic changes are indeed disturbing.

A second theme found under the hypothetical construct of the misrepresentation of the news related to ELLs deals with the cost of educating ELLs. In this case, the attention of the news diverted from the issue of whether ELLs are being educated in a system that places equanimity as a priority.

The main concern is the cost of educating ELLs.

This ideological stand, based on the notion that the primary area of concern in the education of ELLs is financial, can be seen not only in the headlines of the opinion pages but also in the content of articles reporting about different news events. This was the case with an article dealing with the Flores case, published by the East Valley Tribune. The following paragraph exemplifies this point:

> There is no magic dollar amount that will suddenly bring English learners to the same level as their peers. We also must hold schools accountable for adopting the best instruction techniques and provide parents more school choices because different children have different learning needs. (EVT, August 27, 2006) [Code – Characterization::Financial Cost; Memo: For the East Valley Tribune the issue is not one of funding but rather one in which schools are responsible for teaching effectively. Basically, rather than providing more money to ELL programs, the EVT proposes: (1) Hold schools accountable; (2) Offer more school choice]

The Flores case, for the East Valley Tribune, was not one of funding ELL programs adequately so that the students receive an education sufficient for their needs but rather one in which schools are responsible for teaching effectively. In other words, rather than providing additional funding, this newspaper proposed to hold schools accountable and offer more school choice (deviating ELLs from public schools to charter or private schools using state vouchers).

When the Flores case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the main concern for the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune seemed to be the cost of the attorney's fees:

> If Starr does win, he could save the state hundreds of millions of dollars, and Weiers will argue the hefty legal fees were well spent. If Starr loses, well, at least Weiers still has $9 million in the House piggy bank. It's not like the state faces a potential $2 billion deficit. Oh, wait … (EVT, September 12, 2008).

No considerations were made in the editorial piece as to the content of the case. On the contrary, the appeal is perceived as one with the potential of saving the state of Arizona hundreds of millions of dollars. The East Valley Tribune, then, is concerned with the fees of the attorney for the state ($910 dollars an hour) but not so much as with the prospect of the state losing the case.

The issue of the cost of the programs used by the schools of Arizona to teach ELLs has been debated ad infinitum in the Flores case. Also, at the political level the topic of funding has been present in every legislative session in the last ten years. A news article from the East Valley Tribune (May 28, 2008), informed about the programmatic change in 2008. ELLs went from receiving one or two hours of English instruction every day to four hours every day. The article informed about the amounts requested by the school districts to make the change: More hours of English instructions for ELLs translated in new teachers having to be hired, additional materials, and so on. The East Valley Tribune cited the case of the Tucson School District:

> For example, Tucson Unified School District sought an extra $40 million by itself to provide the services mandated by the new law to its more than 7,000 affected students. Horne first reduced that to $6 million because of other state aid the district already was receiving. And once Horne factored in what the district was spending on desegregation, he concluded it should get no additional funds at all. (EVT, May 28, 2008)

In other words, Tucson applied for $40 million and got nothing. Surprisingly, no school official from the Tucson district was quoted. In fact, the

only person quoted in the article -numerous times- is Tom Horne, who defends his policies. This is the case as well in an article from the East Valley Tribune published on February 23, 2008. Once more, Horne is quoted to a great extent in regard to the issue of the funding of programs for ELLs. As it is the case in numerous times, the last paragraph of the article is a quote by Horne.

On one occasion the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune showed its opposition to a tax credit for companies who donate money for scholarships allowing ELLs to attend private schools. This Republican attempt in the state legislature was criticized by the newspaper not for what it represents (the East Valley Tribune is in favor of school choice) but rather for lumping the tax credit together with the law funding ELL programs. The reason given by the editorial board for this position is that public schools are not ready to teach ELLs since they lack qualified teachers and other resources. This could be solved by diverting public funds to private schools. The editorial piece did not mention the fact that by doing so public schools would add more to the problem of scarce resources.

> Establishing a tax credit for businesses that provide tuition donations to attend private schools would give at least some of these students a new opportunity to control their own future, while easing the burden for public schools that clearly lack the qualified teachers and other resources needed to reach all of them. (EVT, January 26, 2006)

The next theme included instances in which a conflict was presented by the newspapers but the article took a clear stance in favor of one of the sides. These articles failed to present a balanced view of the issue.

Lack of counterbalance to an ideological stance.

Newspapers report the news based on events. However, how these events are reported to the readers may depend on the ideological stance taken by the writer of the news article, the author of the commentary, or the members of the editorial board. Whenever an ideological stance is taken, a lack of counterbalance is usually present. This is the case in an article that dealt with the presence of undocumented immigrants in the schools. In this article, published by the East Valley Tribune, the lack of argumentative balance is obvious. Under the title of "Sheriffs want to test immigration ruling," the newspaper opened the piece with the comments made by Pima County Sheriff Clarence Dupnik:

> Some border county sheriffs want Arizona schools to start asking students whether they are in this country legally. Pima County Sheriff Clarence Dupnik, who originated the idea, said Arizona taxpayers are underwriting millions of dollars of costs of teaching English to children who have no legal right to be here.
>
> He also said there is a link between illegal immigration and social problems and gang activity. (EVT, April 27, 2009)[Code – Characterization::Lack of Counterbalance]

The assertions made by the sheriff are troubling at many different levels. First, money was cited as a reason to implement restrictive policies. This in itself shows the ideological stance maintained by the sheriff. However, the fact that the article did not mention a point of view based on the equanimity of granting access to education to all children regardless of their legal status may indicate that the newspaper embraced the sheriff's take on the issue.

The same can be said about the last sentence of the paragraph quoted above: the sheriff affirmed that there is a relationship between illegal immigration

and social problems and gangs. This assertion was left unchecked: there is not a reference about the origin of the data nor a quote by an immigration expert rejecting the statement. In this case, the newspaper became an outlet for the reproduction or propagation of a statement that could be construed as racist. Thus doing, the newspaper became responsible for the content of the comments being reproduced.

The next paragraph of the article also contained worrisome implications:

> Only thing is, a 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision appears to make it illegal for school officials to ask. In a 5-4 decision, the justices overturned a Texas law that authorized school districts to refuse to enroll anyone who could not prove legal presence in this country. (EVT, April 27, 2009)

This paragraph presented slanted information when it stated that the Supreme Court's decision appears to make it illegal to ask about the immigration status of students in grades K-12. U.S. Supreme Court's decision Plyler v. Doe leaves no doubt about the unconstitutionality of basing student's acceptance into K-12 schools on legal status. The article, on the contrary, implied that the decision was not clear. Furthermore, to add to the pretense of uncertainty, it was affirmed -accurately- that the decision was reached in a 5-4 vote.

Further down the article, the newspaper provided detailed calculations to provide the reader with a figure of the cost to educate illegal immigrants. By doing so, the article gave support to the sheriff's remarks in the sense that undocumented immigrants should not be allowed to enroll in schools:

> The issue has financial implications: The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 60,000 to 65,000 of the 1.2 million youngsters in Arizona schools are not in this country legally. The Department of Education figures basic state aid for students is about $6,000 a year, not counting

> what the state pays for school construction. That puts the price tag at something approaching $390 million. (EVT, April 27, 2009).

That the article is leaning in favor of those advocating for blocking undocumented students from access to school is clear when we look closely at the calculations. The Pew Hispanic Center gave a figure of between 60,000 and 65,000 undocumented "youngsters" (we assume that this term refers to school age children). In order to come with the figure of $390 million dollars as the cost of educating them, the article took the high end of the range, 65,000 students.

But the newspaper continued to expand their calculations:

> That doesn't count the extra $360 per student Arizona now gives to schools to help "English language learners," students who come to school not proficient in the language. Assuming two thirds of these youngsters fit that category, that adds another $15 million to the tab. (EVT, April 27, 2009).

Even though according to the article -citing data from the Pew Hispanic Center- only around 5% of the students in Arizona are undocumented immigrants, the newspaper assumed that 67% of undocumented immigrants are ELLs, which fails to acknowledge the fact that many ELLs are American-born citizens.

In brief, these calculations show a willingness to find arguments in favor of those advocating that undocumented immigrants should be blocked from schools without representation of the other side of the issue.

Finally, adding a last touch, the article threw another piece of information:

> The Pew report estimates there are another 100,000 to 110,000 youngsters in Arizona schools who are the children of illegal immigrants but were born in this country. (EVT, April 27, 2009)

Children of undocumented immigrants who were born in the United States and, in consequence, are American citizens are thrown into the mix for good

measure (and, once again, referred to as youngsters rather than students or even children).

In yet another example of how the East Valley Tribune positions itself in favor of state officials in the dispute over the funding of programs for ELLs, an editorial from February 15, 2009 supported the state department of education in the long-standing Flores case. The editorial piece started by clearly standing on Tom Horne's side:

> Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne is determined to stretch every possible dollar while complying with a court mandate for the state to do a better job of teaching English language learners. (EVT, February 15, 2009).

It is interesting to note that the first part of the opening sentence in this editorial piece, which focuses on the Flores case and the education of English learners, dealt with the cost of educating ELLs. In fact, the newspaper took a position in favor of reducing or completely dropping the mandate of a federal judge to adequately fund English learners' programs.

> Ultimately, the Supreme Court should recognize the tremendous progress made since the original lawsuit was filed, and reduce or drop the existing mandate. Until that happens, Horne continues his courageous efforts to protect taxpayers as well as students. (EVT, February 15, 2009).

School districts were asked to submit an application for funds for the new state-mandated 4-hour English language development block to the department of education. The districts requested $275 million. The state legislature approved $40.6 million. Of these, Tom Horne accepted $8.8 million, claiming that this amount was sufficient to cover the cost of implementing the new program. This sum represents 3.2% of what the schools requested.

The newspaper labeled this as “tremendous progress” and “courageous efforts to protect taxpayers.” Whereas data is given to the reader showing the reduction in the cost of educating ELLs, no data was provided to show the academic progress of these students. The priority, it seems, lay in the financial cost, especially in it’s reduction.

This position in favor of the department of education in the Flores case was also maintained by the East Valley Tribune in an editorial piece in which the newspaper applauded the state for its job educating ELLs.

> This new direction, combined with our relative success compared to other parts of the country, should weigh heavily in an on-going federal lawsuit that seeks to force Arizona taxpayers to spend another $200 million a year on specialized English instruction. (EVT, January 10, 2009)

Not only did the editorial board position itself in favor of the defendants in the Flores case, but it also used language reflecting hostility: "[...] federal lawsuit that seeks to force Arizona taxpayers [...]" (italics added for stress). There was no mention of the reasons why the lawsuit was filed. Also, the case was framed as an issue of English learners versus taxpayers as well as one revolving around the idea of money rather than equity.

This ideological stance maintained by the editorial board was supported by some of the regular commentators in the same editorial pages. In an op-ed, one of these commentators blamed the federal judge in charge of the Flores case for the lack of progress of ELLs (“Judge fiscal demands hinder progress of ELL”, EVT, April 12, 2008). In his article, the author had no qualms about framing the Flores case as centered in money rather than in the quality of the education that ELLs receive.

> It's beyond obvious by now that this case is all about the money and has little to do with educational goals. (EVT, April 12, 2008)

A little further down the article, the writer took issue again with the judge's orders to the state legislature and the department of education that ELL programs be funded adequately.

> Collins has repeatedly ruled against them, not because their methods don't work, but because they're too parsimonious with taxpayers' money. (EVT, April 12, 2008)

The piece, in brief, did not mention how the lawsuit started nor the identity of the plaintiffs and their interest in the case. Rather, the case was presented as one in which a federal judge was at odds against the state legislature and the department of education. In his effort to make his point clear to the reader, the writer did not hesitate to quote Tom Horne:

> According to State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne, writing in the Arizona Capitol Times, several charter schools, including Valley Academy, Challenge Charter, Career Success and Peak Charter have achieved virtually 100 percent success in enabling younger students to acquire English proficiency in one year. (EVT, April 12, 2008)

However, in the next paragraph Tim Hogan, the attorney for the plaintiffs, was misquoted and given a role as the federal's judge "guru for education":

> Yet none of this matters to Tim Hogan, the plaintiffs' attorney and guru to Collins for education policy. He still insists that the key to ELL instruction is massive funding. (EVT, April 12 2008)

The use of derogatory terms such as "guru" to refer to Tim Hogan and "supreme education policymaker" shows clearly the dissatisfaction of the writer with both the plaintiffs side of the Flores case and the federal judge.

Not only did the writer ridicule the attorney for the plaintiffs and the judge. He also suggested that the additional funding requested by the schools to

implement the new state-ordered 4-hour English language development block would revert to teachers' salaries.

> Moreover, public school educators, sensing a court-ordered payday, insist that SEI would cost $304 million in addition to all the regular and supplemental funding they now receive for these students. (EVT, April 12, 2008)

This ideological standpoint was maintained in other editorial pieces. In one dating December 21, 2005, the East Valley Tribune made the following admonishment:

> But the judge should be cautious when treading on the state's sovereign right to determine education policy. Imposing fines won't put any more money into schools or help a single child learn how to read or write. (EVT, December 21, 2005)

The newspaper showed that the priority should be in the protection of the state's sovereignty over the underlying issue discussed in the Flores case, which was the equanimity of the state's educational system in their treatment of language minority students. The issue was framed by the newspaper not as one of allocation of resources but rather as one in which the courts tried to determine education policy, usurping the powers of the legislative branch and going against the rights of the state.

However, the editorial board went even farther in exempting the state of Arizona of any wrongdoing in relation to ELLs. Voicing the ideological point of view of the republican leadership in the state, a link was established between the education of ELLs and illegal immigration:

> Republican leaders also point out this problem [funding of ELLs] is largely of the federal government's making anyway, because of its failure to adequately address border security and immigration reform. Last week, Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne called on

> Congress to provide more than $700 million to compensate schools suffering from that neglect. (EVT, December 21, 2005)

Given that the regulation of immigration is indeed a federal power, the East Valley Tribune demanded that the federal government contributes to the funding of programs for ELLs. This was explicitly stated in the title of the editorial piece:

> Feds should take some responsibility to help educate state's English learners. (EVT, December 21, 2005)

Even though the editorial had just made an argument against the interference of the federal government in matters of education, it reproduced voices claiming the existence of a connection between border security and immigration reform on one hand and language minority students on the other. The lack of counterbalance of this point of view translated in the reproduction of a certain point of view without critically addressing it. Thus, the newspaper made those arguments and ideologies its own.

On some other occasions commentators are more subtle in their op-eds. This is the case when a writer seems to give an issue a balanced analysis but a closer view reveals a specific ideological stance. This happens when the closing paragraph of a piece, the part that is more likely to be recalled by the reader, is left to express a certain opinion or quote a certain actor. An example of this is the following paragraph:

> "Something is being done very, very wrong," Horne said. "It should not take up to 10 years.... That's practically your whole school career. When are you going to learn the substance? ... That is a fundamental fact that we have to deal with and we absolutely must change." (EVT, March 14, 2008)

The op-ed showed support for Tom Horne in the ongoing debate over the funding of the 4-hour English language development block. The commentary cited a school superintendent who voiced her doubts about the new program but the very last paragraph was left for a literal quote - the only literal quote of the piece- by Tom Horne.

This trend to leave the closing paragraph to the superintendent of public instruction was found not only in op-eds but also in articles reporting on the Flores case. In an article informing about the decision of the state legislature to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the last paragraphs read as follows:

> Horne said removing the two-year cap would not be a big problem because new teaching models are so good that only a small number of students will still not be proficient after that time. (EVT, February 23, 2008)."

The article offered no counter opinion to Horne's assertions in the sense that only a very small number of ELLs will not be proficient in English after two years of instruction. Instead, the reader was left with this unchecked piece of information.

The lack of a counter opinion was found in numerous articles in the East Valley Tribune and in all cases the opinion expressed without this counterbalance was the one representing either the state legislature or the superintendent of public instruction. Discussing the efforts to find a common program for ELLs, the East Valley Tribune cited Tom Horne defending the incoming new model.

> State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne told about 30 officials from cities around the state that he's expecting performance by students learning English to improve in coming years. (EVT, August 31, 2007)

Even though at the time discussions on the characteristics of the new model had been made public (the meetings of the ELL task force were public record), the newspaper made the choice of not offering a counter opinion to Horne's assertion in the sense that ELLs would learn more with the new model.

In another example, the article "Horne to sue over education assessment" (EVT, July 6, 2006) reported on Tom Horne's intentions to sue the federal department of education. The reason for the lawsuit, the article stated, was the methods that the federal department of education used to assess schools. These methods included the test scores of ELLs. Horne's point of contention was that the federal government had verbally promised him to exclude the test scores of ELLs in their first three years of classification as such. Horne was quoted numerous times in the article. For example, referring to the exclusion of the first three years for school assessment purposes, Horne was quoted as follows:

> He said the schools need that time to ensure the youngsters are proficient. (EVT, July 6, 2006).

Incidentally, it is interesting to see Horne defending the period of three years as the time ELLs need to become proficient when his campaign to get elected as superintendent of public instruction in 2002 was mainly based on the strict implementation of Proposition 203, which established the mandate that students learn English in a period to not normally exceed one year.

Likewise, it is ironic that Horne sued the federal government over the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) requirement to include all students' scores (including ELLs) in the assessment of schools. At the same time that Horne was adamant to include ELLs for the first three years of classification, the state department of

education was imposing that ELLs take the Arizona Individual Measurement of Standards (AIMS) test in English and with very limited accommodations. In other words, Horne maintained that schools should not be held accountable for the test scores of ELLs because students needed three years to become proficient but at the same time he required ELLs to take and pass a test in English to graduate from high school. The obvious conclusion is that Horne's concern was placed on how the schools fared in the label given to them by the federal government rather than on the possibilities of graduation of students for whom English was not the first language.

The article analyzed here did not provide any point of view in this matter except for Tom Horne's. ELLs were mentioned but neither their voice nor the voice of their advocates was transmitted to the reader. By doing so, the newspaper embraced the point of view of the superintendent of public instruction. Including ELLs' scores in the reports would result in an overall negative mark with a significant part of the schools in Arizona earning a negative label, which would impact Horne's reputation or performance as chief of public schools. However, even though the underlying issue was the testing of ELLs, the article did not discuss the adequacy of testing these students in English. It merely included Horne's comments in favor of testing in English but offered no counterbalance.

Taking Horne's remarks at face value without offering a differing point of view was found several more times in the data collected. In an article reporting on the deadline set by a federal judge to the state legislature to fund ELL

programs, Horne was quoted defending that ELLs take the state's high school exit exam, the AIMS. The federal judge, in a decision that would be reversed later, had ruled that ELLs did not have to take this exam.

> It gives them a meaningless diploma that is a product of seat time rather than academic achievement," he [Horne] said. "To tell these students that they're going to get a diploma even though they can't speak English and then have them compete in the economy is a terrible way to mislead the students." (EVT, December 17, 2005).

In other words, Horne did not trust the schools to do their job of teaching and granting diplomas to those students who have met the graduation requirements set by the state. Coming from the superintendent of public instruction, this statement is significant enough to warrant a comment from a school administrator, a teacher, or a union representative. However, the article left it at that, with no comments but Horne's. Again, merely reproducing an opinion indicates that the newspaper embraces that opinion.

This pattern of ending an article with Tom Horne's comments on an issue repeats itself multiple times in the East Valley Tribune. Another example of this in an article in which the Structured English Immersion (SEI) program approved by Arizona voters in the year 2000 is analyzed five years later. Several voices were cited, including a student, a school principal and a school superintendent. In its last part, the article mentioned a study commissioned by Arizona State University to researchers from the University of Texas, San Antonio. The study found that five years after the approval of Proposition 203, ELLs still lagged behind their peers in standardized tests. The study also found inconsistencies in the data provided by the Arizona Department of Education. Following the pattern

indicated above of leaving the last word to Tom Horne, the state superintendent of public instruction was quoted directly.

> State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne dismisses the study, calling it "a piece of totally unscientific propaganda." Horne pointed instead to a study his office commissioned and reported in July 2004. He says the study shows that bilingual education programs are not as effective as structured English immersion. His report's longitudinal study of 70,000 students shows students in bilingual education programs lag far behind those in English immersion programs. (EVT, November 21, 2005)

In this case, Horne dismissed the study and instead cited his own study which denounced bilingual education. Neither the authors of the study - University of Texas, San Antonio- nor those who commissioned it -Arizona State University- were quoted defending it from Horne's accusations.

The article was closed with another quote from Tom Horne. In this instance, Horne placed the responsibility for passing the AIMS test in the students themselves, ELLs.

> As for Lozada [a student quoted earlier in the article] and other English learners in his position, Horne says they'll get four more chances to pass the AIMS test. Horne's advice: "Study and learn English - a lot of other kids have done that. (EVT, November 21, 2005)

This assertion, which sounds commonsensical, is what the reader reads last. There was no mention in the article about the adequacy of testing ELLs in a language in which they are not proficient as there is no mention of the adequacy of the funding of programs for ELLs. In other words, the reader was left with the impression that if students are not learning English, it is because they are not studying. It placed the blame on ELLs.

Generally speaking, the East Valley Tribune shows a lack counterbalance in their reporting of news related to language minority students. Opinions are construed as indisputable facts. An example of this is an article dealing with the SEI training received by teachers. The opening paragraph was as follows:

> East Valley teachers have begun the most extensive, state-mandated training to hit classrooms in the last two decades focusing on instructional techniques that target students learning English. (EVT, May 17, 2005).

The newspaper contended that the SEI training was the most extensive of this kind in two decades. However, no evidence of this was offered. However, the article went even farther, mentioning that this requirement (the training) was the first in the nation.

> The requirement - the first in the nation - will increase [...]. (EVT, May 17, 2005).

Again, there was no evidence offered to support this point. What other states use an SEI model to teach ELLs? What kinds of training have been given to teachers in those states? Given the lack of evidence, the reader was left to think that these unsupported claims are self-explanatory truths and that an explanation is not even necessary. Practitioners, on the other hand, would have given a different account of the effectiveness of the SEI training (this researcher was a teacher of English as a Second Language at that time and received the aforementioned training. Without providing an extensive explanation, it can be said that the SEI training was not extensive, as the East Valley Tribune contended).

Sometimes, the articles presented in the East Valley Tribune had a headline that seemed to indicate support for ELLs. This was the case in an editorial piece entitled “Spending what’s needed for English instruction makes sense” (EVT, February 27, 2005). The public, after reading this title, was led to believe that the education of ELLs was the top priority for the editorial board of this newspaper.

A more detailed analysis of the piece, nevertheless, speaks to the contrary. First, the education of children not proficient in English was not presented as a matter of justice or fairness but instead as an inevitable event considering the unfeasibility of “rounding up” all illegal immigrants (quotation marks included in the original text):

> Recognizing the physical and financial impossibility of "rounding up" every illegal immigrant - not to mention the civil rights issues - and deporting them forever, helping them quickly become fluent in English makes good sense. (EVT, February 27, 2005)

Not only did the East Valley Tribune present the education of ELLs in an extremely demeaning way but it also paid no heed to the fact that a sizable percentage of ELLs are indeed legal residents or U.S. citizens.

Second, the emphasis was on the cost of educating ELLs. The first six sentences of the editorial piece contain the following words and expressions: “taxpaying jobs” (sentence 1), “burden on taxpayers” (sentence 2), “cost of that instruction” (sentence 4), “cost of educating Spanish-speaking students” (sentence 5), “high cost and low efficacy of bilingual education” (sentence 6). The only sentence among the first six of the editorial piece that does not contain a financial

or monetary reference is sentence 3, which is the sentence quoted above mentioning the "rounding up" of illegal immigrants as an impossibility.

Third, the editorial board equated ELLs with Spanish-speaking students ("[...] the cost of educating Spanish-speaking students [...]") (EVT, February 27, 2005). Whereas it is a fact that a majority of ELLs are indeed Spanish-speaking, there is a significant number of ELLs who speak other languages. Ignoring them is not only unfair and demeaning of their linguistic and cultural background but also shows that the newspaper equates ELLs with Hispanics.

Fourth, the editorial piece mentioned Proposition 203 and accepted the arguments presented in this initiative as factual without mentioning the numerous voices refuting the statements contained in that text.

> When Arizona voters approved that law several years ago they recognized and rejected the high cost and low efficacy of bilingual education. (EVT, February 25, 2007)

Fifth, the East Valley Tribune supported its arguments in favor of the immersion program mandated by Proposition 203 based on a report issued by the Lexington Institute, a conservative think-tank, which affirmed that test scores for ELLs in California improved after the passage and implementation of Proposition 227.

> The Washington, D.C.-based Lexington Institute bears this out in a report it issued Thursday. It found that, despite opponents' predictions that California's 1998 Proposition 227 English-immersion measure would be a disaster, the latest scores on the California English Development Test for 2004 are encouraging. (EVT, February 25, 2007)

Sixth, the editorial piece described the mandate from the federal judge in the Flores case to fund ELL programs as "overly expensive" but did not sustain the basis for such statement.

> Arizona's elected officials should not risk the costly inevitability of a federal district court judge in Tucson mandating an overly expensive fix to a problem that can and must be dealt with expeditiously and economically. (EVT, February 27, 2005).

Finally, at the same time that the East Valley Tribune made a case for spending as little money as possible on ELLs, it called for immigration reform, thus making a connection between illegal immigration and ELLs.

> Meanwhile, Congress needs to pass meaningful immigration reform advocated by President Bush and much of Arizona's congressional delegation that would create a guest-worker program while tightening border security. Allowing a controlled number of immigrants to legally enter the country and take the entry level jobs Americans won't take would make this issue far less politically volatile, and hence more manageable. (EVT, February 25, 2007)

In summary, the editorial board (1) based the need for English instruction for ELLs on financial considerations (so that ELLs eventually obtain "taxpaying jobs" and do not become a "burden on taxpayers") rather than on the fairness and equity of teaching children; (2) reached the conclusion that the best program to educate ELLs is an English immersion one because of financial considerations for the taxpayers ("high cost of bilingual education"); (3) considered that the mandate from the federal judge in the Flores case was "overly expensive" and that instead the solution must be "expeditious" and "economical"; (4) made a case for spending as little money as possible on ELLs, which, according to the same editorial board, should not be a problem due to the fact that the state has gone

away from expensive bilingual programs; and (5) connected ELLs to illegal immigration by making a call for immigration reform.

In fact, the support for Tom Horne's policies was so strong that the East Valley Tribune did not hesitate to use demeaning terms to refer to those who opposed him. This was the case in an editorial where the title showed little consideration for those backing bilingual education.

> PC crowd's fears about bilingual education's necessity unfounded (EVT, August 7, 2004)

The acronym PC referred to the term "politically correct" and clearly undermined the position of those who at the time defended the adequacy of bilingual education. The prepositional phrase precedes the noun "crowd," which is defined in the Oxford American Dictionary as "a large number of people gathered together, typically in a disorganized or unruly way" (Oxford American Dictionaries, 2011).

Likewise, the first paragraph of the editorial piece left no doubt about the ideological orientation of the newspaper. The East Valley Tribune again identified ELLs with immigrant students, despite the fact that a sizable number of ELLs were born in the United States.

> Four years ago Arizona voters overwhelmingly rejected the dire warnings of the politically correct crowd and rejected bilingual education in favor of English immersion classes for immigrant students in our public schools. And now a study proves what most Arizona voters know intuitively - that the best and fastest way to learn another language is to dive right in. (EVT, August 7, 2004)

The study referenced in the paragraph above is one conducted by the Arizona Department of Education. Further down the article, the editorial board

referenced a study carried out by the Lexington Institute supporting the immersion program in California. There was no reference to any study backing bilingual education nor any quotation from an advocate of bilingual education. However, two studies in favor in immersion programs were cited and two promoters of immersion programs were quoted. The imbalance was clear.

The East Valley Tribune clearly stated its ideology about language policies in an editorial piece entitled "Rationality in any language" (EVT, November 26, 2003). Whereas the term "rationality" seemed to indicate a reasonable approach to the issue of language in the schools, a more detailed analysis of the piece showed otherwise.

Following a contention about the East Valley Institute of Technology's policy to punish students for speaking a language other than English, the East Valley Tribune offered the following approach:

> We suggest a rational, sensitive approach in accord with the English-immersion principles of Proposition 203: Communications between students and teachers, in classrooms or outside class when the subject is instruction-related, should be in English. Assignments, oral or written, must be in English. (EVT, November 26, 2003)

To begin with, the editorial board disregarded the needs of students who are not proficient in English. Suggesting that non-English proficient students speak English assumes that they should be able to speak English and placed the blame on them for not being able to do so. It also placed these students at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their English-speaking peers. Furthermore, the interpretation that the East Valley Tribune made of Proposition 203 was far more restrictive than what a literal explanation of the initiative indicates. Proposition

203 states that “all children in Arizona public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English.” It also clarifies, in the definitions sections, that “nearly all classroom instruction is in English” (nearly, not all) and that “teachers may use a minimal amount of the child’s native language when necessary.” As can be seen, Proposition 203 allows for some use of the students’ native language for instructional purposes, something that the East Valley Tribune rejected. Moreover, Proposition 203 only regulates the use of language for the purpose of instruction. The East Valley Tribune extended its opposition to the use of a language besides English to communications outside of class.

The editorial board made its hegemonic English-only ideology explicit when it affirmed that students should not speak any language other than English in public. In other words, students may use their native language if (1) they are talking about a non-school related matter, and (2) there is nobody else in the vicinity who may overhear them. The use of a language different than English is clearly perceived as a threat that must be thwarted. The xenophobic connotation in regard to language is clear and it infringes upon the first amendment rights - freedom of speech- of the students at the same time that it completely devalues any language different than English.

> And in those EVIT classes involving outside customers, such as the cosmetology school where Otero is a student, instructors should teach and enforce good manners. In other words, students should be taught that conversing in a language within earshot of a customer who doesn't speak that language can be construed as rude to that customer. Students who want to speak another language should keep private, personal conversations about non-school matters out of such earshot as much as possible. (EVT, November 26, 2003).

Bilingualism is perceived as an inevitable condition that is linked to the presence of undocumented immigrants. There is no mention of the historical precedence of Spanish over English in Arizona. The nuance of the article seems to indicate that bilingualism is an inescapable problem, not to mention the belligerent suggestion that it would be a miracle to have all illegal immigrants removed from the United States.

> Bilingualism is here to stay. Even if every illegal immigrant were to be miraculously removed from U.S. soil today [...]. (EVT, November 26, 2003).

The following section will examine instances in which the news, rather than being misrepresented, are used to clearly and directly lead the reader toward a specific stance on issues related to ELLs.

Predisposing the public opinion in a certain direction.

If the previous sections analyzed articles in which there was a clear lack of counterbalance to the news reported, this one will focus on instances in which the articles lead opinion in a certain way. This will help clarify the predominant ideologies of the newspapers analyzed in issues related to language minority students.

These ideologies are clearly stated in the case of op-ed pieces. The very nature of this type of articles makes it clear to ascertain the ideological leanings of the writer. In an op-ed piece from the East Valley Tribune, the writer commented on Tom Horne's track record in regard to the academic achievement of ELLs:

> Interestingly, in the midst of all this, state Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne, a Republican, has proven to be strong on standards for children yet compassionate in that he wants the best education possible for all children. His department has implemented a 4-

> hour per day, intense immersion model for English language learners that is already proving superior to the ELL programs of the other states. (EVT, March 19, 2009)

First, it was explicitly stated that Horne is a Republican. The statement was followed by praise. This is in high contrast with the previous paragraph, where the former governor was first described as a Democrat and then was harshly criticized. The political lines are therefore drawn and the good and bad sides are defined. Second, the paragraph criticizing former governor Janet Napolitano (which deals with financial matters) set the stage for the paragraph on Horne. In other words, once the point has been made that Democrats have the wrong policies and Republicans the correct ones, the stage is set to point out that Horne is a Republican and, in consequence, his policies (even though they regard education and not state finances) are the right ones. The piece also formulated several opinions as if they were facts: (1) Horne is strong on standards yet compassionate with children; (2) the 4-hour block is superior to ELL programs elsewhere. However, the piece did not include any evidence to support neither the description of Tom Horne nor the assessment of Arizona's SEI model.

Thus, the article clearly leans toward the ideological assumptions defended by State Superintendent Tom Horne. This in itself would not be as troubling if it were not for the fact that the newspaper presented only one view of the issue. Thereby, the reader who is not familiar with issues related to language minority students does not have the opportunity to ponder the matter.

This ideological positioning continued in a subsequent paragraph:

> Nevertheless, state Attorney General Terry Goddard, a Democrat who leans toward a "throw-money-at-the-problem" solution [...] by

> refusing to oppose a lawsuit brought against the state by the ultra-liberal Tim Hogan of the Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest. (EVT, March 19, 2009)

The author made it clear to the reader that Goddard is a Democrat (and democrats, as stated in the first paragraph, were the ones who sank the state's finances) and that Tim Hogan is an "ultra-liberal." These political lines are reinforced by drawing another set of lines separating the two sides of the Flores case, which for the writer are the taxpayers on one hand and Hogan on the other. There is no mentioning of the fact that Hogan represents a group of parents who filed a lawsuit on behalf of their children, language minority students. Also, the defendants of the case are described as the taxpayers rather than as the Arizona Board of Education.

> A year ago, Goddard supported Hogan, and not the taxpayers, when the state went before the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals to deal with this issue. Consequently, the court ordered Arizona to pour more money into ELL education and to pay fines that would amount to $2 million per day. (EVT, March 19, 2009)

The labeling of the actors of the Flores case continued to the end of the piece, in which it was made clear once more that Horne is a Republican (second time) in addition to describing him as a "strict yet caring parent." Left with this, who wouldn't trust Tom Horne in his positioning in the Flores case?

> The strict yet caring parent, the Republican Tom Horne, deserves our gratitude and support on this very important issue. (EVT, March 19, 2009)

Labels and unsupported claims form the base of a piece aimed at praising Tom Horne and the SEI model at the same time that is decried those who contend that ELLs are not being adequately served by the schools.

> It doesn't matter to Goddard that the new model is proving highly successful in every school district where it has been fully implemented, nor that the state is on the brink of bankruptcy. (EVT, March 19, 2009)

The new model referred to in the paragraph is the 4-hour block. Despite multiple criticisms from academics and practitioners, the program was described as "highly successful in every school district."

The ideological leaning does not limit itself to op-ed pieces but also to articles reporting news. An example of this is an article in the East Valley Tribune reporting on the hearing of the Flores case in the U.S. Supreme Court. This article failed to present the case for what it was: a lawsuit presented on behalf of a group of parents of language minority students against the state of Arizona. Instead, the newspaper portrayed the case as one of a federal judge against the state of Arizona. Furthermore, it claimed that the potential outcome of the case -costing hundreds of millions of dollars to the state legislature- would be the result not of the failure of the state to comply with its obligations toward language minority students but rather of a judge's ruling.

> On paper, the issue the U.S. Supreme Court will take up Monday is simple: should Arizona lawmakers be forced to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to comply with a judge's ruling that they do more to ensure students learn English? (EVT, April 17, 2009)

Leading the reader toward a specific ideological point of view is accomplished not only in articles reporting news and in op-ed comment but also in the editorial pieces. In one of the latter, the East Valley Tribune positioned itself on the state's side in the Flores case, praising Tom Horne and showing concern for the public funds rather than for the quality of the education imparted to language minority students.

> Arizona's educators seem to be doing a better job in teaching English language learners than much of the country. (EVT, January 10, 2009)

This assessment of the state of the education of ELLs in Arizona was based on data from the Quality Counts report, comparing Arizona's data to other states. Leaving aside the accuracy of the data or its interpretation, the editorial found reason for pride in the fact that almost half of the ELLs in the state of Arizona showed clear signs of progress. Exactly what "clear signs of progress" constitutes was not defined but it is doubtful whether the East Valley Tribune should be proud for not making "clear sings of progress" with the other half. In other words, data that objectively is quite alarming is presented in such a way that the reader is led to think that the state is doing a good job at educating ELLs.

Far from presenting the issue of the effectiveness of the SEI program in a balanced way, citing critical voices from academia or practitioners, the East Valley Tribune cited Tom Horne to assert the merit of the SEI program. All this was, for the editorial board, reason enough to discard the Flores lawsuit.

> This new direction, combined with our relative success compared to other parts of the country, should weigh heavily in an on-going federal lawsuit that seeks to force Arizona taxpayers to spend another $200 million a year on specialized English instruction. (EVT, January 10, 2009)

It is worthwhile to note that the newspaper used language that clearly reflects violence. The federal lawsuit sought to force taxpayers to spend $200 million a year on ELLs' education. Not only there is no mention of the reasons why the lawsuit was filed but also the case is framed as one of "them" (English learners) versus "us" (taxpayers), and one of money rather than equity.

Even in articles where the central issue is the Flores case and the funding of programs for ELLs, the East Valley Tribune often makes a connection between these students and the issue of illegal immigration. An example of this is an article in which the newspaper informed about the ongoing legal battle in the Flores case. After quoting then-Governor Janet Napolitano, the article ended by expressing the point of view of those who think that ELL programs should not receive additional funding.

> Some of the opposition to additional funds has been tied up in the issue of illegal immigration. (EVT, April 14, 2008).

Although the article made a mention to "[s]ome of the opposition," it is not clear where that opposition is coming from. Why not mention the persons of groups opposed to additional funds? Tom Horne and members of the state legislature had expressed their opposition to additional funds claiming that the existing funds were sufficient. This is why it is surprising that the East Valley Tribune mentioned illegal immigration as a reason to oppose additional funds.

The article ended by citing the Pew Hispanic Center, which stated that a majority of ELLs are U.S. citizens. This would have been enough to offer a counterbalance to the previous paragraph, which made a somewhat vague but direct connection between ELLs and illegal immigration. However, the East Valley Tribune led the public toward opposing additional funding on the basis that even though most ELLs are U.S. citizens, they still are the children of illegal immigrants.

> The Pew Hispanic Center has concluded a majority of English learners are U.S.citizens. But it also found that a majority in these programs are here because of illegal immigration: Even if the youngsters

> themselves were born in this country, their parents are here illegally — and they would otherwise not be in Arizona schools. (EVT, April 14, 2008).

By stating that the beneficiaries of the money would be the children of illegal immigrants, the newspaper tapped on the feelings of that segment of the population opposed to the presence of undocumented immigrants. There was no mention of the right of children of undocumented immigrants to be in schools (Plyler v. Doe), nor of the fairness of educating all children regardless of their immigration status or the immigration status of their parents.

The efforts to lead readers in a certain direction can be seen in an article from the East Valley Tribune informing about the request for funding from the public schools before the implementation of the 4-hour ELD block. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tom Horne, refused the request for $304 million and instead approved $40 million (he later would reduce that amount to $8.8 million).

Despite the fact that the article cited other actors, such as Debra Duvall, superintendent of Mesa Public Schools, most of the quotes belong to Tom Horne, who defended his denial of the funds requested by the districts. The article offered a point of counterbalance to Horne's assertions in the sense that districts should hire beginning teachers to save money in salaries (and use this money for temporary trailers for additional classroom space). Debra Duvall was quoted responding and asserting the need for experienced teachers in the ELD classrooms. However, Horne's claim stating that no new textbooks were needed for this program and that additional classroom space was an issue to be dealt with

by another department were left unchecked (this researcher can assert that textbooks were indeed needed and that classroom space was an issue when forty students were crammed in a classroom).

Also, as is the pattern in many of the East Valley Tribune's articles, the final paragraph was used to quote Tom Horne, who criticized the request for funding from the schools.

> There were some frivolous requests lumped in with the others, Horne said, although they were the exception and not the rule. Those requests included funding for secretaries, a janitor, summer camp staff and, in one case, a karaoke machine. (EVT, March 3, 2008)

In this case, the last thing that the reader read is that schools have requested a karaoke machine, which can be construed by the reader as an example of the frivolity of the funding requested by the school districts, specially after the chief of schools conceded 13% of the money schools asked for (later reduced to 3%).

That language minority students are not a priority in the eyes of the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune is clear. An editorial piece from this newspaper described the requirement that English learners be provided with a meaningful education and provisions of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) as a "vague federal mandate" to justify the opposition to the demands brought forth by the plaintiffs in the Flores case.

> The Legislature should fix these problems first to make it easier to confront the fundamental question of just how much say a vague federal mandate should have over the state's fiscal priorities. (EVT, March 30, 2007)

The East Valley Tribune is consistent in presenting the Flores case as one against Arizona, maybe suggesting that ELLs are not part of Arizona. The lawsuit, however, was filed against a specific organism, the Arizona Board of Education.

> Removing these issues from the state law would allow Arizona to go back to court with clean hands and a much stronger argument that this 15-year-old lawsuit should come to an end. (EVT, March 30, 2007).

By presenting the lawsuit as one against Arizona, the newspaper misled the public and tried to side the reader with the defendants.

Generally, the articles from the East Valley Tribune reporting on issues related to language minority students, both on the Flores case and the choice of program, tend to present facts as indisputable when they are not, thus leading the reader in the direction sought by the newspaper. This can be seen in the following paragraph, part of an article reporting on the changes brought by the then new 4-hour ELD block.

> A task force, consisting of university faculty, school administrators and others the chair is an economist - met for more than a year, and came up with a research-based approach to learning English. (EVT, November 26, 2007).

In this instance, the reporter presented the 4-hour block as research-based without mentioning the critiques to the program or to the research upon which the program is based formulated from academics and practitioners. In consequence, the reader was led to think that the research and the 4-hour block is undisputed. In other words, there is a lack of analysis or critical point of view from the newspaper. What research? Whose research? What do other researchers and experts in education think about the validity of the research? These questions are

not presented because instead the newspaper made the deliberate choice to accept one particular point of view on the issue.

The article, however, did present concerned voices. One of these is Sylvia Gonzales', director of English language learning at the Tempe school district. Commenting on the segregation that the new program was bound to create, Gonzales articulated her anxiety:

> Gonzales said, "We are really struggling with this. It almost appears as if we're moving backward." (EVT, November 26, 2007)

Debra Duvall, superintendent for Mesa Public Schools, was quoted expressing concern about the 4-hour block and its effect on students:

> "If they don't pass AZELLA, they can't go into concept classes. Then they can't pass AIMS. It's a double-whammy," said Superintendent Debra Duvall. (EVT, November 26, 2007).

Also, Mike Oliver, principal at Zaharis Elementary in Mesa, defended his school's approach with English learners, which is the philosophical opposite to the segregated 4-hour block.

> Mike Oliver, principal at Mesa's Zaharis Elementary School, said the approach his school uses - which highlights dialogue and 'grand conversations' - works well with English learners. A large part of that, he said, is because those children are interacting with fluent English speakers.
>
> "Where is an (English learner) going to learn best? In an environment where they're doing worksheets, going through prescribed curriculum a teacher is transmitting, or in an environment where there's a lot of beautiful language being spoken, where there is dialogue? Where they get to hear the voices of others, not just the teacher?" he said. "We learn in the company of others." (EVT, November 26, 2007)

Despite the sprinkling of a critical voice, these multiple examples show that the East Valley Tribune holds a concrete ideological stance on issues related

to ELLs. The next section will examine how academic achievement in the case of ELLs is reported by the newspapers.

Issues related to academic achievement.

Another of the focal points of this research was the portrayal by the newspapers of the academic achievement of language minority students. More specifically, the researcher was interested in analyzing the contexts in which the newspapers dealt with the topic of academic achievement in the case of ELLs.

An issue related to academic achievement is that of the use of standardized tests with English learners. The state of Arizona requires ELLs to take all the standardized tests that English-proficient students take plus one specific for them: the Arizona English Language Learners Assessment or AZELLA. At the time of enrollment in a school, all parents must respond to the questions presented in the Primary Home Language Other Than English Home Language Survey (PHLOTE). This survey, which has changed over the years, currently contains three questions:

1. What is the primary language used in the home regardless of the language spoken by the student?
2. What is the language most often spoken by the student?
3. What is the language that the student first acquired?

If the answer to any of the above questions is different than English, the survey automatically triggers the testing of the student through the AZELLA. The outcome of the test determines whether the student is classified as an ELL or not. The stakes are high: students classified as ELLs are enrolled in four hours of

English instruction per day (if the students pass the Reading or Writing components of the AZELLA they may waive these classes from the 4-hour block, an unlikely scenario since the area in which students are more likely to show proficiency is oral language).

Apart from the AZELLA, ELLs receive a series of accommodations in standardized tests. These include taking the test in a self-contained environment, using a translation dictionary, and having the oral directions interpreted to their primary language given to students before a test.

Testing students in a language that is not theirs presents a series of issues related to equity. Can ELLs be expected to perform as well as their English-speaking counterparts in content tests when these tests are given to them in a language in which they are not proficient? Should ELLs be expected to hold the same academic standards when they are tested in English rather than in their primary language?

The state of Arizona requires that all students pass the Arizona Instrument to Measure the Standards (AIMS) test to graduate from high school. The test presently has four components: reading, writing, mathematics, and science, even though the latter is not a graduation requirement. Students take the test in the 10th grade for the first time and subsequently have four more chances to pass it. Failure to pass the AIMS results in the student not being able to graduate. ELLs have the challenge of proving that they meet the standards not only by showing knowledge of the content but also of the language.

With this in mind, the analysis of the articles showed a tendency to discard the level of funding as a factor influencing the academic achievement of ELLs. The East Valley Tribune, for example, published an op-ed piece in which the columnist showed his opposition to increase budgets in education, claiming that more money does not translate in greater academic achievement.

> Measure schools by results, not spending (EVT, November 27, 2009)

In other cases, the news reporting on the labeling given to schools by the federal government mentioned scores from ELLs as part of the criteria for such labels. However, when this was done, these articles showed a lack of analysis of the appropriateness of using scores from ELLs for this purpose.

> In Carson's case, the federal warning came when test scores for English language learners failed to move forward. (EVT, April 21, 2011).

The academic achievement of ELLs was also discussed from a programmatic point of view. When this happened, the East Valley Tribune presented the perspective of the state education official but generally they did not offer positions critical of the educational program chosen to educate ELLs. This was the case when the issue was the change to the 4-hour ELD block:

> State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne told about 30 officials from cities around the state that he's expecting performance by students learning English to improve in coming years. A state task force has been researching the best ways to ensure students learn English. It is developing models that would give such students four hours of English instruction each school day, Horne said. (EVT, August 31, 2007)

The article quoted Horne stating that ELLs would improve their performance as a consequence of the new models being taken into consideration

by the ELL task force. However, there was no mention of the numerous voices from both academia or practitioners claiming the contrary.

The changes brought by the legislation introduced in Arizona as a consequence of the passage of Proposition 203 were contentious in regard to the academic achievement of ELLs. The Arizona Republic, in an opinion column dating from April 14, 2003, presented the reader with a point of view favorable to the English-only program implemented in California after the passage of Proposition 200 in 1998. Using data on the academic achievement of ELLs, the writer criticized colleges of education at the state universities for their lack of enthusiasm putting in action the changes required by Arizona's English-only law. However, The Arizona Republic allowed an academic, Dr. Carlos Ovando, to defend the work of the colleges of education:

> Such efforts, in coordination with the state Department of Education, can assure that Arizona does not duplicate California's experience with the unfortunate decrease in academic achievement for English language learners since the passage of Proposition 227 in 1998. (AZR, April 23, 2003)

The East Valley Tribune also presented a balanced perspective of the programmatic debate in the context of the Flores case in an article discussing the ongoing legal battle in the Flores case. The academic achievement of ELLs was the focus of attention:

> Horne said there is evidence that some students are doing better, particularly at four schools in the Nogales district. Lawyer Tim Hogan, who represents the plaintiffs, countered there are many other schools - including in the Nogales district - where English learners are falling behind. (EVT, August 24, 2006)

Both Horne and Hogan were quoted thus presenting the reader with a balanced view of the proceedings in the case.

The next section will deal with the second of the overarching hypothetical constructs, the marginalization of English learners.

The Marginalization of English Learners

A second hypothetical construct found during the analysis of the data is related to the marginalization of ELLs. This marginalization has two possible sources: One is the vulnerability that language minority students face in schools. The other is a marginalization originating from the way news related to them is presented by the media.

In either case, the marginalization of these students may have catastrophic consequences, including the possibility of abandoning the schools. In consequence, an additional point of interest in the study was the analysis of how this marginalization was presented in the newspapers. Instances of marginalization were quoted and coded under the name "disenfranchisement" for later analysis. The underlying interest of this part of the analysis was to check whether the newspapers had a role in the (re)production of the marginalization of language minority students or if, on the contrary, they took advantage of those instances of marginalization to present a critical point of view of the educational, political, social, or economic systems creating the marginalization.

Most of the quotations found in the data for this category originated in The Arizona Republic (71%). The rest of the quotations, except one, belonged to articles published by the East Valley Tribune. Table A5 shows a breakdown of

the quotations. The first sub-section of this hypothetical construct will deal with the disenfranchisement that language minority students experience. In quantitative terms, this theme was the most salient one in this category.

The disenfranchisement of ELLs.

A theme found within the hypothetical construct of the marginalization of English learners is the disenfranchisement that ELLs experience.

An article informing on the update of the library at a Queen Creek elementary school offered an opportunity to check how the East Valley Tribune approached the issue of marginalization.

> A 1972 set of encyclopedias and a Ronald Reagan biography dating to when he was governor of California are two examples of the outdated and damaged books being removed from the Queen Creek Elementary School library.
>
> The books will eventually be used to help Queen Creek area adult and student English language learners with their reading skills. (EVT, April 5, 2008)

In other words, the school's library discarded outdated and damaged books became part of the materials used to teach English learners. They were not good enough for native-English speakers but they were deemed educationally sound for language minority students. This is an example of disenfranchisement of a particular segment of the student population, in this case English learners.

A further reading of the article reveals that this instance of marginalization was left not critiqued. The writer did not make a case for English learners using high-interest books to foster and encourage their literacy efforts. There is no mention in the article to the possibility that using an encyclopedia almost 40 years old and a biography of Ronald Reagan from his years as governor of California

may not spark the interest of either young learners or adults. By choosing not to critique the fact, the writer embraced the idea that these materials were good enough for English learners. This is an instance of reproduction of an event that disenfranchises language minority students.

The disenfranchisement of language minority students is presented in numerous cases under a financial point of view. The ideological argument is based on the cost of educating ELLs. In this case, identification between ELLs and illegal immigration is made, leading the reader to believe that spending money to educate ELLs is the equivalent to spend money on undocumented immigrants.

An example of this is an article in the East Valley Tribune in which a paragraph appeared directly under the title showing the presence of the Spanish language in schools.

> Up to $1.2B spent to educate children of illegal immigrants" (Title)
>
> "Children chat in Spanish between classes at Mesa's Lindbergh Elementary School, and signs are posted in English and Spanish so parents can navigate the campus. (1st paragraph) (EVT, February 15, 2007).

The physical proximity of the title and the first paragraph in an article suggest a close connection between both. In this case, illegal immigration and the Spanish language in schools were linked by this proximity.

Also, the article made a great effort to present figures to make a compelling case against the presence of children of undocumented immigrants in schools. Citing the Pew Hispanic Center, the article affirmed that between 125,000 and 145,000 children of illegal immigrants attend Arizona's public

schools. It also affirmed that the cost of educating a student is between $7,720 and $8,500 per year. The East Valley Tribune then took the highest figures for both the estimation of students who are the children of illegal immigrants and the cost of educating a student to come up with the figure of $1.2 billions.

Since schools are not allowed to gather information related to the legal status of their students or their parents, there is no reliable data on this regard. However, the East Valley Tribune took the stance that most ELLs are children of illegal immigrants, as can be seen in the following paragraph:

> Not all students designated as English learners are children of illegal immigrants. Some English learners are the children of legal residents. (EVT, February 15, 2007)

The use of the word "some" implies that even though a number of students may be children of legal residents, the majority are nonetheless children of illegal immigrants. This, without valid data to back it up, is an assumption that reveals a specific ideological standpoint that denigrates the presence of undocumented immigrants in the schools.

Another important consideration that must be taken into account is that even though the article briefly mentioned the constitutional right of all children to attend school regardless of their immigration status, the focus of the article was the cost of educating the children of illegal immigrants. In recent times there has been a legislative initiative at the state level that would have required schools to report on the number of undocumented immigrants that they enroll. This legislation did not prosper but nevertheless was the result of a current of opinion reflecting the ideological stand that children of undocumented immigrants should

not enjoy the same rights as the children of documented immigrants or U.S. citizens, including the right to American citizenship and the right to attend school. The East Valley Tribune, with this article, supported this ideological stance, either initiating the current of opinion among the public or supporting it.

The disenfranchisement of language minority students is obvious when the newspapers take a stance that ignores the hurdles that these students must go through. In an editorial, the East Valley Tribune sided with Tom Horne in his stance against the federal government in reference to the inclusion of test scores from ELLs in the process of labeling the schools. The editorial contained a manifest contradiction in the position taken by the superintendent of public instruction in regard to testing ELLs. The newspaper was not responsible for this contradiction but failed to point it out. Not only did the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune chose to ignore this contradiction but also offered a clear support to Tom Horne.

Tom Horne claimed to have an oral agreement with the federal department of education that discounted the scores of ELLs for the first three years of classification as such for the purposes of giving the schools a performance label. The federal government counter argued that such an agreement never existed. Up to this point far, Horne's position seemed to be in favor of the interests of ELLs. However, a closer scrutiny revealed the contrary and showed the contradiction of his argument. Tom Horne always supported the use of standardized tests to evaluate ELLs. In fact, ELLs were required to take the AIMS test since this test was first implemented in 2006. Furthermore, Horne demanded that ELLs be

tested in English, even though an argument could have been made to test them in their native language: Proposition 203 mandated that ELLs be taught in English and that all instructional materials be in English. There was no mention to the language of standardized tests. On one hand, then, Horne argued against the federal government claiming that three years were necessary for ELLs to learn a sufficient amount of English to be tested. On the other, though, he had supported Proposition 203, which required that ELLs learn English in a period of one year (not three). Also, Horne insisted on testing ELLs in English, a language in which, by definition, these students are not proficient. The validity of tests taken by English learners in English is doubtful at best.

The East Valley Tribune failed to point out this obvious contradiction in Horne's arguments. Also, it failed to acknowledge the impossible predicament in which ELLs are placed: ELLs are expected to pass a series of tests in a language in which they are not proficient. There was no mention of the lack of validity of the tests either. The article, besides supporting Tom Horne, showed satisfaction with the academic achievement of ELLs. The basis for this estimation was a comparison with California schools, which are also under the English-only mandate. There was no mention, however, of how Arizona measured up to states offering students other programs.

This one-sided perspective becomes apparent when the newspapers offer different points of view on an issue but fail to portray the point of view of ELLs. This is the case of an article published by the East Valley Tribune (July 24, 2006) that informed about the state superintendent's decision to exclude test scores from

ELLs from the records. This decision had implications related to the labeling of the schools by the federal government in application of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. The article presented the point of view of Tom Horne, defending his actions; Chad Colby, spokesperson for the federal department of education; Bob Bernstein, accountability administrator for the California Department of Education; and Scott Palmer, attorney representing the states on NCLB issues. The article examined the implications of counting scores from ELLs in standardized tests but it failed to present the implications of testing ELLs under the perspective of the ELLs themselves. In other words, the article pointed to a key issue: Arizona's schools are at disadvantage because state law required them to test ELLs in English. By enforcing a law -Proposition 203- that Horne supported, the state put itself at a disadvantage in regard to the states that allow testing in the students' native language. However, even though the article mentioned the unfairness of counting scores from ELLs for school labeling purposes, it failed to mention the unfairness of testing ELLs in a language that they cannot understand or in which by definition they are not proficient. As a secondary teacher, this researcher has administered standardized tests to ELLs on numerous occasions, mostly the AIMS test, and has witnessed the effects that these tests have on them: intimidation by the format of the test (lengthy, all in English), fear of not passing (not being able to graduate), shame and inadequacy for not being able to understand the questions, etc.

The article quoted Horne, who on this occasion defended the schools (undoubtedly because the labeling of the schools has an effect on his evaluation as state superintendent of public instruction):

> Basically, I'm fighting for 100 schools," Horne said of the campuses that fail to meet federal standards because of English learners' scores. (EVT, July 24, 2006).

In sum, by failing to present the issue under the perspective of ELLs, this group of students is marginalized and the readers are presented with a slanted point of view in favor of Horne, who appears as the champion of schools against the interference of the federal government.

On other occasions, however, the newspapers report on instances in which language minority students have been marginalized in some way. For example, an article from the East Valley Tribune, dated January 27, 2006, informed about the move to make English the official language in Arizona. A similar attempt had taken place in 1988 but on that occasion the law was declared unconstitutional by the state's Supreme Court. The East Valley Tribune cited former governor Janet Napolitano pointing out that the state legislature had moved to pass an English-only law even though they were unable -or unwilling- to come up with a funding plan to teach ELLs. In practical terms, this amounted to requiring that English be the only language used in official transactions with the government at the same time that the state was out of compliance with a court order to fund programs that would teach English to language minority students. The contradiction was noted in the opening paragraph of the article:

> State lawmakers moved Thursday to make English the official language of Arizona even as they have yet to figure out how to finance its instruction in public schools. (EVT, January 27, 2006).

Another example of the reporting of instances of marginalization is related to the topic of the underrepresentation of ELLs in programs for the gifted and talented. In an article dated February 25, 2005, the East Valley Tribune reported on this underrepresentation and quoted Arizona State University's professor Jay Blanchard stating some of the reasons for this: the fact that state law prevents schools from testing language minority students using their native language and the lack of advocacy from the part of the parents of these students in favor of their children. The marginalization caused by the English-only law was represented in the article.

This shows that an analysis of the written press reveals not only instances in which language minority students are marginalized by the same written press but also occurrences of marginalization stemming from actions of the institutions (i.e. schools, government agencies, or legislative power) against language minority students. An article from the East Valley Tribune dated January 16, 2004 showed one of the most flagrant cases of marginalization: a teacher from the Scottsdale school district was fired for allegedly abusing her students physically and verbally. The reason for the abuse was that the students spoke in Spanish instead of English in her class. The article reported on both the teacher's dismissal by the school district and the subsequent lawsuit presented by the teacher against the school district for wrongful termination.

It could be argued that these examples of marginalization do not illustrate the situation of language minority students because they are isolated incidents that are quickly recognized as anomalies. However, there was an instance in which the marginalization reached the top echelon of our institutions. This happened when the letter of a substitute teacher attacking language minority students was read on the floor of the state senate. The opinions contained in that letter were the product of an individual but by repeating them in the senate, those opinions were made official and embraced by prominent members of the Republican party, among them Russell Pearce, who defended the authenticity of the letter and the validity of its content. The letter described ethnically Hispanic students as "disrespectful, unprepared, and individuals who [did] not want to be educated but rather be gang members." These grave accusations were rebuffed by a middle school teacher in the Phoenix area in an op-ed published in the East Valley Tribune on March 31, 2011. The incident, however, shows how language minority students are susceptible to attacks from the political class and how this same political class will not hesitate to use them as tools for their political agenda. Their vulnerability is such that only through the actions of others (in this case, a teacher), can they be defended.

Even though it is clear that language minority students to a great extent lack the self-advocacy that other groups of students have, the newspapers analyzed made little or no effort to seek their voices. It is usually others who intervened to either speak on their behalf or criticize them. Or sometimes both at the same time, as is the case in a letter to the editor published by The Arizona

Republic on August 25, 2005. The writer of this letter sheds light upon the issue of the residency status of ELLs affirming that the majority of them are U.S. born citizens, in spite of the popular belief that identifies these students as undocumented immigrants. Then, the letter refutes Horne's claims that districts want to keep students classified as ELLs for the extra-funding that they receive. However, this apparent letter defending ELLs went the opposite direction by affirming that parents of ELLs should be forced to speak English at home and that the funding of programs for ELLs is wasted money.

It is usually when money is at stake that the marginalization of ELLs reaches its highest point. In a letter to the editor published by The Arizona Republic on January 28, 2006, the reader/writer took exception with the use by the newspaper of the word "struggle" to define the educational experience of ELLs. However, the intention of the reader was not to put the participation of ELLs in schools in a positive light. Rather, the reader's point is that since there is not such a struggle, there is no necessity to spend "inordinate amounts of taxpayer money on ESL" (AZR, January 28, 2006).

We have seen so far how language minority students are marginalized in the media discourse by either the reproduction of a discourse of marginalization from the institutions or by presenting the news in such a way that it marginalizes this group of students. On other occasions, however, instances in which ELLs were defended regarding that marginalization were also found in the editorials of the newspapers. In such an editorial, The Arizona Republic once more made its position against SB 1070 clear. Criticizing Alabama's own version of SB 1070,

considered even more extreme than Arizona in curtailing the rights of undocumented immigrants, the editorial criticized legislative efforts to make it mandatory for schools to report the number of undocumented immigrants they enroll to the state's agencies:

> Checking the status of schoolchildren will mean that kids -- even some who were born in this country -- will be kept out of school by undocumented parents who fear questions at school will lead to deportation. Alabama's school provisions would create a permanent uneducated underclass. (AZR, June 16, 2011).

Arizona's version of this legislative initiative passed the committee stage only to be dismissed in a vote at the state senate. The editorial board of The Arizona Republic showed its opposition to both Alabama and Arizona's laws. This opposition had already been expressed in an editorial dated March 30, 2010. The reasons given by the editorial board to oppose HB2382 and SB 1097, which would have required schools to report on the number of undocumented immigrants, were varied: (1) the issue of illegal immigration is a federal power; (2) federal requirements demand that all children have access to a public education regardless of their immigration status; (3) this law would create an undereducated population with its own social and law enforcement costs; (4) parents, reacting out of fear to being identified, will keep their children out of school; (5) U.S. born students will also be kept out of school because their parents or siblings are undocumented immigrants. The editorial board of The Arizona Republic made a compelling case against the bills and criticized these legislative efforts to further marginalize language minority students.

The next sub-section will examine the issue of the placement of ELLs in the SEI program.

The placement of ELLs in the SEI program.

Also of interest for the study was the ideological perspective of the newspapers in regard to the placement of ELLs in schools, specifically in the SEI program.

The first trend that could be observed was that the topics of immigration and enrollment of language minority students are closely interwoven in the articles analyzed.

An article from the East Valley Tribune dated February 21, 2011 illustrates this relationship. Under the title "Immigration crackdown adds challenge for south Phoenix schools", the article explored the impact of the immigration policies on school enrollment. The first consequence of a declining enrollment, which is tied in the article to the economic crisis and more restrictive immigration policies, is a reduction of teachers. The article, in its opening words, presented the case of a school that was unable, due to budgetary constraints, to hire a second teacher for the non-SEI kindergarten classes. The result was that the native-English speaking students class had 35 students, more than double the previous year. The consequence of this overcrowding was illustrated very clearly by the newspaper with the following quote from the mainstream teacher:

> There wasn't even enough room on the carpet for all of them, and it was just so many kids; it's hard to get anything done," the fourth- year teacher said. (EVT, February 21, 2011)

The passage referred to English-speaking students. As a consequence in the decline in the enrollment of non-English speaking students, the school lost a teaching contract. Since ELLs needed to be grouped by law into one class, that left all other students, non-ELLs, with one teacher. To make the point clear, further down the article added to this idea:

> While larger class sizes are impact (sic) both English-proficient and English Language Learners, local school districts have more leeway to allow larger classroom size for English-proficient students. State regulations keep ELL class sizes smaller (EVT, February 21, 2011)

The effort of the article was in showing that native-English speaking students are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their non-English speaking counterparts. The fact that restrictive immigration policies cause a great deal of distress among many non-English speaking students was not mentioned, even though this has the potential to greatly impact the academic performance of these students.

This effort to present the assumed disadvantage of native English-speaking students was coupled with the following description of this group:

> But an unintended consequence of the crackdown is that in some school districts, there has been a noticeable impact on the education of children who are native born, English speaking, U.S. citizens. (EVT, February 21, 2011)

The article described English-speaking students as native born U.S. citizens. The obvious redundancy (native born necessarily implies U.S. citizens) was meant to differentiate them from the non native born students. This failed to acknowledge the fact that many non English-speaking children are U.S. citizens by birth. In other words, the article seemed to equate English-speaking with U.S. citizen status and non-English speaking with non U.S. citizen status.

An article from the East Valley Tribune dated March 25, 2011 exemplifies the complexity of the topic of the placement of ELLs into the state's language program, Structured English Immersion (SEI). The mandate for a unified educational program to educate ELLs stems from the text of Proposition 203. Before the year 2000, districts were free to choose the program or programs that they deemed appropriate to teach ELLs. This freedom of choice disappeared after the passage of Proposition 203, however, making it mandatory for all school districts in the state to implement a unified program, called SEI.

Proposition 203 also mandated school districts to use a unified test to place students into this program. Until then, districts could also choose a test among the several available, such as the Woodcock-Muñoz test. Starting in 2004, the Stanford English Language Proficiency Test (SELP) became the choice of the state's department of education, although after only two years it was replaced by yet another test, the Arizona English Language Learners Assessment (AZELLA).

Having a unified program and a unified test, both imposed by the state's department of education, the third element in the placement of ELLs was the Primary Home Language Other Than English survey, also known by its initials PHLOTE. This survey, as explained above, had the purpose of identifying students for possible services under the SEI program. The test had three questions related to the language that the students used and if the answer to any of the three questions was different than English, an automatic administration of the AZELLA ensued.

In 2009 (seven years after he took office as superintendent of public instruction), Tom Horne decided to change the PHLOTE survey. His argumentation was that some students were improperly being tested as a consequence of the survey, with the unintended consequence of their placement in the SEI program. These students, he contended, were fluent in English and thus ineligible for services under the SEI program. The survey was changed from three questions to one: what is the primary language spoken by the student? The immediate consequence of the change was a sharp decline in the number of students being classified as ELLs. By eliminating the other two questions ("What is the primary language spoken in the students' home?" and "What is the language that the student first acquired?") students with little or no literacy experiences in English (which is typical in a home where no English is spoken) were excluded from testing. In other words, students who were fluent in oral English but who could not read or write in this language would not be considered for placement under the SEI program.

An article from the East Valley Tribune reported on the deal between the state's department of education and the U.S. Department of Justice, which reinstated the survey to its original three questions. This article provided accurate background information regarding the nature of the survey both before and after its change by Horne. It also described, with precision, the procedures that were required to take place to test students who were not identified by the one-question survey but who were thought to need language services (referral by a teacher on

an official state form and permission by the parents after a meeting with them). The hurdles in the identification of students as ELLs were well explained.

The article only cited department of education officials and an attorney working for the Office of Civil Rights, a division of the federal Department of Justice. For example, Horne was quoted defending the change:

> Horne also said schools have a financial incentive to both classify students as English learners and keep them in the program because they get additional state aid. (EVT, March 25, 2011).

In this case, Horne blamed the schools for the alleged over classification of ELLs. Surprisingly, the article did not give details about this point, which is a crucial factor for understanding the problem: What data indicated that there was an overrepresentation? Nor did the article examine the question of why access to the AZELLA was limited instead of ensuring safeguards for the exclusion from the SEI program of students who did not need language services. Horne's shocking assertion that schools were artificially inflating the number of ELLs so that they could receive extra funding was left unchecked, despite the gravity of the accusation. Furthermore, no school official or teacher was given the chance to refute the accusation. Going even beyond this point, no explanation was offered of why Horne did not trust the AZELLA (the very same test he put into place) to do its job: identify students for language services.

According to the article, the margin of decline in the number of ELLs between the year of implementation of the one-question survey and the following year was 33,000 students. The U.S. Department of Justice attributed the decline to the implementation of the new one-question survey, triggering the start of a

case against Arizona's Department of Education. Also at fault was the teacher-referral process established by Horne. This process delayed the identification of students: Teachers need time to evaluate the students' language skills, interventions had to take place, proper documentation had to be maintained in regard to those interventions, and parents had to be called to a meeting. In the meantime, the student did not receive any language services.

Overall, the article presented the issue as one in which equal access to educational opportunities for language minority students is at stake. However, it lacked the point of view of those occupying a position closer to the students, namely the school administrators and teachers.

Not only is the classification of language minority students a controversial issue that is represented in the news but also the design of the SEI program in Arizona is controversial and has been covered by the newspapers. In an article from December 22, 2009, the East Valley Tribune reported on Judge Collin's decision to allow the plaintiffs in the Flores case to present arguments against the SEI program statewide, as opposed to limiting the case to Nogales, which was the intention of the state's department of education.

One of these arguments dealt with the design of the SEI program itself. This design, approved by an ELL task force in 2008, mandated schools to implement a model based on four hours of daily instruction for ELLs. These four hours were broken down in segments of one hour each for the areas of grammar, reading, writing, and oral language. An article from the East Valley Tribune quoted Hogan, the attorney for the plaintiffs in the Flores case:

> One key argument deals with a program Horne instituted to put English learners into separate immersion classes for four hours a day. Hogan said that amounts to illegal segregation, which can have "harmful and pernicious effects" that can be "permanent and irreversible. (EVT, December 2, 2009).

The design of Arizona's model was defended by Horne in the same article:

> We show a 30 percent increase in reclassifying students from English-language learners to English proficient as a result of this," he said. And Horne said the U.S. Supreme Court, in a different case, has said schools can separate kids "if it's for a limited time and for a valid educational purpose. (EVT, December 22, 2009)

The article did not expand on Horne's interpretation of what constituted "limited time." This would have been interesting, considering that students who are placed in the SEI program at the beginning of the school year are not usually tested again until the end of that school year, which translates, in the best case scenario (if they show proficiency in the AZELLA that same school year), in a stay of at least one year in the four hours of English classes per day. However, students usually do not reach the proficiency level marked by the state in the first year, which results in a second, third, or subsequent year in the SEI program, a period of time in which the four hours of English instruction are practically unavoidable. It is arguable whether this constitutes "limited time" in a segregated environment. The newspaper did not pursue this possibility.

Besides this, the reporter did not offer the opinion of teachers or school officials on whether placement in the four-hour block is the best option for all students, even though the one-size-fits-all approach mandated by the state has been widely criticized among practitioners and academics. In sum, the article

presented a limited view of the issue of the placement of language minority students in the SEI program.

It is interesting to note that although the East Valley Tribune did not point out the contradictions of the education state officials through its news articles, this newspaper did publish a letter to the editor that indicated the inconsistencies. The letter made a reference to the separation of ELLs from their peers in the four-hour block and the inconsistency of this separation with the opposition of Tom Horne to La Raza studies in the Tucson school district. Horne had publicly repudiated and criticized the Tucson program based, among other reasons, on its alleged separation of Hispanic students from the rest of the student population.

> Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Horne says, "It is fundamentally wrong to divide students up according to their racial group and teach them separately." Unfortunately, Horne doesn't see that his aforementioned criticism of La Raza studies is the same criticism that can be leveled at his own English immersion program. Under Horne's direction, school districts are being forced to segregate English language learners from their English-speaking peers in non-mainstream ELL classrooms. (East Valley Tribune, August 23, 2008)

From this analysis we can see that the newspaper did not deal in depth with the issue of the classification and placement of ELLs in the schools, even though this topic is one that affects students profoundly. The implications of being labeled as an ELL are dire, since this implies the stay in English classes for most of the day for a period of at least one year but usually of two or three years. Not only are students unable to take any elective classes but also the possibilities to take core subject classes such as Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies are greatly diminished. The final result is in the best of cases a delay of at least one year in the graduation date of the students. In the worst case scenario, their

discouragement and drop-out from the school. On the other hand, not being classified as an ELL makes it impossible for the students to receive language services, resulting in an immersion in school similar to a sink or swim approach. In either case, the current design of the SEI program in Arizona did not seem to attract the interest of the newspapers.

The next sub-section will deal with the social issues surrounding ELLs in connection to their marginalization.

ELLs and social issues.

How the newspapers interpreted the presence of language minority students in the schools was one of the main points of interest of this study. Whereas on most occasions references to this presence was done indirectly and in the framework of other issues (i.e. Flores case and funding of programs for ELLs, debate over immigration), in some other cases, the newspapers made a direct reference to whether immigrant students should be accepted in the American educational system. One of these instances was an editorial piece published by the East Valley Tribune on March 12, 2006 in which the newspaper explored this topic through a series of quotes by the founders of the Unites States of America. The selection of quotes and their interpretation revealed the ideological stance taken by the newspaper in regard to the presence of language minority students in schools.

The following quote by Benjamin Rush, one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence, shows the ideological stance of the East Valley Tribune in regard to the role of schools:

> Our schools of learning, by producing one general and uniform system of education, will render the mass of the people more homogeneous and thereby fit them more easily for uniform and peaceable government.

The interpretation that the East Valley Tribune made of this quote is one that embraces the idea that immigrant children need to be assimilated into the American society:

> Schools have always been a critical vehicle for assimilating immigrant children into American society. Failure to reach them now will keep them from embracing our values and our history. (EVT, March 12, 2006)

The newspaper implicitly discarded the notions of integration and preservation of the cultural values of the minority and instead chose the assimilation route. By way of this process of assimilation, immigrant children are led to embrace the values of the host community.

Further down in the same article, a reference to the legal status of the students can be found.

> Most of the children affected by this debate were born here as U.S. citizens and will remain here regardless of how we might treat their parents or future immigrant families. Without a proper education, we will raise new generations unable to take part in our democratic republic. Such participation is their right, and necessary for our government to act on behalf of all the people. (EVT, March 12, 2006)

The paragraph mentioned children born in the United States and affirmed the necessity to provide them with a proper education. However, the passage did not clarify the stance of the editorial board in regard to undocumented students. Should they have access to the same education as their U.S. born counterparts? The piece does not mention students who are not U.S. born but who either have been naturalized or have the status of legal residents. By leaving out these

groups, implicitly the newspaper is affirming that they should not have the same standing as the U.S. born students.

In summary, at least two conclusions can be drawn from this editorial piece: (1) the East Valley Tribune favors assimilation over integration of language minority students; and (2) students are divided into two categories: U.S. born and non-U.S. born and only the first has the right to a "quality education for all children within our shores [which] has been a precursor to our freedom and our prosperity as a nation." (EVT, March 12, 2006)

This idea of assimilation was also found in the East Valley Tribune in the Letters to the Editor section. Although not written by the editorial board, letters to the editor are chosen by the newspaper selectively and may represent the views of that editorial board. In one such a letter, dated, June 16, 2008, the reader/writer showed his anger at the situation of a town in the state of Washington where the federal government allegedly intervened to require the hiring of bilingual employees to cater to the needs of non-English speaking residents.

> Learn our ways, learn our language, and if you want and can, become citizens of the U.S. But do not expect Americans to do business in your language just because you cannot or will not learn our language. (EVT, June 16, 2008)

The reader demanded the assimilation of these non-English speaking groups to the English-speaking majority. The term "ways" refers to culture, an element to which language is added for a complete assimilation. The "Them" versus "Us" approach was stated clearly and directly. This is a classical rendering of the interpretation of language as a problem, which is illustrated in another passage of the letter:

> I read with interest an article printed in the May 25 Tribune about the town of Mattawa, Wash., struggling with a huge language problem. (EVT, June 16, 2008)

Besides describing the language problem as huge and a struggle for the town of Mattawa, the letter contained factual errors that did not impede its publication in the East Valley Tribune:

> Our official language is English. All official business is conducted in the English language. (EVT, June 16, 2008).

Not only did the letter include these factual errors which could have been easily checked out by the newspaper (to find that there is no official language of the U.S.) but it also displayed an obvious xenophobic stance:

> Before long, every language group within a community will be citing this particular government action to support their own agenda. (EVT, June 16, 2008)

The idea in this passage was that catering to the needs of non-English speakers and protecting language diversity fosters ethnic and linguistic agendas which may run counter to the interests of the English-speaking majority. It can be seen that the assimilationist ideology displayed by this letter to the editor is concurrent with a xenophobic attitude and an English-only mentality.

The next sub-section, last of the hypothetical construct dealing with the marginalization of language minority students, handles the connection between ELLs and the NCLB Act and the way issues related to this connection are portrayed in the newspapers.

ELLs and the No Child Left Behind Act.

Another point of interest in the analysis of the results was the way that the newspapers portray news related to the NCLB Act and language minority students.

Most of the news related to the NCLB Act dealt with the impact testing ELLs has on schools. Federal legislation makes it mandatory for schools to test at least 95% of the students in every student sub-group, including language minority students. Since Arizona tests students only in English, the test scores from ELLs, as can be expected from students who by definition are not proficient in the English language, are generally low, which negatively affects the performance of the schools, a performance that is measured by the scores of the students on standardized tests. This in turn determines the performance label that schools receive from the federal government.

The testing of ELLs is therefore looked at by the newspapers under the lens of the labeling that schools receive but not under that of the point of view of ELLs. An example of this is an article from the East Valley Tribune in which the reporter informed about a school district facing state intervention for its failure to make progress with ELLs and students in special education:

> Paradise Valley is one of 19 districts to face state intervention because it failed to meet the same goals with English language learner and special education students over multiple years. (EVT, September 5, 2007).

Another article from the East Valley Tribune (September 4, 2007) mentioned schools, this time in the Scottsdale school district, failing to make progress due to the results of ELLs. As in the case with the previous article, no

mention was made to the fact that students who are not proficient in English are being tested in English.

Yet another example of the way newspapers report about the testing of ELLs is an article, also from the East Valley Tribune (September 5, 2007), in which the Mesa School District was reported to be placed in corrective action (the label assigned to those schools failing to make progress with one or more of the student sub-groups). Some of the 254 federal goals were related to ELLs. As in the two cases illustrated above, there was no mention of the fairness of testing students in a language in which they are not proficient.

These three articles show that the East Valley Tribune's concern is for the school's labeling and its consequences in terms of loss of local control due to the federal intervention. An editorial piece from the same newspaper directly shows this:

> Elementary and high schools that don't meet or exceed NCLB's standards get more federal funding and attention, but lose local control over curriculum, hiring and administration in the process. (EVT, April 11, 2007)

In this editorial piece, Horne's contention with the federal department of education about the inclusion of scores from ELLs was mentioned, showing support to the state superintendent of public instruction in his attempt to not have those scores counted toward school labeling. The article did mention that the requirement to test students in English stems from a voter-approved law (Preposition 203). There was also a mention to the length of time that it takes ELLs to become proficient in English (between 3 and 7 years, citing educational experts).

The last paragraph, however, took an ideological turn of significance when it affirmed, citing then-Education Secretary Margaret Spellings, that "two-thirds of English learner students nationwide were born in the U.S." (EVT, April 11, 2007). The point that the editorial piece made is that ELLs need to be educated because they are U.S. citizens. This, unfortunately, leaves out those ELLs who are not U.S. citizens. In sum, the East Valley Tribune placed an emphasis on educating ELLs only as long as they are citizens of the United States.

From these examples it can be seen that the East Valley Tribune: (1) reports on issues dealing with the impact of testing ELLs only because their scores influence school labeling; (2) acknowledges that testing ELLs in the English language is a product of state law; (3) shows concern about the education of ELLs as long as they are American citizens. However, the newspaper does not make a single mention to the fairness of testing students in a language in which they are not proficient nor to the impact -emotional and academic- that testing ELLs in English has on this student population. The focus, in summary, is on how the schools are labeled and not on the ELLs themselves.

The last of the hypothetical constructs analyzed in the data was that of the issue of immigration. The choice of this construct was made to check whether a connection between language minority students and the topic of immigration was made by the newspapers. Additionally, the analysis aimed at verifying whether the same ideologies found in connection to the (mis)representation and marginalization of language minority students were present in the broader topic of immigration.

Depiction of Immigration Issues in the Newspapers

Matters of immigration affect language minority students. In some cases, the connection between immigration and education is a direct one. This happens, as shown in the previous section, when educational policy and the regulation of immigration intersect. An example of this is the attempt to make schools report on the number of undocumented immigrants that they enroll. On some other occasions, the connection is indirect but nevertheless has the potential to greatly affect the students. This occurs when immigration regulations affect the livelihood or stability of the students' family. The SB 1070 law is the most salient example of this situation.

In consequence, a point of interest of the study was the analysis of the treatment that the local newspapers give to news related to immigration. This analysis allowed the researcher to ascertain the ideologies behind the reporting of news dealing with immigration matters.

Of the three newspapers analyzed, the Spanish-speaking newspaper La Prensa Hispana was found to include the most articles related to immigration. In fact, this newspaper allocates a considerable part of its content to matters related to immigration. This in itself is not a surprising fact considering that the vast majority of its readers are Spanish-speaking individuals who are, for the most part, directly or indirectly, affected by immigration policies.

A breakdown of the quotations or relevant text selected for this hypothetical construct can be found in Table A6. Almost half of the quotations selected (48%) were found in La Prensa Hispana.

The first sub-section in the hypothetical construct of the immigration issues in the newspapers dealt with the DREAM Act.

The DREAM Act.

First, the study attempted to discover how news related to the DREAM Act was being portrayed by the newspapers. The acronym stands for Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors. This law would supply permanent residency to undocumented students who graduate from American high schools provided that they lived in the United States continuously for a minimum period of five years. This time period would be reduced in case of participation in the military or enrollment in an institution of higher education. The legislation has seen several attempts at its passage between 2001 and 2011 but has not been approved by Congress.

Numerous articles dealing with the DREAM Act were located in the local newspapers. The Arizona Republic clearly positioned itself in favor of this legislation in an editorial piece dating from December 10, 2010:

> But in the real world, rejecting the Dream Act is a betrayal of the future. It is unjust to innocent children. It robs the nation of the talents of eager, young people. It perpetuates the folly that all those who are in the U.S. illegally can be deported or made to disappear. (AZR, December 10, 2010)

The arguments used in this fragment appealed both to pragmatic reasons (it is impossible to deport all undocumented immigrants) and ethical concerns (current status quo is not fair to children). It made a strong emotional call ("unjust to innocent children") and mentioned the interests of the United States as a nation (deprives the country of a pool of young talent).

The ethical reasons revolved around the notion of humanitarianism. An editorial from The Arizona Republic formulated this idea plainly:

> It is unjust and inhumane to deny these kids the chance to continue building productive lives under the Stars and Stripes. (AZR, July 11, 2010).

This editorial piece from December 10, 2010 also presented the argument that the beneficiaries of the DREAM Act would be children who were brought to the United States at an early age thus knowing no other country -in most cases- than the one in which they have lived practically all their lives. This point, the fact that perpetuating the undocumented status for these children, equates to punishing them for the actions of their parents, was stressed in the last paragraph of the article. Furthermore, the identification of these children with the United States was pointed out several times throughout the piece:

> Opposing the Dream Act is a stunning rejection of real, live children whose just want to serve the nation they see as their homeland. (AZR, December 10, 2010)

> Providing these children with a way to earn legal status does not reward lawbreakers. It helps children who have pledged allegiance to our flag for years. (AZR, December 10, 2010)

As can be seen, there are mentions to terms such as “homeland” and “allegiance to our flag” that make the emotional appeal to the readers in favor of integrating undocumented children into the American society to the fullest extent.

A similar editorial piece from the same newspaper presented readers with a series of commonsensical arguments in favor of regularizing the status of undocumented students. The most salient of these arguments deals with the unused assets that these children could potentially produce, from forming a skilled

workforce to being part of the armed forces. These students are highly praised by the editorial board of The Arizona Republic:

> We have a rich pool of bright, motivated young people who have grown up thoroughly American. (AZR, September 21, 2010)

As in the case of the editorial piece analyzed before, there is an appeal to the Americanism of these children who have spent most of their lives in the United States. There is also a plea for compassion, citing humanitarian reasons such as the lack of responsibility of these children for their undocumented status.

The argument based on the Americanism of these undocumented children is taken to its furthest extent in an editorial piece dated June 4, 2010:

> That's why children who were brought to this country illegally by their parents grow up as culturally American as Coca-Cola and Levi's jeans. They learn the language, history and practices of this country. (ARZ, June 4, 2010)

The acculturation process described in this excerpt may not be the case for every student (especially those brought to the United States at an older age) but nevertheless it is clear that many students become -rather quickly- acculturated in many aspects of their lives. This researcher has the opportunity to work on a daily basis with students who came to the United States at an early age and is able to see that many of them are more involved with football than soccer and that they listen to more English-speaking that Spanish-speaking music, to cite two examples.

In sum, The Arizona Republic shows an unconditional support of the DREAM Act. The reasons range from merely pragmatic (i.e. boost of the economy, use of the intellectual potential of undocumented students) to

humanitarian ones (i.e. unfairness of punishing children for the actions of their parents, fixing a situation deemed as unjust and inhumane for immigrants).

The next sub-section will consider the issue of the restriction of the basic rights of immigrants. It will also look at how the newspapers portrayed news events related to the protection of those same rights.

The restriction of the basic rights of immigrants.

Another point of interest of the study was to analyze the extent to which policies restricting the rights of language minority students and immigrants were dealt with by the newspapers. These policies range from educational ones to broader immigration laws and regulations.

In some cases, mention of policies restricting the rights of immigrants was given as part of the rationale to explain the decline in student enrollment in schools. This is the case with an article from the East Valley Tribune dated February 21, 2011. This article reported the Arizona's employer sanctions law and SB 1070 as possible causes for the decline in the number of students in schools.

In others, the discourse over the education of language minority students and immigration is so interwoven that school officials feel the need to make the distinction between both, as was the case in an article from the East Valley Tribune dating from January 24, 2008. This often occurs in the context of the discussion over the funding of programs for ELLs. Marking a dividing line between ELLs and undocumented immigrants has great significance in regard to the discourse over funding. The perception by the public that ELLs are

undocumented immigrants positions that same public in favor of issuing policies that restrict the rights of ELLs, among them the right to a meaningful education. In this sense, the role of the newspapers making the differentiation is crucial from a public attitude perspective (not so from a legal point of view, since both documented and undocumented students have the right to an education).

These public attitudes can be seen in a letter to the editor published by the East Valley Tribune on May 13, 2006. This letter, purposely written by a teacher, represents an extremist view in regard to the presence of immigrant students in schools. The letter was a reaction to a day of boycott against anti-immigration measures passed by the state legislature. A number of Hispanic students and aids did not attend school on the day of the boycott, which prompted the letter from which the following passage is taken:

> Overall, that day taught me that maybe all of this immigration policy should go through. My classroom would be smaller without these extra students, and those students who should be here can get the education they deserve. I think a lot more schools, including mine, would be excelling schools. Feel free to boycott any time. (EVT, May 13, 2006)

It is important to note that the teacher who authored the letter divided the students in two categories: students who should be here and students who should not be here. It is unclear whether the term "here" refers to the school, the United States, or both but in any case this opinion represents an ideological point of view that creates the Us-Them division and negates immigrant students the right to an education. Likewise, the writer blames immigrant students for not allowing schools to be excelling schools. In other words, the blame is on immigrants, even though the boycott was a response to policies restricting the rights of immigrants.

La Prensa Hispana, on the other hand, displays a very different point of view in regard to the policies restricting the rights of immigrants. In this case, immigrants are considered the victims of unjust policies that create fear and anxiety among the immigrant population. The illustration shown in Appendix B1, taken from the editorial pages of the August 1, 2007 issue of La Prensa Hispana exemplifies these feelings. The text (translated) says: "What a silence... I am going to get out of the closet to see if the anti-immigrant wave is over." Ironically, unbeknown to the man, a bucket awaits him as soon as he opens the door as well as a battery of powerful weapons aimed at him.

It can be affirmed that the feeling of vulnerability and of continuous violation of the civil rights of immigrants is a constant theme in La Prensa Hispana. In the following editorial piece the sense that the law enforcement authorities are not protecting immigrants is strong. So much that La Prensa Hispana offers a very different perspective to the issue of border crossings. Whereas the English-speaking press usually informs about border crossings to emphasize the illegal entry of individuals into the United States and to portray American society as the victim of human smuggling and immigrants as participants in the crime, La Prensa Hispana focuses on the victimization of those same individuals. The contrast is strong.

> Si las patrullas fronterizas fueran igual de eficientes enfrentando a los contrabandistas de personas como lo es la policía de Arizona detectando a los inmigrantes sin documentos, habría menos muertes que lamentar. (LPH, April 4, 2007)
>
> If the border patrols were as efficient at confronting the human smugglers as the Arizona police are at detecting immigrants without documents, there would be fewer deaths to mourn.

The feeling of hopelessness is also caused by a situation that La Prensa Hispana considers unconstitutional, namely the appropriation by the states of the federal power to regulate matters related to immigration. An editorial from March 7, 2007 criticized the enforcement of laws against undocumented immigrants by local authorities on the basis that immigration enforcement is part of the federal powers.

> Nadie hasta ahora ha cuestionado que se trata de un acto inconstitucional porque es una acción que compete exclusivamente al gobierno federal. (LPH, March 7, 2007).
>
> No one up until now has questioned that it is an unconstitutional act because it is an action that falls exclusively under the powers of the federal government.

Another manifestation of the hopelessness transmitted by La Prensa Hispana is the protest for the lack of advocacy among the political powers in favor of the immigrant community. The sense that the basic rights of immigrants are being attacked and no one is protecting them can be seen in the following excerpt from an editorial piece date March 21, 2007:

> Las medidas en contra de la emigración ilegal en Arizona cada vez se tornan más complicadas para este segmento de la población y no hay ninguna autoridad en este estado que haya salido en su defensa, por lo que podemos esperar más ataques. (LPH, March 21, 2007)
>
> Measures against illegal immigration in Arizona are becoming more and more complicated for this segment of the population and there is no authority in this state that has come out in their defense, which is why we can expect more attacks.

And this, the editorial continues, in spite of the fact that the immigrant community contributes strongly to the economic development of the state. Not only are the basic rights of immigrants ignored but the harassment from the

different political powers is constant and ever increasing. This intimidation is part of what the English-speaking newspapers termed "attrition by enforcement" and is criticized by La Prensa Hispana in an editorial piece dated March 21, 2007.

> Las medidas se extreman en Arizona. Las formas de penalizar a los indocumentados y a quienes otorgan un empleo se diversifican y parecen convertirse en el centro de atención, no así el buscar soluciones al complejo tema de la inmigración. (LPH, March 21, 2007)
>
> The measures are becoming extreme in Arizona. The ways to penalize those without documentation and those who give them employment are expanding and seem to become the center of attention, rather than looking for solutions to the complex topic of immigration.

The point made by the editorial board is that the focus of immigration policies in Arizona is to penalize undocumented immigrants rather than to find solutions to the issue of illegal immigration. Again, La Prensa Hispana objects to the enforcement of anti-immigration measures.

Another point of contention for La Prensa Hispana is the actions of Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio. In fact, references to Arpaio abound in the editorial pages of the Spanish-speaking newspaper. In an editorial piece from July 23, 2008, the newspaper informed about a lawsuit presented against the sheriff for his actions against undocumented immigrants. The lawsuit, filed by civil rights activist groups, was based on the alleged practice known as racial profiling, that is, the arrest of individuals by reason of their racial characteristics. The editorial presented the question of whether the raids conducted by Arpaio against undocumented immigrants were legally justified and asked if undocumented workers who work to support their children can be considered worse criminals than those who murder, steal or deal with drugs.

The overall tone of La Prensa Hispana in regard to the protection of the civil rights of the immigrant population is one of pessimism and dejection. An illustration in the editorial pages of the January 16, 2008 issue showed an American flag in which the bars and stripes have been replaced by a wired fence in a clear reference to the physical fence along the Mexican border and the psychological fence built around immigrants, especially the undocumented ones, inside the United States (Figure B2). The restrictions placed upon immigrants are such that La Prensa Hispana does not hesitate to use terms such as racism and discrimination in its editorial pages, at the same time that it reminds readers that immigrants are individuals with their humanity, people who think, work, fight and defend themselves (LPH, June 17, 2009).

This feeling of dejection was also captured in the front page of the June 23, 2010 issue. In the photograph a child with an American hat showed a poster with the text "Mommy why is my skin color a crime??" The perceived systematic violation of their civil rights and the hopelessness of the immigrant community are summed up in the image (Figure B3).

In sum, the sense of deprivation from the most basic civil rights is powerful in the narrative of La Prensa Hispana. In an editorial piece dated January 27, 2010, this newspaper formulated the following reflection:

> Tal vez no tienen lazos que los unan a su tierra; quizás no conozcan cómo ha evolucionado la cultura del lugar donde los vio nacer, y muchos más tienen miedo de que sus hijos no se quieran ir con ellos, porque aquí tienen su vida, su casa, su escuela, sus amigos. ¡Qué difícil es explicarles a esos niños y jóvenes que sus sueños se pueden quedar frustrados por un gobierno que no entiende la importancia de la familia! ¡Cómo les enseñamos el amor por los valores, el respeto de los derechos

> humanos si lo que están aprendiendo de nuestros gobernantes es la política de "divide y vencerás"! (LPH, January 27, 2010)
>
> Maybe they don't have ties that connect them to their land, maybe they don't know of the cultural evolution of the place where they were born, and many more are afraid that their children don't want to go with them because they have their lives, house, school and friends here. How difficult it is to explain to these children and youth that their dreams can be frustrated by a government that doesn't understand the importance of the family! How do we teach them love for values, respect for human rights if what they are learning from the authorities is the politics of "divide and conquer"!

These thoughts are the same ones that this researcher observed many times in his interactions with language minority students at the high school: students saying that they did not belong in Mexico anymore, that they had spent almost their entire lives in the United States, students whose command of Spanish was limited to oral fluency and whose literacy was far more advanced in English than in Spanish. The prospect of having to return to their countries of origin due to the policies targeting immigrants was dreaded by many of the students. The editorial mentioned above presented the discouragement of La Prensa Hispana -and probably of much of the immigrant community- after so many disappointments caused by laws restricting the rights of immigrants, the lack of prospects for an immigration reform, and an overall political climate in the state of Arizona opposed to finding a humane, sensible compromise.

The Arizona Republic's stance in regard to the basic rights of immigrants is one that coincides with the stance of La Prensa Hispana in its opposition to the restrictive policies but that varies in the reasons given for this opposition. While La Prensa Hispana focuses on immigrants as individuals with their inalienable rights, The Arizona Republic cites more pragmatic reasons under the point of

view of the non-immigrant part of the community. This can be seen in an editorial piece that praised the business community for urging state lawmakers not to approve the latest batch of anti-immigrant measures proposed by Senate Majority Leader Russell Pierce (AZR, May 10, 2011).

Also, The Arizona Republic tried to offer readers an explanation of why restrictive measures such as SB 1070 were passed by the state legislature:

> SB 1070 was a flawed and mistaken effort. It capitalized on legitimate fears and frustrations in a state that has suffered disproportionately from the federal government's failure to enact rational, effective immigration policies. (AZR, April 12, 2011)

The restriction in the rights of immigrants is seen as a consequence of the alleged failure of the federal government to regulate immigration issues. The consequence of this federal inaction is a series of anti-immigrant bills that are harmful to the economy of the state:

> More boycotts, more protests, more lost business. Arizona doesn't need this. The state Senate is looking at a reckless, costly and counterproductive package of immigration bills. (AZR, March 16, 2011)

Referring to Russell Pierce's latest anti-immigration bills, The Arizona Republic took a clear stance against these bills in the March 16, 2011 editorial but it did so not under the perspective of immigrants and their civil rights but using other arguments (italics added for emphasis):

> "There's the unilateral attempt to revoke birthright citizenship and reinterpret more than a century of rulings on the 14th Amendment, an issue that is clearly not for individual states to decide." Federal government has the power to regulate citizenship.

> "There's the preposterous attempt to turn hospitals into immigration agents, requiring them to check the status of emergency-room patients. This would be expensive and legally difficult [...]."

> Financial considerations to oppose the provision requiring hospitals to check the immigration status of patients.
>
> "And then there's the "omnibus" immigration bill, which vacuums up half-baked ideas that range from driving to education." Arguments are not developed. (AZR, March 6, 2011)

As can be seen, the arguments used by The Arizona Republic range from the lack of power of the states to regulate matters of citizenship to the cost of enforcing a control of the legal status of patients by the hospitals. There is no consideration to matters such as the inherent right of a person born in the United States to automatically acquire the American citizenship (ius solii) or to the basic human right to health care (article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

This perspective differed from the one offered by the same newspaper in an op-ed dated April 18, 2011. This op-ed, signed by two members of a University of Arizona task force on race, equity and fairness, took the interests of immigrants in consideration in opposition to legislation passed under the "attrition by enforcement" ideology. The reason is that this type of legislation "fosters an environment of fear and discrimination and harms the future of our state." (AZR, April 18, 2011). The op-ed piece affirmed that the legislation creates an environment of fear and threat for anyone not looking White. Furthermore, it excludes undocumented immigrants and their families from basic services in education, housing, and health care. Unlike in the case of the editorial piece analyzed above, the op-ed article explicitly contemplated the basic needs and rights of the immigrants.

The editorial from The Arizona Republic on March 20, 2011 is yet another example of the types of arguments used to oppose the restriction of basic rights for the immigrant population.

> The "no" votes in the Senate on Thursday were "yes" votes for the long-term interests of Arizonans. Arizona needs jobs, not another blast of controversy over an ill-conceived immigration package. Last year's Senate Bill 1070 brought a costly toll of boycotts and cancellations.
>
> This year's sweeping legislation: from making hospitals act as immigration agents to unilaterally reinterpreting the 14th Amendment -- was an immediate threat to Arizona's fragile economy. (AZR, March 20, 2011)

As before, The Arizona Republic used arguments mainly based on the economic harm that the attrition by enforcement legislation causes to the state. This pragmatic and unemotional approach is the same one used to oppose the so-called birther bill that would have given the state of Arizona the power to reject applications for birth certificates to children of undocumented immigrants. In an editorial piece from February 9, 2011, The Arizona Republic affirmed that the power to regulate citizenship belongs to Congress. To add to this argument, the newspaper addressed the issue of the high legal cost of the potential litigation which the state would have to defend the law. There was no mention of the right and need of children -even the children of undocumented immigrants- to enjoy the full protection of the law, a protection that would not be possible without the acquisition of U.S. citizenship at birth.

Despite its failure to use arguments directly related to the foundations of the American political and social systems such as the inalienability of basic human rights, The Arizona Republic does criticize attempts made in the public

sphere to take advantage of the immigrant population for political gains. This was the case when one of the candidates (ultimately defeated), in his primary campaign for a position in the Arizona Corporation Commission, proposed that regulated utilities should check the immigration status of its customers and deny service to those unable to provide proof of legal status. The take of The Arizona Republic was the following:

> The politics of hate and fear is spreading like a foul oil slick across Arizona Candidates are rushing to prove their anti-illegal- immigration credentials with one extreme measure after another. Who cares if the ideas are feasible, affordable or flagrant violations of everyone's civil rights? The poison has reached the primary race for Arizona
>
> Corporation Commission. GOP candidate Barry Wong suggests the possibility of requiring regulated utilities to check the immigration status of customers. (AZR, July 1, 2010)

The editorial board of The Arizona Republic clearly stated that anti-immigration policies are based on populist ideologies that politicians are happy to embrace because (1) they reflect their own values; and (2) they ensure them the votes they need to be elected by a conservative electoral base. Rejecting utility services to undocumented immigrants was thought of as a preposterous idea by the newspaper at the same time that the editorial board framed this attempt as one more of the manifestations of the existing hysteria in the political class in matters related to immigration.

The Arizona Republic, in sum, places its arguments on financial and economic reasons primarily, although it also mentions the denigration and dehumanization of undocumented immigrants (i.e. AZR, June 7, 2010).

Multiple articles referring to human dignity were collected from La Prensa Hispana, which defines the term in relation to a basic constitutional right that must be protected by the government. In most cases, the references to human dignity were made without a mention of the residency status of the immigrant. In other words, these references are overarching and include both documented and undocumented immigrants. It is important to note that in these cases there is no separation between both types of immigrants: all immigrants have the right to human dignity. An example of this was found in the following excerpt:

> La dignidad de la persona "debe ser reconocida como principio constitucional básico y fundamental para la construcción de una nación", por lo tanto, debe reconocerse el derecho al desarrollo y perfección de la propia personalidad para alcanzar el bien común entre la sociedad. Los poderes públicos "deben garantizar y respetar los derechos fundamentales de la persona". (LPH, November 28, 2007).
>
> The dignity of a person "should be recognized as a basic and fundamental constitutional principle for the construction of a nation", therefore, the right to develop and perfect one's own personality in order to achieve the common good of society must be accepted. Public authorities "should guarantee and respect the fundamental rights of the individual."

The above passage stems from an op-ed and it is unclear whether the quotation marks are used to show emphasis or to signal a literal or word-by-word reference to an institutional text (i.e. a declaration, a constitution). In either case, the text is generic in the sense that it applies to both documented and undocumented immigrants.

At the same time that the newspaper proclaimed the universality of human dignity, the editorial board of La Prensa Hispana did not hesitate to criticize the United States for its record regarding human rights:

> Lamentablemente en pleno siglo XXI, aún sigue permeando la discriminación, racismo y segregación, por su color, religión o clase social, y Arizona sigue siendo una de las entidades más racistas de todo Estados Unidos según afirman los propios líderes de la comunidad que no han hecho suficiente para revertir esta situación. (LPH, January 17, 2007).
>
> Sadly in the middle of the 21st century, discrimination, racism and segregation due to color, religion or social class still continues to be permitted, and Arizona continues to be one of the most racist entities of all the United States just as our very own community leaders affirm that they haven't done enough to reverse this situation.

The criticism is harsh and direct albeit general and lacking specific examples. These kind of blanket statements were found in numerous articles from La Prensa Hispana, showing that the feeling of victimization exists in this newspaper but it is not always articulated in a rational way.

However general criticisms of the United States are, the editorial board of La Prensa Hispana is very specific in its condemnation of the term "illegal" to refer to undocumented immigrants.

> La realidad es que "quién es ilegal en este mundo? Pues ya ha sido material de discusión por muchos años el que a nadie se le debe llamar "ilegal" pues ninguna persona nace o vive de manera ilegal. Esto no quiere decir que no se pueda referir así a la condición migratoria de las personas, como "inmigración o estatus ilegal". (LPH, November 12, 2008).
>
> The reality is that "who is illegal in this world? Well, it's been a matter of discussion for many years that no one should be called "illegal" because no one is born or lives illegally. This isn't to say that one cannot refer in this manner to the migratory condition of people, as " illegal immigration or status".

The term "illegal", very frequent in the private and public discourses in Arizona to refer to individuals with an undocumented status, is therefore decried and denounced. The reification of the term "illegal" and its use to refer to

undocumented immigrants was opposed by the editorial board of La Prensa Hispana for the sake of human dignity, which applies to all immigrants regardless of the immigration status. The next paragraph in the editorial piece clarified opposition to the term:

> Lo cierto es que el término viene a crear un ambiente que si no es más hostil , no favorece en nada a la comunidad, porque se ve entonces a los inmigrantes latinos como algo menor, algo que no debe estar porque no tiene valor, algo ilegal. (LPH, November 12, 2008)
>
> The truth is that the term comes to create an atmosphere that if not more hostile, it doesn't in any way help the community, because then immigrants are seen as something less, something that shouldn't be because it has no worth, something illegal.

The concern, then, is that the use of this derogatory term may cause a tendency to see the undocumented immigrant not as an individual with worth but as a criminal. This editorial piece was written two years before Arizona passed the law known as SB 1070, which criminalized the undocumented presence in the United States.

The humanitarian argument is used by La Prensa Hispana to justify the request for immigration reform. Deeming the current status quo unacceptable, the demand for change is made on the basis of (1) solving a social conflict; (2) the commitment to values of freedom and justice, and (3) economic necessity. Among these reasons, the second one occupies a central position in the message of the editorial board of this newspaper. The call for a "Reforma Migratoria, integral, justa y humana" [an integral, just and humane immigration reform] (LPH July 2, 2008) is a theme than can be found in numerous articles.

La Prensa Hispana maintains in its editorial pieces the need to protect the human and civil rights of undocumented immigrants and denounces the authorities and private businesses for their attack on these basic rights. The consequence is, according to the Spanish-speaking newspaper, that undocumented workers, intimidated by the consequences of potential complaints, prefer to keep a low profile and not to report instances of abuse (LPH July 23, 2008).

Respect to the undocumented immigrants and protection of their moral dignity are two manifestations of the human rights that La Prensa Hispana considers especially critical:

> [Las autoridades] también tienen la Obligación moral y jurídica , donde deben prevalecer el Respeto y la integridad moral en cada extranjero Indocumentado [...].
>
> Authorities also have the moral and legal Obligation, where Respect and moral integrity must prevail in each Undocumented foreigner [...].

Not only do the authorities have this moral obligation to protect undocumented immigrants but they also, according to La Prensa Hispana, have a Christian duty to do so. The religious argument can be found in several editorial pieces such as the one that follows:

> Es un deber cristiano, humanitario y moral de nuestros gobiernos, proteger y promover los derechos humanos así como las libertades fundamentales de nuestros emigrantes. (LPH July 4, 2008).
>
> It is a Christian, humanitarian and moral duty of our governments to protect and promote human rights as well as fundamental freedoms of our immigrants.

The editorial board of La Prensa Hispana maintains that all immigrants, including the undocumented ones, have the same basic rights in consideration to

the fact that all of them are human beings. The newspaper decries efforts to make undocumented immigrants "ciudadanos de segunda o tercera clase" [second or third class citizens] (LPH January 21, 2009). Referencing a public speech by President Obama, the newspaper reminded readers that every person is free and deserving of pursuing happiness. The criticism of authorities does not limit itself to the local sphere but it also expands to include those at the federal level. The U.S. record on human rights during the Bush administration is harshly criticized (LPH March 4, 2009). La Prensa Hispana specifically condemns what is known as "fast-track deportations" in which undocumented immigrants agree to their immediate deportation in exchange for having all other possible charges against them dropped. The consequence of agreeing to this deal is that those deported are unable to return to the United States for ten years. The problem with this agreement between the federal immigration authorities and the apprehended undocumented immigrants is that the latter do not have the chance to be represented by an attorney and, in consequence, agree to the deal without being fully aware of its implications. La Prensa Hispana considers that these fast-track deportations violate the basic human rights of the undocumented immigrants. The editorial board takes a stance in favor of defending all immigrants and advocating for them regardless of their residency status (LPH March 4, 2009).

Also, La Prensa Hispana supports the right to work and rhetorically asks whether working is a crime and if those working without proper documentation are committing a greater crime than killers, thieves and drug dealers. The

criticism of the law enforcement officials for directing their energy and resources against undocumented workers is also clear.

> En la corte se determinará si el sheriff puede seguir o no realizando sus llamados "operativos contra el crimen", en los que resultan más criminales los que trabajan sin papeles que quienes matan, roban y trafican. (LPH July 23, 2008)

> The courts of justice will determine whether the sheriff can continue carrying out his so-called "crime sweeps" in which those working without proper documentation are considered to be more criminal than those who kill, steal, and deal with drugs.

The Arizona Republic also takes a stance in favor of protecting civil rights albeit a much more limited one. Speaking negatively about SB 1070, the editorial board expressed its concern for the civil rights of the descendants of Latino families, American citizens of many generations.

> The civil rights of descendants of Latino families who helped build Arizona became collateral damage. (AZR, June 16, 2011)

As can be seen, the approach is much narrower than the one taken by La Prensa Hispana, which included all immigrants, regardless of their residency status. However, the editorial board of The Arizona Republic does mention the need for a compassionate approach to immigration policies. In an editorial piece from March 23, 2011, the newspaper praised the approach taken by the neighboring state of Utah. This state's approach to immigration policies included enforcement measures but also a guest-worker program that allowed immigrants to obtain proper documentation to work and live in that state. For The Arizona Republic, undocumented immigrants are human beings who deserve compassion.

> [...] treating undocumented workers as human beings deserving of compassion, and it is addressing labor needs. (AZR March 23, 2011)

This praise to the immigration policies instituted in Utah is in stark contrast with criticism of Arizona's strategy.

In a different editorial piece, The Arizona Republic demands respect for the civil rights of individuals with diverse ethnic background. The basis for this respect, the editorial affirms, must be the individual rights of its people.

> This is one example of why dealing with illegal immigration is complex. A nation built on respect for individual rights cannot systematically degrade the rights of one group of people simply because of their ethnic background. (AZR, June 25, 2011)

In brief, it can be seen that The Arizona Republic calls for the respect of civil rights for the immigrant families as well as for people with a minority ethnic background. It does not go as far as to ask for the same protection for individuals who lack proper documentation to reside and work in the United States, although undocumented immigrants may fall within the two categories for whom the newspaper demands protection.

One of the most salient themes found in the category of human rights is the effort to re-define what constitutes American citizenship. Some conservative members of the Republican party expressed an interest during the year 2010 to prevent children born to undocumented immigrants from acquiring American citizenship. The fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution established the principle of ius solii. Under this principle, all children born in the United States are automatically American citizens. The elimination of ius solii would leave as the only path to citizenship by birth that of ius sanguinii, which institutes that children born of at least one American parent are automatically American citizens

A public debate ensued and The Arizona Republic positioned itself in this debate. In an editorial piece dating from January 5, 2011, the editorial board showed its opposition to an amendment to the Constitution based on purely pragmatic reasons: the attrition effect of such a measure on illegal immigration would be insignificant and the incentive for integration into the American society would disappear. However, there is a third argument presented: "[...] it [the elimination of birthright citizenship] would create an underclass of children who would lack rights and protections under law." (AZR, January 5, 2011). In the latter argument, The Arizona Republic's concern is for children who would not enjoy the same rights as the rest of the children born in the United States.

Furthermore, The Arizona Republic shows anxiety about the possible elimination of birthright citizenship by reason of the negative publicity that such a measure would produce:

> What's more, Arizona could wind up alone in the glare of negative publicity. (AZR, February 24, 2011).

All this must be seen in the context of wider legislation at the state level that followed an ideological doctrine knows as "attrition by enforcement." The idea behind the measures that followed this ideological positioning was that by making the lives of undocumented immigrants extremely uncomfortable, these immigrants would leave the state, either to other states in the country or back to their countries of origin. Among other measures, bills were introduced in late 2010 that would have required proof of legal status to (1) drive a vehicle; (2) enroll a child in school; (3) attend an institution of higher education; (4) obtain any public benefits, including medical services; and (5) obtain any kind of license,

including a marriage license. As The Arizona Republic pointed out in an editorial piece "[t]he aim is to make the state so unfriendly to undocumented immigrants that they leave. But many of these people -- and it is important to remember that they are people -- will stay." (AZR, February 24, 2011). It is important to note that the main proponent of this omnibus bill (known as SB 1611) was Senate President Russell Pierce, who boasted the success of SB 1070 the previous year by affirming that undocumented immigrants were massively leaving the state of Arizona (he made this claim after a conversation with an acquaintance who owned a transportation company). In sum, the opposition of The Arizona Republic to these drastic measures limiting the basic rights of undocumented immigrants is unambiguous.

Despite this unequivocal ideological point of view, The Arizona Republic is careful not to extend its criticism of anti-immigrant policies to the population of the state at large.

> The popularity of Arizona's new wrong-headed immigration law can't be attributed to racism. Most Arizonans are not bigots. (AZR, July 20, 2010).

Therefore, the blame for the enactment or the attempt to enact drastic measures against undocumented immigrants is placed in a segment of the political class. The articles analyzed, however, do not go deeper into the question of why policy makers supporting this legislation were elected. The elimination of racism as a factor for anti-immigrant policies is not supported by The Arizona Republic with evidence to the contrary, that is, that these policies are not based on racial factors. Considering that the most significant of the policies, SB 1070, allows the

law enforcement authorities to engage in the practice known as racial profiling, it is surprising that a connection between racism and the anti-immigrant policies is not made, both at the level of the policy makers who supported those policies and at the level of their constituents.

However, in some instances direct allegations of racism against the authorities could be found. This is the case in an editorial piece from The Arizona Republic dating from April 1, 2008. This piece criticized Maricopa Country's sheriff Joe Arpaio for its anti-immigration sweeps in which a great deal of human and financial resources were used to arrest undocumented immigrants. The editorial board warned of the danger of racial profiling and informed that "two days of roundups by Arpaio netted at least 43 people. At least 23 are suspected of being in the country illegally. The rest were guilty of looking Latino. That's not a crime, Sheriff." (AZR, April , 2008).

At the same time, nevertheless, The Arizona Republic maintained the demand for human dignity for everyone present in the United States, regardless of their residency status.

> [T]he laws of this nation are based on respect for human dignity and due process. The ends do not justify the means in our form of government. People have rights. (AZR, July 20, 2011)

Another topic in which The Arizona Republic showed its advocacy for human rights is that of the border crossings. Referring to the deaths of undocumented immigrants in the Arizona desert, The Arizona Republic condemned those who show no compassion for this human tragedy.

> Some say "tough luck." That's a callous rejection of basic human decency and responsibility toward other people. (AZR, October 10, 2008).

The editorial affirms that immigrants are human beings who deserve compassion and defends those with a humanitarian mission toward them, in reference to the attempts by some groups to offer water to immigrants crossing the desert.

In summary, The Arizona Republic takes a stance in favor of protecting the basic human rights of undocumented immigrants. It does so with the understanding that undocumented immigrants are human beings who deserve to enjoy the American ideals of justice and liberty. Compassion is seen as a fundamental element in appreciation for the inherent dignity of all human beings. It is because undocumented immigrants are human beings that they deserve the protection of their basic human rights.

No articles related to the human rights of immigrants were found in the East Valley Tribune.

The next sub-section analyzed the presence in the newspapers of the idea that immigrants cause a strain in the resources of the community.

Immigrants present a strain in the resources of the community.

Another point of interest in the study was to verify whether the newspapers stressed the idea that undocumented immigrants caused a strain in the state or national resources. There exists a widespread notion among the public that immigrants -especially the undocumented ones- drain the state and federal funds.

An article from the East Valley Tribune dated April 27, 2009, exemplifies the idea that undocumented immigrants cause a financial strain in the state

finances. This article went through a great deal of calculations to provide the public with a figure of how much the education of undocumented immigrants costs. The East Valley Tribune effort is situated in the context of the Pima County sheriff's assertions to the effect that undocumented immigrants should not have access to a free public education. So far-reaching is the article in its attempt to provide the reader with a figure of the cost of educating undocumented immigrants that it even went to the extent of "[a]ssuming [that] two thirds of these youngsters fit that category [undocumented immigrants]." (EVT, March 27, 2009). There was no mention of the basis for the assumption. The stress of the article was on the price tag of having these students in the schools: $405 million.

The cost of educating ELLs was, and still is, at the center of the Flores case. Numerous articles from the East Valley Tribune and The Arizona Republic inform about the different developments in the case. In one of these articles from the East Valley Tribune, Russell Pierce was quoted regarding his opposition to fund ELLs by reason of their legal status. However, there is only a vague mention to the federal mandate to educate all children regardless of their residency status. There was no mention of the U.S. Supreme Court decision known as Plyler v. Doe, which re-affirmed the right to a free public education for all children.

> Rep. Russell Pearce, R-Mesa, complained that most of the approximately 138,000 students classified as "English language learners" are either in this country illegally or, at the very least, here only because their parents entered the country illegally. (EVT, April 8, 2008)

Not only did Pierce criticize the use of public funds for children who are undocumented immigrants but also the use of funds for U.S. born children of

undocumented parents. Even though the first part of Pierce's assertion was analyzed by the article (albeit minimally), the second remark was left unchecked.

The theme of strained resources could be found in numerous articles in the East Valley Tribune. The common thread of these articles is the cost of educating undocumented immigrants. As shown in the article analyzed above, this newspaper takes care to make calculations to offer the public an exact dollar amount of the cost thus making the topic more real.

This seems to indicate a preference of the East Valley Tribune to inform about the financial aspects of educating undocumented immigrants rather than basing its information on topics such as the quality of the education that they receive. In an article dated February 25, 2007, this newspaper took a stance in favor of educating undocumented immigrants. This seemingly noble stand, however, was not based on reasons related to equity or the fairness of a meaningful education for all children. Instead, the editorial piece based the need for English instruction on financial considerations, using terms such as "taxpaying jobs" and "burden on taxpayers" to justify the need to educate undocumented immigrants. The narrative is based on the idea that if these children are not educated, they will never hold taxpaying jobs, thus not paying taxes. Furthermore, they will eventually end up being a burden on taxpayers by using social services (i.e. education, health care) that they would pay with their own money if they were educated. To arrive at this desirable status quo (one in which undocumented immigrants pay taxes), one model of education has proven ineffective -bilingual education- and another is beyond reproach -English

immersion. The effectiveness of each of the two models is judged by its cost: Bilingual education is said to be a high cost program. The conclusion, then, is that the fastest way to learn a language is through immersion. The editorial piece did not make the connection between price tag of each of the two approaches and educational achievement but this did not seem to matter. The point had been made in favor of the immersion approach.

> When Arizona voters approved that law several years ago they recognized and rejected the high cost and low efficacy of bilingual education. In short, the best, fastest way to learn a new language is to be immersed in it. (EVT, February 25, 2007).

All of this, the narrative continues, is the product of the inevitability of rounding up -using the words of the editorial piece- every undocumented immigrant and deporting them forever. In other words, educating undocumented children is the lesser of two evils.

As can be seen in this editorial piece, the major (and only) concern of the East Valley Tribune is how much the education of undocumented immigrants costs to taxpayers. The line of reasoning used is one based on the idea that undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes, one of the salient myths in the anti-immigration rhetoric. This notion, as will be shown later in this analysis, is not shared by the Spanish-speaking newspaper, La Prensa Hispana.

In sum, the analysis of this editorial piece shows how an article superficially favorable to undocumented students is in reality an opportunity to inform the public about the strain that undocumented students produce in the economy and to call for immigration reform (by creating a guest-worker program

and tightening border security. The latter point is one final reminder to the reader of the (inaccurate) fact that English learners are undocumented immigrants.

Not surprisingly, numerous letters to the editor in the East Valley Tribune emphasize the narrative outlined by the newspaper's editorial board. After echoing the East Valley Tribune's dollar amounts for educating undocumented immigrants, a reader ended his letter by stating:

> Now tell me how illegal immigrants don't cost us anything. (EVT, December 11, 2007)

Another reader considered money spent on language minority students a waste:

> Despite all the ranting of the governor about helping children, her plan [the governor's] would only dump barrels of money on school districts without any idea of how this money will be spent or if their English programs are effective. (EVT, February 4, 2006)

Still another one criticized the former governor's spending on language minority students, emphasizing that the money belongs to the taxpayers (as opposed to ESL students).

> Or is your editorial imperative to back Gov. Janet Napolitano's passion to spend inordinate amounts of taxpayer money on ESL [...]. (EVT, January 28, 2006)

As advanced above, La Prensa Hispana takes a radically different approach to the issue of whether undocumented immigrants cause a strain on public resources. For the editorial board of this newspaper, immigrants (both documented and undocumented) contribute to the public funds through their taxes:

> Una de las primeras falacias indica que [los emigrantes] reciben más beneficios de los que dejan con su valiosa contribución a la economía.

> Esto es un mito de que significan una carga puesto que también pagan sus impuestos. (LPH, October 7, 2009)

> One of the first fallacies indicates that [immigrants] receive more benefits than they give with their valuable contribution to the economy. This is a myth based on the idea that they are a burden given that they also pay their taxes.

This idea that undocumented immigrants indeed contribute to the economy can be found in an op-ed in La Prensa Hispana dated January 20, 2010. In this piece, the author blamed opposition to immigration reform to a series of myths created by those who object to a change in the status quo of undocumented immigrants. Of these myths, several have to do with a supposed strain in the public resources: immigrants do not pay taxes, they are to blame for the loss of jobs among Americans, and they have an inappropriate access to public benefits. All these myths hide the true benefits of immigration.

> Los opositores de la reforma migratoria en Estados Unidos han vendido con éxito mitos alrededor de la inmigración documentada, y así oponerse al cambio de leyes de inmigración que legalice la situación irregular de 12 millones de inmigrantes. Estos mitos relacionados al pago de impuestos, al no aprendizaje del inglés, a la pérdida de puestos de trabajo, al incremento de la criminalidad por la presencia de inmigrantes y el acceso indebido a los beneficios públicos han ocultado el otro lado de la moneda: los beneficios de la reforma migratoria. (LPH, January 20, 2010)

> The opponents of immigration reform in the United States have sold with success myths about documented immigration, and in this way oppose changing immigration laws that legalize the irregular situation of 12 million immigrants. These myths related to tax payments, not learning English, loss of job positions, increase in crime rate due to the presence of immigrants, and undeserved access to public benefits have hidden the other side of the coin: the benefits of immigration reform.

It is clear, then, that the approaches taken by the East Valley Tribune and La Prensa Hispana in regard to the presence of immigrants differ greatly. While for the first the strain in public resources resulting from the presence of

undocumented students in schools and in society is clear, for the second not only does this strain not exist but, on the contrary, the economic contributions of undocumented immigrants are a reality.

All of the texts selected from The Arizona Republic for the theme of straining resources came from the section of letters to the editor. In one of the letters the reader raises an objection on the extra funding that schools receive for each ELL they enroll. The objection was made on the basis that no additional funds are allocated for English-speaking students who desire to learn a second language:

> I'm curious ...Arizona spends $163 per student to teach them English and wants to raise that to at least $300, depending on which legislator gets his way. So, my question is: How much is spent per English-speaking student to teach them a second language starting, say, in kindergarten or first grade? (AZR, November 18, 2001)

This same level of concern for the use of public funds can be noted in a letter to the editor in which the reader takes issue with the use of public funds to educate ELLs:

> This is just another example of more money being wasted on a program that a non-teacher has implemented in order to self-promote a politician's agenda. (ARZ, August 25, 2005).

All of the letters to the editor selected under the theme of straining resources show an opposition to the allocation of public funds toward the education of ELLs.

The next sub-section tackles the issue of the assimilation of the immigrant population.

The assimilation of the immigrant population.

Another question of interest in the present study was to know how the newspapers approached the topic of the assimilation of the immigrant population into American society. Most of the quotes found in relation to this topic belonged to La Prensa Hispana.

It is interesting to note that La Prensa Hispana shows a desire to educate its readers -most of whom we can assume are Hispanic immigrants- about the elements of assimilation into the American society.

> Estudiar inglés, adaptarse a las costumbres, sin dejar de lado las nuestras, respetar las leyes como es debido, no cometer infracciones, al manejar no subir el volumen del radio de manera que le permita escuchar lo que acontece alrededor. Procurar tener educación vial. (LPH, May 16, 2007).

> Study English, adapt to customs, without leaving our own to the side, respect the laws as we should, not committing offenses, not turning up the volume on the radio while driving so that we can hear what is going on around us. Try to have road manners.

The paragraph above shows a series of recommendations to immigrants in the context of increasing the participation of the Hispanic community in public affairs. The same editorial piece affirmed "[s]omos parte de la nación," (we are part of the nation) showing a feeling of entitlement followed by a desire of acting in such a way that it will not cause rejection by the majority of society. It is also important to note that the editorial asked immigrants to maintain their customs, which shows a desire to preserve the cultural heritage that immigrants brought to the United States.

A different editorial piece was written after an undocumented immigrant caused the death of a police officer in a case of DUI. La Prensa Hispana took this

opportunity to make a call to the immigrant population to respect and assimilate the laws of the community in which they live.

> Si queremos vivir tranquilos y que se nos respete y apoye, tenemos que empezar por inculcar y hacer valer esos mismos principios en nuestras [sic] propia comunidad. (LPH, October 29, 2008)
>
> If we want to live peacefully and want to be respected and supported, we have to start to instill and give value to those same principles in our own community.

These calls for caution directed to the immigrant community are frequent in La Prensa Hispana (i.e. LPH, August 4, 2010) and focus on the need to respect the laws. The newspaper asked its readers to not give law enforcement officials any excuse to arrest them by not obeying the traffic laws, having music too loud or in some way calling the attention of law enforcement.

This process of assimilation was defended in an op-ed piece which stressed the fact that the assimilation does not go counter to the preservation of the immigrant's heritage:

> Cuando la sociedad latina en los Estados Unidos decide naturalizarse y con ello obtener la ciudadanía norteamericana; no significa que esté renunciando a su herencia hispana, simplemente se encuentra adoptando una nueva nacionalidad. (LPH, August 6, 2008)
>
> When the Latin society in the United States decides to naturalize and, with that, obtain American citizenship; it doesn't mean that they are giving up their Hispanic heritage, they simply find themselves adopting a new nationality.

The same op-ed mentioned the ability of Latinos to integrate two different cultures in one identity.

Still another op-ed focused on the demographic trends in the United States and the growth of the Latino population. The article pointed out that this growth

is creating a group of individuals who are integrated in the American society yet they still keep their heritage. And despite their assimilation, they continue to be discriminated against (LPH, August 13, 2008).

Interestingly, the notion of assimilation was also found in an op-ed that deals with the concept of American Dream. This concept is defined as "la búsqueda de posibilidades de sobrevivencia, [...] de poder encontrar las posibilidades económicas que nos permitan seguir subsistiendo." (LPH, July 30, 2008) (the search for possibilities of survival, [...] to be able to find the economic possibilities that allow us to continue surviving). In other words, the American Dream is defined in terms of physical survival and because of this desire to survive, immigrants assimilate the host culture and society. Hence, the assimilation is a consequence of the lack of the opportunity to survive elsewhere, a lesser of two evils.

In an op-ed dated September 16, 2009, the author debunked the idea that immigrants delay or reject their assimilation into the American society by refusing to learn English. The article pointed out that compared with previous generations of immigrants, the current one is learning English at a faster rate. The article cited data from the Center for Research on Immigration Population and Public Policy at the University of California and showed how second and third generation immigrants are fluent English speakers. The piece went on to say that the complaint that immigrants are unwilling to learn English is directed toward first generation ones over the age of 18:

> Estos emigrantes, de primera generación, sufren los efectos de la crisis económica, el recorte de programas estatales para estudiar el

> inglés como segunda lengua y la persecución policial. Estos hechos han conseguido que estos emigrantes mantengan un perfil bajo y se abstengan de acudir a cualquier entidad pública por miedo a futuras represiones. (LPH, September 16, 2009)

> These immigrants, of the first generation, suffer from effects of the economic crisis, the cutbacks on state programs for studying English as a second language and political persecution. These facts have made it so that these immigrants maintain a low profile and abstain from turning to any public entity for fear of future repression.

Therefore, the blame placed on immigrants for not learning English is deflected and passed on to the public authorities.

The Arizona Republic's sole selected text under the theme of assimilation supports the idea advanced by La Prensa Hispana in the sense that immigrants -specially immigrant children- show a strong desire to adapt the customs of the American society and elements of the American culture as their own:

> That's why children who were brought to this country illegally by their parents grow up as culturally American as Coca-Cola and Levi's jeans. They learn the language, history and practices of this country. (ARZ, June 4, 2010)

The next sub-section deals with the issue of the marginalization of immigrants both as portrayed by the newspapers and in cases where the newspapers themselves contribute to that marginalization.

The marginalization of immigrants.

A point of interest in the study was the topic of the marginalization of the immigrant population. The focus was on testing how the three newspapers dealt with news related to the marginalization of immigrants and to which extent, if any, they contributed to this marginalization with their own reporting.

The perception of immigrants of their own situation in the American society was also a point that the analysis of the data tried to shed light upon. Do immigrants perceive themselves as occupying a peripheral position in the public sphere or do they, to the contrary, view themselves with a central role in the fabric of society?

Different articles were found in the data pointing in the direction of a self-perception based on a marginal importance of their place in society. For example, an indirect mention was found in a February 21, 2011 article from the East Valley Tribune: "[s]ome of them are just saying, 'I'm not from Arizona, I'm Hispanic, and I just don't feel like it's a friendly state anymore.'" This mention refers to both documented and undocumented immigrants and gives voice to the feelings of a large part of the Hispanic community who see themselves as attacked and marginalized by the anti-immigration measures approved in the state of Arizona.

In other cases it is not the self-perception of immigrants that causes their marginalization but rather the external judgment made by others, for example the press. In an op-ed published by The Arizona Republic on July 20, 2007, the author cited a study performed by The University of Arizona on the effects of immigration -both legal and illegal- on the state's economy. The opening sentence referred to the study itself and, in the words of the op-ed author, "[t]he study reasonably treats foreign-born non-citizens as a proxy for illegal immigrants in Arizona." First, the semantic structure of the phrase is not clear in regard to the term "foreign-born non-citizens": U.S. citizens may be foreign-born or U.S. born but non-citizens are necessarily foreign-born. Therefore, why use the adjective

"foreign-born" to refer to non-citizens? Also, the author, supposedly following the lead of the study he cited, identified non-citizens with illegal immigrants, a point that is very objectionable. This researcher, for example, was a non-citizen documented immigrant for ten years. This situation is far from unique among the immigrant population as many individuals hold permanent residency cards (known as "green cards) or work or study visas. Shown here is a first instance of marginalization against the immigrant community.

In the same op-ed, a second instance of marginalization against the immigrant community occurs when the author, again citing the study from The University of Arizona, identified ELLs as the children of illegal immigrants. To begin with, making this identification is preposterous, since schools do not gather data related to the immigration status of parents, explaining why it is not possible to calculate how many students have parents with an undocumented status. And secondly, and most importantly, why should the status of the parents matter when computing the cost of educating undocumented ELLs? If the author of the op-ed is making a case for the high cost of undocumented immigrants, including all ELLs because some of them may have parents who are undocumented immigrants, the results of the calculation are bound to be flawed. The other alternative is that the author may be pointing to the idea that if those undocumented immigrants were not in Arizona, their children (many of whom are U.S. citizens) would not be in Arizona's schools. This argument is equally troubling. Hence the second instance of marginalization in the article:

> English - language learners are used, again reasonably, as a proxy for the children of illegal immigrants in the school system. (AZR, July 20, 2007)

Finally, the author used the term "illegal" (twice) to refer to undocumented immigrants, thus reifying the adjective and applying it to the person rather than to that person's immigration status. This is the third instance of marginalization found in this article.

La Prensa Hispana, on the other hand, tends to denounce attempts to marginalize immigrants. Taking the point of view of individuals belonging to the immigrant community, an op-ed from May 4, 2011 gave a different view to the news of Osama bin Laden's death than the one offered by the English-speaking media: immigrants were harmed by the 9/11 attacks, directly as victims of the attacks themselves, and indirectly through the xenophobic attitudes that inundated the Unites States at the institutional level and that manifested themselves through an increase in the government activities against immigrants. The op-ed mentions the following ways in which immigrants were marginalized: (1) rejection of visa applications; (2) the consideration of immigrants as a risk for the national security; (3) becoming the target of xenophobic attitudes.

The narrative about the marginalization of the immigrant community is based in the idea that immigrants are inferior to the dominant members of the host community. Their culture is shunned (or accepted only in its folkloric aspect such as food), individuals are accused of not being willing to assimilate to the majority culture, and crime is attributed to the newcomers. All these elements are included in an op-ed from La Prensa Hispana.

> En primer lugar, demasiados estadounidenses continúan cayendo en viejos hábitos y repitiendo un retrato de los inmigrantes -legales o ilegales- históricamente conocido, como inferiores a los nativos, con una cultura deficiente, lentos en asimilarse, inclinados a la actividad delictiva y desprovistos de todo valor positivo. (LPH, November 28, 2007)
>
> In the first place, too many Americans continue to fall into old habits and repeating a depiction of immigrants- legal or illegal- historically known, as inferior to natives, as a deficient culture, slow to assimilate, prone to criminal activity and devoid of all positive worth.

The piece claimed that the debate over illegal immigration is not such but rather a debate over immigration. It gave specific examples of how the debate over illegal immigration quickly deviated and became one over immigration and anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican attitudes.

La Prensa Hispana also contains a certain amount of self-blame for the marginalization of the immigrant community and, more specifically, for the overarching incrimination of Hispanics:

> El asunto es que los problemas de inseguridad que cada día crecen más en Arizona son causados por latinos, violando las leyes y causando mayor indignación en una sociedad acostumbrada a la tranquilidad. Los ataques más frecuentes a policías son perpetrados por hispanos. (LPH, October 17, 2007).
>
> The point is that the law and order problems that grow every day more in Arizona are caused by Latinos, breaking the law and causing greater indignation in a society accustomed to peace. The most frequent attacks on policemen are committed by Hispanics.

The editorial piece from where the excerpt was taken affirmed the necessity to conform to the laws of the United States. This is part of a narrative present in La Prensa Hispana that blamed immigrants, and more specifically Hispanics, for their marginalization from society. In a different editorial piece, the following paragraph illustrates this narrative of self-blame:

> ¿Y CÓMO NO NOS VAN A QUERER SACAR?, si cada vez es mayor el deterioro de las costumbres en este país debido a que queremos imponer nuestra cultura, nuestra idiosincrasia y hacer lo que nos hinche la gana. No se vale, digo, yo quiero mucho a mi gente, pero no nos queremos asimilar y, por el contrario, ponemos en práctica nuestras malas costumbres, como si fueran dignas de imitación." (LPH, August 29, 2007)
>
> AND WHY WOULDN'T THEY WANT TO KICK US OUT?, if the customs of this country are deteriorating more and more because we want to impose our culture, our idiosyncrasy and doing whatever we want. It doesn't work, I mean, I love my people, but we don't want to assimilate and, to the contrary, we put into practice our bad habits as if they were worthy of immitation.

The editorial blamed immigrants for their lack of assimilation, for trying to impose their own idiosyncrasy, and for practicing "bad customs." In sum, it blamed immigrants for their own lack of acceptance of the American society.

Still another editorial issued a call to Hispanics to obey the laws of the United States, become active members of their communities, get involved in schools, learn English, and care about the education of their children. The solution proposed by La Prensa Hispana to the problem of the marginalization of immigrants starts with a greater assimilation of the American values.

> ¿Y qué tal si nos portamos bien? No tiramos basura, mantenemos limpio el frente de nuestra casa, manejamos a los límites de velocidad, respetamos las leyes, participamos en eventos cívicos, con grupos de padres de familia en las escuelas, en organizaciones de vecindarios ¿Y qué tal si aprendemos inglés?, ¿y qué tal si apoyamos a nuestros hijos no únicamente cuando nos van a dar algo gratis?, ¿y que tal si dejamos de ver la novela aunque sea un día a la semana? Por qué nos cuesta gastar en una clase de danza para nuestra hija o en un equipo de basquétbol para nuestro hijo y no la pensamos para comprar, religiosamente cada sábado, "un seis" de cerveza? (LPH, May 7, 2007)
>
> And what if we behave ourselves? We don't litter, we keep our front yards clean, drive the speed limit, respect the law, participate in public events, in parent groups in the schools, neighborhood organizations. What if we learn English? And what if we support our children not only when they're

> going to give us something for free? And what if we stop watching soap operas even if for one day a week? Why do we find it difficult to spend money on a dance class for our daughter or on a basketball league for our son when we don't even think before buying, religiously every Saturday, a six-pack of beer?

Besides this narrative of self-blame, the feelings of external marginalization are strong in the pages of La Prensa Hispana. A cartoon published in the editorial pages on August 8, 2007 illustrated the hopelessness of the immigrant community. In this cartoon, a man says "those who work with false documentation still have two outs." (Figure B4).

It is not only that immigrants may lack the opportunity to live and work in the United States legally but also the fact that social class plays a very important role in how the American society reacts toward immigrants. The realization that wealth is a crucial indicator of the acceptance of the immigrant creates a tone of helplessness as well. This feeling is expressed in the following paragraph:

> Es que el Sr. Slim sí es un inmigrante distinguido el cual sí llegaría aquí con todo lo necesario para contribuir positivamente en esta comunidad. No como esos inmigrantes mal vistos que hablan español, tienen que vivir a oscuras, sin licencia y expuestos a redadas y malos tratos. Esos que trabajan de sol a sol, dejando el pellejo en los campos, los restaurantes, la construcción, los techos, los lavados de autos, la jardinería, las fábricas, y todos esos trabajos pesados , duros y mal pagados, a veces ni siquiera con el salario mínimo, y sin poder ni pensar en obtener beneficios. (LPH, July 11, 2007).
>
> It's because Mr. Slim is indeed a distinguished immigrant who arrived here with all that is necessary to contribute positively in this community. Not like those frowned-upon immigrants that speak Spanish, have to live secretively, without a license and exposed to raids and ill-treatment. Those that work from sun up to sun down, giving the skin off their own backs in the fields, in restaurants, in construction, roofing, car washes, gardening, factories, and all the tiresome, tough and poorly paid jobs, sometimes without even minimum wage and couldn't even so much as think about having benefits.

The above reference to Carlos Slim is an allusion to the richest person in the world, a Mexican national who was invited by former Arizona governor Janet Napolitano to visit this state and invest in it. The editorial used a sarcastic tone to denounce the existence of two different types of immigrants, those who have power and are welcomed -and even invited- and those who are poor and harassed even though they come to perform the most grueling jobs.

The theme of hopelessness and helplessness is appreciated in a cartoon published in the editorial pages on May 16, 2007. It showed an immigrant family hanging over a cliff between President Bush and immigration reform (see Figure B5). The sense that their destiny is outside of their control is clear.

However, La Prensa Hispana does offer an interesting point in an editorial piece from March 21, 2007. The claim is that the focus of immigration policies in Arizona is to penalize undocumented immigrants rather than proposing a solution to the problem of illegal immigration.

> Las medidas se extreman en Arizona. Las formas de penalizar a los indocumentados y a quienes le otorguen un empleo se diversifican y parecen convertirse en el centro de atención, no así el buscar soluciones al complejo tema de la inmigración. (LPH, March 21, 2007)
>
> The measures are becoming more extreme in Arizona. The way to penalize the undocumented and those offering employment to them are more extensive and seem to be the center of attention, rather than looking for a solution to the complex issue of immigration.

This approach of enacting and enforcing anti-immigrant measures is perceived by La Prensa Hispana as a direct attack on the immigrant community. The Spanish-speaking newspaper's use of metaphors to describe the situation shows the fear under which the immigrant community lives. These metaphors

include a reference to sheriff Joe Arpaio, who was authorized by the Council of County Supervisors to "iniciar una cruzada contra los inmigrantes indocumentados en áreas urbanas" (start a crusade against undocumented immigrants in urban areas). The reference to a crusade elicits a violent action against immigrants. The next paragraph refers to the same actions by the sheriff as cazas ilegales or illegal manhunts.

Despite the feelings of hopelessness and helplessness and the perceived attacks, La Prensa Hispana maintains its confidence and reaffirms the resilience of the immigrant community. The headline in a column published in the editorial pages sums up the sense that in spite of everything, immigrants are in the United States to stay.

> Y seguimos aquí, después de todo y a pesar de todo, en la lucha por sobrevivir. (LPH, September 2, 2009)
>
> "And we continue here, after all and in spite of all, in the fight for survival."

The marginalization of the immigrant community extended itself to issues of education. Language minority students are subject to changes in the policies regarding the educational program in which they are being educated. One of these changes occurred in the year 2008, when a new model to educate ELLs was approved by the state legislature. This new model instituted a 4-hour English block for every ELL in Arizona. The law also specified that ELLs were to be grouped by proficiency level and maintained away from the mainstream classroom all except for two hours a day. Students who had been in the mainstream, surrounded by native-English speakers, for several years but who

were still classified as ELLs were placed in ELL-only classes. This prompted concerns among school officials, who had been told by federal authorities that ELLs had to be placed in the mainstream. An article from the East Valley Tribune showed the confusion by the contradictory mandates:

> For the Tempe Elementary district, the move to place non-English speakers together is a big shift. In the 1970s, the district was told by the Office of Civil Rights that it should try to spread out its Spanish speakers to different schools and classrooms. "We were told we should make sure students weren't isolated in schools, so we spread them out," Gonzales said. "Now, they are saying it's OK to group by language. (EVT, August 2, 2008).

Students' self-perceptions are significant and have the potential to affect their academic achievement. An article from the East Valley Tribune dated March 14, 2006, reported on the feelings of inadequacy that students who do not know English experience in school. Another source for these feelings, also pointed out by the newspaper, is specific situations in which a number of ELLs find themselves. For example, it is not uncommon for ELLs to be separated from their immediate families. The boy mentioned in the article was separated from his mother:

> At recess, it became a little too much for him, as he burst into tears on the playground - and couldn't stop crying. He was inconsolable. (EVT, March 14, 2006)

The Arizona Republic also spoke in its pages about the marginalization of the immigrant community. However, as was the case with other topics, the stand taken by this newspaper, albeit one against the restrictive measures against immigrants, shows a primary concern for the state of Arizona, either in general terms or in specific aspects of the life of the state (i.e. economy, employment).

An example of this is an op-ed piece in which the author designated the anti-immigrant policies as radical but at the same time alleged that these policies have the negative effect of affecting the image of the state. In the same paragraph, the writer mentioned Governor Brewer's allegations that headless bodies had been found in the Arizona desert (an allegation that she had to recant later when pressured by the press). Again, the op-ed writer's concern was not the effect that these allegations may have had in the public opinion in the shaping of specific attitudes against immigrants but rather on the image that the governor's statements had on the state's image.

The op-ed did mention, though, the marginalization of the Latino community in the aftermath of the anti-immigrant measures such as SB 1070:

> Latinos have roots in Arizona as deep as the Grand Canyon. But their civil rights became collateral damage in the rush to get tough on illegal immigrants; their children were characterized as gang wannabes on the floor of the state Senate this spring; and Arizona's new attorney general characterized a group of peaceful Latino protesters as a "thuggish mob." (AZR, May 1, 2011)

In this case, the author's concern was not about the undocumented immigrants against which the policies were enacted but instead the Latino community in general. She did mention, however, specific instances of marginalization, such as the letter read in the state Senate's floor criticizing Latino students and the Attorney General's (formerly superintendent of public instruction) characterization of Latino protesters as "thuggish mob."

Whereas some of the arguments used by The Arizona Republic are related to the human dimension of the measures, most of the opposition to such measures

comes from perspectives that do not deal directly with the consequences of the laws on the immigrant community:

> A year later, SB 1070 looks like a big, expensive con. It brought us boycotts, lost business, a sullied reputation, another court battle and a betrayal of Arizona's heritage. Oh, yes. And it did nothing to make the border safer or reduce illegal immigration. (AZR, April 23, 2011)

The disposition of The Arizona Republic against the anti-immigration measures is shown in repeated editorials. On March 16, 2011, the newspaper positioned itself against the latest batch of such measures at the same time that it praised a group of 60 business leaders who voiced their opposition. Another editorial, this time dating June 16, 2011, critiqued Alabama's anti-immigration laws and Arizona's stand on the issue of illegal immigration. This editorial made a reference to the attempts in Arizona to make schools report the number of undocumented students they enroll.

> Checking the status of schoolchildren will mean that kids -- even some who were born in this country -- will be kept out of school by undocumented parents who fear questions at school will lead to deportation. Alabama's school provisions would create a permanent uneducated underclass. (AZR, June 16, 2011).

This same editorial acknowledged the human dimension of the immigration phenomenon, something that the Spanish-speaking newspaper La Prensa Hispana does often but that it is not common among the English-speaking newspapers.

> Purely punitive measures fail to recognize the human motivations driving illegal immigration. (AZR, June 16, 2011).

This human dimension was also brought up in an editorial dealing with the incident mentioned above in which the letter of a substitute teacher criticizing

Latino students at a school in Glendale was read in the state Senate's floor by a Republican senator, Lori Klein, who obtained the letter from Senate President Russell Pierce.

> In the process, ugly stereotypes about Latino children, not just undocumented children, were presented as fact. Reading this letter was particularly reckless considering the increasingly divisive tone of the debate about immigration. (AZR, March 25, 2011)

The editorial's claim was that the allegations made by the teacher against the Latino students -later disproved by the school district- were used for political gains in the midst of the political debate over the anti-immigration measures. The Arizona Republic's stance was clear in favor of the students and the Latino community:

> Arizona has a large population of Latino citizens who have as much right to be here as any member of the Legislature. They and their children should not be fair game in the maneuvering to gain a political upper hand. (AZR, March 25, 2011)

The passage of the law known as SB 1070, which made it a state crime to be in Arizona without proper immigration documents, resulted in numerous editorial pieces from The Arizona Republic showing opposition to such law. These pieces tended to emphasize the importance of the Latino community in Arizona, even resorting to powerful similes:

> About 2 million of Arizona's 6.5 million people are Latinos. Many are descendants of people whose integrity, intelligence and hard work helped lay the foundation on which our state is built. Their heritage is as deep as the Grand Canyon and as clear as the desert air after a rain. (AZR, August 8, 2010)

This editorial raised the question of who exactly the anti-immigration measures affect. Proponents of these measures contended that its effects are

directed against undocumented immigrants. However, The Arizona Republic affirmed that the reality is that many Latinos, even those with legal immigration status, perceive themselves as victims of these policies. In a state with such a prevalent population of Latinos, this is significant and has an impact in the life of the state.

Also, the concept of cultural heritage is present in the editorial piece when it alluded to the perception that the Latino community in Arizona is forming about the state and the way the state behaves toward the immigrant population, Latino in its vast majority:

> The perception that Arizona is callous to Latinos can cause a major brain drain. Talented, educated sons and daughters of Arizona's Latino families may decide to make their fortunes away from a state they feel has betrayed them, their parents and their heritage. (AZR, August 8, 2010).

The Arizona Republic voiced its opposition to SB 1070 in spite of the polls favoring it among the public. The arguments used by this newspaper ranged from the pragmatic ones (i.e. loss of business for the state, damaged image) to arguments related to the denigration and dehumanization of the Latino population.

> Latinos living legally in this state feel unwanted. Latino citizens outside the state believe they are unwelcome here. We have created an ethnic divide that could last for years. [...] There is a resentment that comes from knowing that people who look like you have been denigrated and systematically dehumanized as the problem of illegal immigration became more about scoring political points than finding solutions. (AZR, June 7, 2010)

The editorial piece showed a concern for the feelings of the Latino population and worried about the effects of the anti-immigration laws on this community.

The marginalization explored in this section does not limit itself to immigrants but it also reaches U.S. citizens when these citizens suffer the unintended consequences of the enforcement of anti-immigration laws. An op-ed from The Arizona Republic addressed the issue of individuals with mental disabilities who face deportation proceedings:

> U.S. citizens with mental disabilities, including severe developmental disabilities or mental-health problems such as schizophrenia, have been taken into ICE custody and deported because they were incapable of proving citizenship, even when they told officials they were U.S. citizens. (AZR, August 9, 2010)

Discussing in its editorial pages the consequences of the anti-immigrant laws on individuals with mental disabilities shows an interest from the part of The Arizona Republic in this segment of the population. These individuals, who cannot defend themselves in deportation hearings, are the most exposed to instances of marginalization. The Arizona Republic takes a step forward to present their case and denounce the unfairness of the situation.

The last of the themes part of the hypothetical construct of the immigration issues in the newspapers dealt with the perception of immigration as a problem.

Immigration is a problem.

Immigration is a problem.

A final point of interest in the study was to check whether the issue of immigration was portrayed as a problem. In some cases the articles referred to individuals whose opinions were reproduced by the newspapers. For example, in an article published by the East Valley Tribune that examined the contrast

between perceptions about immigration and reality, the Executive Director of the Center for Immigration Studies was cited as an expert in matters related to immigration. He was quoted as follows:

> "I'm not sure it ends," he said. "There's no solution to immigration. It's one of those things you have to manage. It's like traffic; it's something you have to manage." (EVT, May 22, 2010)

The impression transmitted by this quote is that since immigration has no solution, then it must be a problem, given that solutions are the aftermath of problems. Also, the quote included the simile "immigration is like traffic." No one likes traffic so no one should like immigration. In other words, the quote apparently represented the inevitability of the immigration phenomenon -which may be construed as an objective statement- but ended up, upon closer scrutiny, as a declaration of the migratory phenomenon as an undesirable problem.

The reproduction of opinions contrary to the phenomenon of immigration is also common when the topic of immigration intersects with the topic of education. In an article from the East Valley Tribune, State Senator Russell Pierce was cited as an opponent to additional funding for ELL programs on the basis that most ELLs in Arizona are either undocumented immigrants or children or undocumented immigrants (EVT, April 8, 2008). In another article, the East Valley Tribune informed about the petition made by a group of county sheriffs in Arizona to require that schools report the number of undocumented students they enroll (EVT, April 27, 2009).

In other cases, the depiction of immigration as a problem is performed by the newspaper directly. This was the case with an editorial from the East Valley

Tribune in which, among other things, the newspaper's editorial board made a case for minimally funding ELL programs. In this piece, the last paragraph made a call for immigration reform thus making a clear and direct connection between illegal immigration and ELLs. The editorial piece, therefore, linked ELL funding with immigration and indirectly stated that the problem of ELL funding is caused by the problem of illegal immigration (EVT, February 27, 2005).

The depiction of immigration by La Prensa Hispana is generally positive. However, some instances were found where immigration was portrayed as a problem. The following excerpt from an editorial piece illustrates this case:

> Recuperar el control perdido por la llegada de más y más personas, que si bien es cierto vienen a trabajar, su buen deseo y su decidida entrega se ven empañados por los malos inmigrantes, que cometen delitos y luego nos los achacan a todos. Ese es el problema. (LPH, December 26, 2007)
>
> To recover the control lost by the arrival of more and more people, that if it is true that they come to work, their good desire and clear commitment are dimmed by the bad immigrants, that commit crimes and then are attributed to all of us. That is the problem.¨

In this case, the problem is not immigration in general but only those immigrants who commit crimes in the United States. The editorial maintained the point of view that honest immigrants, the majority, are harmed by the actions of a few. This is also seen in an editorial piece affirming:

> [...] como comunidad tenemos que unirnos en recriminar casos de esta índole, y dejar claramente establecido que las personas acusadas de delitos como estos no son los indocumentados ni inmigrantes que defendemos y por los que luchamos. (LPH, October 29, 2008).
>
> […] as a community we need to be united in recrimination of cases of this kind, and have it be clearly established that those people accused of crimes such as these are not the undocumented nor immigrants that we defend and for whom we fight.

The effort by La Prensa Hispana to differentiate undocumented immigrants who commit crimes from the rest of the immigrant community is clear.

Besides this effort to exonerate the name of the immigrant community by denouncing criminal acts, La Prensa Hispana makes it clear that immigrants are honest, hard working individuals:

> Los inmigrantes no vienen a apoderarse de los trabajos, sino a ejercer las tareas más difíciles que otros no desean realizar [...]. (LPH, October 7, 2009)
>
> Immigrants don't come to take over jobs, but to do the most difficult jobs that others don't want to do […]

The Arizona Republic's three selected texts for the theme of immigration as a problem contain two letters to the editor in which readers complain about the presence of undocumented students in the schools and an editorial piece in which the newspaper

> Arizona has become better known for immigration battles than celebrations of its diversity. Careless behavior by some state leaders has recently created the impression that any Latino in our state can be suspect regardless of immigration status. The reading of a letter on the Senate floor that asserted Latino kids prefer gang activities to getting an education is one example. A government news release that characterized a group of loud but peaceful Latino protesters as a "thuggish ... Raza mob" was another. (ARZ, April 11, 2011)

In summary, this chapter described the most relevant data collected for this research. Once the different themes were grouped into hypothetical constructs, a narrative emerged addressing the research questions formulated in chapter 2. These questions were: 1. How do newspapers represent news related to language minority students? 2. What are the salient themes portrayed by the

newspapers in relation to the marginalization of language minority students? 3. How are issues related to immigration represented by the newspapers? The final chapter will address these questions. It will also identify the prevalent ideologies found in the data collected. The discussion of the results will be followed by a statement of implications for further research and recommendations.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The primary concern of the study was the identification of the most salient ideologies displayed by the local newspapers of Arizona in relation to a particular group of students, those for whom English is not the first language, and to the broader issue of immigration. Three newspapers were selected based on their circulation (The Arizona Republic), geographic distribution (East Valley Tribune) and the language of publication (La Prensa Hispana). Over 600 articles were collected, most of them belonging to the period between 2006 and 2011. The analysis of these articles allowed the identification of certain ideologies. This chapter will begin with a summary of the findings. A discussion of the findings will follow. The chapter will close with the implications for both practitioners and researchers.

Summary of the findings

The characterization of news events related to ELLs.

The first of the research questions for this study addressed the issue of how newspapers represent news events related to language minority students. The purpose of formulating this question was to ascertain what themes were being conveyed to the readers when reporting about this particular group of the student population. In other words, the goal was to analyze how language minority students were characterized by the newspapers. Thus, the characterization of ELLs in the newspapers became the first hypothetical construct of the research, a construct that encompassed five different themes.

These themes emerged from 103 selected texts. More than half of these texts (52%) contained references that led the reader toward a specific stance on an issue of opinion. About one fourth of the texts (28%) included references that showed preference toward a specific stance in an issue of opinion. The reason for creating two different themes was that in the first case the articles from which the texts were selected made a clear and direct effort at leading the reader to adopt a particular stance on an issue of opinion. In the latter, however, this effort to lead the reader's opinion was not as clear or direct. Rather, the articles showed preference toward a specific stance on an issue of opinion but this preference was not followed by an attempt to lean the reader's opinion toward that stance. The remaining three themes, headlines that distort the news event, the cost of educating ELLs, and the academic achievement of ELLs, had a combined presence of about one fifth of the texts selected (19%).

As for the distribution of texts by newspaper, the majority of them were drawn from articles belonging to the East Valley Tribune (83%). The remaining texts (17%) were published by The Arizona Republic. No texts were selected from La Prensa Hispana. In fact, no references to the education of language minority students were found in La Prensa Hispana. The only articles that this newspaper published in reference to education were related to the issue of the Ethnic Studies program in the Tucson school district. See Table A4 for a complete distribution of selected texts.

Headlines that distort the message.

In an effort to elucidate how the newspapers characterize news events related to language minority students, the first task in the analysis phase of the research was to inspect the headlines and check whether these headlines matched the actual content of the article and gave a fair representation of the specific news event represented by the article. Those articles in which the headline did not match the news event were selected and the headline marked as relevant text. All of the relevant texts selected under this theme came from the East Valley Tribune.

In some cases, the headline belonged to an op-ed article. Op-eds reflect the opinion not of the editorial board of the newspapers but rather of writers who are not part of the editorial board. Included in the editorial pages of the newspapers, op-ed articles contain the opinion of these writers on a certain topic. However, the decision to include certain op-eds and not others belongs to the editor of the newspaper, who reports to the editorial board. In consequence, op-eds may match the views of the editorial board on certain topics, especially if these views represent a particular ideological stance on an issue of opinion.

Two examples of op-eds in which the news events did not match the headlines of those op-eds were included in the previous chapter. Both belong to the East Valley Tribune. One of them failed to represent an alternative point of view on an issue of opinion: The effects of the policies enacted by the state department of education in regard to ELLs. The op-ed's headline was "Horne advancing English learning." No other op-eds were found in the same newspaper in which a differing opinion was expressed, in spite of the controversial nature of

those policies (SEI program, English-only mandate and implementation, 4-hour ELD block, teacher training, etc.). The second headline from an op-ed included in the previous chapter was "Judge's fiscal demands hinder progress on ELL." In this case, the author of the op-ed takes a clear stance on the Flores case to the extent that the intent of the lawsuit (the defense of the interests of ELLs) is misrepresented. This in and of itself is not problematic due to the nature of op-eds. The problem lies in that the newspaper failed, as with the topic discussed above, to include an alternative view of the issue. It can be seen, then, that by selecting which op-eds to include in the editorial pages, the East Valley Tribune takes a clear ideological stance on both the topic of the policies emanating from the state department of education and the Flores case. In the first case, the ideology expressed is one of support of the state superintendent of public instruction's policies. In the second, the ideology is one of opposition to the demands made in the Flores case in favor of ELLs.

Aside from op-eds, headlines may distort the news event represented by the news reporting article. This was the case with the headline "Judge backs foes of AZ's English-learning." This headline conveys the message that the plaintiffs in the Flores case are enemies or adversaries of the state's English-learning when the reality was exactly the opposite: the plaintiffs sought greater resources allocated for the education of ELLs. In this case, the ideology transmitted by this mismatch between news event and headline can be summarized as one of opposition to the demands in favor of ELLs. A different headline, also from the East Valley Tribune, was "Demographic change may be disturbing, but can't be

reversed." In this case, the headline alone conveyed a vague sense of what the newspaper was doing: Was the article merely relaying a current of opinion (that for some of the population the growth of the Hispanic population may be disturbing) or was the headline conveying the newspaper's own dismay at the growth of the Hispanic population? In this case, the headline carried an ideology of xenophobia stemming from the perception of the Hispanic community as a threat to the Anglo-dominant majority.

The main concern is the cost of educating ELLs.

A second theme of the hypothetical construct of the characterization of ELLs in the newspapers is that of the financial cost of educating language minority students. Most of the texts selected under this theme came from articles published by the East Valley Tribune. All of the texts showed a concern with the cost of educating students for whom English is not the first language. This concern appeared both in editorial pieces and in articles reporting about news events. In some cases, the opposition to the funding of programs for ELLs came mixed with requests to hold schools accountable for how they teach ELLs, although this demand for accountability came without a mention of the resources schools need to educate ELLs (i.e. teacher training, textbooks). Coupled with the petition for increased accountability is the requirement for a greater school choice for parents. This school choice would mean that parents would be able to send their children to private schools using school vouchers financed by public funds. In other words, the East Valley Tribune (1) rejects the idea of funding programs for ELLs in public schools but at the same time (2) supports using public funds to

send ELLs to private schools. The rationale for this, according to the newspaper, is that public schools lack the resources to adequately teach ELLs. The solution, rather than funding public schools, is to divert public funds to private schools so that they can adequately teach ELLs.

The same opposition to fund public programs for ELLs can be seen in opinion pieces written by the editorial board in which a support for the defendants in the Flores case is explicit. The East Valley Tribune showed support to the appeal by the state of Arizona before the United States Supreme Court, notwithstanding the fact that the legal counsel for the state charged the amount of $910 an hour for his services.

This resistance to provide programs geared toward ELLs with adequate funds was evident in the case of an article reporting on the rejection by the state department of education of the funds requested by the Tucson school district to comply with the new 4-hour ELD block required by the state. In this case, the East Valley Tribune did not explicitly show support for the rejection of the request for funds. Rather, the article informing about this rejection focused its attention on the point of view of state officials, quoting Tom Horne in different occasions and failing to quote any official or teacher from the Tucson school district who may have offered a differing opinion about the rejection of the request for funds. In this case, the ideological stance of the article becomes apparent not by what is said but rather by what is left unsaid.

In all the texts, the salient ideology is one opposed to the funding of programs for ELLs. This ideology is supported with different arguments (i.e. need

to hold schools accountable, a call for greater parental school choice) but nevertheless the ideological stance taken by the East Valley Tribune on the issue of the funding of programs for ELLs is clear.

Lack of counterbalance of an ideological stance.

The second largest theme found under the overarching hypothetical construct of the characterization of news related to ELLs was that of the lack of counterbalance in the reporting of news events. All of the texts selected under the theme (29) belonged to articles published by the East Valley Tribune.

Sometimes it is the opinion of an individual in the public sphere which prompts the newspaper to express its own opinion on an issue. This opinion by the newspaper may not be explicit but a careful analysis of the text allows a determination of the ideological stance taken by the newspaper. This was the case of an article in which the reader was informed about the Pima County sheriff's opinion that schools should check the legal status of students. This in and of itself is a mere reporting of a news event, namely the point of view of an elected official on a certain issue. However, following that, a number of telling things occur in the article. First, there is no mention by the writer of the article of the fairness of educating all children based on the notion of equanimity. Second, there no counterbalance of the opinion by the sheriff that students with undocumented status strain the public resources. Third, the article mentions the Plyler v. Doe decision (U.S. Supreme Court) but only to affirm that this decision appears to make it legal for undocumented children to attend public schools (the decision was clear in the sense that the residency status of the students must not be a factor

in their admission to schools). Fourth, the same paragraph mentioning Plyler v. Doe cites how narrow the vote was, 5 to 4 (which is inconsequential). Fifth, the article provides detailed calculations of the cost of educating ELLs, adopting the high figure in the range of costs associated to this education. And sixth, the article links the education of ELLs to the legal status of their parents. All these elements combined transmit an opinion that not only backs the sheriff's but further strengthens it. In sum, the East Valley Tribune shows an ideology that is opposed to the presence of immigrant students in public schools.

Ideologies are expressed more or less explicitly by the East Valley Tribune depending on the genre of the text. In the case expressed above, the text belonged to a news article, that is, an article reporting about a news event. The ideology was concealed under a series of facts related to immigration and the education of immigrant students. In the case of editorial pieces, however, ideologies occupy the foreground of the piece. The lack of counterbalance occurs when an issue is presented only under one ideological standpoint.

This explicit way of presenting an ideology is the case of editorial pieces published by the East Valley Tribune in which Tom Horne is praised for his policies in regard ELLs. These articles clearly show a concern for the financial cost of educating ELLs. Terms such as tremendous progress, relative success, and courageous efforts to protect taxpayers show an ideology based on the rejection of funds to educate ELLs.

In addition to the two genres shown above (news articles and editorial pieces), op-eds also show a clear lack of counterbalance toward specific issues.

The op-eds published by the East Valley Tribune go as far as to blame the courts for the lack of academic progress of ELLs. This lack of progress, the op-eds affirm, is caused by the ever increasing pressure of these courts to fund programs for ELLs. But not only do the writer of the op-ed pieces blame the judges ruling in the Flores case but also schools and teachers, all guilty of greed with public money.

In support of the ideology that rejects public funds for the education of language minority students, the East Valley Tribune also manifests an ideology based on the preeminence of the states in their relation to the federal government. The newspaper cites "the state's sovereign right to determine education policy." This principle takes precedence over the underlying issue of the Flores case, the equanimity of Arizona's educational programs for ELLs. However, the East Valley Tribune does ask for federal intervention to solve the so-called immigration problem, therefore making a connection between the education of language minority students and illegal immigration.

Predisposing the public toward a certain opinion.

The theme with the largest number of selected texts within the hypothetical construct of the characterization of news events related to ELLs was that of the primacy of an opinion on a certain issue coupled with an intention to persuade the reader of a specific point of view. Whereas the texts selected for the previous theme limited themselves to present a certain point of view with disregard to other points of view, the texts within this theme went further in that they tried to convince the reader about the preeminence of the stance taken by the

newspaper. Of the 54 texts selected under this theme, 40 (75%) belonged to the East Valley Tribune and 14 (25%) to the Arizona Republic. As was the case with the theme of lack of counterbalance, for this theme the most salient articles in regard to the content came from the East Valley Tribune.

As before, the selection of op-eds that are published by the newspaper show the ideological direction of editorial board. In one of these op-ed pieces, the writer praised Tom Horne's record in regard to ELLs. Adjectives such as Republican, compassionate, and strict yet caring used to define Horne contrast with Democrat who leans toward a "throw-money-at-the-problem" solution, ultra-liberal. The ideological stand taken by the writer is one in favor of Tom Horne and his policies that at the same time decries the opponents of the superintendent of public instruction. The East Valley Tribune uses these op-eds and its own editorial pieces to persuade the public about the lack of merit of the plaintiffs in the Flores case. This is done by the newspaper in the same way as the authors of the op-ed pieces: by appealing to the most fundamental feelings of the readers. Rather than taking the point of view of children who are making an effort at learning English, the newspaper deliberately takes no notice of the needs of ELLs and instead makes a request to safeguard public funds. This appeal is supported by making a connection between the education of ELLs and the broader issue of illegal immigration. In a state such as Arizona where anti-illegal immigration sentiments are strong, persuading the reader that such a connection exists is a vital element in the attempt to persuade the public that programs geared toward language minority students should not be publicly funded. This connection is of

such importance for the East Valley Tribune that the newspaper does not hesitate to include numerous times a mention to the residency status of the parents of language minority students, a factor that is inconsequential for both children born in the United States (entitled to the same rights and privileges as those born of parents with documented status) and those not born in the United States, regardless of their residency status (Plyler v. Doe guaranteeing the right to a free public education). The ideology intrinsic to this point of view is one that denies immigrants (both documented and undocumented) the right to an education.

The value of the educational program chosen by Arizona to educate ELLs is also looked at under the lens of its financial cost and the potential cost of other alternatives. The East Valley Tribune cites what it calls "the relative success [of the program] compared to other parts of the country," a blanket statement presented without further explanation with the intention of convincing the reader of the merit of Arizona's model. These kinds of blank statements are made also in reference to the program put in place in 2008 to educate ELLs: the 4-hour ELD block. By affirming that this 4-hour ELD block is research-based, the East Valley Tribune consciously disregards debate among teachers and in academia about the validity of the program and the research upon which the program is based. The ideology underlying the stance taken by the East Valley Tribune is one favoring the hegemonic position of the English language in schools.

The misrepresentation of issues related to academic achievement.

Finally, the hypothetical construct of the characterization of news events related to ELLs included a theme connected with the academic achievement of

these students. Seven texts were selected, six of them from the East Valley Tribune (86%) and one (14%) from The Arizona Republic.

The trend in the East Valley Tribune was to discard the level of funding as a factor influencing the academic achievement of ELLs. This applies not only to the context of programs for ELLs but also in education in general. Therefore, the ideology exposed in earlier themes of this hypothetical construct that denies the necessity to fund programs for ELLs is expanded under this theme to include education in the broader sense of the word. In sum, the ideology identified is one that denies the necessity to fund public education beyond the most basic of levels.

Another context in which academic achievement is mentioned is that of the labeling of schools. This labeling, as was explained in the previous chapter, depends on the results of standardized tests taken by the students of the schools and a series of criteria. This labeling exists at both the state and the federal levels. The articles reporting about the labeling tend to mention ELLs when the schools fail to meet the criteria for a positive label. On the contrary, there is no mention of ELLs when the school is successful in meeting the criteria for a positive label. Also along these lines, it is important to note that the articles are thorough in the explanation of how the labels are assigned, including a description of how ELLs are tested in English, which may affect scores. However, there is not a single mention as to the fairness of testing students in a language in which they are not proficient. This shows an ideology of disregard for the needs of ELLs.

The design of Arizona's program for ELLs is directly linked to the success of language minority students. The Arizona Republic, in an opinion column,

expressed a point of view favorable to the English-only model implemented in California after the passage of Proposition 227 in the year 1998. However, unlike in the case of the East Valley Tribune, where opinions presented by the newspaper generally lack an ideological counterbalance, the Arizona Republic allowed a member of academia to defend the role of the state's colleges of education in preparing pre-service teachers to teach within the parameters of the SEI program.

The marginalization of English learners.

The second research question emerging from the study sought to elucidate the salient themes of the newspapers in relation to the marginalization of language minority students. An analysis of the selected texts revealed that this marginalization had two different sources: on one hand, articles were found that reported about instances where language minority students had been marginalized. In this case the newspapers served as an outlet to inform the public about those instances. On the other hand, articles were also found that rather than informing about instances of marginalization created the marginalization themselves. This will be explained more in detail in the following sections.

Four salient themes were found in the 52 texts selected within this hypothetical construct. Of these, almost half (46%) belonged to the theme termed "disenfranchisement." The second largest theme pertained to texts related to the NCLB Act (23%). Texts that dealt with the placement of ELLs in schools numbered 10 (19%). Finally, matters related to social issues were found in 12% of the selected texts.

The distribution of the texts by newspapers shows that most of the texts were selected from The Arizona Republic (71%). The East Valley Tribune accounted for 27% of the texts and La Prensa Hispana for the remaining 2%. See Table A5 for a complete distribution of texts.

The disenfranchisement of ELLs.

The interest in locating possible instances of disenfranchisement of language minority students stemmed from the particular situation of this sub-group of the student population in schools. Faced with an educational program (SEI) that allows very little flexibility in how these students are educated, students classified as ELLs face a set of circumstances at the school that include the inability to receive instruction in the native language and the constant administration of high-stakes tests in a language in which they are not proficient (i.e. AIMS, AZELLA).

As explained previously, the study was interested in locating occurrences of disenfranchisement but also in tracking down the source of such occurrences. The underlying assumption was that the disenfranchisement would occur at either the source of the news event (the event that generates the news reporting) or at the newspaper with the way that the news event is reported to the public. However, an analysis of the data showed that both sources may happen simultaneously. This was the case with the article from the East Valley Tribune informing about the decision of an elementary school to discard a set of encyclopedias dating from 1972 and a biography of Ronald Regan from his time as governor of California. The instance of disenfranchisement (at the source of the news event) was revealed

when the article informed that these books (deemed of no educational value by the school for native-English speakers) were allocated to the ESL programs. The second instance of disenfranchisement occurred when the journalist reported about this event without the slightest hint at the lack of educational value of such books. By choosing not to critique the fact, the newspaper gave an idea of order or commonality for an event that in itself is disturbing.

Disenfranchisement stemming from the newspaper also helps elucidate the ideological stance of a newspaper. This was the case with an article that dealt with the cost of educating children of illegal immigrants. The East Valley Tribune, in this case, formulated a series of calculations in an effort to provide readers with a dollar amount of the cost of having children of undocumented immigrants in schools. The content of the article shows a clear instance of disenfranchisement: not only is the residency status of the parents inconsequential for the right of the children to attend schools but also the residency status of the children is inconsequential. However, there is a second instance of disenfranchisement in that article: The title of the article refers to the cost of educating children of undocumented immigrants. The first paragraph reports about the presence of the Spanish language in conversations among children and in signs directed to parents at one particular school. Thus the connection between undocumented immigrants and the Spanish language is made. By making a connection between the two, the newspaper creates a public sentiment of opposition to the presence of the Spanish language in schools, marginalizing the children and parents for whom Spanish is the primary language. This shows an ideology of opposition to the presence of

children of undocumented immigrants in schools and an ideology opposed to the presence of the Spanish language in schools.

The Arizona Republic, on the other hand, takes an ideological stance in defense of the rights of immigrant children to receive a free and public education. This newspaper published in the time period analyzed several editorials showing opposition to the law known as SB 1070 which, among other things, criminalized the undocumented person's presence in Arizona. The editorial board of The Arizona Republic also rejected the state legislative initiative to check the residency status of children at the time of their enrollment in schools. This effort to further disenfranchise language minority students was finally defeated in the state legislature. By opposing it, The Arizona Republic revealed an ideological stance in defense of the educational rights of students regardless of their residency status.

The placement of ELLs in the SEI program.

A second theme within the hypothetical construct of the marginalization of ELLs was related to the placement of these students in schools. The interest of this theme was in the significance of the placement of ELLs in schools. All the selected texts for this theme were found in the East Valley Tribune.

The analysis of this theme showed that the East Valley Tribune makes a connection between the topic of immigration and the enrollment of language minority students. One of the effects of the restrictive immigration policies of recent years in Arizona has been a decline in the number of immigrants in the state. This decline has created a decrease in the enrollment of students in some

schools. As a consequence, schools have had to reduce the number of teachers on their payroll (state funding is allocated to school districts on a per student basis). The East Valley Tribune echoes all the consequences of these events but does so under the perspective of the English-speaking student population. Since ELLs must be placed (per state law) in their own self-contained classrooms, the reduction in the teacher force has had the unintentional consequence of increasing class size in the non-ELL classrooms. The East Valley Tribune made a distinct effort to show that native-English speakers are at a disadvantage when compared to ELLs in regard to class size. The distress caused by the restrictive immigration policies to ELLs is not mentioned in the article. Additionally, the East Valley Tribune presents native-English speakers as native born and U.S. citizens (a redundancy), attributes that are not unique to this group of the student population. ELLs may also be native born, U.S. citizens. All this reveals an ideology based on the supremacy of the rights of native-English speakers over non-native English speakers.

Placement of students in the SEI program is made after the students have been deemed not proficient on the state test knows as AZELLA. The factor determining whether to administer the AZELLA to students at the time of their enrollment is the responses given by their parents in the Primary Home Language Other Than English Survey (PHLOTE). The East Valley Tribune reported about Tom Horne's decision to decrease the number of questions in this survey from three to one. The purpose of this decrease was to eliminate false positives in the identification of ELLs (even though the survey did not determine the

classification as ELL. The score on the AZELLA did). The consequence of the change was that immediately after the implementation a sharp decline in the enrollment of ELLs was noted. This was observed by officials of the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), a division of the federal Department of Justice. The East Valley Tribune informed about the investigation opened by the OCR. An analysis of the article showed a clear support for Horne's arguments: not only is Horne amply quoted, but the article fails to critique some troubling assertions from the state superintendent of public instruction in the sense that schools artificially inflated the number of ELLs to obtain more funds from the state department of education. Even though the central issue was the placement of language minority students in schools and the educational opportunities granted to them, the East Valley Tribune failed to present the point of view of the ELLS themselves and of the school administrators and teachers who work with ELLs. The ideology transmitted with the information was one that discarded the educational needs of ELLs in favor of the mainstreaming of ELLs without any specific educational services.

The same can be said of articles from the East Valley Tribune informing about the placement of ELLs in the 4-hour ELD block. Even though opposition to this educational program is shown from the voice of the attorney for the plaintiffs in the Flores case (Tom Hogan), the East Valley Tribune fails to critically analyze Tom Horne's arguments in favor of such a program. The one-size-fits-all approach mandated by the state legislature to educate ELLs was highly criticized among practitioners and in academia, yet the East Valley Tribune took at face

value Horne's arguments supporting it. This is revealing of an ideology that supports the segregation of ELLs from their native-English speaking peers in schools.

ELLs and social issues.

The third theme found under the hypothetical construct of the marginalization of ELLs was related to the place that these students occupy in society and in schools. Out of the six texts selected under this theme, five belonged to the East Valley Tribune, with the remaining one coming from The Arizona Republic. The analysis of these texts shows that the East Valley Tribune displays an ideology of assimilation of the immigrant population into the American society, implicitly discarding the ideas of integration and preservation the culture heritage of the immigrant community. The only values that must be preserved are those of the host community. There is also an implicit notion of separating students by reason of their residency status. The implied thought is that immigrant students should not have the same standing as students born in the United States.

Even though letters to the editor do not necessarily represent the views of the editorial board of a newspaper, the selection of certain letters and the rejection of others may provide hints that help ascertain the ideological positioning of a newspaper on a certain issue. The East Valley Tribune, for example, published a letter to the editor that demanded total assimilation of the immigrants and that negated the need to provide any kind of language assistance to individuals for whom English is not the first language. The ideology transmitted by the letter is

one of xenophobia and one in which languages other than English are perceived as problems that need to eliminated. In sum, the letter presented several ideologies that ran concurrent to each other: an assimilationist ideology combined with an ideology based on a xenophobic attitude and a hegemonic English-only overarching ideology.

ELLs and the No Child Left Behind Act.

The last of the themes included under the hypothetical construct of the marginalization of language minority students is related to the connection between ELLs and the NCLB Act. In particular, the study was interested in looking at the way that the newspapers reported about educational policies stemming from the NCLB that impacted ELLs. The totality of selected texts (12) under this theme originated in the East Valley Tribune.

Under the NCLB Act, schools must test at least 95% of the students in all the student sub-groups to determine whether each of these sub-groups is making academic progress as measured by the scores in standardized tests. Failing to test more than 5% of the students in each sub-group or not showing gains in any of the scores of any of the sub-groups has the consequence of delivering a failing label to the school. Arizona law requires that students be tested in English, including those who are not proficient in English. In consequence, for the ELL sub-group of the student population, attaining gains in standardized testing is extremely difficult, as students are tested in a language that in many cases they cannot comprehend.

The East Valley Tribune reported in several articles about the labels that schools received, including a description of how the label had been obtained. In each occasion, ELLs were mentioned as one of the factors causing the schools to receive a label of a failing school. The important point in this regard is that the newspaper showed an interest in informing the public about the label obtained by the school (failing) and why the label was such (ELLs) but did not made an attempt at explaining the issue of standardized testing under the point of view of the teachers and administrators who work with ELLs or under the point of view of ELLs themselves.

In sum, the East Valley Tribune showed an interest in reporting on issues related to ELLs and testing only when such testing had an impact on the label given to the school. The articles analyzed showed that the East Valley Tribune is concerned about the testing of ELLs only insofar as they are American citizens. The fact that ELLs are being tested in English, a language in which by definition they are not proficient, is not mentioned. This unveils an ideology connected to the hegemony of the English language and a disregard for the educational rights of language minority students.

Depiction of immigration issues in the newspapers.

The last of the research questions emerging from the analysis of the data sought to elucidate the salient themes in the newspapers under the broader topic of immigration. The interest in immigration issues arises from the connection between language minority students and the immigrant community. Even though part of the students classified as ELLs are not immigrants, the reality is that most

ELLs have a connection to the immigrant community, directly (as when the students are immigrants themselves) or indirectly (as is the case for second generation immigrants or students with relatives who are immigrants).

Of the three newspapers that were object of the study, La Prensa Hispana was the one containing the most texts revolving around the issue of immigration. The readership of this newspaper is comprised almost exclusively of Spanish-speaking individuals who, in most cases, have an interest in matters related to immigration. La Prensa Hispana allocated much of its contents to inform about issues of interest to immigrants. This includes the editorial pages, where most of the articles deal with immigration (editorials, op-eds, and columns).

Of the six themes found under the hypothetical construct of immigration, the most salient dealt with the marginalization of the immigrant population, with 221 texts (52%). Following this theme, the second in the frequency of texts selected for analysis was related to issues connected with the basic rights of the immigrant population. In this case 134 texts were selected (32%). Smaller in frequency but revealing of the ideologies of the newspapers where they were found, the remaining themes were: Immigration as a problem, with 21 texts (5%); assimilation, with 18 texts (4%); DREAM Act, with 16 texts (4%); and strain in the community, with 12 texts (3%).

A breakdown by newspapers show that almost half of the selected texts, 202, were taken from La Prensa Hispana (48%). The Arizona Republic published 94 of the selected texts for this hypothetical construct (22%), with the remaining

26 coming from the East Valley Tribune (6%). See Table A6 for a complete breakdown of the data.

The DREAM Act.

One of the themes found in the analysis of news articles related to immigration was connected to the DREAM Act, the federal legislation whose acronym corresponds to the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act. This piece of legislation has been in the works for over ten years but has not been able to garner sufficient support among members of Congress to pass as of this date. The most significant points of this law is that it would provide a pathway to citizenship to immigrant students provided that a particular set of requirements are met, such as graduation from an American institution of secondary education and a continuous stay in the United States of at least five years. All 16 texts selected under this theme belonged to The Arizona Republic, which showed complete support of the proposed law. The newspaper, using arguments connected to pragmatic reasons and ethical concerns, expressed its ideology in support of the legalization of the student segment of the immigrant population. The notion of humanitarianism was found in most of the articles supporting the DREAM Act. The articles acknowledged the identification of the immigrant children with the United States, using terms that appealed to the emotions of the readers to collect support for this law (i.e. homeland, allegiance to the flag). In an effort to amass support even from readers not inclined to view immigrants under a favorable light, The Arizona Republic also included

arguments connected to the economic benefits of passing the DREAM Act (adding a pool of skilled workers to the American economy).

The restriction of the basic rights of immigrants.

The theme dealing with the restriction of the basic rights of immigrants included 84 texts from La Prensa Hispana (63%), 41 from The Arizona Republic (30%), and nine from the East Valley Tribune (7%). The analysis of texts falling under this theme was geared toward analyzing how the newspapers reported about instances where the basic rights of immigrants had been curtailed by policies or actions of the institutions.

The East Valley Tribune provided an example of an instance in which the basic rights of immigrant children, the right to a free public education, were censured by a teacher who wrote a letter to the editor. The letter showed opposition to the presence of undocumented children in schools and placed the blame for the schools' academic performance on the presence of these students. The ideology displayed by the letter is one of intolerance against immigrants.

La Prensa Hispana, however, shows a much different approach to the issue of basic rights. Taking the point of view of the immigrants, La Prensa Hispana places these individuals as the recipients of unjust policies that cause fear and anxiety. This is combined with a consistent feeling of vulnerability. It is evident in how La Prensa Hispana reports about border crossings. Whereas the English-speaking press usually takes the perspective of law enforcement and considers American society as the victim of these crossings, La Prensa Hispana centers its attention in the victimization of those crossing the border illegally.

Fear, anxiety, vulnerability, victimization, and hopelessness are feelings that emanate from many of the articles published by La Prensa Hispana. The latter, the sense of hopelessness, is apparent when the newspaper discusses the enactment of immigration policies by the state of Arizona. For this newspaper, this is an usurpation of the federal power to regulate matters of immigration. Another point in which La Prensa Hispana displays a feeling of hopelessness comes from the lack of advocacy among the political class in favor of the immigrant community. This feeling is compounded by the idea that the immigrant community is a fundamental component in the economic development of the state.

La Prensa Hispana criticizes the attrition by enforcement approach followed by the state institutions (legislature, law enforcement, and executive power) and despairs at the fact that these institutions choose this way to deal with the immigration issue rather than trying to find the root of the problem. Pessimism and dejection is the tone of much of the contents of La Prensa Hispana that report about immigration matters. The illustration included in figures 1 through 6 show the mood of the newspaper in relation to immigration. Overall, the texts found in La Prensa Hispana show an ideology of respect to the basic human rights of the immigrant population based mostly on reasons connected to the inalienability of these rights.

The Arizona Republic also maintains a position contrary to the restrictive policies affecting the basic rights of the immigrant population. However, the motivation for the opposition varies and, whereas La Prensa Hispana supports its

arguments on the inalienable rights of immigrants, The Arizona Republic uses arguments tied to the economic development of the state. This newspaper also maintains the stance (like La Prensa Hispana) that individual states have no right the regulate matters of immigration and citizenship, powers that fall within the sphere of the federal government. In addition to economic reasons and the unconstitutionality of the regulations issued by the states in matters of immigration and citizenship, The Arizona Republic cites potential legal obstacles to implement the restrictive measures and the failure to develop these restrictive measures into a coherent legal discourse.

The approach taken by the editorial board of The Arizona Republic differs from the perspective adopted by some writers in op-eds of this same newspaper. One of these op-eds, signed by faculty of The University of Arizona, mentions arguments connected to the concepts of equity and fairness and puts the basic rights and needs of immigrants in the foreground of the debate over immigration.

However, taking the selected texts for this theme as a whole, there is a clear attempt by The Arizona Republic to criticize the efforts of some individuals running for public office to make political gains by attacking the immigrant community. The newspaper acknowledges that these efforts are geared toward ensuring the vote of a mostly conservative electoral base in Arizona. The ideology presented by The Arizona Republic in connection to the basic rights of the immigrant population is one of protection of such rights based mostly on pragmatic reasons dealing with the economic interests of the state of Arizona.

Immigrants present a strain in the resources of the community.

The third theme found under the hypothetical construct of immigration dealt with the representation of immigrants as a strain for the community. Five texts were selected under this theme for each of the two English-language newspapers and two texts were found in La Prensa Hispana.

As explained previously, the East Valley Tribune presents an ideological stance that portrays immigrants as a financial strain to the community. This can be seen in news articles that provide readers with complex calculations of the cost of educating not only immigrant children but also the United States-born children of immigrants. Also, an analysis of the articles informing about the different developments of the Flores case shows that the East Valley Tribune places a far greater interest in the financial ramifications of the lawsuit than in issues of equanimity and fairness, which are not even discussed. In one instance in which an editorial piece affirmed the need to educate non-English speaking children, the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune based its position on the need to have these children eventually occupy taxpaying jobs, rather than becoming a burden on taxpayers. The editorial board also affirms the supremacy of the English-only methods over bilingual education to educate language minority students. The newspaper goes to the extent of affirming that the debate over the educational model for ELLs is the consequence of the impossibility of deporting undocumented immigrants. The ideology underlying the article (which superficially appears to be one favorable to the education of ELLs) is connected to the hegemonic position of the English language. Also, an ideology of

dominance of the host community over the immigrant population can be perceived (the desire to mandate the educational program used to educate the children of immigrants). Finally, an ideology based on the primacy of financial considerations over notions of equanimity can also be inferred.

The approach shown by La Prensa Hispana is radically different. In numerous editorial pieces the idea that immigrants contribute to the greatest extent in the economic development of the state is present. The notion that immigrants do not pay taxes is denied (for both documented and undocumented immigrants). Other notions commonly held among the public are also countered. These include the notion that immigrants are to blame for the loss jobs among Americans and the notion that immigrants have access to public benefits to the same extent as American citizens. The ideology displayed by La Prensa Hispana in connection to the belief that immigrants cause a strain in the financial resources of Arizona is one of rejection and, instead, affirmation of the contributions of the immigrant community.

The texts selected from The Arizona Republic belong in their totality to the category of letters to the editors. All the letters transmit an ideology of opposition to the use of public funds to educate language minority students. The reasons for this rejection are based on the notion that no special accommodations are needed and on the idea that the recipients (ELLs) are not American citizens.

The assimilation of the immigrant population.

Another important theme located under the broad subject of immigration is the issue of the assimilation of the immigrant population into the American

society. The vast majority (17 out of 18) texts were found in the pages of La Prensa Hispana, with the remaining text coming from The Arizona Republic.

As stated in the previous chapter, La Prensa Hispana shows in several editorial pieces an interest in educating its readers about the elements of assimilation into the American society. These elements are such as learning the English language, respect to the laws of the land, regard for the right of others to a peaceful life, and so on. However, at the same time that these recommendations are given, the editorial board supports the maintenance of the heritage culture, including the customs and language. Also, several editorial pieces were found in which a call to caution was made from La Prensa Hispana to the immigrant community. These warnings came in the aftermath of the implementation of a new wave of restrictive measures directed against the immigrant community and in the midst of the well-publicized immigration raids conducted by Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio.

In sum, La Prensa Hispana calls for caution, asks immigrants to respect the laws and customs of the United States, and maintains a position in favor of protecting the heritage culture in all its manifestations. This points to an ideology of integration in the American society. At the same time, La Prensa Hispana offers its own concept of the American Dream, one that is based on the assumption that the departure from the native land is caused by the desire to survive. In other words, the phenomenon of immigration is explained by this newspaper as one dependent upon the need to sustain oneself and one's family, rather than as a matter of choice. For La Prensa Hispana there is no choice.

This newspaper also rejects the commonly held belief that immigrants show little or no desire to assimilate. One of the myths on which this idea is based is the notion that immigrants refuse to learn English. La Prensa Hispana, in an op-ed, debunks this notion by citing data from the Center for Research on Immigration Population and Public Policy at the University of California, which showed how second and third generation immigrants are fluent English speakers.

The only text selected under this theme from The Arizona Republic supports the idea presented in the pages of La Prensa Hispana in the sense that there is a desire for assimilation among the immigrant school-age population. An editorial piece from this newspaper affirms that the process of acculturation among immigrant children is strong and obvious.

The marginalization of immigrants.

The theme termed marginalization of immigrants included 221 texts. Of these, 188 (84%) were selected from the pages of La Prensa Hispana. The Arizona Republic was the origin of 28 texts (13%). The remaining 5 texts (3%) belonged to the East Valley Tribune.

Drawing a parallel with the theme of the marginalization of language minority students, the purpose of looking for texts that expressed instances of marginalization of the immigrant population was to check if there were any differences in the way that news events reporting about instances of marginalization were transmitted to the public and also to check whether instances of marginalization were created by the newspapers themselves by way of the manner in which they formulated the news reporting.

The East Valley Tribune was scarce in its representation of instances of marginalization by the immigrant community. An instance was found, nevertheless, in which the newspaper quoted the feeling of marginalization that immigrants sensed as a new battery of anti-immigration measures was approved in Arizona. This newspaper also reported about feelings of inadequacy that immigrant students may feel when immigration policies affect their families.

The Arizona Republic, in an op-ed piece that identified immigrants with non-U.S. citizens created an instance of marginalization based on the fact that the two terms are not mutually excluding: An individual can be at the same time an immigrant (someone whose origin is in another country) an American citizen. The same op-ed piece makes a second identification, this time between ELLs and children of undocumented immigrants. The academic status provided by the score on the state English test (AZELLA) does not imply in any way that the parents of the holders of this academic status are undocumented children. Making this assumption, as the op-ed piece published by The Arizona Republic made, is a clear instance of marginalization of the ELL population. These texts showcase an instance in which the marginalization is not caused at the origin of the news event but rather this marginalization is a consequence of the way in which the newspaper transmits the news to the public.

Articles found in The Arizona Republic also show that this newspaper is aware of the marginalization of the immigrant population. The editorial pages take a stance against this marginalization using reasons connected to the negative effect that the anti-immigrant measures have on the state. The shaping of public

opinion caused by the declarations of public figures that clearly marginalized immigrants is not mentioned (Governor Brewer's assertions -later dismissed by herself- that headless bodies had been found in the desert). In other cases, the newspaper shows a concern not for the immigrant population but rather for the Latino population of the state, disregarding in this way those not born in the United States.

La Prensa Hispana takes a different approach, denouncing attempts at marginalizing the immigrant population. Recent news events show the difference in how these news events are reported. With the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the terrorist attacks on American soil, news outlets across the country focused their information on the effects of those attacks on the victims and their families. La Prensa Hispana, however, focused on the effects that the attacks had on the immigrant population and their civil rights, which were greatly curtailed as a consequence of the legislation passed to exert greater control over the homeland security. This newspaper presented in its pages issues connected to the wave of xenophobia in the aftermath of the attacks, the rejection of visa applications for entry in the United States, and the consideration of immigrants as a risk for national security.

It is interesting to note that La Prensa Hispana also contains a certain element of self-blame in its pages. This self-blame for the marginalization of immigrants was found in several editorial pieces. These pieces affirm that Hispanic community is responsible for the increase in crimes. Also, the pieces blamed the Hispanic community for the lack of desire to assimilate to the

American society. This is a contradiction of the texts analyzed in the previous sub-section of this chapter which affirmed the desire of the immigrant community to assimilate. In the case of the texts coded under the theme of marginalization, however, there is a clear sense that Hispanics are responsible, at least in part, for the marginalization imposed upon immigrants.

However, most of the texts selected under this theme blamed outside forces for the marginalization of immigrants. These outside forces are represented by the immigration policies enacted by the state legislature and enforced by the law enforcement authorities, most notably Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio. However, in spite of the attempts at marginalizing the immigrant community, there is a sense of resilience being transmitted from the editorial pages of La Prensa Hispana, which maintains that immigrants will continue fighting for their survival.

Immigration is a problem.

The last theme found under the hypothetical construct of immigration dealt with the perception of immigration as a problem. Out of the 21 texts selected for this theme, 11 (52%) belonged to La Prensa Hispana, seven to the East Valley Tribune (33%), and three to The Arizona Republic (14%).

In some cases, the newspapers served as an outlet to the perception of immigration as a problem. This was the case in an article published by the East Valley Tribune in which it was affirmed (quoting an immigration expert) that there is no solution to the immigration phenomenon. The use of a simile (immigration is like traffic) also suggested the undesirability of immigration.

The East Valley Tribune also served as an outlet for the portrayal of immigration as a problem when it informed about a group of county sheriffs' intentions to demand that schools reported on the number of undocumented students on their rosters. This is also evident when state senator Russell Pierce was quoted affirming his opposition to funding of ELLs programs based on the undocumented status of ELLs.

In other occasions, the source of the portrayal of immigration as a problem happened at the level of the newspaper. This was the case when the editorial board of the East Valley Tribune called for minimal funding of programs for ELLs and linked this group of the student population to the issue of illegal immigration.

La Prensa Hispana, however, presents immigration in a favorable light. The point of view of this newspaper is that even though some people within the immigrant community are troublesome, the majority of immigrants are honest, hard working individuals. By denouncing the criminal acts of the undesirable elements of the immigrant community, La Prensa Hispana makes a case for the positive value of the rest of immigrants.

The Arizona Republic's selected three texts for the theme of immigration as a problem include two letters to the editor, both protesting against the presence of undocumented immigrants in the schools, an editorial piece in which the newspaper objected to the politics of confrontation favored by the state's political class against the immigrant population. In this case, The Arizona Republic showed its opposition to the portrayal of immigration as a problem citing two

specific examples: the instance in which a letter supposedly written by a teacher complaining about Latino students was read on the floor of the state senate and the characterization of Latino protesters as a thuggish mob by the superintendent of public instruction, Tom Horne. These objections show an ideological stance based on the defense of the immigrant population.

Summary and Conclusion

The importance of the media in the shaping of public opinion is well documented in the academic literature (Husband, 2000; van Dijk, 1988a, 2005). The relative importance of newspapers in particular has shifted as new forms of media revolving around the internet have appeared. Also, the traditional newspaper readership has seen a decline in favor of online newspapers, some affiliated with their paper counterparts and some with other new outlets of mass communication. However, overall readership data show that traditional newspapers (in either their paper or digital format) still hold a considerable audience.

Previous studies have concluded that media discourse in one of the main sources of attitudes and ideologies for ordinary citizens (van Dijk, 2000). This study adopted a definition of ideology based on van Dijk's notion of this term: "the basic and general, that is, shared, socio-cognitive system of a group, culture or society" (1991, p. 36). The study also accepted Fairclough's notion of ideological discourse. For Fairclough, discourse is ideological if and when it contributes to the existence of power relations (1992).

The following ideologies were identified for each of the three newspapers:

East Valley Tribune

1. Opposition to the funding of ELL programs: Programs for ELLs should not receive additional funds.

2. Opposition to the presence of immigrant students in schools: The presence of both documented and undocumented immigrants in schools is rejected.

3. Hegemonic position of the English language and rejection to the presence of other languages in schools: English must be the only language used in schools.

4. Support to the segregation of ELLs: Endorsement of the 4-hour ELD block that separates ELLs from their English-speaking peers for most of the school day.

5. Belligerent stance toward the immigrant community, including the demand for assimilation: Support to limiting the civil rights of immigrants and demand for the immigrant population to assimilate.

The Arizona Republic

1. Defense of the rights of immigrant children to receive a free public education, regardless of residency status: Support to the idea that residency status must not have an impact of whether immigrant students receive a free public education.

2. Support of the legalization of the student segment of the immigrant population: Backing of the DREAM Act.

3. Respect to the protection of the basic rights of immigrants based mostly on pragmatic reasons (economic interests of Arizona): Support to the protection of the fundamental civil rights of immigrants as individuals. This support is reasoned mostly based on the well-being of the state of Arizona.

Prensa Hispana

1. Respect to the basic human rights of the immigrant population based on the inalienability of these rights: Immigrants must enjoy their basic human rights by reason of the inalienable nature of these rights.

2. Rejection of the idea that immigrants cause a strain in the financial resources of Arizona: Dismissal of the consideration of immigrants as a hindrance.

3. Support to the idea of integration in American society: rather than assimilating themselves into American society, immigrants must have the choice to integrate themselves.

Relevance of the Study

This study attempted to capture the ideologies present in the three selected newspapers by using a critical theory framework and a CDA approach. The analysis of the data has shown that the discourse of the newspapers is indeed ideological and that the ideologies expressed by the newspapers are specific and recognizable. Significant differences in terms of ideological positioning were identified between the two English-speaking newspapers and also between the East Valley Tribune and Prensa Hispana.

Implications for Further Research

Once the precise ideologies of the newspapers have been established, the question of how these ideologies affect public opinion remains to be answered. Additional qualitative studies regarding the effects of the newspapers on the public of Arizona are needed to determine the extent to which the ideologies portrayed by the newspapers have an impact on public attitudes. While this study focuses on three specific newspapers, the study of other forms of mass media such as the television, the radio, and the internet would also help elucidate the question of the quantitative and qualitative significance of the media in the formation of public opinion.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table A1

Language, Circulation, and Ownership for the three newspapers

Newspaper	Language	Circulation	Owner
The Arizona Republic	English	337,170	Gannet Company
East Valley Tribune	English	97,573	10/13 Communi.
La Prensa Hispana	Spanish	64,925	Manny García

Table A2

Count of Articles Collected by Year and Newspaper

	The Arizona Republic	East Valley Tribune	La Prensa Hispana	Total
2006	27	27	0	54
2007	43	24	53	120
2008	26	38	31	95
2009	13	18	37	68
2010	56	17	36	109
2011	40	20	29	89
Total	205	144	186	535

Table A3

Themes and Hypothetical Constructs

I. Characterization of ELLs in the newspapers

A. Headlines that distort the message

B. The financial cost of educating ELLs

C. Lack of a balanced view on an issue

D. Predisposing readers in a certain direction

E. Academic achievement

II. Marginalization of ELLs

A. The disenfranchisement of ELLs

B. The academic placement of ELLs in schools

C. ELLs and social issues

D. ELLs and the NCLB Act

III. Depiction of immigration issues in the newspapers

A. The DREAM Act

B. The restrictions of the rights of immigrants

C. The strain in resources that immigrants cause in the community

D. The assimilation of immigrants

E. The marginalization of immigrants

F. The portrayal of immigration as a problem Table A4

Table A4

Count of Quotes for the Hypothetical construct Characterization of News Related to ELLs.

	The Arizona Republic	East Valley Tribune	La Prensa Hispana	Total
Headlines	0	7	0	7
Cost	2	4	0	6
No Counterbalance	0	29	0	29
Leading	14	40	0	54
Academic Achievement	1	6	0	7
Total	17	86	0	103

Table A5

Count of Quotes for the Hypothetical construct Marginalization of English Learners.

	The Arizona Republic	East Valley Tribune	La Prensa Hispana	Total
Disenfranchisement	20	3	1	24
Placement in SEI program	0	10	0	10
Social Issues	5	1	0	6
The NCLB Act	0	12	0	12
Total	25	26	1	52

Table A6

Count of Quotes for the Hypothetical construct Immigration Issues in the Newspapers.

	The Arizona Republic	East Valley Tribune	La Prensa Hispana	Total
DREAM Act	16	0	0	16
Basic rights	41	9	84	134
Strain in the community	5	5	2	12
Assimilation	1	0	17	18
Marginalization	28	5	188	221
Immigration as problem	3	7	11	21
Total	94	26	202	422

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

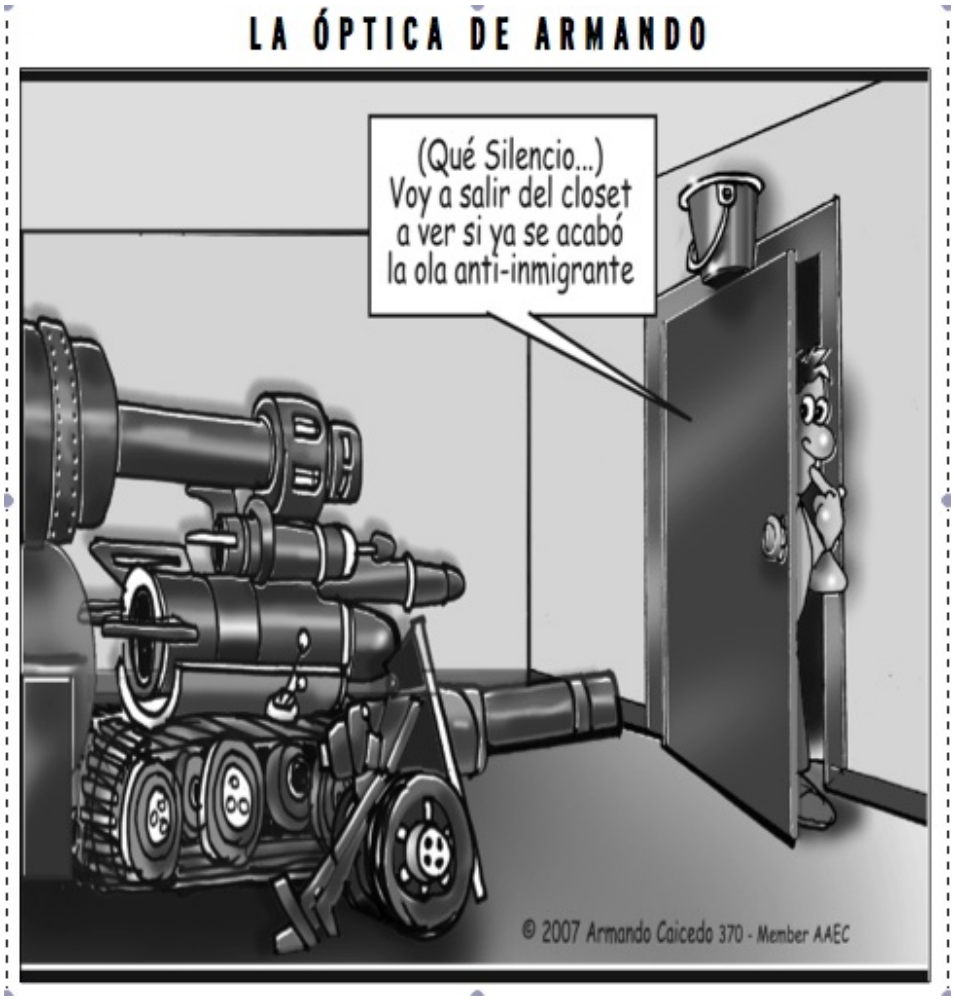


Figure B1. Illustration from La Prensa Hispana, August 1, 2007. The English translation of the speech balloon is “what silence... I’m going to come out of the closet to see if the anti-immigrant wave is over.”

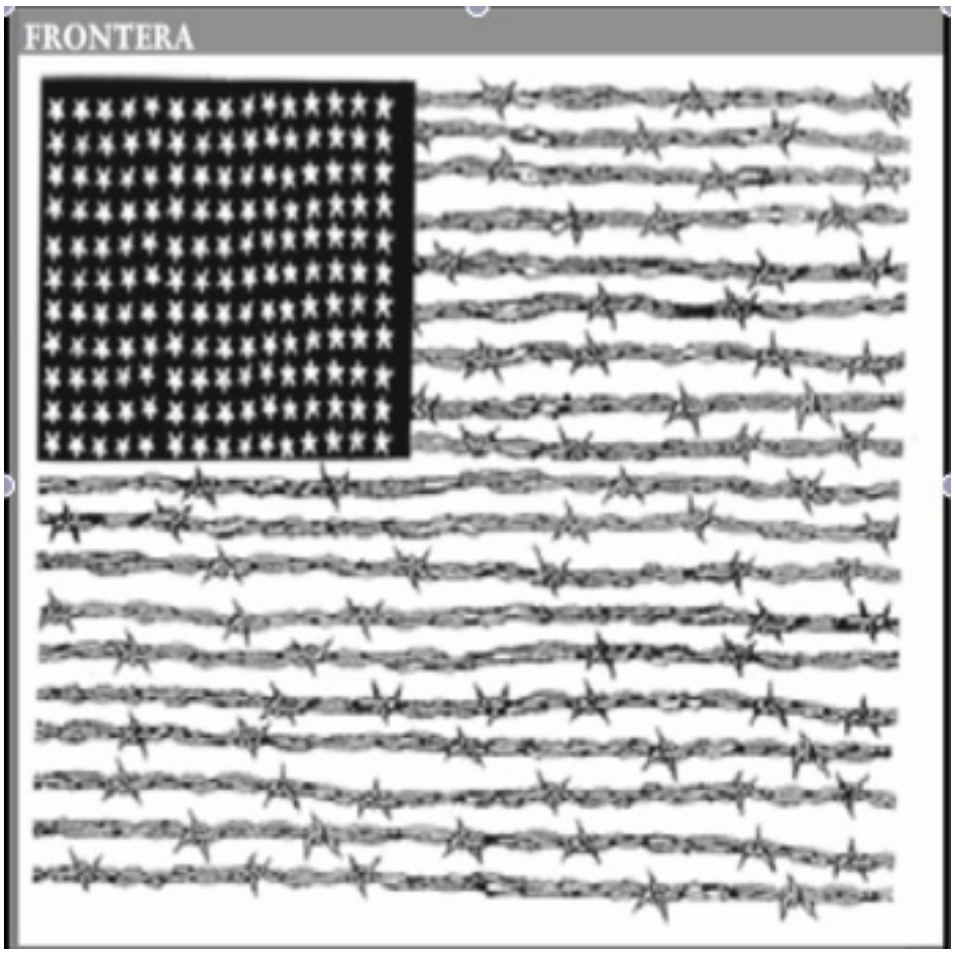


Figure B2. Illustration from La Prensa Hispana, January 16, 2008.



Figure B3. Illustration from La Prensa Hispana, June 23, 2010.



Figure B4. Illustration from La Prensa Hispana, August 8, 2007. The English translation of the speech balloon is “those who work with false documentation still have two outs.”



Figure B5. Illustration from La Prensa Hispana, May 16, 2007. The English translation of the speech balloon is “Will they leave us hanging this year again?”

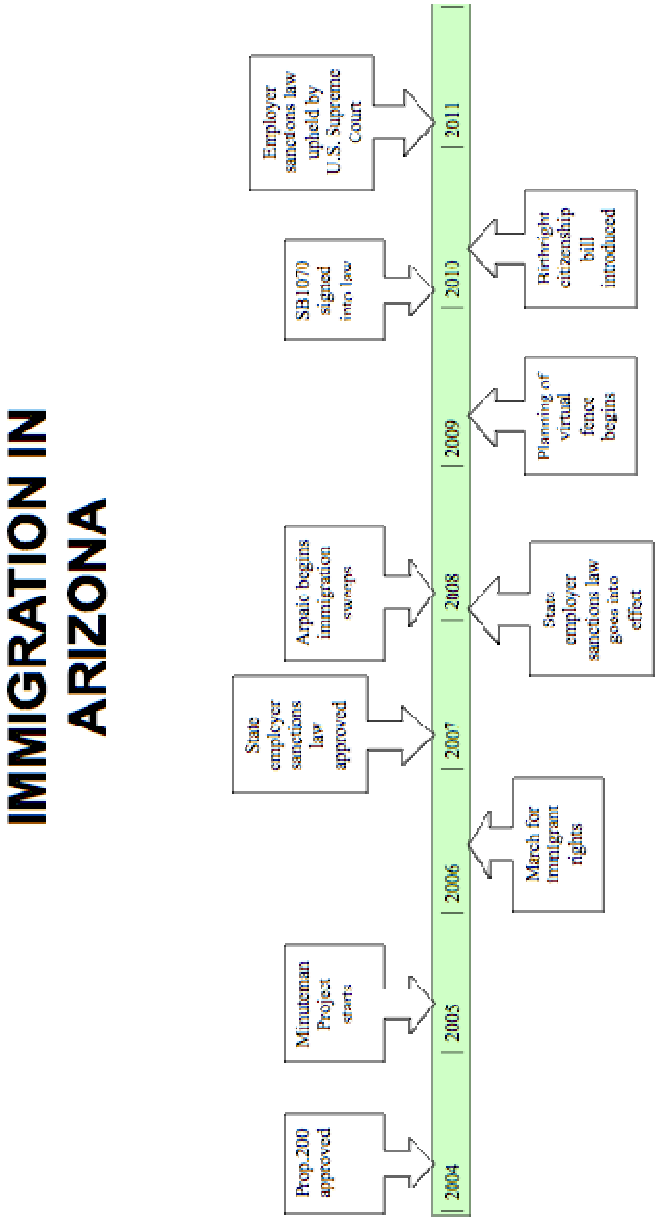


Figure B6. Immigration timeline in Arizona.

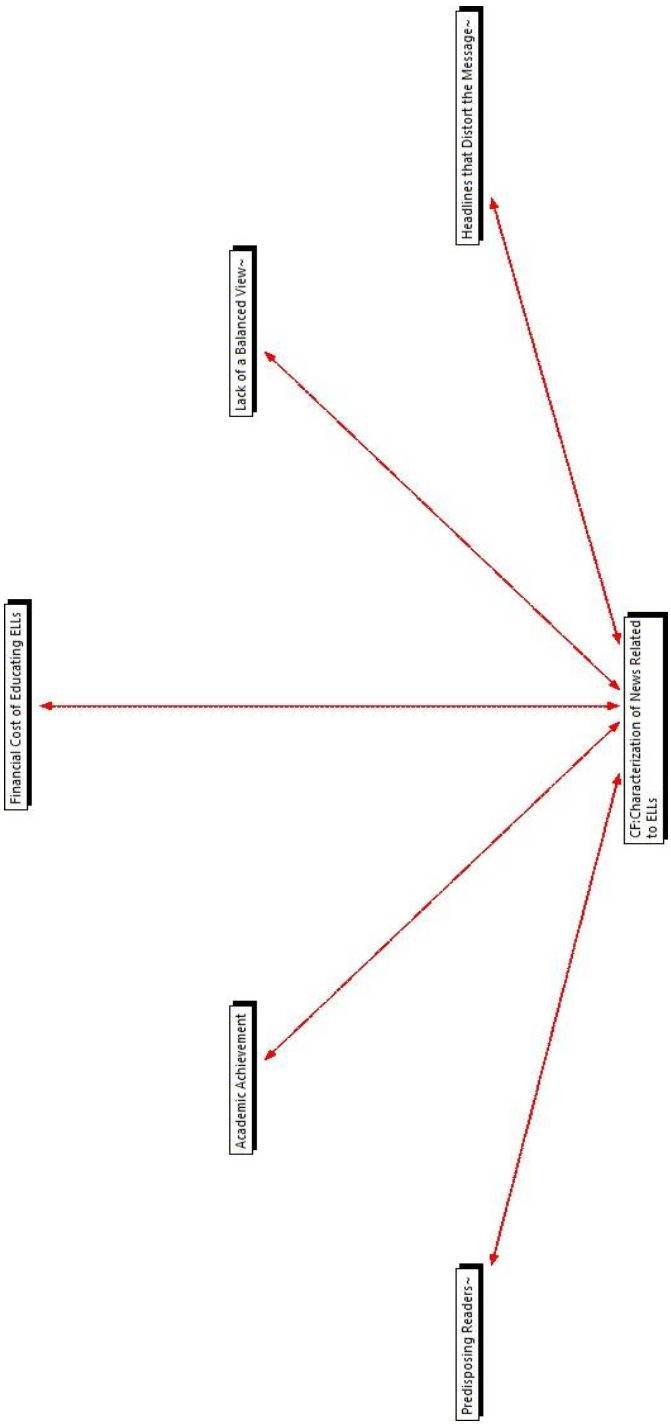


Figure B7. Network view of the hypothetical construct misrepresentation of news related to ELLs and its themes.

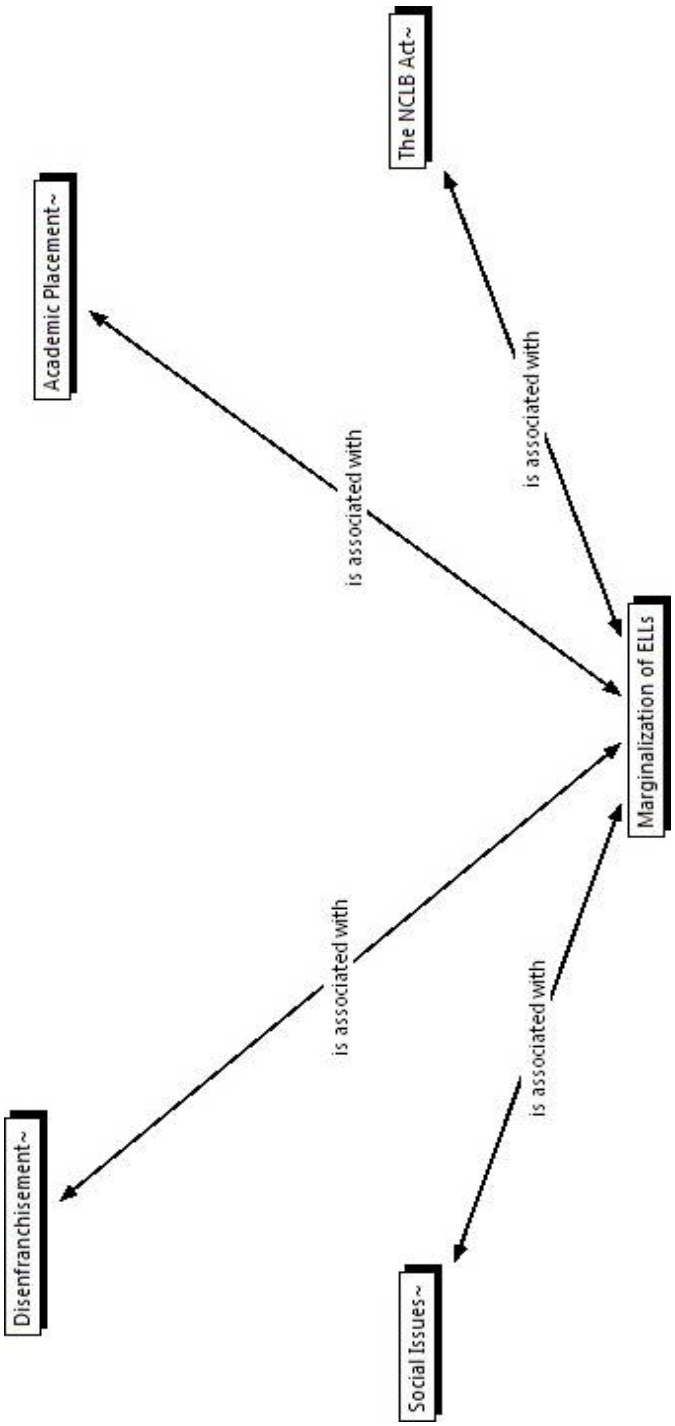


Figure B8. Network view of the hypothetical construct Marginalization of English language learners and its themes.

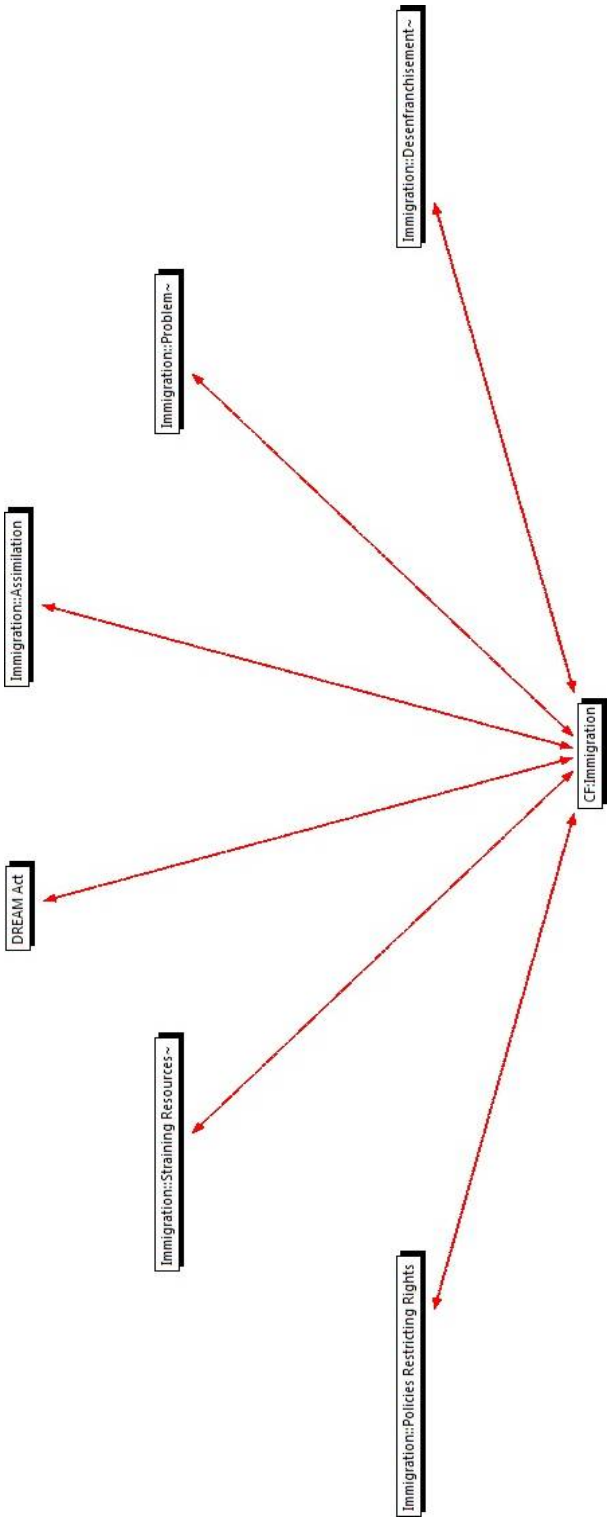


Figure B9. Network view of the hypothetical construct immigration and its themes.

APPENDIX C

DEFINITIONS

"AZELLA" means Arizona English Language Learner Assessment. The AZELLA is used to determine the English language proficiency of Arizona K-12 students whose primary home language is other than English. AZELLA results include a composite proficiency level score, which is a composite of all of the subtest scores, and also separate subtest scores, i.e., Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Total Writing (Writing Conventions and Writing combined). The AZELLA also includes an oral language score, which combines listening and speaking subtest scores, and a comprehension score, which combines listening and reading subtest scores. Sub-level scores for grouping purposes are Oral Language, Reading, and Total Writing. (See A.R.S. §15-756.B)

"ELD" means English language development, the teaching of English language skills to students who are in the process of learning English. It is distinguished from other types of instruction, e.g., math, science, or social science, in that the content of ELD emphasizes the English language itself. ELD instruction focuses on phonology (pronunciation – the sound system of a language), morphology (the internal structure and forms of words), syntax (English word order rules), lexicon (vocabulary), and semantics (how to use English in different situations and contexts).

"Hour" (for purpose of 4 hours of ELD) means a normal classroom period structured to facilitate class scheduling on an hourly cycle, such as 55 minutes of class time and 5 minutes of transit time.

"Discrete Skills Inventory" means the specific teaching/learning objectives derived from the Arizona K- 12 English Language Learner Proficiency Standards approved by the Arizona State Board of Education (SBE), January 26, 2004, and refined as needed to remain synchronized with the Arizona K-12 Academic English Language Arts Standards.

"English Language Learners" mean K-12 PHLOTE students who do not obtain a composite proficiency level of "proficient" score on the AZELLA regardless of their tenure as English Language Learners.

"PHLOTE" means primary home language other than English and is determined by a home language survey and on the enrollment form completed by parents upon enrollment. PHLOTE students are administered the AZELLA to determine the level of their English language proficiency and their correct placement in classes. (A.R.S. §15-756.A)

"Proficiency Level" means the level of English language proficiency of a PHLOTE student, as determined by the AZELLA. The AZELLA proficiency levels are: (1) Pre-Emergent; (2) Emergent; (3) Basic; (4) Intermediate; and, (5) Proficient. A PHLOTE student whose composite AZELLA score is Proficient is not classified as an ELL and is not placed in an SEI Classroom.

"Structured English Immersion Models" means the models described herein. (A.R.S. § 15-756.01)

"Structured English Immersion Classroom" means a classroom in which all of the students are limited English proficient as determined by composite AZELLA scores of Pre-Emergent, Emergent, Basic, or Intermediate. The purpose of the classroom is to provide four hours of daily ELD instruction, as described in the definition of "ELD" in this section, in the manner prescribed herein.

"Structured English Immersion Program" means an intensive English-language teaching program for non-proficient English speakers, as designated by the AZELLA, designed to accelerate the learning of the English language intended to comply with provisions of Title 15, Chapter 7, Article 3.1, A.R.S. This program provides only ELD, as described in the definition of "ELD" in this section.

Source: Structured English Immersion Models of the Arizona English Language Learners Task Force, found on November 9, 2011 at http://www.azed.gov/wp-content/uploads/PDF/SEIModels05-14-08.pdf

APPENDIX D

CODES

Bilingual Ed::Against
Bilingual Ed::Description
Bilingual Ed::In Favor
Borders
DREAM Act
ELLs::Academic Achievement
ELLs::Advocates
ELLs::Association with Disabled Students
ELLs::At-Risk Group
ELLs::Disenfranchisement
ELLs::Enrollment
ELLs::Misclasification/Misplacement
ELLs::NCLB
ELLs::Social Issues
English-Only Laws
Ethnic Studies
Flores Case
Funding
Guns
Immersion::Critique
Immersion::Outcomes
Immersion::Rationale
Immersion:In Favor
Immigration::Assimilation
Immigration::Basic Rights
Immigration::Demographic Trends
Immigration::Desenfranchisement
Immigration::InFavor
Immigration::Policies Restricting Rights
Immigration::Problem
Immigration::Reform
Immigration::Status
Immigration::Straining Resources
Metaphor
Misrepresentation::Concern is money
Misrepresentation::Headlines
Misrepresentation::lack of counterbalance
Misrepresentation::Leading
Opposing Anti-Immigration Laws
Parents::Choice

Parents::Participation
Politics
Professional Development
Program::Critique
Program::Description
Program::Expansion
Prop 203
Referendum::Description
Research
SB1070
SEI::Against
SEI::In Favor
SEI::Segregation
Testing::Critique
Testing::Placement
Testing::Proficiency