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AN IMMIGRANT, NOT A WORKER: DEPICTION OF THE 2006 'DAY WITHOUT AN IMMIGRANT' PROTESTS IN PRINTED MEDIA OF THE UNITED STATES

TEAL ROTHSCHILD

News media, pro-immigrant organizations, and anti-immigrant organizations writing about the Day Without an Immigrant (DWI) Protests within the year of the 2006 protests are analyzed in order to understand narratives on labor activism of documented and undocumented immigrants in the United States. DWI protests marked an anticipated 'turning point' in collective action among immigrant workers in the United States. Content analysis was employed to ascertain the portrayal of the protesters by a variety of print media sources. Both univariate and multivariate procedures utilized find that charged rhetoric of racialized anti-immigrant sentiment is present in most sources regardless of the 'political leaning' of the press, reaffirming the status of 'other' to both documented and undocumented migrants in the United States in the present day. Protesters ultimately were not seen as workers, but solely as immigrants. The findings illustrate the continued marginalization and racialization of more recent immigrant workers in the United States.

Keywords: immigrant, racialization, anti-immigrant sentiment, press, worker

Starting in the 1970s, the United States experienced a sharp rise in official and public sentiment in favor of boundary enforcement and immigration restriction in the United States.

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Operation Gatekeeper had its roots in the 1970s, cemented in the 1990s, and the leaders of INS were more likely to have military type backgrounds, rather than government backgrounds. Gatekeeper was not only a boundary-enforcement strategy, but a crystallization of a variety of temporal, social and spatial trends. According to Nevins, (2002) “The manner in which American society talks and writes about unauthorized immigration has changed significantly over the last several decades, entailing a growing emphasis on the legality of migrants. Through the 1930s, the categories employed to describe unauthorized immigrants were such that they differentiated largely between ‘legitimate’ and ‘illegitimate’ or ‘ineligible’ immigrants. The contemporary emphasis on ‘illegals’ is of a relatively recent origin” (p. 95-96). Ironically, given past recruitment of Mexican workers, as illustrated above, a period of hostility, largely directed towards undocumented Mexican immigrants, emerged in the early 2000s and it reached its apogee with the filing of HR 4437 by Representative James Sensenbrenner (R-WI) on December 6, 2005. On December 16th it passes the House of Representatives with a vote of 239 to 182, and the bill moved to the Senate. The bill died in the U.S. Senate by failing to reach the floor before the 109th Congress ended. The proposed legislation called for the construction of new border security fences along portions of the 2,000 mile United States-Mexico border, and if successful, HR4437 would have made living in the United States a felony for undocumented migrants.

POLITICS OF MIGRATION

Due to increases in globalization and the move in the United States from a domestic service economy, to a global transnational service economy, work itself and the movement of people has radically shifted. As an example, thousands of immigrant laborers get jobs on the curb at more than two hundred day-labor sites across Los Angeles every morning. This massive reorganization and re-conceptualization of immigration and work has led to a new set of issues in the United States that go beyond ‘the work’ and the ‘work place’: renewed racialization of immigrants, increase of anti-immigrant sentiment, and changing conceptions of nationality, home, family, and work. (Bacon, 2008). According to Driscoll, (1999):

The United States has always had a schizophrenic approach to immigration based on ‘race’ and ‘economic need’; we celebrate European immigration, while degrading that by people of color from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Yet, even toward those we denigrate, this varies across time by intensity. Sometimes, immigration, and especially illegal immigration, is tolerated, encouraged, or ignored, and sometimes it is met with considerable hostility. A pertinent historical example is the case of Mexican migration to the United States. The first bracero (day laborer) programs in the

1940s were guest worker programs that would permit migration of Mexicans into the United States under contracts, in order to relieve needing sectors in the United States. Mexican workers were intentionally sought after through mass media such as newspaper, radio, and through word of mouth. (p. 22).

THE DAY WITHOUT AN IMMIGRANT (DWI)

This work addresses: how were the protesters portrayed during Day Without an Immigrant protests?, how does political leaning/bias shape the portrayal of these protesters?, and finally, how do these findings shed light on current immigrant sentiment and racialization of Latinos in the United States? The response to HR 4437 by many immigrants and their supporters began almost immediately. Activists were starting to organize to create immigration reform for immigrant workers and their families. On February 14, 2006, one of the first protests erupted in Philadelphia with a walkout from restaurant workers. Fewer than 2000 people attended the protest, but it gained national attention (Ouellette, 2008). A few weeks later, more protests emerged in Chicago, urged on by local DJ's on Spanish language radio stations. (Ouellette, 2008) On March 10, 100,000 people gathered in Chicago's downtown city center (Ouellette 2008). In Los Angeles in February, many met to form a coalition in response to the anti-immigrant legislation. Soon afterwards, grassroots groups and members of clergy started to organize. They contacted the SEIU, whose membership of janitors and security guards include large numbers of newer immigrants. Some think that this brought credibility to protests. Email, phone, word of mouth, coverage in ethnic and mainstream news, and Spanish-language radio djs — got the word out. Leaders said that they had developed coalitions that would set aside differences among immigrant groups for what they regarded as an important galvanizing issue. The events started to have a snowball effect.

By Mid-march there was a more solidified mobilization among documented and undocumented immigrants and their supporters for rights of all immigrant workers. Specific coalitions were materializing and drawing connections with one another. On March 25, 2006 an estimated 500,000 people protested in Los Angeles, with hundreds and thousands of protesters in other cities in the United States. This morphed into the March 25 Coalition. The March 25, 2006 protests were noted for their peaceful nature. Groups such as the Latino Movement USA, Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, and the Coalition for Human Immigration Rights responded quickly (Ouellette, 2008). They were soon joined by regional and national organizations, advocating both work stoppages and consumer boycotts. On April 27th, the California State Senate approved a measure to endorse a statewide economic and educational boycott. Students were encouraged to stay in school.

The initial response of the boycott and strike provoked controversy as soon as it was

proposed. The L.A. major, Antonio Villaraigosa, (the first Mexican American mayor since the 19th century) called for children to attend school. He also urged protesters to carry American flags, and not flags of their home countries. This all laid the groundwork for the Day Without an Immigrant protests in May of 2006. President Bush urged immigrants not to boycott, and asked them to protest after work and on the weekend. Due to the centrality of California in the protests, Schwarzenegger said a boycott would 'hurt everyone'. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops offered Mass as an alternative to boycotting, and suggested that churches toll their bells in memory of immigrants who died trying to come to the U.S. The AFL-CIO also endorsed protests, saying that the HR 4437 "isn't the answer" to immigration issues.

The Federation for American Immigration Reform condemned the rallies. (Oullette 2008). Chung-Wha Hong, executive director of the New York Immigration Coalition was a prominent supporter and activist in this movement. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) took a cautious stand of discouraging truancy from school, and encouraging participants to get pre-approval from work. Many anti-war, left-wing, socialist and communist groups endorsed the boycott. The Act Now to Stop War and End Racism Coalition provided signs and mobilized supporters to attend demonstrations. The ACLU took no official stance.

The Great American Boycott: Day Without an Immigrant: El Gran Paro Estadounidense was a one day boycott of United States schools and businesses by documented and undocumented immigrant activists of mostly Latin American origin that took place on May 1, 2006. It was a one day strike, and intended social movement, but has morphed rather into collective action in fits and starts. This date was consciously chosen to coincide with May Day, International Workers Day observed as a national holiday in almost all countries except the United States; May Day globally celebrates workers and their struggles for a better world. The Day without an Immigrant (DWI) name is a reference to the 2004 political satire film: *A Day without a Mexican*. It is estimated that over 1 million people participated in the demonstrations. There were people in 39 of the 50 states that participated in DWI-related activities. High rates of absenteeism were reported in the LA School District. There were reported plant closings of Perdue Chicken and Tyson Foods, as well as other prominent companies. Across the United States, thousands of immigrants and their supporters attended protests and demonstrations — many wearing white to signify peace. Many also waved United States flags.

Some groups organized counter-demonstrations in various cities to coincide with the day's events. Some encouraged people to buy United States only goods. Southern California talk radio hosts John and Ken called for "The Great American Spend-a-Lot" Membership in the Minutemen Project increased due in part to the backlash from the protests. On May 3, the Minutemen embarked on a caravan across America in an effort to bring attention to

the need for border enforcement. Minutemen hosted rallies across the country starting 5/3 in LA. They also started to construct a six-foot high barbed wire fence along the border in Arizona, Minuteman founder, Jim Gilchrist "It's intimidation when a million people march down main streets in our major cities under the Mexican flag. This will backfire". The *You Don't Speak For Us* coalition was formed in response to the boycott, composed of Latinos who did not like protesters claiming they were speaking for all Latinos. According to Chavez, "Although U.S. flags could also be seen among the student protesters, there was an immediate and visceral response to the Mexican flags on radio talk shows and later among television pundits..."(p. 156).

IMMIGRANT SENTIMENT

Current psychological perspectives on sentiment include Pettigrew, Wagner, and Christ, (2007) who collectively question whether or not the predictors of anti-immigration attitudes are consistent across countries, or not, and argue they are similar. They also argue that anti-immigration attitudes also correlate with political conservatism and alienation, economic deprivation, and especially with authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and perceived collective threat. Despite the differences in histories of each country, there is a shared sentiment. They argued that shared sentiment is due to: the fact that the process of immigration invokes comparable cultural, political, and economic threats to the receiving nation. Secondly, anti-immigration sentiment correlates highly with inter-group prejudice, which is remarkably similar across nations. This is most helpful in unpacking the importance and/or lack of importance of actual source when deconstructing how the DWI protesters are portrayed. Sociologist Immanuel Ness enlarges the concept of sentiment to try to explain the development of social norms and social facts. The sentiment of people of the United States about immigration and immigrants more specifically, shapes the scholarship on attitudes towards immigrants in the present day. The May 2006 New York Times/CBS News Poll shows that 53% of Americans responded that "illegal immigrants mostly take the jobs Americans don't want." Research by George Borjas of Economics and Social Policy at Harvard, (2001) shows that the average United States resident's wealth is increased by less than 1% by illegal immigration. Although undocumented workers are seen as a threat to 'American's wallets', despite this perception, the scholarship illustrates that most people in the United States would not see any wage increases if undocumented workers disappeared. Opposition to immigration that becomes politically important is triggered by the presence of an immigrant community in conjunction with economic recession. It is aggravated by the degree to which the migrant community challenges the pre-eminence of the native community (Money 1997).

Anti-immigrant sentiment is highest when unemployment is highest, and vice-versa. Immigrant workers do not directly replace native workers. Instead the employers undermine established wage and working standards through industrial restructuring. This can take the form of union busting, relocation, outsourcing, the establishment of subsidiaries, or through the entrance of new capital and the creation of new firms (Ness, 2005). Immigrant social networks established through ascriptive ties derived from heritage and through labor market niches provide the basis for worker militancy by solidifying and intensifying solidarities at the workplace (Ness 2005). The attention to ‘facts’ here are helpful in alluding to the power of ‘myth’ in the construction of the immigrant as ‘the other’ — stealer of jobs. Much of the framing of newer immigrants, and the protesters in DWI more specifically that carry nativist tones originate from nativist movements vehemently opposed to accepting newer immigrants into the United States. Presently, the Minutemen are the most well-known and cohesive of the nativist groups. The Minutemen utilized media attention to help frame the distinction between ‘citizens’ and ‘aliens’ to shape public discourse on immigration and to push the U.S. House of Representatives to pass immigration reform proposals. (Chavez 2008).

METHODOLOGY

The conceptual content analysis focused on N= 159 articles with any mention of the DWI protests, found in 66 separate publications chosen for their mass readership and immediate coverage of the event. All sources were ‘mainstream’ in that they each are viewed as ‘legitimate’ press sources that distribute their journalism to a national audience. The selected articles are categorized into broad types: news sources, pro-immigrant articles, anti-immigrant articles, and labor articles. Institutes and Organizations that possessed a mission relevant to immigration and/or labor were also included. Appendix 1 lists the publication name, type of publication, and the number of articles retrieved from each publication. The media sources varied intentionally to ascertain whether or not the ‘position’ of the source shaped the portrayal of the documented and undocumented immigrant activists involved in the DWI protests.

The coding scheme was designed to capture both frequency of occurrence and thematic content related to DWI. The content issues include relevant data concerning the protests and perception of workers. This includes support for DWI, conservative sentiment, liberal sentiment, and viewing the protesters as workers. Appendix 2 lists the complete 23 content issues in the larger study. Appendix 3 includes the complete thematic concepts. These thematic concepts are standard concepts used when trying to detect tone, meaning, and relationships between concepts. Twelve of the 23 content issues and 2 (Ideal Type and Ought) of the 6 thematic concepts were tested here to determine how political leaning,

Figure 1: Correlations among variables in sample

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---------------------------|------|------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 1. DWI Workers | 1.00 | -.02 | -.01 | .43*** | -.31*** | -.38*** | .26** | .02 | -.14 | .08 | .04 | .01 |
| 2. Ought | | 1.00 | .45*** | -.11 | .02 | .02 | -.14 | -.12 | .03 | -.07 | -.02 | -.01 |
| 3. Ideal Value | | | 1.00 | .01 | -.09 | .03 | -.06 | -.21* | -.02 | -.20* | .05 | -.10 |
| 4. Support for DWI | | | | 1.00 | -.44*** | -.53*** | .49*** | -.06 | -.10 | .08 | .02 | -.06 |
| 5. Morality | | | | | 1.00 | .42*** | -.49*** | .15 | .47*** | .08 | .05 | .03 |
| 6. Conservative Sentiment | | | | | | 1.00 | -.30*** | .14 | .18* | -.08 | .07 | -.12 |
| 7. Liberal Sentiment | | | | | | | 1.00 | -.01 | -.19* | .14 | -.04 | -.01 |
| 8. Legal/Illegal | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .08 | .31*** | .04 | .33*** |
| 9. Welfare DWI | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .02 | -.13 | .04 |
| 10. Outsource/Global | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .23** | .16 |
| 11. Explicit: Local | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | -.04 |
| 12. Explicit: National | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 |

Note:

*p < .05

** p < .01; *** p < .001

perceived immigration status of protesters, and perception of the impact of the protests shaped each other. Attention to these variables and their relationship to one another sheds light on how the press is in fact presenting the protesters of DWI.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated in order to assess the relation between each of the twelve independent variables included for analysis in the current study (Figure 1). In order to further evaluate the significance of the variables on Support DWI separate ANOVA's were calculated. Significant main effects were found for Morality $F(22, 70) = 9.83$, $p < 0.000$, Conservative IM $F(53, 123) = 13.62$, $p < 0.00$, Liberal IM $F(36, 99) = 11.37$, $p < 0.00$, Welfare $F(6, 56) = 3.20$, $p < 0.05$, and DWI Workers $F(28, 44) = 19.93$, $p < 0.000$. There were no significant differences for Ought $F(2, 151) = 0.46$, $p = 0.76$, Ideal Value $F(2, 251) = 0.30$, $p = 0.88$, Legal $F(1, 101) = 0.21$, $p = 0.93$, Outsource Global $F(2, 114) = 0.70$, $p = 0.60$, Explicit Local $F(3, 66) = 1.69$, $p = 0.16$, and Explicit National $F(1, 37) = 0.61$, $p = 0.66$.

A linear regression analysis was conducted with Support DWI as the criterion variable. The significant variables from the univariate analysis were entered into the model.

Figure 2: Linear regression analysis on Support DWI

| | β | 95% CI |
|-----------------|---------|---------------|
| Morality | -0.21* | (-0.38,-0.31) |
| Conservative IM | -0.27** | (-0.31,-0.07) |
| Liberal IM | 0.22** | (0.05, 0.31) |
| Welfare DWI | 0.12 | (-0.03,0.33) |
| DWI Workers | 0.23** | (0.09,0.41) |

95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval (lower bound, upper bound)

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

The overall model was significant ($R^2 = 0.43$, $F(38,50) = 18.74$, $p < 0.000$). Support DWI was significantly associated with Morality, Conservative IM, Liberal IM, and DWI Workers (Figure 2). Welfare DWI which was significant in the univariate analysis was not a significant independent predictor of Support DWI.

The categories that showed correlations in relation to levels of support for DWI and its protesters include both the conceptual and thematic variables. The categories that showed significance are: *support of DWI*, *conservative rhetoric on immigration*, *liberal rhetoric on immigration*, *morality*, *welfare* (referring to welfare of ‘Americans’ due to protest), *outsourcing relevant to DWI*, *protesters viewed as workers*, and *explicit national relevant for DWI*.

DISCUSSION

Political Leaning of Press

This work sheds light on how anti-immigration sentiment is measured in the media. The independent predictors of DWI support illustrate the associations that are ‘fed to the public’ regarding immigration, across a variety of press publications. The political leaning of the press shows the expected correlation of support or disdain for the protests. The liberal press is more likely to present support of the protests, while more conservative press is more likely to show disdain for the protests. An interesting shared finding across the political spectrum of the press is the propensity to describe the protesters in terms that do not include ‘worker’. However, the content included in the Press category in contrast to the Institute category did differ significantly. The Institute category was more explicit in their pro or anti-immigrant stance, while the newspapers, regardless of political orientation, were more

implicit in their pro or anti-immigrant stance.

A protest that could objectively be described as a day ‘bread and butter’ strike, is instead viewed as a political protest involving ‘immigrants’ and ‘illegals’. The protesters are represented as agitators, disrupters, and aliens — not as legitimate workers. Despite the right-wing pundits assertion that ‘the left’ is ‘soft’ on immigrants, evidence here suggests that the mainstream press in America does not portray these protesters as ‘workers’ foremost. The media framing of the protest and protesters is generally consistent across all sources as an immigrant issue, not as a labor issue. These findings provide quantitative data supporting that political leaning of press source does not have an affect on what language is used to describe the immigrant protesters.

It was salient that there was a of lack presence of “labor” or “organized labor” in relation to DWI support. This provides more data for understanding how it is today that organized labor has not been successful, for a myriad of reasons, to organize collectively with immigrant workers.

Racialization of Immigrant Workers

The framing of the protesters as ‘immigrants’ rather than workers facilitates dehumanizing rhetoric, providing social distance between the act of contributing to the local and global economy as a worker and fostering the ideology of the invasion of ‘illegals’. The discursive turn is found in ‘illegal’ — the stripping of subject-hood and the claiming on an object or a concept for an entire group of people entering the United States in search of work. The virulent depiction of the protesters as ‘the other’ signifies that the organizations are not on opposite sides of the continuum as is expected, and that the dominant ideology of immigrant as ‘the other’ is so widespread, that it is a legitimate entity, and not a *fringe belief*, as has been previously understood.

Future research needs to ask *how* anti-immigrant sentiment shows up in the press, not if. conservative and liberal rhetoric are important to examine as part of the same process, if on different sides of the continuum. As evidence in this research, all politicized language is shaping anti-immigrant sentiment. More work is needed on how individuals and groups are affected by perceptions by immigrant activism across the social science disciplines. In terms of the representation of DWI protesters as workers, the lack of personhood across a wide spectrum of media publications is a defining factor is support of present links between dehumanization and discrimination. Finally, continued attention to how structural change shapes individual and group identity construction is needed. Future articles from this data set will explicitly examine the absence of organized labor in the DWI protests, ownership of activism among the activists, and identity construction of activists in the press.

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Appendix 1: The Publications Coded in the study

| Publication | Number of Articles | Source Category |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| CNN | 3 | News |
| World Socialist Web | 1 | News |
| The Economist | 35 | News |
| The New York Times | 24 | News |
| The Los Angeles Times | 1 | News |
| NPR | 10 | News |
| Boston.com | 1 | News |
| MSNBC | 1 | News |
| NBC4.com | 1 | News |
| Washington Post | 1 | News |
| Free Republic | 1 | News |
| Indymedia | 2 | News |
| Univision | 1 | News |
| Signon San Diego | 1 | News |
| San Francisco Chronicle | 2 | News |
| Online News Hour | 1 | News |
| Pasadena Weekly | 1 | News |
| BBC Weekly | 1 | News |
| PBS | 1 | News |
| Boston Globe | 1 | News |
| Fox News | 1 | News |
| U.S. News and World Report | 1 | News |
| USA Today | 2 | News |
| Gold Gate Express SFSU | 1 | News |
| Milwaukee Journal Sentinel | 1 | News |
| Independent Media Center of Philly | 1 | News |
| North Carolina Times | 1 | News |
| The Voice | 2 | News |
| New American Media | 1 | News |
| Pittsburgh Chanel | 1 | News |
| IWW | 1 | News |
| The Nation | 19 | News |
| Counterpunch | 2 | News |
| AFL-CIO | 75 | Labor |
| National Immigrant Solidarity Network | 14 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| National Immigrant Justice Center | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Seattle Anti-Imperialist Committee | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Union de Trabajadores Immigrantes | 2 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Center for Immigration Studies | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |

(Continued on next page)

| Publication | Number of Articles | Source Category |
|--|--------------------|------------------------|
| National Immigrant Law Center | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Southern Poverty Law Center | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Revolutionary Worker.net | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| National May 1 st Movement for Workers and Immigrant Rights | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Essential Worker Immigration Coalition | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Bay Area Immigrant Rights Coalition | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Global Women Strike | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Act Now To Stop War Against Racism | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Democracy Now! | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Socialist Worker.org | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Progressive Democrats of America | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| National Council of La Raza | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Low Wage Immigrant Worker Coalition | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Black Alliance for Just Immigration | 2 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Jobs with Justice | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| New Left Review | 1 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| Exterior Mexican Institute UTPBA | 2 | Pro-Immigrant Article |
| The Minutemen Project | 1 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Americanconservativedaily.com | 1 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| The Social Contract Press | 4 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Bright and Early | 1 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Federation for American Immigration Reform | 6 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Coalition for the Future American Worker | 1 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Council of Conservative Citizens | 2 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| California Coalition of Immigration Reform | 1 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| American Renaissance | 2 | Anti-Immigrant Article |
| Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America | 3 | Anti-Immigrant Article |

Appendix 2: Complete List of Content Issues

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Support for DWI* | Conservative Rhetoric on Immigration* |
| Liberal Rhetoric on Immigration* | -Morality and Immigrant Protesters* |
| Public Welfare DWI* | Legal vs. Illegal Workers* |
| Explicit: National Issues* | DWI actors as workers* |
| Outsourcing/Global* | Explicit: Local Issues* |
| Explicit: National Issues* | <i>Thematic Issue: Ideal*</i> |
| <i>Thematic Issue: Ought*</i> | Historical Reference to Labor |
| Patriotism DWI | Fear in DWI |
| *+Labor and New Immigrants | Decline of labor relevant to DWI |
| Threat to Americans | Support of Organized Labor |
| Labor should support new immigrant protests | DWI as Historical Moment |
| Skilled vs. Unskilled workers | Historical Reference to Immigration |

*Each of these variables are tested in the current study.

Appendix 3: Thematic Content Analysis Rubric

ACTION/NORM: normative patterns of social behavior

GUIDE: social/emotional actions

OUGHT: moral imperative*

CONTROL: words about limiting action

WORK: task or activity oriented

IDEAL VALUE: culturally defined virtues, goals, and values*