

2009

How Iowa newspapers mirror and shape the attitudes and opinions of Iowans about immigration

Patti Brown
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Brown, Patti, "How Iowa newspapers mirror and shape the attitudes and opinions of Iowans about immigration" (2009). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 10323.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/10323>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

**How Iowa newspapers mirror and shape the
attitudes and opinions of Iowans about immigration**

by

Patti Brown

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Program of Study Committee:
Dennis Chamberlin, Major Professor
David W. Bulla
Steffen W. Schmidt

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2009

Copyright © Patti Brown, 2009. All rights reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
Immigration in the U.S.: Historical Background.....	7
Immigration to Iowa: An Overview.....	23
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	34
Mirroring vs. Shaping Reality.....	34
Framing: Putting Issues in Context.....	36
Who, What, When, Where and How: Community Newspapers and a National Story	38
Case Study Research.....	40
Research Questions	42
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY	43
The Study Design.....	43
Case Studies	43
Content Analysis.....	44
Units of Analysis.....	46
<i>Marshalltown Times Republican</i>	46
<i>The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier</i>	47
<i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	48

Periods of Analysis	48
Keywords	48
Operational Definition of Content Analysis Variables.....	49
Intensity of Coverage.....	49
Prominence of Coverage.....	49
Type of Article and Newspaper Section	51
Tone of Coverage.....	51
Sources.....	52
Actors.....	52
Action or Event Depicted in Photographs	53
Frames.....	53
The Conflict Frame	53
The Human Interest Frame	53
The Responsibility Frame.....	54
The Economic Frame.....	54
Intercoder Reliability	54
Public Opinion Polls	58
Data Analysis	60
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS	61
Research Question 1.	61
Qualitative Case Study 1: Coverage of the 2006 Marshalltown	
Immigration Raid.....	61
<i>Marshalltown Times-Republican</i>	61

<i>The Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier</i>	66
<i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	69
Qualitative Case Study 2: Coverage of the 2008 Postville Immigration	
Raid.....	70
<i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	70
<i>The Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier</i>	76
<i>Marshalltown Times-Republican</i>	80
Research Question 2.	80
Quantitative Content Analysis of Text and Visual Images.....	80
Research Question 3.	85
Research Question 4.	88
Photographs and Story Tone.....	97
Research Question 5.	108
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	112
Limitations of the Study.....	117
Suggestions for Further Study.	117
APPENDIX A.....	118
APPENDIX B.....	122
REFERENCES	126
LEGAL REFERENCES	138
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	139

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Average pairwise percent agreement for text analysis	57
Table 2. Fleiss' Kappa for text analysis.....	57
Table 3. Average pairwise Choen's Kappa for text analysis	57
Table 4. Krippendorff's Alpha for text analysis	57
Table 5. Average pairwise percent agreement for image analysis.....	58
Table 6. Fleiss' Kappa for image analysis	58
Table 7. Average pairwise Choen's Kappa for image analysis	58
Table 8. Krippendorff's Alpha for image analysis	58
Table 9. The margin of error for Hawkeye Poll data sets.....	60
Table 10a. Number of text units of analysis	81
Table 10b. Number of image units of analysis	81
Table 11. Types of articles published by each paper	82
Table 12a. Page of newspaper where article began	82
Table 12b. Section of newspaper where article began.....	83
Table 12c. Word count of articles published by each paper	83
Table 12d. Quadrant where article began	83
Table 12e. Assessing whether article jumped.....	84
Table 13. Absence or presence of media frames	85
Table 14. The frequency of the four media frames.....	86
Table 15a. The absence or presence of the conflict frame across article types throughout the sample	86
Table 15b. The absence or presence of the human interest frame across article types throughout the sample.....	86
Table 15c. The absence or presence of the responsibility frame across article types throughout the sample.....	87
Table 15d. The absence or presence of the economic frame across article types throughout the sample.....	87
Table 16a. Tone of text toward those detained.....	89

Table 16b. Tone of text toward the action of the government.....	89
Table 16c. Tone of text toward those detained delineated by type of article	90
Table 16d. Tone of the text toward the action of the government raids as delineated by type of article	91
Table 16. Hawkeye Poll data showing the importance of immigration issue for some Iowans.....	109
Table 17. Hawkeye Poll data showing news sources for those who ranked immigration very or most important.....	110

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Front page of <i>Marshalltown Times-Republican</i>	46
Figure 2. Front page of <i>The Waterloos/Cedar Falls Courier</i>	47
Figure 3. Front page of the <i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	48
Figure 4. Sign west of Postville city limits along U.S. Highway 52 announcing Postville as the “hometown to the world.”	76
Figure 5. Marshalltown raid 2006, outside the fence at Swift and Company.....	99
Figure 6. Detainees from 2008 Postville raid at the National Cattle Congress	101
Figure 7. Protestors outside of the National Cattle Congress the night of the Postville raid	102
Figure 8. Dueling flags in Waterloo after the Postville raid	103
Figure 9. Front page photo in <i>Postville Herald-Leader</i> following the raid	104
Figure 10. Front page photo below the fold in the <i>Herald-Leader</i> of workers being escorted off the Agriprocessors campus by law enforcement officers	104
Figure 11. Photo of red ribbons on a post at the intersection of Lawler and Reynolds Streets in Postville a week after the raid showing the towns concern	105
Figure 12. Photo of the members of the Postville Community Support that appeared on the front page of the <i>Postville Herald-Tribune</i> two weeks after the raid	106
Figure 13. Child outside the gate at the National Cattle Congress in Waterloo	107

ABSTRACT

With heightened concerns for national safety since the September 11 terrorist attacks and with more than 12 million foreign nationals who lack proper entry documentation residing in the United States, stories about illegal immigration has been among the top news stories. Using the both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, including content analysis, case study, and opinion research polling conducted by researchers at the University of Iowa, this study (1) explores framing effects as an independent variable and posits that media frames can find their way into and thus influence audience frames; (2) examines how three community newspapers covered complex and emotionally charged stories of federal immigration raids in two Iowa communities, and; (3) looks at the tone of that coverage in relationship to public opinion polling of Iowans' attitudes regarding illegal immigration and public policy options to address the current illegal immigration situation in the United States.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Stories about immigration are among the most reported topics in U.S. newspapers. Actually there are two immigration stories. One deals with the nearly 1.1 million people (Jefferies and Monger, 2008) who enter the United States annually through official immigration channels seeking permanent residence.¹ The other concerns an estimated 500,000 (Hoefler, Rytina, & Baker, 2008) or more (The 9-11 Commission Report, 2004; Bonner, 2005) who enter annually without being apprehended by crossing the U.S. border without government permission². The vast majority of these are people come here seeking employment and a better life for themselves and their children.

According to J.D. Hayworth (2006), a Republican who served four-terms in the U.S. House of Representatives for the 5th District of Arizona, “at minimum, almost 4,500 people cross into Arizona illegally each day without getting caught, while another 1,500 are apprehended. This means that for every illegal alien caught at the border, three make it in” (p. 1). Although the precise numbers of individuals entering illegally are not know, the U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, a division of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security,

¹ A legal permanent resident (LPR) is a person who has been granted lawful permanent residence. A LPR can live and work in the US, own property, attend public school, serve in certain branches of the military, and apply for US citizenship if they meet certain requirements.

² According to testimony on May 24, 2005 before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Management, Integration and Oversight by T.J. Bonner, National President of the National Border Patrol Council of the American Federation of Government Employees AFL-CIO, “front line agents estimate that between three and four million people cross our borders illegally every year, yet they are only able to apprehend slightly more than one million of them.” Bonner explained in his testimony the enormity of the job. In a personal email on September 30, 2008, Bonner addressed a question about whether any official reports exist on the estimated number of undocumented individuals who cross the border annually. Bonner wrote, “To the best of my knowledge, there are no official reports that provide accurate estimates concerning the number of people who successfully enter our country illegally. The reason for this lack of candor is obvious when you think about it: Such information would reflect poorly upon the Government's efforts to gain control of our borders, and could very well result in public demands for meaningful measures to address the crisis.”

apprehended 1.3 million foreign nationals for being in the United States illegally in 2005 (Wu, 2006), with the vast majority of apprehension – 97 to 98 percent – occurring along the U.S. Mexican border.

Both are important news stories, and often they are intertwined, but the news media’s spotlight has been focused primarily on what is called “illegal immigration³.”

The Dallas Morning News named the Illegal Immigrant its 2007 Texan of the Year. “He is at the heart of a great culture war in Texas – and the nation, credited with bringing us prosperity and blamed for abusing our resources. How should we deal with this stranger among us?” (*The Dallas Morning News*, 2007).

The Associated Press survey of U.S. editors and news directors selected immigration one of the top 10 U.S. news stories of both 2006 and 2007⁴ (Associated Press, 2006; Associated Press, 2007). The Tyndall Report which tracks television evening news on the three major networks, placed immigration in the top ten stories covered by broadcast news the past two years (Tyndall, 2006; Tyndall, 2007). The 2006 U.S. News Interest Index by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press ranked immigration among not only the top most reported but also the most followed media stories (Allen & Doherty, 2006). Immigration again ranked among the most reported stories in the Pew’s 2007 U.S. News Interest Index (Kohut & Parker, 2007).

Newspapers are “living history books” (Zhang, 2005), chronicling and commenting on the events of our day. As Americans grapple with the complexities of immigration—legal

³ Being in the United States “illegally” is an administrative, non-criminal violation of U.S. immigration law which is handled outside of the criminal court system.

⁴ Email communication from Associated Press archivist Susan James, September 30, 2008.

and illegal—from the perspectives of national security in the post-September 11 era to needed legislative reform addressing a growing demand for low-wage unskilled workers in certain labor sectors,⁵ national, state and even local community newspapers across the country continue to tackle the issue in bold headlines and fine print, from the front page to the editorial pages: Illegal immigrants detained; Guest worker program proposed; Immigration reform bill fails; Drugs seized at U.S.-Mexican border; Agents jailed; Credit cards offered to undocumented workers; Businesses fined for hiring aliens; Iowa's future linked to fate of immigration.

In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, serious questions were raised about how terrorists were allowed into the U.S. in the first place. Most of the hijackers had questionable passport and or visa violations, and two of them had been linked to the August 1998 bombing of two U.S. embassies in East Africa. They were consequently placed on watch lists by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in August 2001 (The 9-11 Commission Report, 2004).

As the country entered the age of the “war on terror,” Americans were understandably worried about how homeland security can be achieved through stricter immigration and border controls. These fears, it is safe to say, have been spawned by numerous terrorist attacks on civilians throughout the world, incidences that have been heavily covered by the news media. As a result, the story of illegal immigrants slipping into to America to seek employment and a piece of the American dream has been blurred and blended into the conversation about terrorists who would do the nation harm: “More than 500 million people

⁵ Labor sectors with large numbers of illegal immigrants include agriculture, food and hospitality service, cleaning, meat and fish processing, transportation and construction, particularly certain trade areas, such as roofing, and insulation.

annually cross U.S. borders at legal entry points, about 330 million of them noncitizens. Another 500,000 or more enter illegally without inspections across America's thousands of miles of land borders or remain in the country past the expiration of their permitted stay⁶. The challenge for national security in an age of terrorism is to prevent the very few people who may pose overwhelming risks from entering or remaining in the United States undetected" (The 9-11 Commission Report, 2004, p.383).

There are approximately 12 million unauthorized residents living in the United States—about 4 percent of the total U.S. population—who have either illegally entered the country, principally across the U.S.-Mexican border, (Passel, 2006) or who entered legally but have remained after their visas expired.

Because of the nature of illegal immigration, there is no accurate census of this ghost population. Some sources place the number as high as 15 and 20 million (Barlett, Steele, Karmatz & Levinstein, 2004). The United States Department of Homeland Security and the Office of Immigration Statistics estimate the number to be 11,550,000 as of January 2006, up from 8,460,000 in 2000 (Hoffer, Rytina & Campbell, 2006).

It is estimated that there are currently between 55,000 and 85,000 (Martin, 2007; Pew, 2006) undocumented immigrants residing in Iowa, a heartland state with more than 1,500 miles of highway between it and the nearest place to cross the U.S.-Mexican border (Norman & Jesus, 2006) and a population of just under 3 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). Illegal immigrants are approximately two to three percent of the state's population.

⁶ It is estimated that between 25 and 40 percent of illegal immigrants entered the U.S. legally but have remained beyond the expiration of their visa (Passel, 2006).

Although the impact of undocumented immigrants on Iowa is certainly different than the impact felt by border states—such as Arizona, where an estimated 450,000 illegal immigrants reside, or Texas with an estimated 1.4 million, or California with more than 2.5 million (Pew, 2006)—their migration to Iowa to seek employment and residence has shaped towns and rural communities from Council Bluffs to the Quad Cities. Many of these undocumented immigrants have found jobs in meat packing facilities in Iowa, and two of these plants, one in Marshalltown and one in Postville, were targets of large federal immigration raids conducted by the Department of Homeland Security's U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)⁷ over the past two years.

These raids disrupted the lives of hundreds of immigrants and their families in addition to causing economic and emotional turmoil in not only the affected communities but throughout the state. Nationwide, ICE has stepped up the pace of worksite raids resulting in an increase of both criminal⁸ and administrative arrests⁹. In FY 2007, ICE made 863 criminal

⁷ The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created in January 2003 in response to the events of September 11, 2001. Its mission is to “lead the unified national effort to secure America, prevent and deter terrorist attacks, protect against and respond to threats and hazards to the Nation [and] secure our national borders while welcoming lawful immigrants, visitors, and trade” (Chernof, 2008). Under the direction of a cabinet-level Secretary who reports to the President of the United States, DHS became the umbrella organization for 22 federal agencies in charge of border and transportation security, emergency preparedness and response, chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear countermeasures, information analysis and infrastructure protection. Two agencies that were formed under the reorganization include the U.S. Border and Customs Patrol (BCP) and the U.S. Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE). BCP is charged with keeping terrorists and their weapons out of the U.S. It is also responsible for overseeing trade and travel along the 8,000 miles of U.S. land and costal borders and at all ports of entry, and for enforcing immigration and custom laws. ICE, the largest investigative arm of the Department of Homeland Security, is charged with enforcing the nation’s customs and immigration laws and providing security for federal buildings.

⁸ Criminal arrests may include employers, managers, corporate officers, contractors and facilitators and may include charges of harboring illegal aliens, money laundering and/or knowingly hiring illegal aliens, or may include illegal aliens charged with aggravated identity theft and Social Security fraud (U.S. ICE, 2008).

⁹ Administrative arrests relate to immigration violations, such as entering the U.S. unlawfully or staying after the expiration of a visa.

arrests and 4,077 administrative arrests during worksite enforcement operations. Between October 2007 and August 2008, ICE made more than 1000 criminal arrests and more than 3,900 administrative arrests (U.S. ICE, 2008).

The raids have sparked public dialogue about U.S. immigration policy, about what American's moral and ethical response should be to uphold and enforce our immigration laws; about what consequences American businesses should face that employ illegal immigrants; about the injustices of human smuggling and trafficking and how to break the criminal syndicates that profit from this activity; and about the political, cultural, and linguistic challenges posed by these new and, in many cases, not necessarily wanted residents.

Today's immigration challenges need to be understood against both its historical context as well as current events. Iowans must view the issue through the lens of their own state history in order to assess the immediate situation facing the state as a result of the recent raids, and in order to make informed policy decisions about the matter. It is also important for editors and journalists writing on the subject of immigration to be aware of their own biases about race, ethnic origin and the topic of immigration.

Using the both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, including investigative interviews, content analysis, case study, and opinion research polling conducted by researchers at the University of Iowa, this study seeks to assess how three community newspapers in Iowa covered the immigration story specifically related to federal immigration raids in two Iowa communities, Marshalltown and Postville and how the tone of that coverage correlates to the opinion of Iowans about illegal immigration.

What this study found was that: (1) the predominant tone of coverage of these newspapers was sympathetic to the plight of people who have come here, albeit illegally, to seek employment and who are rounded up in immigration raids after living and working in Iowa communities for many years; (2) that the tone of the newspapers was not supportive toward the way the government conducted the raids by targeting the illegal immigrants for arrest and detainment while seemingly ignoring the employers who hired and exploited the workers; (3) that the newspapers expressed the opinion that there is a need for reform of both American immigration policy to address a need for labor and for reform of the way in which immigration laws are enforced; (4) that these newspapers did not significantly focus on the economic ramifications of illegal immigrants on Iowa communities; and (5) that the tone and opinion expressed by the three newspapers closely mirrored the attitudes and opinions of Iowans on the need for immigration reform and a path to citizenship for those who are already here employed.

Immigration in the U.S.: Historical Background

Immigration has shaped the character of the U.S., a country built by immigrants from every corner of the globe and their American-born descendants. In his poem *You, Whoever You Are*, Walt Whitman captured a sense of the diversity of the American people:

All you continentals of Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia, indifferent of place!
 All you on the numberless islands of the archipelagoes of the sea!
 All you of centuries hence when you listen to me!
 All you each and everywhere whom I specify not, but include just the same!
 Health to you! good will to you all, from me and America sent!
 Each of us is inevitable,
 Each of us is limitless—each of us with his or her right upon the earth,
 Each of us allow'd the eternal purports of the earth,
 Each of us here as divinely as any is here.

Not everyone has celebrated or welcomed that diversity. Nativist concerns about immigration, some might call them xenophobic fears, are not new. They have prompted the creation, for example, of the Page Act as early as 1875, the first federal law restricting immigration. This law, which targeted those from “any Oriental country” was enacted to limit the number of Asian women who could enter the United States as prostitutes, and to prevent convicts, indentured servants, and unskilled laborers or “coolies” from entering U.S. borders (Page Act, 1875). Seven years later, Congress passed even more restrictive legislation, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which effectively prohibited immigration from China.

The actual history of immigration to North America, and to what became the United States, and its impact on the indigenous peoples who lived, here can be traced back to the first millennium.

Archeological evidence shows that 1,007 years ago, Norse explorers Leifur Eiriksson, more commonly known as Leif Erikson, traveled through North America by way of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and Labrador, Canada’s Atlantic coastal region, to establish settlements in North America (Ingstad, 1969; Ingstad & Ingstad, 2001; Jones 1986). Other Norsemen, following in his footsteps, may have ventured inland as far as northern Minnesota via the Great Lakes as evidenced by the Kensington Runestone, a slab of Graywacke stone engraved with medieval runic writing discovered in Minnesota in 1898 (Kehoe, 2004). The inscription, dated 1362, points to the possibility of European immigration in the middle of North America more than 100 years before the arrival of Columbus in 1492 (Nielsen & Wolter, 2005).

There have been four major periods of U.S. immigration history, beginning with the American colonial era until the Revolutionary War. This was followed by a large influx of northern European immigrants from the 1820s until the late 1870s. Next came the largest period, from the 1880s until the 1920s, with many arriving from central, southern and eastern Europe, and the current wave of immigrants from Central and Latin America beginning in the mid-1960s. Throughout these periods, large numbers of individuals also arrived from Africa and Asia.

When European immigrants arrived in North America during the fifteenth century, they came ashore to a land already populated with some 900,000 aboriginal people whose ancestors had arrived here over the Bering Strait land bridge—Beringia—12,000 or more years ago (West, 1999). Some scientists even argue that North America was peopled by immigrants who pushed north from South America after their seagoing ancestors arrived from South and East Asia (Gibbons, 1977).

In the 1500s, Spanish, French, Portuguese and English explores traveled throughout Florida, the Gulf Coast region and the American Southwest “discovering” the Mississippi River, the Rio Grande, the Grand Canyon, the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Great Lakes. Some explorers set out to find a Northwest Passage from Europe to Europe. Instead their expeditions led them first around Cape Horn in South America, and later across the Isthmus of Panama, then north to what would become California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska. Along the way, these Old World tourists established missions, forts and various types of settlements in the New World and populated them with European soldiers, sailors, trappers and clerics.

It is not known how many Europeans were living in North America at the start of the seventh century, but Jamestown is considered the first colony. After a treacherous journey by boat from England, 104 men and boys established the colony in Virginia in 1607; 80 percent of them would die before the end of the first year. Despite the hardships, more colonists followed in their footsteps. One-hundred and fifty arrived in 1608, including the first two women immigrants from Europe, and approximately 300 more settlers came the following year (Bernhard, 1992).

In 1620, 101 people known today as “the Pilgrims” settled on the peninsula of Cape Cod. Within twenty years, the population in the North American colonies had increased to more than 50,000. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Anglo population exceeded 223,000. Twenty-five years later, the number had more than doubled to 475,000. By mid-century the population exceeded one million. The year independence from England was declared, there were 2.2 million people living in the colonies, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population of the new nation was 5.3 million (Wells, 1992).

With the arrival of more than a million European immigrants before 1776 (Wells, 1992), many of whom were young adults, the population expanded exponentially due to a high birth rate in the colonies. Interestingly, Benjamin Franklin¹⁰ (1751, 1961) who was interested in demography among many pursuits, accurately predicted the population in

¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin, a printer and prolific writer, was at the center of the English-only movement in Pennsylvania. Critical of German immigrants who continued to speak German, Franklin printed and distributed pamphlets about the Germans who made up one-third of the colony of Pennsylvania’s population, “Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, and more than they can acquire our complexion” (Franklin, [1751] 1961, p. 234).

America would double every twenty-five years and that the total population of North America would exceed the population of England in 100 years.

Because of the high incidence of mortality on slave ships, it is impossible to accurately know the size of the forced migration from Africa between the 1500s and the mid-1800s. The vast majority of Africans who survived the “middle passage” —perhaps as many as 10,000,000 (Curtain, 1969) to 12,000,000 (Heuman & Walvin, 2003; Rediker, 2007) — were transported to the Caribbean, South and Central America (Curtain, 1969).

The first 20 African slaves destined for the American colonies arrived in Jamestown in August 1619. It is estimated that between then and January 1, 1808 when the trans-Atlantic slave trade was abolished by Congress¹¹, as many as 6 percent of Africans slaves brought to the New World were sold in what is now the continental United States (Wahl, 2008; Fogel & Engerman, 1974).

Following the American Revolution, major events in Europe, including the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars, the abolition of the slave trade in Britain, and the War of 1812, contributed to a marked decrease in immigration to America. In addition, a developing immigration policy that would “best serve broader goals of nation-building and economic development” (Zolberg, 2006) regulated immigration during this era.

In an analysis of how the American founders used both expansive and restrictive immigration policies and naturalization laws as a form of state-building “by design” Zolberg (2006), writes: “from the very outset, by way of its state and federal governments, the self-constituted American nation not only set conditions for political membership, but also

¹¹ With passage of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, the U.S. began to dismantle the institution of slavery, however it is estimated that the illegal importation of slaves continued well into the mid-1800s.

decided quite literally who would inhabit its land. Long before what is conventionally regarded as the beginning of national immigration policy, the Americans undertook to violently eliminate most of the original dwellers, imported a mass of African workers whom they excluded from their nation altogether, actively recruited Europeans they considered suitable for settlement, intervened in the international arena to secure freedom of exit on their behalf, elaborated devices to deter those judged undesirable, and even attempted to engineer the self-removal of liberated slaves, deemed inherently unqualified for membership” (p. 1-2).

The ink was barely dry on the U. S. Constitution when Congress passed The Naturalization Act of 1790 stipulating that, “any alien, being a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof” (1 Stat. 103). Five years later, Congress changed the residency requirement from two to five years and added a requirement that immigrants had to renounced allegiance to their former countries (1 Stat. 414). The requirements to immigrate and become a citizen were made even tougher during the presidency of John Adams when the residency requirement was lengthened to 14 years (1 Stat. 566). In 1802 the residency requirement was scaled back to five years (2 Stat. 153).

Following the passage of the Steerage Act of 1819 (3 Stat. 488), which was an effort to recruit immigrants deemed suitable from source countries by “remote control” (Zolberg, 2003), a small, new wave of immigration began in 1820 as a little more than 8,000 people, predominately from Northern Europe, came ashore. The legislation also required ships to begin maintaining passenger manifests. These logs, kept initially by the U.S. Customs Service from 1820 and 1892, and then by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, were the first attempt to not only document the arrival of immigrants, but to regulate onboard

conditions in an effort to protect those who risked the arduous sea journey to come to America.

Some immigration policies were enacted at the state level. In 1820 the legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed an “act to prevent the introduction of paupers from foreign ports or places,” as a means of curtailing indigent immigrants from settling in the state (Lamay & Barkin, 1999).

As enormous numbers of impoverished immigrants arrived from Europe to escape famine and war, some states, including New York and Massachusetts, passed restrictive laws regulating and taxing shipping companies in an effort to deter them from choosing these states as ports where immigrants could debark. In an 1875 Supreme Court decision, the court nullified these laws ruling that states could not attempt to control immigration because it infringed on the duty of the United States Congress to regulate foreign commerce as set forth in Article I of the U.S. Constitution (*Henderson v. Mayor of New York*, 1875).

In spite of various political movements to block the waves of immigration, principally from Ireland and Germany along the Eastern seaboard and from China and Japan along the West coast, the immigrant population continued to grow, some years by two to five million people, until mid-century when the total U.S. population exceeded 23 million. According to the 1850 U.S. Census, the first U.S. census to collect data on the nativity of the population, the foreign-born population was almost 10 percent of the nation’s total; 10 years later, the percentage was 13.2 (Gibson, 1999). From 1820 to 1875, more than nine million people arrived in America, mostly from northern European nations (Bennett, 1963).

Nativists concerned particularly about Irish and German Catholic immigrants and the naturalization of foreign-born residents gave birth to a new political party in 1849 known as

the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, or OSSB. This party, which a year later became the American Party, was dubbed the “Know-Nothings” by *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley (1853), a champion of the “equality of all men” (Williams, 2006). The anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant “Know-Nothings”¹² were short-lived, losing political momentum with the approach of the Civil War as its members divided on the issue of slavery.

As the nation celebrated its centennial, marketing agents from railroads and shipping companies were sent to Europe to promote immigration (Martin, P & Midgley, 2003). Nearly nine million more citizens-to-be arrived between 1880 and 1899 as the foreign-born population reached 15 percent.

The French gave the American people the Statue of Liberty as a gift to commemorate the nation’s 100th birthday. It was a joint project between the two nations. The Americans were responsible for funding and building the base¹³, and the French raised the money for the statue and its construction. Completed in 1885 and dedicated the following year, the statue has been a symbol of a free nation. In 1883 as part of the American fundraising drive, Emma

¹² The party came by their name because of secret meetings and the secret oath taken by members to reveal nothing about the party to anyone (Snyder, 2006), however, Horace Greeley is credited as the first to use the name “Know Nothing” in a December 11, 1853 news story covering election results, and then again a week later in a reply to a letter-to-the-editor about election coverage on December 16, 1853. Greeley’s daily, *The New York Tribune* was the first nationally distributed paper in the U.S. with a circulation in January 1854 of 96,000 for its weekly edition and 130,000 for its total issues (Linn, 1903, p. 134).

¹³ A 21-year-old Hungarian who had been recruited three-years earlier to emigrate to America and fight for the Union Army, Joseph Pulitzer, began his newspaper career as a reporter for a German-language daily in Missouri before buying the *St. Louis Post* in 1872 and the *St. Louis Dispatch* 1878, which he combined, before buying the *New York World* in 1883 (Brian, 2001). Pulitzer was a controversial figure who rose to both fame and wealth in large measure by reducing the price of the paper to one penny and increasing advertising rates, which made the paper affordable to low-wage earners, including immigrants. On March 16, 1885, Pulitzer used the *New York World* as a vehicle to lead the national fund drive for the \$100,000 needed to complete the Statue of Liberty’s pedestal (Brian, 2001). With the power of his pen, Pulitzer wrote a series of editorials criticized the rich for not contributing and the middle class for expecting the rich to foot the bill. He even promised to publish the names of every single contributor. In August, five months later, the money had been raised largely by very small donations from poor, working-class and immigrant people across the nation, totally more than 120,000 (Bhushan, 2003).

Lazarus wrote the sonnet “The New Colossus,” which refers to the statue as “the Mother of Exiles” crying out the now famous words:

“Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

Despite the sentiment of Lazarus’ verse, government immigration policies were far more restrictionist. The Immigration Act of August 3, 1882 barred the entry of “convicts (except those convicted of political offenses), lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges” and authorized a fifty cent per person immigration fee (22 Stat. 214). In 1885 Congress passed the Contract Labor Law (23 Stat. 332), also referred to ironically as the “the Foran Act” named for its sponsor Ohio Rep. Martin Foran, which restricted the “importation” of low-wage laborers whose competition could undercut the wages earned by union members (23 Stat. 332). Rep. Henry Cabot Lodge (1891) of Massachusetts proposed a literacy means test¹⁴ aimed at restricting immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. A series of amendments and extensions to the Chinese Restriction Act of May 6, 1882 (22 Stat 58) served to further restrict the civil liberties of people of Chinese descent living in the U.S., requiring them to carry resident papers and to prove they had arrived in America before the law was enacted (Tichenor, 2002).

¹⁴ Over the next several years, attempts to incorporate such a test in immigration legislation failed. However, three months before the U.S. became involved in World War II, the 1917 Immigration Act, which included not only a literacy test, but required a medical examination, and an \$8 per person head tax, succeeded when Congress overrode President Woodrow Wilson’s veto by more than a two-thirds majority.

In spite of stringent immigrant policies and pervasive nativist sympathies, some of which was engendered by newspapers, there were occasions where newspapers played an important role in opening people's eye and minds.

Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant who had worked as a police reporter began using photography¹⁵ to show the world the poverty and struggles of immigrant life as he knew it in the immigrant neighborhoods of New York City. A pioneer of muckraking journalism, Riis' articles and books, particularly *How the Other Half Lives* (Riis, 1890), illuminated the hardships faced by "the huddled masses." Despite being criticized for his own ethnic, racial and religious prejudices, his early photodocumentary work advanced the work of social justice and housing reform for immigrants (Buk-Swienty, 2008).

After an avalanche of more than 5,703,000 million immigrants in less than a decade, Congress decided that the country needed a federal agency to oversee all aspects of immigration. The Immigration Act of 1891 created the Office of the Superintendent of Immigration (26 Stat. 1084). Housed within the Treasury Department, this office was responsible for inspecting passengers upon arrival to determine who was and who was not admitted. Ellis Island opened the following year. The cavernous terminal provided a warehouse where thousands who had made the trans-Atlantic crossing could be screened for disease and disability before being allowed to come ashore. Those who were ill or had certain health conditions were sent back. In 1895, the Office of Immigration was elevated to the status of the Bureau of Immigration.

¹⁵ Jacob Riis used a team of photographic assistants to do much of the photography for the documentary work attributed to him.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the nation's population exceeded 76 million, 13 percent of whom were foreign born. In 1906, Congress passed the Basic Naturalization Act (34 Stat. 596) which established a formal and uniform process for immigrants to become U.S. citizens. The legislation also expanded the Bureau of Immigration into the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. The following year, more than 1.2 million people arrived.

Immigration began to slow somewhat until after World War I. Xenophobia and political sentiments of national isolationism following the war underpinned legislation aimed at stemming this tide. Laws were passed in 1921 and 1924 creating a national quota system. Those wanting to come had to apply for and obtain visas before entry was permitted. Priority was given to people of certain nationalities, particularly those from Europe.

The immigrant press played important roles in both recruiting and “Americanizing” new immigrants, in addition to keeping newcomers connected to their mother tongue and to news from “the old country” (Park, 1922; Blau, Thomas, Newhouse, & Kavee, 1998). Anti-immigrant attitudes and exclusion within the mainstream press was an impetus for groups to form their own newspapers (Starr, 2004).

In the years following the Civil War the immigrant press grew to meet the demands of the large waves of those arriving from Northern and then Central Europe, peaking right before World War II when more than 1,300 foreign-language papers printed in the United States (Miller, 1987). Combined German¹⁶, Yiddish, Italian, and Polish language newspapers had a daily circulation of more than 1.7 million (Starr, 2004).

¹⁶ The *Postville Herald-Leader* is a merger of two newspapers. The *Postville Herald* had originally been a German-language paper, the weekly *Iowa Volksblatt*, up until 1917 (Bloom, 2000). *The Postville Leader* began in 1990 by News Publishing, Inc. For about 9 months there were two papers in Postville. In 1991, News Publishing, Inc. acquired the *Herald* and the two papers were merged. For a brief period of time in the 1990s,

After the Mexican revolution in 1910, dire economic conditions south of the U.S.-Mexican border caused many Mexicans to come north seeking migrant agriculture work. With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment which prohibited the manufacture, sale and transport of alcohol in the United States and immigration quotas, there was an increase in both bootlegging across the U.S.-Mexican border and also in the number of immigrants who tried to circumvent legal ports of entry by crossing illegally.

To quell illegal entry along the border—a span of nearly 2,000 miles from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean—the U.S. Border Patrol was established in 1924. Five years later, illegal entry was made a federal crime for two-time offenders¹⁷.

Due to the quotas and because of economic and political circumstances during the Great Depression and World War II, America again saw a marked decline in the number of new comers from all corners of the globe. In the 1920s, more than four million people immigrated; during the 1930s and 1940s combined, that number fell to 1.5 million.

World War II, however, opened a new door for Mexicans to enter the United States for temporary agriculture work. With so many men serving in the military overseas and much of the population at home employed by the war effort, the country was in need of farm

the *Herald-Leader* published several of its pages in Spanish, however this did not work very well, according to Sharon Drahn, editor of the *Herald-Leader*, as the Latino community in Postville did not support the advertisers or buy the paper. The *Iowa Volksblatt* which was founded in 1892, was one of 60 Iowa German-language papers published for five years or more (Allen, 2007). Many of the papers were started in the 1870s and 1880s, following peak periods of German immigration. Following what was known as the “Babel Proclamation” (Derr, 1979) by Iowa Governor William L. Harding on May, 23 1918 which proclaimed English as the only language to be used in public, over the telephone, at church services, in schools, and on trains, the majority of German and other-foreign language publications folded during or shortly after World War I. Harding repealed his proclamation six months later and in 1923 the U.S. Supreme Court in *Meyer v. Nebraska* struck down Nebraska, Ohio, and Iowa laws that prohibited teaching foreign language, and guaranteed the right of people to communicate in any language they chose.

¹⁷ Illegal entry for first time offenders is a civil infraction or misdemeanor that results in apprehension, detention, deportation and fines; it is not a felony that results in imprisonment.

workers. Beginning in 1942, Mexican nationals were allowed to enter the U.S. as seasonal contract laborers under a bilateral treaty between the U.S. and Mexico, the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program, more commonly called the “bracero program” (Koestler, 1999). Bracero is derived from *brazo*, the Spanish word for arm, and essentially means “a hired hand.” The treaty was codified later that year in an omnibus appropriations bill and then extended several more times between 1951 and 1963 due to pressure from growers for cheap labor.

During the first year 52,000 Mexicans were employed as temporary guest-workers under this program. By 1957, there were nearly 500,000. It is estimated that by the time the program ended, some than four million Mexican workers were involved (Martin, 2003).

America was interested in cheap temporary laborers, not more foreign-born immigrants, particularly from south of the border. A deportation program concurrently sought to repatriate braceros who remained in the U.S. after their contracts expired. In June 1954, because so many migrants stayed on in the U.S., the Immigration and Naturalization Service began a large scale deportation program dubbed “Operation Wetback¹⁸.” Over the course of the next year it is estimated that as many as one million Latinos were forcibly deported, many of whom are thought to have been U.S. citizens (Garcia, 1980; Tristram, 2007).

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States adopted its first laws dealing with political refugees, displaced person and war brides, but with the onset of the Cold War and American’s fears of communism, immigration policies became stringent. The Immigration

¹⁸ The racial slur “wetback” refers to getting wet while wading across the Rio Grande while entering the US undetected.

and Nationality Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 911) abolished the previous quota system based on national origin and replaced it with annual immigration limits by regional areas. Act of 1965 eliminated the quota system based on national origin and replaced it with annual immigration limits by regional areas. Some additional tweaking of this legislation in 1968 established a “first-come first-serve” immigration policy again based on geographic regions, giving priority to immigrants from the Western hemisphere. In order to immigrate from Central and Latin America, many people illegally crossed the border between Mexico and the U.S. To address the increasing number of people residing and working in the U.S. illegally, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (100 Stat. 3359). This law prohibited employers from hiring undocumented immigrants and mandated penalties for violations, but also permitted undocumented immigrants who had lived in the U.S. for three years to apply for citizenship.

Over the past thirty years, the number of immigrants arriving in the U.S. has increased dramatically so that more than one in ten U.S. residents today is foreign-born (Larson, 2004). In 2006 alone, more than a million legal immigrants moved in; it is estimated that nearly as many, and possibly more, illegal immigrants also moved in. In addition to national security concerns, illegal immigration presents complex political, social, and economic challenges.

In the 2007 State of the Union Address, President George W. Bush called for comprehensive immigration reforms that involve stepping up border security with a combination of technology, personnel and infrastructure; improving immigration law enforcement and penalizing employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants; introducing a temporary guest worker program that would heavily penalize those not adhering to its

policies; and encouraging assimilation so that new immigrants understand and acclimate better to the American way of life (Bush, 2007).

The State of the Union address was delivered a little over a month after the December 12, 2006 arrests of 89 individuals for alleged immigration violations at the Swift and Company meatpacking plant in Marshalltown, Iowa—one of six raids conducted on the same date by Immigration and Custom Enforcement Officials at Swift facilities around the country.

Five months later, the issue of immigration reform was taken up by the U.S. Senate with a bipartisan bill, the Secure Borders, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Reform Act of 2007, (Senate Bill 1348) introduced by Democrat Senator Harry Reid of Nevada. The bill, which was commonly referred to as the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007, was a derivative of bills introduced in 2005 by Democrat Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts and Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona known as Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act of 2005 (Senate Bill 1033), also referred to as the McCain-Kennedy bill, and a similar 2006 bill sponsored by Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 was a compromise agreement attempting to address the question of how to deal with 12 million illegal immigrants, the vast majority of whom have come to the U.S. not as terrorists but, like millions of immigrants before them, to work, raise a family, and have a better life for themselves and their children.

The wide-ranging bill proposed “a path to citizenship” for those residing in the U.S. illegally through a process of national registration and the payment of a fine, along with other provisions for increased border security. Seen by many critics as “amnesty,” the bill was introduced but was not voted on due to an intensive citizen lobbying effort organized and

supported by groups such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), civilian watchdog groups such as the Minuteman Project and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps¹⁹, and the hosts of many national and local market conservative talk-radio shows, CNN news anchor Lou Dobbs.

The Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism (Pew, 2008), issued a report on the media's coverage of the legislation which was first proposed on May 17 and which died in the Senate on June 28. For six weeks, the story dominated the news, ranking above the presidential campaigns and the war in Iraq in talk-radio, cable news talk shows, and newspapers, and, in particular, the conservative media are credited with strongly influencing public opinion and political action (Pew, 2008).

Eleven months after the failure of 2007 immigration bill, the largest workplace federal immigration raid up until that time took place in Postville, Iowa as 297 individuals were arrested for alleged immigration violations.

Today's immigration challenges must be understood against both this historical backdrop as well as current events. Iowans must view the issue through the lens of their own state history in order to assess the immediate situation facing the state and make informed decisions about the matter.

Immigration to Iowa: An Overview

The first known European settlers passed through what was to become Iowa in 1673. The region at the time was occupied by 17 different Native American tribes. It was not until

¹⁹ In 2005, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps was formed by Chris Simcox who had co-founded the original Minuteman Project with Jim Gilchrist. Both organizations are citizen watchdog groups that organize citizen patrols to monitor border crossings and both organizations advocate for rigorous border enforcement. There are other similar civilian border-watch programs, such as the Texas Minutemen.

1832 that the Europeans built their first settlement here, but curiously, Walley (2002)

suggests many of the first settlers in Iowa were illegal immigrants:

“When the first noticeable number of white settlers began entering Iowa for permanent settlement in 1832, they were doing so illegally, since the Black Hawk purchase of 1832 was not yet open to general settlement; however, the eager pioneers did not wait on government technicalities. Settlement proceeded rapidly, and by the time Iowa finally became a state in 1846, its population had far exceeded the required sixty thousand” (p. 41).

Many immigrants founded small communities and after settling in, fellow countrymen came to join them or formed nearby satellite communities. Others settled in wider regional areas interspersed among other immigrants. As early as 1839, a year after Iowa was organized as a territory, a group of Norwegians founded the Sugar Creek area in Lee County near Keokuk. About 800 Dutch arrived in 1847 and settled in Pella, a community in Marion County. In 1852 and 1853, an influx of Bohemians settled in what is today Cedar Rapids. In 1859, nearly a quarter of the population of Dubuque—8,230—was Irish. A group of German Pietists arrived in Iowa in 1855 and founded the Amana Colonies that were tightly-knit religious farming communes. In 1856, three dozen Irish families founded Emmetsburg in northeast Iowa. A large number of German Catholics formed five farming cooperatives in Shelby County in the 1870s.

As migration increased and rail lines crossed the prairie, Native Americans were displaced from much of their ancestral lands. By the time Iowa became a state on December 28, 1846, the population was 96,088 (Sage, 1974). Within four years, that number had grown to 192,214 (U.S. Census, 1850). A decade later, the population more than tripled to 674,913 (U.S. Census, 1860).

In 1869, the government opened up 348,000 acres of land as part of a six million-acre nationwide land development program. Two years later, the Iowa Railroad Land Company (1871) distributed a land map advertising 1.7 million acres “as fertile and desirable as any in America” for sale at a price of eight to ten dollars each. To encourage new arrivals to settle in Iowa, the state published a 96-page booklet, *Iowa: The Home of Immigrants* (1869), in five languages – English, German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish.

Another prospectus, *Where to Emigrate and Why*, was intended to lure Europeans: “The future of Iowa was never so full of promise as at present. All parts of the State are rapidly advancing in population, in wealth, and in all that can contribute to the fulfillment of its brilliant destiny” (Goddard, 1869). The booklet, published by the Pacific Railroad, boasted that Iowa’s rich lands could be had for as little as \$1.25 for an undeveloped acre to \$25 per acre or more for an improved farm, and a worker could expect to make \$1 to \$2 a day or \$18 to \$20 a month (Goddard, 1869).

The marketing plan was enormously successful. In 1870, the state’s population was almost 1.2 million, 18 percent of whom were foreign-born (U.S. Census, 1870). To continue encouraging immigration, Iowa’s Thirteenth General Assembly created a state Board of Immigration and appointed a Commissioner of Immigration (Gue, 1903).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Iowa was home to more than 2.2 million people (U.S. Census, 1900), nearly 306,000 or about 15 percent were foreign born (Sage, 1974). While the U.S. Census Bureau does not have data on either the number or percentage of individuals in Iowa who were Hispanic or Spanish speaking in 1900 (Gibons & Jung, 2002), a U.S. Bureau of Labor report on Mexican laborers in the U.S., Clark (1908) comments that Mexican nationals “are working as unskilled laborers and as section hands as

far east as Chicago and as far north as Iowa...The number of different industries dependent upon Mexican labor is increasing” (p.522). Today, the state’s population is just under three million; nearly five are percent foreign born²⁰ (Swenson & Eathington, 2008).

Iowa’s role in the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees is one of the most compelling chapters in U.S. immigration history. For the most part, Iowa has had a strong tradition of welcoming the newcomer. Over the past three decades, the state has shown leadership in reaching out to displaced peoples, beginning with then-Governor Robert D. Ray’s response to President Ford’s request to the governors of all 50 states to resettle refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia after the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975. He also responded to a request by Arthur Crisfield, a former U.S. employee working in Laos, who wrote to governors asking them to help specifically with resettlement of a small tribal group originally from a mountainous area in Laos, the Tai Dam, who had been living as refugees for 20 years in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand and had nowhere to return.

Ray, a Republican who served from 1969 to 1983, formed the Governor's Task Force for Indochinese Resettlement in July 1975 to begin the process of bringing refugees to Iowa. The U.S. State Department wanted refugees²¹ to be spread out among the states so no one state or city would be overwhelmed with assimilating the more than 100,000 people in need

²⁰ Swenson & Eathington (2008) projected that 47 percent of Iowa’s foreign born population is from Latin America, 31 percent from Asia, 11 percent from Europe and 7 percent from Africa.

²¹ U.S. immigration law differentiates between the status of those seeking asylum, refugees and immigrants. The term asylum applies to individuals already in the U.S. Refugees are individuals who are unable or unwilling to return to their native country due to well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. A person must be outside of the US to apply for refugee status; someone applying for asylum must do so while in the US or at a port of entry. The number of refugee admissions is determined annually by the President of the United States; there are no set annual limits on the number of people who may be granted asylum. People who hold either refugee or asylee status can apply for lawful permanent residency after one year.

of resettlement. At this time, the State Department was also not granting refugee status to people from Laos. However, because of Crisfield's appeal about the unique tribal and ethnic issues in the Tai Dam community, Ray requested that the State Department permit Iowa to accept the Tai Dam people as a group. He went to Washington, D.C. to appeal directly to President Gerald R. Ford in the Oval Office and lobby Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The request was granted. In October, the first 300 Tai Dam arrived in Iowa, followed by an additional 900 in November. Today 95 percent of the 2700 Tai Dam in the U.S. live in Iowa (Lo, 1997).

According to Ray, "After the fall there was a real sense of obligation for the people who would be at risk. There was an accepting attitude in Iowa, but there were not many people of other colors, and few if any Southeast Asians, but my motivation was saving lives."²²

Iowa's involvement with resettling Southeast Asian refugees did not end with the Tai Dam people. On January 19, 1979, Ray saw "The Boat People"²³ a documentary by Ed Bradley that aired nationally on "CBS Reports" about refugees from Vietnam fleeing in boats and the terrible conditions of overcrowded refugee camps in Malaysia. The next morning the governor wrote to President Jimmy Carter offering to resettle as many as 1,500 "boat people" in Iowa.

Throughout the year, the situation in Southeast Asia worsened as tens of thousands of Cambodians poured into Thailand to escape the Khmer Rouge. Recognized as a national

²² Personal communication with Governor Robert Ray, October 2, 2008.

²³ Ed Bradley received an Emmy Award, the Edward R. Murrow Award from the Overseas Press Club of America, and the Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia University Award for Broadcast Journalism for the documentary "The Boat People" (Holmes, 1999).

leader for Southeast Asian resettlement, Ray attended the U.N. Conference on Indochinese Refugees as a member of a bipartisan delegation at the invitation of Vice-President Walter Mondale in late July to advocate to world leaders on behalf of the displaced people of Indochina.

As the state prepared to assist more refugees, a poll conducted on in late September by *The Des Moines Register* showed that 51 percent of state respondents were not in favor of more Southeast Asian refugees moving to Iowa (*Pedersen, 1979*).

That October, Ray along with five other governors traveled to China on an economic trade mission. In route back to the United States the group, which included Kenneth M. Quinn,²⁴ former U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Cambodia, had the opportunity to go through Thailand to observe conditions in refugee camps there. As the entourage arrived in Bangkok, a new refugee crisis had just begun developing along the Thailand-Cambodia border as Thailand began to send Cambodian refugees back across the border.²⁵ On day five of the crisis, the U.S. governors' group went by bus and helicopter to Sakaew, one of the holding centers near the border where more than 30,000 people had amassed in a muddy field

²⁴ Personal communication with Kenneth M. Quinn, former U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Cambodia on October 2, 2008. Ambassador Quinn, who now heads the World Food Prize, served on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's National Security Council staff and was a career foreign service officer assigned to Governor Ray's office beginning in 1978. Quinn wrote his doctoral dissertation "The Origins and Development of Radical Cambodian Communism" in 1982 and is the first person to report on the genocidal policies and practices of the Khmer Rouge in 1974.

²⁵ Hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees began to flee across what was a disputed border between Thailand and Cambodia after Cambodia's Pol Pot regime was overthrown in fighting between Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge in January 1975.

with little or no shelter or food. The group was among the first Westerners to witness and report on the crisis.²⁶

Ray said, “I was moved by the sight of walking over to a man with a girl in his arms, she was four or five years old, and just as I got to him her head dropped. She died.”²⁷

The governor took photographs with his own camera and when he, Quinn and their party returned home to Iowa on October 29, they were met at the airport by David Yepsen of the *The Des Moines Register*. When Yepsen learned Ray had taken pictures, he asked for the film. The next morning, Ray’s photographs were used by the paper to tell the story with the headline, “I watched refugees die” (Yepsen, 1979).

Quinn said, “It created an electric reaction about so many suffering human beings. A group of ecumenical leaders came to see the Governor about what could be done to help, and *The Des Moines Register’s* publisher, Michael Gartner, was prepared to put the editorial pages of the newspaper behind the effort.”²⁸

IowaSHARES was established as a fundraising mechanism for Iowans to contribute financially for the support of the refugee camps. *The Des Moines Register* printed a Thanksgiving Day editorial, “Giving from Iowa’s Bounty,” about the program along with an advertisement for IowaSHARES that looked like an order form as a way to stimulate contributions (*Des Moines Register*, 1979). The advertisement ran daily in the paper until

²⁶ The refugee camp was situated on about 40-acres of dense scrub land which had been cleared to make room for the refugees; the ratio of land to people allowed about 1 square meter per person. In all, some 3 million people became refugees.

²⁷ Personal communication with Governor Robert Ray, October 2, 2008.

²⁸ Personal communication with Ambassador Kenneth M. Quinn, October 2, 2008.

Christmas. The effort raised \$600,000 in individual contributions, many of which were small. According to Quinn, one woman who wanted to contribute but had no money sent her wedding ring.

The money raised by IowaSHARES was used to buy food and medical supplies for the refugee camps, to help build an orphanage and to send medical personnel to assist in the refugee camps. With coordination from Catholic Charities, *The Des Moines Register* religion reporter, Bill Simbro, went to Thailand in early 1980 to report on the story of refugee camps and the arrival of aid from Iowa.

Both the governor and the ambassador credit *The Des Moines Register* in not only shaping Iowa opinion but in motivating Iowans to respond to the crisis. According to Ray, “We learned quickly that people of Iowa have heart.”²⁹

By 1999, more than 10,000 Indo-Chinese refugees called Iowa home (Prouty, 1999). Additionally, throughout the 1990s, Iowa resettled an annual average of more than 2,600 new immigrants and refugees predominately from the former Yugoslavia, Africa, Vietnam and the former Soviet Union (Prouty, 1999).

According to Quinn, Iowa is the only state in the union with a state government entity, the Bureau of Refugee Services, certified by the State Department to aid in refugee resettlement. *A Promise Called Iowa*, a documentary that aired on Iowa Public Television in April, 2007 reported: “Iowa is the only place where state government, along with the private resettlement agencies welcomes the dispossessed” (Iowa Public Television, 2007).

²⁹ Personal communication with Governor Robert Ray, October 2, 2008.

Between 1975 and 2008, the Iowa Department of Human Services' Bureau of Refugee Services along with Lutheran Social Services of Iowa and the United States Catholic Council has settled 27,236 displaced people in Iowa from Africa, the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Near East, and Southeast Asia.³⁰ Although refugee resettlement has slowed nationwide since 9/11, 590 people were resettled in Iowa in the fiscal year ending September 30, 2008, and increase of more than 150 people from the previous year.

Today's pressing immigration concern is no longer the resettlement of political refugees. Instead, as the nation juggles national security concerns with the daunting task of securing the nation's borders, communities across the country and throughout the state are trying to deal with large numbers of undocumented Mexicans and others from Latin and Central America who have entered the United States by circumventing official ports of entry.

Under current U.S. law, less than 26,000 Mexicans a year can legally immigrate, but more than 500,000 and possibly as a million or more cross the border illegally annually (Mundt, 2007). Five percent of the U.S. labor force is undocumented immigrants (Passel, Capps & Fix, 2004). In Iowa, the percentage is estimated to be 6.2 (Mundt, 2007). With 50,000 to 85,000 undocumented immigrants, Iowa faces many complex legal, political, social, and economic challenges.

The huge number who have come seeking employment, housing, health care, education and related social services place a \$121 million fiscal demand on Iowa

³⁰ Interview on October 21, 2008 with Loren Bawn, Operations Manager, Iowa Department of Human Services Bureau of Refugee Services.

communities according to the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a policy and educational organization that advocates for immigration reduction (FAIR, 2007).

In December 2007, FAIR's Congressional Task Force sponsored a gathering in Des Moines of 22 national conservative talk-radio hosts a week before the 2008 Iowa Caucuses. The two-day event, billed as a "radio row" allowed broadcasters access to talk with many of the presidential candidates about immigration issues.

Despite this, the state acknowledges that immigrants have diversified its ethnic composition and have brought with them a vigorous work ethic. Ninety-six percent of all undocumented men are in the labor force (Passel, Capps, & Fix, 2004). Many take jobs in meatpacking plants, construction, road work, roofing, and landscaping that residents do not want do. As undocumented immigrants, most try to fly under the radar of many traditional economic systems in the community, such as owning property and paying property tax. Nevertheless, they contribute to Iowa's economy by paying sales tax. Those with formal employment and bogus Social Security numbers end up paying into the Social Security system anyway even though they are ineligible to benefit from it.

In the months leading up to the 2008 Iowa caucuses, immigration was one of the most intense topics being discussed on the campaign trail. In March 2007, after a stop in Cedar Falls, presidential candidate and Arizona Senator John McCain observed: "Immigration is probably a more powerful issue here than almost any place that I have been" (Nagourney, 2007). After fielding questions on immigration for half an hour, another presidential hopeful, Kansas Senator Sam Brownback, asked a group of Iowans who turned out for a campaign breakfast if there were any "other topics that people wanted to talk about" outside of immigration (Nagourney, 2007). On April 2, 2007, Colorado Representative Tom Tancredo

came to Iowa to announce his candidacy on “Michelson in the Morning,” a talk radio program that airs on WHO in Des Moines. Tancredo, who bowed out two weeks before the 2008 Iowa Caucuses on December 20 in order to throw his support behind another candidate, used illegal immigration as his main campaign issue.

Although the national economy and energy costs along with the 2008 presidential election have dominated news coverage throughout the year, illegal immigration remains among the top news stories for both the national and local media agenda³¹. In Iowa the issue of illegal immigration is dynamic and the immigration raids in Marshalltown and Postville have fueled the debate among lawmakers, business leaders, religious leaders, and citizens throughout the state.

The story of immigration within Iowa has been chronicled in its newspapers. It can be surmised that these journalistic accounts have mirrored and shaped public opinion about this issue. This study assesses how three community newspapers covered large immigration raids which attracted national attention. In doing so, it looks at the conflicts, constraints, and challenges faced by these publications in reporting on illegal immigration, a multifaceted issue with wide-ranging social, economic and political ramifications. The results of the study are expected to serve as inputs in any effort at creating policies pertinent to immigration. The findings are also expected to assist media practitioners in identifying biases and sources of inaccuracies in the way they position a topic in their reports and ultimately in the minds of those who read those reports.

³¹ Both the pace and size of immigration raids around the country have intensified since the December 2006 raid at Swift and Company in Marshalltown. In October 2008, ICE made 1,100 criminal arrests tied to worksite investigations - up from 863 in FY 2007 and took 5,100 illegal aliens into custody on administrative immigration violations during worksite investigation—an increase of more than 1000 from FY 2007 (U.S. ICE, 2008).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1 examined the history of immigration in America and Iowa, and reviewed aspects of the current immigration situation specifically in relation to the immigration raids in Marshalltown in December 2006 and in Postville in May 2008.

This chapter reviews framing theory related to the way news media use frames to tell stories, and the way readers use frames — audience frames—to interpret or understand stories. This chapter examines the theories related to the role of the press in setting the public agenda and the shaping of public opinion, especially the role newspapers play in mirroring public opinion. Studies that have addressed this topic are reviewed. Additionally, the theoretical framework for case study work is reviewed as the qualitative research method of choice for studying the community newspapers and the specific challenges each paper faced in covering the workplace immigration raids and the immediate impacts on the affected local communities. The last section of the chapter outlines the study's research questions and hypotheses.

Mirroring vs. Shaping Reality

Do the news media act as a mirror that reflects what is happening in society or do they shape public opinion through their framing of issues?

In March 2007, during the early phase of pre-caucus campaigning in Iowa when immigration was among the top issues addressed by both presidential hopefuls and Iowa voters, *The New York Times* captured the pulse of this dichotomy. Reporter Adam Nagourney observed, “The debate on the campaign trail is both reflecting and feeding the politics of the

issue in Washington” (p. A1). To Melvin Mencher, a 1953 Nieman Fellow and professor emeritus at Columbia University, “the media reflect our culture.” Calling the press “the media mirror,” another Nieman Fellow, Tom Ashbrook, wrote:

I have come to think that the correct metaphor for the news media—not our ideal, or our best hours, but as it really is, over time—might have only intermittently to do with illumination. Day in and day out, it might have more to do with reflection. It is very often not a search light or head light or torch, lighting the way ahead. It is instead a mirror. A mirror of society’s hopes and fears, of its obsessions and conceits and, even, its illusion (Ashbrook, 2004, p.48).

Many newspapers use the word “mirror” in their mastheads perhaps to indicate that their reporting reflects what is going on in the community at large (i.e., Britain’s daily tabloid, *The Mirror*, and its Sunday edition, *The Sunday Mirror*; Nantucket’s *The Inquirer and Mirror*; the Diocese of Des Moines’ *The Catholic Mirror*).

In an effort to mirror public opinion, the news media often report the results of public opinion polling. However, when the media also conduct polling and then report on its results, it can be argued that they create news or “pseudo-events” (Boorstin, 1961). In this manner, the media purposefully shape how the public views topics by how they ask questions in a poll and how they frame or report the results.

The power of the press to shape public opinion and influence the direction of debate on any topic has been well documented. American journalist Walter Lippmann (1922) was one of the first to comment on this power, observing that the press provides the public with a picture of issues and places to which it otherwise would not have access. In *Public Opinion*, he wrote, “The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported, and imagined” (p. 29). Writing in the early 1920s, the two-time Pulitzer Prize winner further asserted that people have:

invented ways of seeing what no naked eye could see, of hearing what no ear could hear, of weighing immense masses and infinitesimal ones, of counting and separating more items than he can individually remember. He is learning to see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember. Gradually he makes for himself a trustworthy picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach (Lippmann, 1922, p. 29).

Framing: Putting Issues in Context

It is these pictures in people's minds that Lippmann calls "public opinion with capital letters." The press not only takes these "pictures" by focusing its lens on which issues of the day it considers salient (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Brewer and McCombs, 1996), but it also places issues in a contextual "frame," cropping and sizing them by how it reports on certain matters (Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

Like a frame around a picture, media frames put a contextual border around a story. They serve as "frames of reference" from which a story is told and from where a story is read. Both writer and reader draw upon their own experience, education, knowledge, beliefs, and values as they approach a topic. In doing so, both the media and the audience may arrive at similar conclusions or may come up with widely divergent views.

Framing is an organizational device that allows a journalist a method of pulling together a lot of information (Gitlin, 1980). Framing affects not only what is told, but it can also be the "spin" placed on a story through the deliberate selection of elements such as words, metaphors, euphemisms, and quotations; through the associations, references and inferences employed as examples; in the choice of charts, graphs, and photographs used for illustration; and in the placement, size and volume of these elements.

Each of these act as a framing device that can assist the reader to understand not just the story, but to grasp or develop a bias about the personality, object, issue or topic discussed

in the story. Framing, therefore, shapes the reader's understanding of issues and events in terms of what is said and what has been omitted.

By no means are the media a "passive channel of communication or neutral and objective observers" (Oliver & Myers, 1999). According to Edleman (1993) the choice of frames is often "driven by ideology and prejudice." The media bring their own bias into every story beginning with the assignment editor, the reporter, the copy editor, the paginator, the executive editor, the publisher, the advertisers, and extending into the hierarchy of corporate ownership. This matrix can influence media framing in ways that are not readily obvious to the public or even to those involved in producing a story.

There are four main ways news stories are typically framed, according to Valkenburg, Semetko and DeVreese (1999). The "conflict frame" emphasizes conflict between groups or individuals; the "human interest frame" focuses on individuals and is aimed at evoking an emotion; the "responsibility frame" places blame, credit or responsibility on particular individuals or institutions; and the "economic consequence frame" looks at the financial aspects of an issue (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). Although a single frame may be dominant in a news story, a story may integrate more than one frame.

According to Entman (1993) frames can define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies (p. 52). For example, the Nazis referred to their hatred of Jews and their pogrom as "the Jewish question." This framing denoted an almost exasperated or beleaguered annoyance about a trivial matter that needs a little fix. However, they responded to "the Jewish question" with actions that bespeak of anything but simple annoyance. Behind the euphemism in the word "question," the Nazis carried out one of the most atrocious attempts at mass genocide humanity has ever known.

In telling the story of immigration, every word choice used to describe the issue can be a framing device. In the case of immigration, like other politically charged and divisive topics—such as abortion—few if any word choices are neutral. In the case of abortion, framing belies many passions. The matter is couched as “pro-life,” “pro-choice,” “anti-abortion,” and “anti-choice.” Each of those is an emotionally loaded issue-defining conceptual frame. Because framing has the power to influence not just *what* issues the public thinks about, but *how* the public thinks about those issues (Cohen, 1963), the very word choices used to describe the subject of immigration—“illegal,” “alien,” “undocumented”—are powerful framing elements themselves.

How the media discuss the immigration issue can therefore influence the way people understand the scope of the story, what the options are for the nation and for local communities, and how they, as citizens, can shape public policy decisions about it.

Who, What, When, Where and How: Community Newspapers and a National Story

In a speech before the American Newspaper Association, former Secretary of State Colin Powell said “America’s hometown papers, whether large or small, chronicle the daily life of our nation, of our people....Put it all together, and community newspapers do not just tell the story of American freedom, (they) are that story” (Powell, 2001).

Modern community newspapers may be published daily, every few days or weekly; they may have a circulation of several hundred or several thousand³²; they can be mailed, home delivered or available either for sale or for free on newsstands; and they may be locally

³² There is no definitive definition of a community newspaper, however, Lauterer (2006) includes papers with circulations of up to 50,000. Byerly (1961), credited with coining the term “community newspaper,” set his circulation limit at 30,000.

and privately owned, or published by an out-of-state media corporation with diverse holdings.

Compared to the large urban newspaper which may focus on local, state, national and international news, the role of community newspapers is unique because their focus is “relentlessly local” and their relationships to the cities and towns where they are published and circulated is very personal (Lauterer, 2006). Many community newspapers emphasize an activist or watchdog role while others emphasize news about members of the community, such as birth announcements, obituaries, anniversary milestones, personal achievements and awards received (Jeffres, Cutietta, Lee & Sekera, 1999). There exists a larger gap of anonymity between the staffs of national and large metropolitan newspapers and their readers than between the staffs of smaller community papers and their readers. It is possible for a person in a large metropolitan area to never know anyone— save the paper deliver person—who works for “the newspaper.” However, in a small community, readers may know reporters and editor on a first name basis as neighbors, customers, or parents of their children’s friends.

This familiarity which comes from living in close proximity with a smaller population can make it difficult for the writers and editors of community newspapers to report controversial stories, and to do so with the same type of journalistic freedom that writers in larger metropolitan area may have (Donohoe, Olien, & Tichenor, 1997). Newspapers always risk revenues by upsetting subscribers and advertisers, but local newspapers in smaller communities face this challenge in a more personal way (Kennedy, 1874). “Some small-town newspapers just bypass the difficulties of reporting on tough and sensitive issues by implementing a blanket policy of not reporting them” (Pumarlo, 2005, p. 61).

Newspapers that serve smaller circulation and geographic areas are also likely to have a smaller staff and fewer resources to spend on in-depth reporting and investigative journalism than newspapers serving larger metropolitan or national audiences. Operating sometimes like house organs, community newspapers are expected to provide coverage of local events and coverage of regional or national events with a local perspective, something that papers in larger communities are not expected to do in the same way. “Community newspapers satisfy a basic human craving that most big dailies can’t touch, no matter how large their budgets— and that is the affirmation of the sense of community, a positive and intimate reflection of the sense of place, a stroke for our us-ness, our extended familiness and our profound and interlocking connectedness” (Lauterer, 2006, p. 14).

When a controversial story that commands national attention—such as the workplace immigration raids in Marshalltown and Postville by federal authorities—breaks in the backyard of a community newspaper, the publication is faced with myriad circumstances out of the ordinary. The way the community paper reported on the events lends itself to a case study.

Case Study Research

Case study is a form of qualitative research rooted in the fields of social work and anthropology dating back to the early twentieth century and what is known as the “Chicago School”³³ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Iorio, 2003). Qualitative research evolved from an interpretive rather than a positivist or deterministic tradition of studying the behavior and

³³ One of the founders of the Chicago School of Sociology at the University of Chicago was Robert E. Park, a journalist who held a Ph.D in philosophy. Park blended his newspaper background into his teaching and research as a professor at the Chicago School, famed for the participant-observer method of case study research that focused on urban conditions, the poor, and immigrants. Park is the author of *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (1922), referenced earlier.

experiences of individuals and groups. As with other forms of qualitative research, case study methodology has often been “stereotyped as a weak sibling among social science methods” (Yin, 2003, xiii). However, the well-rounded researcher recognizes “the collection and analysis of statistics is deemed necessary, but not sufficient” (Iorio, 2005) when studying dynamic, non-static social phenomena, such as journalism practice and stories covered by journalists.

Case study methodology can be used alone or in multimethod research designs to explore, describe, explain and illustrate the phenomena being studied (Yin, 2003, p.15) Case study is distinct from ethnography (Fetterman, 1989) which is the “art and science of describing a group and culture” (p. 11) in order to “understand and describe (it) from the emic or insider’s perspective” (p.12). Rather, case study methodology is empirical inquiry that has a natural fit with the field of journalism and the role of the reporter who approaches news stories with the questions “who, what, when, where, why, and how” in order to seek out the facts of a situation in context to its circumstances in order for readers to understand the events of the day.

This study, therefore, (1) used a case study approach to examine how three community newspapers covered complex and emotionally charged stories of federal immigration raids in two Iowa communities; (2) used content analysis to explore framing effects as an independent variable and posits that media or news frames can find their way into and thus influence audience frames (Scheufele, 2000); and (3) looks at the tone of that coverage in relationship to public opinion polling of Iowans’ attitudes regarding illegal immigration and public policy options to address the current illegal immigration situation in the United States.

Research Questions

Considering the foregoing literature review, this study asks:

RQ1: What were the particular conflicts, constraints, and challenges faced by three community newspapers affected by the raids in telling the stories of two federal immigration raids that occurred in December 2006 and May 2008?

RQ2: How intensively did these community newspapers cover the immigration raids?

RQ3: What frames did the newspapers use to cover the immigration raids? What issue frames were most commonly used? Does frame use vary across newspapers? What are the differences in placement, size, and volume of text and graphic images between the papers?

RQ4: What was the tone of this coverage? Was the tone positive, negative or neutral toward the action taken by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement? Was the tone positive, negative, or neutral toward those arrested for alleged immigration violations?

RQ5: Based on the University of Iowa's Hawkeye Poll of public opinion, what is the relationship between the news frames used in the news coverage of the immigration raids in Marshalltown and Postville and public opinion about illegal immigration? How do the editorial positions of Iowa newspapers about the immigration raids align with the results of public opinion polls about immigration?

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The Study Design

To answer the research questions, this study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to gather data. First, case studies were done looking at how local newspapers in three Iowa communities affected by recent ICE workplace raids reported on these raids. Second, a qualitative content analysis of news coverage of the two raids was done. Third, the findings of the content analysis, specifically in terms of identified media frames were compared against the results of public opinion polls conducted by the University of Iowa that tracks Iowan's attitudes about illegal immigration.

Case Studies

Case study research is an empirical method of inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003) and can involve observation and interviewing to gather data and to seek an in-depth understanding about an experience, event or a situation (Wainwright, 1997).

Case studies focusing on three Iowa communities — two where immigration raids took place and one where those arrested were detained — and how the newspapers in these three communities covered the raids were undertaken. Interviews and email communications were conducted with editors and staff writers at the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, and the *Postville Herald-Leader* to learn about the particular conflicts, constraints and challenges that these community newspapers faced in reporting the stories of the immigration raids.

In case study research, construct validity can be established by having key informants review a draft of the final report (Yin, 2003, p. 34), and reliability can be insured by following a case study protocol that could be replicated by other researchers. In brief meeting with the editors of all three papers, each was asked the same open ended question: What special conflicts, constraints and challenges were faced in reporting on the immigration raid stories, that as a reader, I might not understand or realize. In addition, news sections of each paper were read on the days preceding the raids to understand what was happening locally in the community. As the case studies were written, the editors were asked to review the narratives related to their papers to insure the accuracy of the events that unfolded in reporting the stories

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a “systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter” (Krippendorff, 2004). As a quantitative research methodology in the field of journalism, content analysis dates to the late 1890s and evolved from the 1930s until it was defined by Berelson (1952) as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 363-4). Applying “explicit and consistently applied rules” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003, p.141) sample selection and coding are conducted systematically in a replicable, objective and quantifiable manner.

Content analysis can be used to study both textual and visual communication and is an appropriate methodology to examine how the newspapers reported the stories of the immigration raids.

Text analysis involves looking at not just the quantity of words, but seeks to qualitatively measure the tone of news, editorials, opinion pieces and letters-to-the-editor. Stories can be biased or balanced depending on many factors: how a reporter describes what has happened; the way a quotation attributed; the emphasis placed on sources of information. Textual analysis requires reading both what has been written as well as reading between the lines of what has been written, and doing so in a way that can be replicated by another researcher using the same instrument with the same units of analysis.

While framing traditionally has been used to analyze text, visual framing is an equally important, if lesser-studied, area of media research (Geske & Brown, 2008). Visual images are important design elements in the modern newspaper. Research by Garcia (1987) indicates that the first thing a newspaper reader looks at is a photograph. Studies have shown that news photos can be more evocative and remain with a viewer longer than accompanying editorial content (Perlmutter, 1999; Lester, 1991; Zillman, Gibson & Sargent, 1999).

Messaris and Abraham (2003) argue that photographs are especially relevant to the concerns of framing theory though “viewers may be less aware of the process of framing when it occurs visually than when it takes place through words” (p. 225). Photographs and other visuals can therefore be powerful framing devices for controversial aspects of news stories that may be difficult to address explicitly (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996), such as racism, terrorism, matters of injustice or human pain and suffering.

To determine media frames, all news stories, feature reports, editorials and editorial columns, and letters to the editor published in three community newspapers were examined. This analysis also included images that accompany the texts. These images included

photographs, cartoons, photo-illustrations information graphics (bar graphs, pie charts, line graphs), diagrams and illustrations.

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis, therefore, were the complete news or feature story, the images and its accompanying caption, the complete editorial pieces and editorial columns, and the complete letters to the editor published in three Iowa papers. Original broadsheet editions were used for *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* and *Postville Herald-Leader*, and for the 2008 editions of the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*. Microfilm was used for the 2006 and 2007 editions of the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* as original broadsheets were not available through the newspaper's circulation department, the Marshalltown Public Library, the Iowa State University library, or the Iowa State Historical Library.

These newspapers were selected due to their proximity to the raids and to where the detainees were held (i.e. the raids or initial detentions happened in places within the newspapers' areas of circulation). These papers are as follows:

Marshalltown Times-Republican, a daily newspaper that focuses on local news coverage in Marshalltown, Iowa, an agricultural and industrial county-seat community of 25,957 in central Iowa. Begun in 1856 as the *Marshalltown Daily Republican*, the paper has a circulation of 11,241 and a readership of 22,482. It is owned today by Ogden Newspapers a media corporation based in Wheeling, West Virginia that publishes 40



Figure 1. Front page of *Marshalltown Times- Republican*.

daily newspapers, several magazines, weekly newspapers and shoppers in 12 states.

The *Times-Republican's* Section A goes to press at 11:15 p.m., followed by its sports section around 1 a.m. It is ready for distribution by 6 a.m. and subscribers receive it by mail in the afternoon. Twice a month the paper publishes *La Voz*, a Spanish-language digest with translated stories from the *Times-Republican*.

The Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, is a daily newspaper which focuses on local news coverage in Waterloo and Cedar Falls, Iowa, adjacent communities with a combined area population of 102,938. Begun in 1859 as *The Blackhawk Courier*, the paper's daily circulation is 68,459. The paper was purchased in 2002 by Lee Enterprises, a Davenport, Iowa media corporation which publishes 49 daily newspapers, more than 300



Figure 1. Front page of *The Waterloos/Cedar Falls Courier*.

weeklies, and has joint interest in four other dailies along with online sites in 23 states. *The Courier's* press time has recently changed to 8 o'clock on weekdays, but at the time of the raids in Marshalltown and Postville, press time was 10:30 a.m.

Although the paper does not fit the definition of a "community newspaper" based on Lauterer (2006) definition of papers with circulations of 50,000 or under, *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* is very much a community paper that focuses primarily on local news in addition to state news, with some wire service news on national and world events.

Postville Herald-Leader, is a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 1,023 published on Wednesdays that focuses on local news coverage in Postville, Iowa, a community of 2,320 residents. The paper is a merger of two papers, *The Postville Herald*, begun in 1891 as *The Iowa Volksblatt*, a weekly German language paper (Bloom, 2000), and *The Postville Leader*, begun in 1990 by News Publishing, Inc. of Black Earth, Wisconsin. For about 9 months there were two papers in Postville. In 1991, News Publishing, Inc. acquired the *Herald* and the two papers were merged. *The Postville Herald-Leader* is printed in English. For a period of time in the 1990s, the paper occasionally printed some of its pages in Spanish. The paper is printed on Tuesdays for distribution by mail carrier to its subscribers on Wednesdays.



Figure 3. Front page of the *Postville Herald-Leader*.

Periods of Analysis

The periods of analysis cover two six-week time frames, beginning with the date of the raid in Marshalltown— December 12, 2006 through January 31 2007— and a six-week time frame beginning with the date of the raid in Postville— May 12, 2008 through June 30, 2008. A census or complete enumeration of stories and images from the three papers about the immigration raids within the specified timeframes was analyzed.

Keywords

Sixteen keywords or terms were used to search for and identify stories and images: (1) illegal immigration/immigrants; (2) undocumented workers; (3) illegal aliens; (4), illegals; (5) detainees/detained; (6) immigration reform; (7) immigration violation; (8) false

documents; (9) identity theft; (10) immigration raid; (11) ICE; (12) Swift and Company, (13) Agriprocessors, Inc., (14) Marshalltown, (15) Postville, and (16) National Cattle Congress fairgrounds.

Operational Definition of Content Analysis Variables

Intensity of Coverage. The extent to which a topic has received the media's attention has been shown to influence the public's perception of an issues' salience (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 64). To determine intensity of coverage, the number of news reports, feature stories, photos, editorials and editorial cartoons, and letters to the editor that discussed the topic in the four papers was counted and charted to get a picture of the cycle of coverage.

Prominence of Coverage. Realtors use the phrase "location, location, location" to explain why two identical houses can be priced differently: the better the location, the higher the value of the home. In much the same way, the placement of a story in a newspaper tells the reader about its importance.

Prominence is understood as "the positioning of a story within a media text to communicate its importance," (Kioussis, 2004, p.74). Placement on the front page is considered "better real estate" than placement inside a paper. A story's placement on the upper half of the paper or "above the fold" ranks higher than its placement below the fold. Traditionally, the upper right hand corner on a broadsheet holds pride of place for the lead story of the day. However, research on how English language readers read, from left to right, suggests that placing the lead story on the left side of the page may be a more intuitive layout for the reader's eye. The left-to-right layout has also been shown to have semiotic importance for people in cultures that read text from left to right and from the top to the bottom (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998). Some eye tracking research shows that readers scan a newspaper in

a zig-zag or maze-like pattern and begin reading at certain “entry points,” beginning with dominant photos and prominent headlines (Garcia and Stark, 1991).

Although word count, column inches, and the size of the headline are important criteria used to measure the story prominence, research about how readers consume what is on the printed page is rewriting many of the old and fast rules of newspaper design. To boost readership and keep readers engaged, many papers are undergoing facelifts that incorporate fresh and graphically salient design elements, such as flags, tickers, thematic teasers, multiple sized headlines and text, and infographics in addition to photos (Watts, Mazz & Snyder, 1993) to provide readers with entry points or “thresholds” (Genette 1997[1987]). The more important the story, the more likely it will run with photographs, pull quotes, illustrations, graphs, or other visual elements, devices which draw readers in and provide more detail than text alone. For the purposes of this study, all text and visual units of analysis were coded for their position on the page and either their word count or size. Units of text were coded into four groups: (1) articles of 300 words or less; (2) articles of 300-500 words; (3) articles of 500 to 800 words; and (4) articles of 800 words or more. Although an important news story may be given more space on the page and may contain more words, newspaper research has shown that readers scan newspapers, that their eyes actually see or register only 25 percent of all articles on the page, and that only 12 percent of all articles are read beyond 50 percent of their length (Garcia & Stark, 1991). Readers also are more likely to not read articles that jump, and if an article does, readers are less likely to follow to follow it and finish reading it.

Photographs are perhaps the single most important reading entry points, (Garcia & Stark, 1991) and while photos printed in color may be more effective in drawing readers into a story than grey-scale photos (Holmqvist & Wartenberg 2005), readers look at photos

positioned on the upper left hand side of the page first (Josephsson,1996). For this study, visual elements were coded for whether they were printed in black and white or color, dividing the broadsheet into quadrants, where the visual elements were placed on the page and for their size measured in square inches.

Type of Article and Newspaper Section. Each article was assigned to one of five categories operationally defined as: (1) a news report, such as a lead story or a news brief; (2) a features story which focused on a human interest angle, such as how the raid affected a particular family, or how the children at a school were coping after their many of the parents were arrested; (3) an editorial written by the newspaper's editor or editorial board; (4) an op-ed column written by a columnist; (4) and readers' letters to the editor or publisher.

Newspaper sections were operationally defined as: (1) the front page section where the main headline and top news stories of the day are found; (3) the business section where business and agricultural news is reported. Since the meatpacking plants that were raided do business with Midwest livestock producers and a slowdown or a production halt at the plant would have an immediate effect on farmers, livestock transportation companies, and food suppliers who distribute the packaged meats; (4) the metro or city section where features and other non-hard news stories are typically located; (5) and other for any other section of the paper where an article concerning the immigration raids was found.

Tone of Coverage. Tone refers to the general orientation or valence of the story, editorial piece, or image with respect to two topics or objects: (1) the tone of the story or image toward those detained and suspected of being in the U.S. illegally, and (2) the tone of the story or image toward the federal immigration workplace raids. Tone can be characterized as either positive, negative, or neutral/mixed. A unit of analysis was considered

to display a positive tone if it either supported or was sympathetic to those suspected of being in the U.S. illegally or supportive of the action of government authorities in enforcing U.S. immigration laws. A newspaper piece was considered as adopting a negative tone if it depicted those suspected of being in the U.S. illegally or the government raids in a bad light, such as referring to those who were arrested or detained as “illegals,” or if the government actions were “in humane.” Newspaper pieces with mixed tones (a combination of positive and negative slants) were coded as neutral.

The overall tone of coverage is the total balance (positive minus negative) of all the immigration raid-related news stories.

Sources. Sources are the individuals journalists turn to for first hand information, or for expert information, analysis or commentary about a news story, and, thus, play an important role in how stories are framed by both the media and audience. Sources included individual citizens, spokes people for local, state and federal law enforcement agencies; community business owners; religious and advocacy organization leaders, language interpreters, federal prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges and court officials, detainees and their family members, immigration policy spokesperson, political candidates or elected officials. Sources may be directly quoted or paraphrased, or information may be attributed to a source, to a press release from a source, or may come from a spokesperson for the source, such as an aid or staff person.

Actors. Actors are specific named individuals or groups of individuals about whom a news story or photograph is about. Actors can play a major or minor role in a story through they do not necessarily have to be interviewed or quoted. Additionally, an actor can also be a source in a news article. The names of key actors were recorded as string variables, including

the names of state and local elected officials, U.S. Homeland Security officials, officers of the court including judges and prosecutors, defense attorneys, religious leaders, and advocates for immigrant and civil rights groups.

Action or Event Depicted in Photographs. The actions related to the news story of the immigration raids includes: law enforcement officials arresting and/or detaining individuals; detainees being arrested, detained or transported, meeting with an attorney, going before a judge or court official; family members or friends of detainees talking with others, crying or being consoled or counseled by an advocate; an individual giving a statement to the press at a press conference; a slice-of-life image of the community, such as its Main Street or downtown area, an aerial view; an image of Swift and Company or Agriprocessors facilities, a spokesperson from one of the companies, other non-detained employees.

Frames. Media frames are the overarching analytical frameworks used to structure a newspaper piece. Adapting the framing paradigm described by Valkenburg, Semetko and DeVreese (1999) each complete story will be analyzed for the presence or absence of the following four frames:

The Conflict Frame. This frame asks the question: “What is the problem?” The frame sees the people who have entered and remained in the U.S. illegally as the problem. The frame may also emphasize not only are there people who are in the U.S. illegally, but that people who want immigration laws upheld are “racist,” “xenophobic,” or “nativists.”

The Human Interest Frame. This frame portrays the illegal immigrant as a human being who is caught in an unfortunate set of circumstances between the lack of work

and other opportunities in his or her country and a wealthy but inhospitable nation that exploits workers and treats them inhumanly.

The Responsibility Frame. This frame asks: “Who is responsible for what has occurred in the news story?” Responsibility might be either blame or credit given to certain actors or actions. Blame may be placed on: (1) the government and its agencies for conducting the raid and its consequences; (2) the employers who hired and exploited illegal immigrants; (3) or the nation’s conflicting immigration policies and failure to remedy immigration laws. Credit may be given for the compassion and leadership shown by religious and civic leaders, and community groups toward immigrants.

The Economic Frame. This frame examines: (1) the economic benefits the country derives from of illegal immigrants who contribute to the community by paying wage, sales and other taxes; (2) the cost to communities provide medical, educational, and social services to illegal immigrants; (3) how illegal immigrants take jobs away from American citizens and those who have entered the country legally and have valid work permits; and (4) the economic impact on the communities in whose jurisdictions the immigration raids occurred, including the livestock farmers, the truckers, the other workers at the packing plants, and all the businesses that are indirectly impacted as a result of the raids.

Inter-coder Reliability

Inter-coder reliability refers to the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion. It is widely acknowledged that inter-coder reliability is a critical component of content analysis, and that

although it does not insure validity, when it is not established properly, the date and interpretations of the data cannot be considered valid. As Neuendorf (2002) notes, “given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least intersubjective) characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount. Without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless” (p.141).

The variables of greatest interest in the content analysis part of the study are the nominal one, particularly the variables that measure for the presence or absence of frames and the variables that measure the tone of the piece toward those who were detained and toward the government action. Scott’s pi is the accepted standard for inter-coder reliability of nominal data in communication studies. The general formula for Scott’s pi is:

$$\text{Scott's } \Pi = \frac{P_O - P_E}{100 - P_o}$$

where P_O is the observed agreement and P_E is the expected agreement. There is no firm rule for a minimum value of Scott’s pi, but most of the mass communication research literature cites values of 0.75 or higher.

Three trained undergraduate students and one graduate student coded the newspaper pieces after being instructed on the coding protocols which were incorporated in the coding sheets. With four coders, average pairwise percent agreement for each coder combination was calculated, along with Fleiss’ kappa for text analysis and the average pairwise Choen’s kappa for text analysis for comparison.

The general form for Fleiss’s kappa is:

$$K = \frac{P_O - P_E}{1 - P_e}$$

where P_O is the observed proportion of agreement and P_E is the expected proportion of agreement by chance. P_O and P_E are calculated as:

$$P_o = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_j x_{ij}^2 - nm}{nm(m-1)} \quad P_e = \sum_j p_j^2$$

where x_{ij} is the number of ratings on sample I ($I = 1, \dots, n$) into category j ; m is the number of trials being compared; and p_j is defined as:

$$P_j = \frac{1}{nm} \sum_{i=1}^n x_{ij}$$

The formula for Cohen's kappa is:

$$K = \frac{P_{r(a)} - P_{r(e)}}{1 - P_{r(e)}}$$

For quantitative variables, Krippendorff's alpha, the all-purpose reliability measure, was used. The general form is:

$$\alpha = 1 - \frac{D_o}{D_e}$$

where D_o is the observed disagreement and D_e is the disagreement one would expect when the coding of units is attributable to chance rather than to the properties of these units.

For the purposes of this study, these measurements were conducted on both analyzed units of text and analyzed units of images to measure inter-coder reliability.

For the units of text, 10% of the total units of analysis were selected for coding by all four coders, and inter-coder reliability data was computed for eight key quantitative

variables: the type and length of the article, the presence or absence of one of the four frames and the tone of the article toward illegal immigrants and toward the raid and action of the government. Krippendorff's alpha for these variables was .882.

Table 1. Average pairwise percent agreement for text analysis.

Average pairwise percent agreement	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 4	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. of coder 2 & 4	Pairwise pct. agr. coders 2 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. coders 3 & 4
92.8%	97.5%	97.5%	88.333%	87.5%	89.167%	96.667%

Table 2. Fleiss' Kappa for text analysis.

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.882	0.928	0.39

Table 3. Average pairwise Choen's Kappa for text analysis.

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 4	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 3	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 2	Pairwise CK for coders 2 & 4	Pairwise CK for coders 2 & 3	Pairwise CK for coders 3 & 4
0.881	0.959	0.959	0.806	0.793	0.822	0.946

Table 4. Krippendorff's Alpha for text analysis.

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c O_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.882	480	445.333333333	89334
***These figures are drawn from Krippendorff (2007, case C).			

For the units of images, ten percent of the total units of analysis were selected for coding by all four coders, and inter-coder reliability data was computed for nine key quantitative variables: the type of image being analyzed, the section of the paper the image appeared, the location of the image on the page, the presence or absence of one of the four frames (conflict, responsibility, human interest, and economic), and the tone depicted in the

image about those who were detained, about the raid, and about action of the government.

Krippendorff's alpha for these variables was .757.

Table 5. Average Pairwise percent agreement for image analysis.

Average pairwise percent agreement	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 4	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. of coders 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. of coder 2 & 4	Pairwise pct. agr. coders 2 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. coders 3 & 4
84.8%	93.827%	80.247%	91.358%	87.654%	74.074%	81.481%

Table 6. Fleiss' Kappa for image analysis.

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
.756	0.848	0.376

Table 7. Average pairwise Choen's Kappa for image analysis.

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 4	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 3	Pairwise CK for coders 1 & 2	Pairwise CK for coders 2 & 4	Pairwise CK for coders 2 & 3	Pairwise CK for coders 3 & 4
0.754	0.904	0.679	0.862	0.806	0.573	0.702

Table 8. Krippendorff's Alpha for image analysis.

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.757	324	274.666666667	39182
***These figures are drawn from Krippendorff (2007, case C).			

Public Opinion Polls

Polling conducted by Drs. David Redlawsk and Caroline Tolbert of the University of Iowa Hawkeye Poll regarding Iowans' attitudes about immigration will be used as a dependent variable in this study. The results of this polling will be correlated qualitatively against the tone of newspaper coverage on immigration.

The Hawkeye Poll, a program of the Department of Political Science at the University of Iowa, and it is housed at the Social Science Research Center (SSRC), is a nationally

respected public opinion polling program that gathers data on political and public policy matters several times throughout the year. The Hawkeye Poll provides information to and about Iowans and their attitudes and preferences on an array of state and national issues. The SSRC is equipped with a state-of-the-art telephone interviewing facility with 15 stations and provides students from the university an opportunity to get experience in survey research.

In 2007 and 2008 the Hawkeye Poll asked Iowans who were intending to vote in the 2008 presidential election about their attitudes on immigration. For the purposes of this study, two sets of data from the Hawkeye Poll were used. The first set is from random-digit dialed samples of Iowans polled in March (N=1091), August (N=837) and October 2007 (N=477). Respondents were screened to include only likely voters. The second set of data is from polls conducted in January 2008 (N=2611) from an in-caucus paper-and-pencil survey distributed to every caucus in Iowa during the January 3, 2008 Iowa Caucuses. The January sample polled only those individuals who actually attended the Iowa caucuses. The response rate was 60.6% for Republicans and 80.5% for Democrats.

The Hawkeye Poll asked respondents: (1) How important is immigration to your vote for president?; (2) What is your view regarding what governmental policy should be regarding undocumented immigrants currently in the United States?; and (3) Who would you say is more responsible for the immigration situation as it is right now? In the August and January Hawkeye Poll, respondents were also asked: (4) What is your primary source of information about political candidates and campaigns?

For the first question, respondents were given a four-point Likert scale to rate their answer: most/very important; somewhat important; not that important; don't know/refused.

The second question gave respondents five distinct, unranked choices: permanent residency with no requirements; path to citizenship, learn English and pay back taxes; guest-worker program, but eventually leave; deport all undocumented immigrants; and don't know/refused. The third question which asked about responsibility for the current immigration situation provided four unranked answers: undocumented workers; employers who hire them; the Federal government; don't know/refused.

Table 9. The margin of error for Hawkeye Poll data sets.

Month	Sample Size	Margin of Error
March 2007	N=1091	+/-3%
August 2007	N=897	+/-3.25%
October 2007	N=477	+/-4.5%

Data Analysis

Data was entered into and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

The first three research questions were answered through descriptive analysis employing frequency distributions. The fourth question was addressed by case study. To answer the fifth research question, the responses to the Hawkeye Poll questions will be compared and correlated qualitatively with the tone of coverage of the newspapers whose content will be analysis to determine the relationship between tone of coverage and the results of the public opinion polls.

CHAPTER 4**RESULTS**

This research study examined how three Iowa community newspapers, the *Postville Herald-Leader*, *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, and *The Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, covered two major federal immigration raids that occurred within 18 months of each other, one in Marshalltown, Iowa and one in Postville, Iowa. The study seeks to measure the tone of that coverage and compare it to public opinion research polling conducted by researchers at the University of Iowa regarding Iowans attitudes about illegal immigration.

Using a census sampling of all articles or images from the three newspapers during a 6 week period of time beginning with the first day of each raid, there were 232 units of analysis studied, 146 of which were classified as text and 86 were visual images. A more thorough quantitative analysis of the units of analysis is included on page 88 under the heading related to Research Question 2.

Research Question 1.

What were the particular conflicts, constraints and challenges faced by three community newspapers affected by the raids in telling the stories of two federal immigration raids that occurred in December 2006 and May 2008?

Qualitative Case Study 1: Coverage of the 2006 Marshalltown Immigration Raid

Marshalltown Times-Republican. More than 100 agents from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement began an immigration raid at the Swift & Company meat packing plant in Marshalltown, Iowa, as part of “Operation Wagon Train” about 7:30 a.m. Tuesday, December 12, 2006. The news department at the

Marshalltown Times-Republican learned of the raid within “three to four minutes, according to managing editor Ken Larson.³⁴

According to Larson, there had always been an undercurrent of talk in the community that the Swift plant would be raided again. A previous immigration raid occurred 11 years earlier on August 24, 1996 when 148 Latino immigrants were arrested and deported (Norman, 1996).

For the first fifteen minutes or so after learning of the raid, the *Times-Republican* treated the information as if it was a rumor. However, Larson had reason to believe the information was credible because the behavior of a neighbor had tipped him off that something was up. Larson saw his neighbor, who works the night shift at the packing plant, leaving his house to go to the plant that morning which was out of the normal routine.

It was difficult for reporters to get information on law enforcement operation while it was occurring from ICE, described by Larson as “not forthcoming,” and from the Latino community because of language, social and cultural barriers. As an editor, Larson said many story angles came to mind, from how a raid would affect the local schools and the students to what the impact would be on the community’s largest employer. There are 5,000 students enrolled in the Marshalltown School District and the Swift plant had 2,200 employees in a community just under 26,000.

By the end of the day 89 workers had been detained, some of whom would be charged with entering the U.S. illegally and some of also stealing identities and Social Security numbers of U.S. citizens to fraudulently obtain employment. Detainees were

³⁴ Personal communication with Ken Larson, October 16, 2008.

initially taken by four buses to the Iowa National Guard facilities at Camp Dodge in Johnston, Iowa, before being processed on various charges. In addition to the Marshalltown raid, ICE simultaneously conducted raids on Swift and Company facilities at the company's headquarters in Greenlee, Colorado, and at its plants in Grand Island, Nebraska; Cactus, Texas; Hyrum, Utah; and Worthington, Minnesota. In all, 1,297 individuals were arrested in what was at that time the largest immigration raid on a single employer.

Initially on the day of the raid, the *Times-Republican* had planned for a normal issue. News topics for the day included the war in Iraq, controversy over a traffic signal at the intersection of Ingledue and South streets, and a gift of \$11,000 from Swift and Company to Marshalltown's United Way campaign. Instead of changing the front page for Wednesday morning, the paper opted to print an Extra as a single sheet wrap around. The following day the paper had a four-page section with 5 news stories and 11 photos.

In the days immediately after the raid, the paper's editorial content examined the impact of the raids on the community. Since the late 1980s, approximately 7,000 Latinos have moved to Marshalltown, many from Villachuato, Michoacán, Mexico. Initially younger males who had come to the Midwest for agricultural work stayed on after finding employment Swift and Company. Over time, friends and family from their community in Villachuato followed. Ethnic tensions between long-time Marshalltown residents and the newcomers hit a high note in 1998 when Marshalltown received unwanted national attention about local methamphetamine use that was linked to Mexican drug traffickers and the immigrant community (McGraw, 1998). Over the past 10 years, efforts on the part of area churches and civic groups to integrate the two communities have reduced conflicts as more and more immigrant families arrived seeking to settle in Marshalltown.

At the time of the December 2006 immigration raid, the Latino community was roughly 25 percent of the town's population and nearly half of the workforce at the Swift plant. Many had been attracted to Iowa and to Marshalltown specifically because of recruitment efforts in 2000 by then-Governor Thomas Vilsack, a Democrat, directed at Mexican workers who wanted to come to the U.S. At one point, Vilsack, who was governor from 1998 to 2007, considered recruiting 310,000 foreign workers to move to Iowa over a ten-year period as a part of "Iowa 2010 Plan," an economic, employment and population stimulus plan. Vilsack had envisioned Iowa being named an "immigration enterprise zone." For a variety of reason, Vilsack did not pursue special federal waivers to get immigration quotas waived.

In the days following the raid, news reports in the *Times-Republican* focused on reaction to the raid and also reported on what was known of the status of those detained by ICE, but that was not easy. "It was difficult to cover. ICR doesn't make it easy," explained Larson who was named managing editor in May 2006. Prior to coming to Marshalltown, Larson had written for the *The Messenger* and *Farm News*, both published in Fort Dodge, a similar-sized rural county-seat community 60 miles northwest of Marshalltown. One of the differences between the two towns is that unlike Marshalltown, Fort Dodge does not have a significant Latino immigrant group. In the 1890s, Fort Dodge attracted large numbers of European immigrants seeing work in the town's 13 gypsum mills.

The Marshalltown raid occurred on the Feast of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Our Lady of Guadalupe, an important date on the Catholic liturgical calendar which honors the story of a miraculous apparition in 1531 of the Virgin Mary to Juan Diego, an indigenous Chichimec Indian who lived near present day Mexico City. The apparition and Juan Diego's

cloak, or tilma, are venerated by Catholics. The feast day is especially important to Mexicans. The raid also occurred two weeks before Christmas.

Over the next six weeks the paper continued to cover the raids, focusing on the impact to Marshalltown businesses, how the religious community responded to both immigrants and how the story became a part of the way the town experienced Christmas 2006.

In an act of civic journalism, a month after the raids the *Times-Republican* said it would sponsor a summit meeting in February 2007 to address issues related to the December immigration raid. Civic journalism is both a philosophy and style of journalism that goes beyond the basics of reporting the facts without being involved in the story. Civic journalism is an engagement of the press in the public life of the community (Merrit, 1998) in such a way that “journalist help the political community to act upon, rather than just learn about, its problems ... (and) improve the climate of public discussion, rather than simply watch it deteriorate” (Rosen, 1999, p.22).

The goal of the summit was to bring together local, state, and federal immigration officials and the Marshalltown community to discuss both what had occurred and both policy and procedural matters related to immigration and enforcement. “Twenty years of building race relationships were torn apart in Marshalltown. We couldn’t believe what we heard. We had created a charter school with half-day English and half-day Spanish. They own businesses. In one short morning it came crashing down,” Larson said. “It will take a decade to get race relations back to normal.” The paper received an award from the Office of the Governor and a Congressional Commendation Award from the U.S. House of Representatives for organizing the immigration summit.

A year after the raid, the *Times-Republican* ran a retrospective section to look back at the events and their impact on the community. Dozens of Mexican families left, but many stayed. Thirty of the detained workers had been charged with immigration violations and aggravated identity theft. No senior management officials at Swift had been charged with any crimes, and the plant was sold for \$1.4 billion to JBS, a Brazilian-based beef exporter which subsequently acquired Swift and Company in July 2007. Nationally Swift lost \$30 million as a result of the raids at six locations, and the wages at the Marshalltown plant rose by \$2 an hour. Also in July 2007, several more arrests were made, including a union organizer and a human resource worker employed by Swift charged with harboring illegal aliens and misprision of a felony.³⁵

The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier. Marshalltown is about an hour's drive southeast of Waterloo, Iowa. Although the Waterloo-Cedar Falls area is about four times as large as Marshalltown, the two communities are similar in many ways. Both are city-centers in rural Iowa, dependent on a combination of agricultural and industrial interests, and both have livestock processing facilities. Waterloo is home to a Tyson Foods, Inc. packing plant and, like Marshalltown, also has a large Latino community. It is also where the National Cattle Congress fairgrounds are located, the site where detainees in the 2008 Postville raid would be taken.

The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier covered the news of the 2006 Marshalltown immigration raid with less intensity than the *Times-Republican*. The day after the raid, the paper used an AP wire image of the *Times-Republican*'s photo of the Latino infant looking

³⁵ Braulio Pereyra-Gabino, an official with the United Food and Commercial Workers union, was convicted in May 2008 was sentenced in August to a year and a day in federal prison and ordered to pay a \$2000 fine. Chris Lamb pleaded guilty and was sentenced to probation.

over the shoulder of a woman who was looking ahead through the chain link fence at the Swift plant. The paper used an AP story covering the details of the raid along with a report by staff reporter Jens Manuel Krogstad about how people in the Cedar Valley area were “fuming” (Krogstad, 2006) at the timing of the raid. A 2005 graduate of the University of Minnesota with degrees in both journalism and Spanish, Krogstad learned Spanish in the home from his mother who is Mexican. He acknowledges that this background is an asset as he is able to make language and cultural connections within the Latino community that might be more difficult, if not impossible, for other reporters.

Krogstad’s story detailed how people viewed the raid as a “slap in the Mexican community’s face,” (Krogstad, 2006) especially on the Marian feast day, one of the most important dates on the Mexican calendar. One source who was quoted said, “This is a special and sacred holiday, why don’t they just pick Christmas?” (Krogstad, 2006)

Although the story is sympathetic to the emotions of the Latino community regarding both the raid and its timing, *The Courier* balanced the story with quotes from a federal official about the laws that were broken and the victims of those crimes.

“The timing of the raid was based solely on the progress of the investigation,” according to the official who responded to questions about the date of the raid by adding: “I think it would be important to ask the hundreds of people victimized (by identity theft) whether or not it would be worth waiting one more day to make the arrests” (Krogstad, 2006)

Two days after the raid, the paper ran an AP story about how lawyers had been “barred” from meeting with their clients. Family members and the media also had difficulty getting information about where detainees were being held and what the next steps would be in the process. An aid for former Iowa Governor Tom Vilsack blasted the federal operation

as “uncoordinated” and “unprepared.” A week after the raid, the paper reported that Vilsack denounced the raid as a “total disaster.” Responding to the fact that federal officials did not notify state law enforcement or government officials, Vilsack who at the time was running for the Democratic nomination for president, said the action “jeopardized and put at risk National Guard members as well as local law enforcement” (Kinney, 2006)

Several stories looked at the economic impact of the raids on the local economy with an interesting twist. Considering that human beings were chained, shackled, and removed from their work places by armed federal agents and then housed in military barracks at a National Guard installation, one story focused on the impact of the raid on pigs that were headed to the slaughter house that day. One pork industry spokesperson said, “If it would have been 90 degrees or 10 below, we would have had losses of pigs in trucks. There were pigs on trucks for longer periods of times that either had to wait or go to other places.” Indeed, many people were affected financially by the raids, from farmers to truckers and pork suppliers and area businesses. Disruption of the Swift and Company six facilities alone cost the company an estimated \$3 million. The estimated cost to the Marshalltown facility, which slaughtered about 18,000 hogs daily, was about \$500,000. However, the juxtaposition of the story in the middle of the human drama strikes a chord of irony about the situation of the pigs in contrast to the people.

Readers’ reactions to the raid were covered in a few blog excerpts reprinted from the paper’s on-line site expressing frustration with U.S. immigration and economic policies, such as NAFTA and CAFTA.

The paper closed out the year with its own editorial on December 3, 2006, calling for lawmakers to “fix” the immigration system. Acknowledging the need for laborers, the

editorial said we have a “broken immigration system mired in political demagoguery” (*Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, 2006, December 31).

The Postville Herald-Leader. The paper did not cover the 2006 Marshalltown immigration raid. The raid occurred on a Tuesday, which is press day for the weekly paper, thus the story would not have made the paper’s deadline for publication. With the world’s largest kosher meatpacking plant and a large Latino population in Postville, the story would have been of interest to area readers. However, because the *Herald-Leader* is a small community newspaper with a two-person staff, the paper lacked the resources to cover the story from a distance.

If the paper had run a story about local reaction to the raid in the following week’s issue, that might have ruffled feathers among its readers. The *Herald-Leader* is an English language paper that is not read or supported by the Latino community and its readership could be considered hometown or native Postville people. Considering that relations between the immigrant community and long-time Postville residents were strained, and tensions among Postville residents heated up in 2006 over several issues related to immigrant issues and the meat packing plant, a features story on local reaction to the Marshalltown raid that had occurred a week earlier would not have been a logical editorial decision for the *Herald-Leader*.

In the early 1990s the town briefly had two papers. *The Postville Herald* was edited by Patrick Huber, a man who came to town in 1985 with a master’s degree in journalism and a style of journalism that ruffled feathers in Postville. (Nauer & Rhodes, 1992). Huber ran stories about the potential closing of the town’s hospital, a series on drug use in small town

Iowa, and an AP report about the local bank having one of the state's lowest loan-to-asset ratios (Nauer & Rhodes, 1992).

In response, a group of citizens supported the establishment of new paper, *The Postville Leader*, which debuted February 13, 1991. Its first editorial announced that it was not interested in “in uncovering or creating scandals”:

We want to be your ‘hometown’ paper....We believe that a local paper should report local news. If that includes births announcements, deaths, high school sports and news, anniversaries and achievements of local residents to name a few, we are pleased to publish that information. We want to be a vehicle for sharing good news about Postville. But we will also spend a lot of energy providing news stories that affect all of us. We are striving to be a service for important Postville news whether it be positive or negative....We aren't interested in uncovering or creating scandals (Seichter, 1991).

In a little over a year, the community's support of the new paper ran the 98-year-old *Herald* out of business. Huber sold the *Herald* and moved out of town, and from the paper's ashes *The Postville Herald-Leader* was born (Nauer & Rhodes, 1992).

Qualitative Case Study 2: Coverage of the 2008 Postville Immigration Raid

The Postville Herald-Leader. An estimated 200 federal and state law enforcement officers under the direction of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Immigration and Customs Enforcement began an immigration raid at Agriprocessors, Inc., in Postville, Iowa at 10 a.m. Monday, May 12, 2008. Within a 10 minute period of time, busses, SUVs, vans and other law enforcement vehicles surrounded Agriprocessors, the largest kosher slaughterhouse in the United States and established an operation's perimeter. Witnesses watched that morning as Blackhawk helicopters flew over Postville and hovered above the plant while armed ICE agents in black military uniforms guarded the entrance to the

slaughterhouse in the rural northeast Iowa town of 2,300. This was the largest single-site immigration enforcement operation that had occurred in the United States.³⁶

Agriprocessors was started in 1987 by Aaron Rubashkin, a Lubavitch Jewish butcher from the Crown Heights neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. Rubashkin bought the defunct Hygrade meat-packing plant that sat just outside the city limits of Postville and moved to Iowa with his two sons, son-in-law, and their families to run a kosher slaughterhouse. They were followed by about 200 Hasidic Jews who moved to Postville to work at Agriprocessors and to establish businesses in the town to support the new Jewish community in a small Iowa community settled in 1843 by German and Norwegian Lutherans and Irish Catholics. The story of this new Jewish settlement in northeast Iowa was told by University of Iowa journalism professor Stephen Bloom (2000) in *Postville: A Clash of Cultures in Heartland America*.

During its first few years, the slaughterhouse employed many immigrant workers from the former Yugoslavia, Poland, Russia, and several of the former Soviet republics. During the 1990s, workers from Guatemala and Mexico began arriving, nearly doubling Postville's population. While the slaughterhouse became the largest employer in northeast Iowa, employing close to 1,000 people and giving the local economy an enormous boost, the community experienced growing pains as the ethnic mix of newcomers from two dozen nations became neighbors. The town, which once supported a German-language newspaper and where Lutheran church services were conducted in German through the 1950s, became

³⁶ Since the immigration raid in Postville, a larger single-site immigration enforcement operation was conducted by ICE on August 25, 2008 at Howard Industries in Laurel, Mississippi. Nearly 600 people from Germany, Peru, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, and Brazil were taken into custody on charges of entering the U.S. illegally or aggravated identity theft.

home to worshipers from many faith traditions including Byzantine Eastern Rite and Roman Rite Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Kazakhstani Muslims, and Hasidic Lubavitch Jews.

On the morning of the raid, Postville would undergo yet another transformation as 389 individuals were arrested in a town of 2,320—including 290 Guatemalans, 93 Mexicans, four Israelis, and two Ukrainians—and hundreds of Latino men, women and children sought sanctuary at St. Bridgit Catholic Church.

The story broke on a Tuesday, press day for the *Postville Herald-Leader*. Despite wanting to tell the “good news” about Postville, a story of illegal immigration, identity theft, document fraud, exploitation, corruption, greed, and even compassion that would command the attention of the national and international press, exploded in the backyard of the *Herald-Leader*. The paper ran a frontpage story about the raid with a large photograph of Agriprocessors’ 60-acre campus showing two Homeland Security busses in the front parking lot.

News stories in the *Herald-Leader* do not run with bylines, nor do they follow a traditional inverted pyramid-style of journalistic reporting. Many read more like up-beat items in an organizational newsletter than objective or neutral newspaper reports. The *Herald-Leader’s* article on the raid drew from a statement issued by Immigration and Customs Enforcement and quoted the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Iowa in charge of handling the case, Matthew Dummermuth, noting that he was from a town 12 miles southwest of Postville and had graduated from Valley High School in Elgin, Iowa (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, May 13, p.1).

The Rev. Paul Ouderkirk, a retired priest who had served as the pastor of St. Bridget Catholic Church for four of his 43 years of active ministry, came out of retirement the day the raid took place. Ironically, Ouderkirk served at St. Mary Catholic Parish in Marshalltown during the 1996 immigration raid at Swift and Company, and also served a parish in a Texas community that experienced an immigration raid. According to Ouderkirk, “It wasn’t a raid, it was an assault. They took a quarter of the town, a third of the school and half the parish. The work that was done by the diversity committee over the years was undone in one day.”³⁷

The following week, the *Herald-Leader* ran a story below the fold about how the town had “begun the healing process” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, May 21, p.1). A photograph of a red ribbon wrapped around a utility pole along on the corner of Lawler and Reynolds streets accompanied the story. The photo, which ran with a cutline, “Solidarity and caring,” also depicted an A-frame sign in front of The Wishing Well, a gift store on South Lawler Street, announced, “YES, we are OPEN.” The story reported on the community’s efforts to provide financial aid and other relief to the affected families: “With red ribbons tied to the street lamp posts as well as to the entrance of St. Bridget Catholic Church, it is obvious that the community of Postville has once again banded together to show its solidarity in the time of need” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, May 21, 2008, p.1).

Archbishop Jerome Hanus of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, who came to Postville to meet with families at St. Bridget’s on the Saturday following the raid, was quoted as saying, “The need for immigration reform is very evident.” The paper also used a quote from a

³⁷ Personal communication with The Rev. Paul Ouderkirk, September 9, 2008.

written statement issued by Governor Chet Culver, “I believe it is important that we crack down on illegal immigration” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, May 21, 2008, p.1).

The paper’s coverage continued on page six and included statements from the Postville Chamber of Commerce and the Diversity Council. Three letters to the editor related to the raids were printed. One letter asked, “Why now? Why not 5 or ten years ago when people were calling in to the INS telling them they needed to get the illegals out” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, May 21, 2008, p.11). Another took issue with how a television station portrayed Postville as a backwater town in its reporting, and the third praised the town’s response to the humanitarian needs of Postville residents and families caught in the raid.

Over the next several weeks the paper’s coverage emphasized the town’s compassion and response to the needs of those who had been arrested and their families. The lead story in the May 28 issue focused on how volunteers at Postville Community Support had been “especially busy” since the raid (*Postville Herald-Leader*, May, 28, 2008, p.1). The story was accompanied by a group photo of Postville Community Support volunteers.

Although the *Herald-Leader’s* stuck a cheery, stiff upper lip tone about how the community could band together in the face of the raid, it was apparent that there were serious concerns afoot about both the long-term economic consequences to the area as well as a deep seated frustration with Agriprocessors. Postville mayor Bob Penrod opened a special meeting of the Postville City Council by saying that “Postville is a strong community and it will continue to prosper,” but then, concerned about the town’s economic future which is linked to the closing of the plant, recommended the city halt plans for construction of a new sewer plant, the paper reported (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, May 28, p. 13).

The June 4 and June 11 issues did not cover the raids or its aftermath. The June 18 issue ran a story about a stop by Rep. Tom Latham who was on what was being billed as a “disaster tour” of counties in his congressional district affected by spring flooding, tornados and the Agriprocessors raid. Latham, a Republican, listened to concerns presented by members of the city council and other area citizens was quoted as saying “we need to find ways to make the process of becoming legal easier for those immigrants who wish to work here. (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, June 18, p.1). The story ran along with an update about charitable efforts and the need for donations of money, food, and sundries. Inside, on page seven, the paper ran a story from the *Fayette County Union* about a new staffing firm hired to replace workers.

The paper’s tone toward Agriprocessors grew less neutral as information came to light about the facility and its owners who faced serious charges related to workplace safety, hiring underage workers, exploitation of employees and other human rights violations. According to an affidavit filed by an ICE agent in conjunction with the raid, more than 75 percent of employees at Agriprocessors used false or suspect Social Security numbers, minors as young as 15-years-old were employed in jobs restricted for safety reasons by child labor laws, and employees without proper U.S. entry documents were pressured to purchase vehicles through company connections and then register them in other names to avoid detection.

The *Herald-Leader* reported in its June 25 issue about Postville residents’ concerns regarding new hires at Agriprocessors, several of whom had been cited for vagrancy and other problems. The paper reported, “Mayor Robert Penrod expressed disgust and anger over the way new hires have presented themselves within the community. He said ‘This behavior

is something we cannot tolerate and we all want the problem fixed” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, June 25, 2008).

The June 25 issue was the last issue used in the parameters of this study, however a review of issues published in the summer and fall of 2008 show an increased level of frustration in reports about Agriprocessors, its management, and the fallout of the federal immigration raid on a town in northeast Iowa that greets visitors with a welcome sign reading “Postville, hometown to the world.”



Patti Brown

Figure 4. Sign west of Postville city limits along U.S. Highway 52 announcing Postville as the “hometown to the world.”

Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier.

Days before the Postville raid, the newspaper staff at *The Courier* began hearing rumors that the local Latino community was bracing for an immigration raid at Tyson Foods, Inc., a Waterloo meatpacking facility. The Department of Homeland Security had leased the National Cattle Congress fairground in Waterloo for nearly the entire month of May, telling officials at the NCC they were conducting training exercises. The presence of the ICE officials concerned local immigrant activists who organized a meeting for Sunday, May 12, 2008—Mother’s Day—at Queen of Peace Catholic Church. Information was about immigrants’ rights and phone numbers for lawyers specializing in immigration law.

The Courier carried a story about the meeting in its issue of May 13. Early that same morning, the newspaper learned that a line of Homeland Security buses were lined up and ready to leave the NCC grounds. Reporters and photographers followed the caravan, which proceeded south of town to a truck stop where the busses pulled in and stopped. After

watching and waiting at the truck stop for more than an hour, reporter Jens Manuel Krogstad learned that another, larger caravan of busses and vehicles began leaving Waterloo and heading northeast toward Postville, about 75 miles from Waterloo. Krogstad believes the earlier caravan was a ruse to throw reporters off, possibly so people in Postville would not be forewarned of the impending raid. Krogstad and *Courier* photojournalist Rick Tibbott arrived in Postville shortly before noon where they interviewed and photographed concerned family members, immigrant spokespersons, religious leaders, and employees at Agriprocessors.

By 3 p.m. that afternoon, busloads of detainees had been transported to the NCC grounds in Waterloo. That evening there were two groups of demonstrators outside of the NCC, one group supportive of the immigrants and another group supportive of the raid.

The Waterloo Cedar Fall Courier followed the story of the detainees as they went through legal processing at the NCC which had been set up as a temporary federal court facility in order to deal with the large numbers of people who were charged with crimes related to the false use of a Social Security card and aggravated identity theft. Detainees were offered a plea deal where they would either spend five months or more in prison and then be deported without a hearing, or face trial in which they could be convicted and sentenced to seven years in prison.

The Courier also followed the story of the families left in Postville, including 56 women who were initially detained, then were fitted with electronic ankle bracelets and released so they could care for their children. The paper also covered the arrival of new employee groups who came to take jobs lost by those arrested in May, the economic fallout of the raid on the Postville community including the story of Agriprocessors' bankruptcy filing, and the arrests of management personnel and other employees. *The Courier* reported

on Friday, May 23, 2008—the beginning of the three day Memorial Day weekend—that the government had concluded their business at the National Cattle Congress and were packing up. All of the detainees had left by Friday May 16 and were either being housed in jail facilities around the state or had been released with monitoring devices on their ankles. Because charges had been dropped against some individuals and new charges had been filed against others, the exact number of individuals processed in the round-the clock, makeshift court facilities fluctuated, but at that time the paper reported that “297 pleaded guilty to charges including unlawful reentry, use of false documents for employment and use of a false Social Security number” (*Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, 2008, May 23, p. 1). A majority of defendants pleaded guilty and were sentenced to five months in jail before deportation. Some people would be deported and would serve five-years probation in their home country. Two people were sentenced to one year and a day in prison due to their criminal histories and five cases were set to be sent to trial in Cedar Rapids.

During the course of the Postville raid and the detentions in Waterloo, *The Courier* ran two editorials addressing the situation. The first editorial the Sunday after the raid said the action was necessary and called for closer government scrutiny of employers who violate immigration laws. “All across America, those fuming against the number of illegal immigrants thought to be in our country need to take a close look at the businesses in their own back yards. Illegal immigrants are willing to take the chance of entering, working and staying in the country because they realize there are employers willing to violate U.S. law by hiring undocumented immigrants” (*Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, 2008, May 18, p. G1).

Two and a half weeks later the second editorial expressed a stronger sentiment that illegal immigrant workers should not serve as the scapegoats for American businesses who

knowingly hire undocumented workers. “It is no secret that when immigration operations such as the May 12 raid in Postville occur, illegal workers take the arrests, while employers are generally left alone” (*Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, 2008, June 3, p. A7.)

Editor Nancy Newhoff said the paper had to work hard to strike a balanced tone with its reporting because stories about the emotional pain were so abundant that they could have continued to dominate the paper’s coverage if not for the events that unfolded Memorial Day weekend.

On Sunday, May 25, thirteen days after the immigration raid and the last day of the Homeland Security Administration’s lease for use of the NCC, an F-5 category tornado ripped through Parkersburg, Iowa, 20 miles northwest of Waterloo-Cedar Falls and traveled east to New Hartford, 10 miles outside of Cedar Falls before blowing through Dunkerton, 14 miles northeast of Waterloo. In all six people lost their lives, 600 homes in Parkersburg were damaged or destroyed, another 100 homes were damaged in New Hartford, and more than 50 homes were lost in Dunkerton, including the home of one of *The Courier’s* editors.

Two weeks later, on June 10, Waterloo was deluged by flooding from the Cedar River. *The Courier* became part of the story it was covering as employees waded through knee-deep water in downtown Waterloo to get to work and as water began flooding the basement of *The Courier’s* building where its paper and presses are located. It was impossible for the paper to print on its own equipment so the June 11 and 12 issues were printed at *The Cedar Rapids Gazette*. The flooding forced *The Courier* to temporarily relocate its newsroom to the campus of Hawkeye Community College.

The Courier put together a documentary DVD, “Thirty days and thirty nights,” to chronicle the newspaper’s role in reporting the unprecedented trifecta of events, beginning

with the immigration raid. Copies of the DVD were produced in cooperation with a nearby college and several area businesses, and they were sold to benefit the Hawkeye Chapter of the American Red Cross for local disaster relief.

According to Newhoff, a 30-year veteran of *The Courier's* newsroom, the Waterloo-Cedar Falls paper could have kept the Postville raid and its aftermath on the front page as its lead story for a few more weeks if not for the tornado on May 25 followed by the flood on June 10.

The Marshalltown Times-Republican. The *Times-Republican* covered the events with reports from the Associated Press wire service, with the intensity of coverage at its height between May 13 and May 26, 2008. As the state experienced tornados and flooding, the paper shifted its focus to those and other local events. Considering how the December 2006 raid rent the town in two, it is understandable that the Marshalltown paper did not over report this story. According to Ken Larson, editor of the *Times-Republican*, “the raid in Postville brought out the best in the people of Postville. The Marshalltown raid brought out the worst.” Larson pointed out some of the differences between the two communities, including their sizes and how the Postville religious community had worked together to reach out to the Latino community, adding, “We know people now who will not eat in a Mexican restaurant.”

Research Question 2.

How intensively did these community newspapers cover the immigration raids?

Quantitative Content Analysis of Text and Visual Images

This study examined 232 total units of analysis, of which 146 were units of text that included news reports, features, editorials, opinion pieces and letters to the editor. In addition

86 visual images were analyzed. The units of analysis can be broken down by the three newspapers and by the two immigration raids into frequency distributions and descriptive statistics as charted in Tables 10a and 10b.

Table 10a. Number of text units of analysis.

	Marshalltown Raid December 2006	Postville Raid May 2008	Frequency & Percent
<i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	0	13	13 (8.9%)
<i>Marshalltown Times Republican</i>	35	12	47 (32.2%)
<i>Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier</i>	16	70	86(58.9%)
Total	51 (35%)	95(65%)	146 (100%)

Table 10b. Number of image units of analysis.

	Marshalltown Raid December 2006	Postville Raid May 2008	Frequency and Percent
<i>Postville Herald-Leader</i>	0	5	5 (5.8%)
<i>Marshalltown Times Republican</i>	24	5	29 (33.7%)
<i>Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier</i>	1	51	52 (60.5%)
Total	25(29%)	61(71%)	86 (100%)

The overall number of articles published by the three papers increased from 51 following the 2006 raid to 95 following the 2008 raid, an increase of 86 percent more articles. The number of images, predominantly photographs, increased from 25 to 61, a 144 percent increase.

Table 11 shows that general news reports were the most predominant type of articles published by the three community papers during both the 2006 and 2008 raids. There was also an increase in the number of letters to the editor published following the Postville raid.

Table 11. Types of articles published by each paper.

Immigration Raid	Publication	News report	Features story	Editorials & op-ed	Letters	Totals
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	25	7	2	1	35
	WCFC	11	0	1	4	16
	PHL	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>51(100%)</i>
Postville 2008	MTTR	11	1	0	0	12
	WCFC	45	1	5	19	70
	PHL	9	0	0	4	13
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>95(65%)</i>
<i>Totals</i>						<i>146(100%)</i>

Abbreviations: MTTR = Marshalltown Times Republican; WCFC = Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier;
PHL = Postville Herald-Leader

Articles were coded for both the page number and the section of the paper where the article first appeared, word count, and the quadrant on the page where the unit of analysis appeared. Tables 12a, 12b, 12c, and 12d show the distribution of variables used in this study to measure prominence. Table 12e looks at the overall number of stories that jump.

Table 12a. Page of newspaper where article began.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Page where article begin				Number of articles
		1	2	3	4+	
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	26	3	2	4	35
	WCFC	4	1	4	7	16
	PHL	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>30</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>51</i>
Postville 2008	MTTR	7	0	1	4	12
	WCFC	28	12	12	18	70
	PHL	7	0	0	6	13
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>42</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Totals</i>						<i>146</i>

Abbreviations: MTTR = Marshalltown Times Republican; WCFC = Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier;
PHL = Postville Herald-Leader

Table 12b. Section of newspaper where article began.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Section where article began					Number of articles
		Front section	Op-ed	Metro/City	Business	Extra	
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	29	3	0	1	2	35
	WCFC	11	3	2	1	0	16
	PHL	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>		40	5	2	2	2	51
Postville 2008	MTTR	12	0	0	0	0	12
	WCFC	46	22	1	1	0	13
	PHL	8	4	1	0	0	70
<i>Subtotal</i>		66	26	2	1		95
<i>Totals</i>							146

Table 12c. Word count of articles published by each paper.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Article Word Count				Number of articles
		Under 300 words	300-500 words	500-800 words	Over 800 words	
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	16	12	7		35
	WCFC	7	7	2		16
	PHL	0	0	0		0
<i>Subtotal</i>		23	19	9	0	51
Postville 2008	MTTR	10	2	0	0	12
	WCFC	33	18	15	4	70
	PHL	5	6	2	0	13
<i>Subtotal</i>		48	26	17	4	95
<i>Totals</i>						146

Table 12d. Quadrant where article began.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Quadrant of paper where article began				Total number of articles
		Top left quarter	Top right quarter	Bottom left quarter	Bottom right quarter	
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	15	5	9	6	35
	WCFC	5	1	6	4	16
	PHL	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>		20	6	15	10	51
Postville 2008	MTTR	4	1	4	3	12
	WCFC	7	2	3	1	13
	PHL	26	12	26	6	70
<i>Subtotal</i>		37	15	33	10	95
<i>Totals</i>						146

Abbreviations: MTTR = Marshalltown Times Republican; WCFC = Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier;
PHL = Postville Herald-Leader

Table 12e. Assessing whether article jumped.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Did article jump?		Number of articles
		Did not jump	Did jump	
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	16	19	35
	WCFC	13	3	16
	PHL	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>		29	22	51
Postville 2008	MTTR	7	5	12
	WCFC	45	25	70
	PHL	11	2	13
<i>Subtotal</i>		63	32	95
<i>Totals</i>				146

Abbreviations: MTTR = Marshalltown Times Republican; WCFC = Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier; PHL = Postville Herald-Leader

Nearly 50% of all the units of analysis were printed on the first page and 72% appeared in the front section of the papers. The *Marshalltown Times-Republican* ran a one-page extra section on the day of the 2006 Marshalltown raid. The section wrapped the newspaper which had already been prepared for production when news of the raid broke. Considering that readers are more likely to read shorter articles than longer articles, and to read more of an article if it is shorter, 71 (49%) of all articles printed about the two raids, including news articles, features, editorials and letters, were under 300 words, and 116 (79%) were under 800. Articles about the raids ran predominantly in the upper left quadrant (n=57; 39%) of the broad sheet, followed by the lower left quadrant (n=48; 32%). All of the units of analysis that jumped (n=54; 37%) were page one news stories in the front-page section of the papers.

The story of the raids was given high priority by all three papers in the variables that measure prominence. The overall sample sizes are small enough that statistical significance cannot be determined.

Research Question 3.

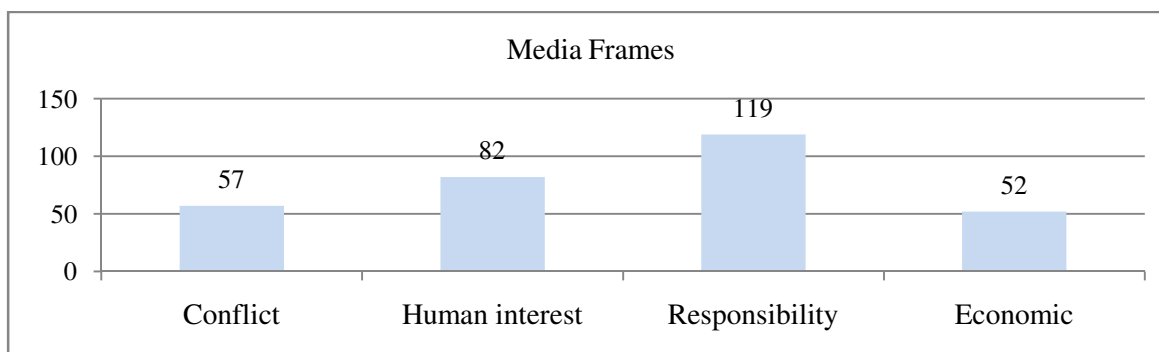
What frames did the newspapers use to cover the immigration raids? What issue frames were most commonly used? Does frame use vary across newspapers?

This study adapted a framing paradigm designed by Valkenburg, Semetko, and DeVreese (1999) that categorizes news according to four main framing categories: (1) the “conflict frame” which emphasizes conflict between groups or individuals; (2) the “human interest frame” which focuses on individuals and is aimed at evoking an emotion; (3) the “responsibility frame” which places blame, credit or responsibility on particular individuals or institutions; and (4) the “economic consequence frame” which looks at the financial aspects of an issue (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). Tables 13, 14 and 15a, 15b, 15c, and 15d detail the presence or absence of these media frames in the text. Figure 5 highlights the prominence of these frames. Overall, the sample sizes are too small to infer statistical significance, but inferences can be made based on frequencies and percentages.

Table 13. Absence or presence of media frames.

Immigration Raid	Publication	Absence or Presence of Media Frames							
		Conflict frame		Human interest frame		Responsibility frame		Economic frame	
		A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P
Marshalltown 2006	MTTR	24	11	16	19	4	31	20	15
	WCFC	10	6	8	8	3	13	11	5
	PHL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Subtotal		34	17	24	27	7	44	31	20
Postville 2008	MTTR	10	2	10	2	3	9	11	1
	WCFC	34	36	24	46	14	56	46	24
	PHL	11	2	6	7	3	10	6	7
Subtotal		55	40	40	55	20	75	83	32
Totals		89	57	64	82	27	119	114	52

Abbreviations: MTTR = Marshalltown Times Republican; WCFC = Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier; PHL = Postville Herald-Leader; A = Absence of frame; P = Presence of frame

Table 14. The frequency of the four media frames.

The absence or presence of each media frame can also be looked at across the genres of articles for the entire sample.

Table 15a. The absence or presence of the conflict frame across article types throughout the sample.

Type of news article	Conflict frame		Number of articles
	Absent	Present	
News report	67	34	101
Features story	8	1	9
Editorial column	2	3	5
Op-ed	2	1	3
Letter to editor/publisher	10	18	29
Totals	89	57	146

Table 15b. The absence or presence of the human interest frame across article types throughout the sample.

Type of news article	Human interest frame		Number of articles
	Absent	Present	
News report	44	57	101
Features story	5	4	9
Editorial column	0	5	5
Op-ed	2	1	3
Letter to editor/publisher	13	15	29
Totals	64	82	146

Table 15c. The absence or presence of the responsibility frame across article types throughout the sample.

Type of news article	Responsibility frame		Number of articles
	Absent	Present	
News report	10	91	101
Features story	4	5	9
Editorial column	0	5	5
Op-ed	0	3	3
Letter to editor/publisher	13	15	29
Totals	27	119	146

Table 15d. The absence or presence of the economic frame across article types throughout the sample.

Type of news article	Economic frame		Number of articles
	Absent	Present	
News report	65	36	101
Features story	6	3	9
Editorial column	4	1	5
Op-ed	2	1	3
Letter to editor/publisher	17	11	29
Totals	94	52	146

The leading media frame was the responsibility frame, and the majority of the articles where this frame was present addressed the government's responsibility regarding how the immigrations raids were conducted and the need for immigration policy reform. The responsibility frame was predominant in 119 (86%) out of 146 units of text analysis.

The human interest frame tells the story of those arrested and deported in a sympathetic light as "hard working people" who merely come to the U.S. to seek jobs and a better life for themselves and their families. This frame also portrays these individuals as people who have been treated unfairly by exploitive employers and by an inhospitable nation. This was the second leading frame in this study, present in more than half (56%) of all units of analysis and in all editorials.

The conflict frame, which placed blame on those detained in the raids for entering the U.S. illegally, was present in just less than 40% (n=57) of all articles. While the 28 letters to the editor in this census sampling made up fewer than 20% of all units of analysis, the conflict frame was present in 18 or 64% of all letters published during both raids.

The economic frame looks at the financial impact and consequences associated with undocumented employees. Some people argue that illegal immigrants contribute to the tax base through employment and sales taxes and are therefore paying their dues. Others argue that the majority of people who have come into the country illegally or who have stayed beyond the parameters of their work visas place a demand on educational and social service systems that are bought and paid for by those who legitimately pay property and income taxes. Of the four media frames this study looked at, the economic frame the least used frame.

The importance of the presence of the different media frames can best be understood in relation to the tone of the articles and the images toward the issues of undocumented workers or illegal immigrants. These issues are addressed in the following research question.

Research Question 4.

What was the tone of this coverage? Was the tone positive, negative or neutral toward the action taken by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement? Was the tone positive, negative, or neutral toward those arrested for alleged immigration violations?

Tone is a quality that can be obvious or subtle. In a newspaper article, tone can be affected by a reporter's selection of words, by the words contained in a quote from a source or actor, and by the brevity or length of an article. Tone is also a quality that can be judged in

a photographic image. Photos are powerful tools that can elicit an emotion from the viewer and influence the way a viewer sees an individual, a group of people, an object or an event.

Coders were asked to assess the overall tone of each unit of text and to study the images used to tell the visual story of the two immigration raids, and to then rate each unit of text and its accompanying image as positive, negative or neutral toward the action of both the immigration raids and toward illegal immigrants and the individuals who were arrested and detained. The research questions essentially ask for qualitative information to be assigned a quantifiable measure. Tables 16a and 16b show how these variables were assessed in the units of text from the 2006 raid to the 2008 raid.

Table 16a. Tone of text toward those detained.

Tone toward those detained	Year of immigration raid		Number of articles
	Marshalltown 2006	Postville 2008	
Anti immigrant/not sympathetic	8	18	26
Proimmigrant/sympathetic	14	40	54
Neutral/mixed	29	35	64
No response	0	2*	2
Totals	51	95	146

*Some articles in the census sample dealt with issues that could not be addressed by the code sheet. One example was an article about new immigrant workers who replaced jobs lost by those who had been detained and were no longer in Postville. Although this article dealt with issues related to the raid, it was not possible to easily classify it for this variable, so the coder left this blank.

Table 16b. Tone of text toward the action of the government.

Tone toward the government action	Year of immigration raid		Number of articles
	Marshalltown 2006	Postville 2008	
Anti raid/actions of government	16	27	43
Pro raid/actions of government	8	16	24
Neutral/mixed	27	49	74
No response	0	3	2
Totals	51	95	146

In the articles from the 2006 Marshalltown raid, 27% took a sympathetic tone toward those who were detained at the Swift and Company facility in Marshalltown compared to 42% of all articles dealing with the Agriprocessors, Inc. raid in Postville. The tone toward the federal action was fairly similar during both raids, as 31% of all articles took a negative tone in 2006 and 28% took a negative tone in 2008. Although the sample sizes are small, the tone of articles regarding the detainees and toward the action of the government can be plumbed a bit further to look at which type of articles most expressed negative and positive tones on these key issues.

Table 16c. Tone of text toward those detained delineated by type of article.

		Tone of text toward those detained				Total
		unsympathetic to detainees	Pro/supportive to detainees	Neutral/mixed	No response	
News stories	Marshalltown	7	9	20	0	36
	Postville	4	31	28	2*	65
<i>Subtotal</i>						<i>101</i>
Features stories	Marshalltown	0	0	7	0	7
	Postville	0	1	1	0	2
<i>Subtotal</i>						<i>9</i>
Editorial columns	Marshalltown	0	1	1	0	2
	Postville	0	0	2	0	3
<i>Subtotal</i>						<i>5</i>
Op-eds	Marshalltown	1	0	0	0	1
	Postville	1	0	1	0	2
<i>Subtotal</i>						<i>3</i>
Letters	Marshalltown	0	4	1	0	5
	Postville	12	8	3	0	23
<i>Subtotal</i>						<i>28</i>

Table 16d. Tone of the text toward the action of the government raids as delineated by type of article.

		Tone of text toward government action/raid				Total
		unsympathetic to detainees	Pro/ supportive	Neutral/ mixed	No response	
News stories	Marshalltown	13	6	17	0	36
	Postville	10	5	39	2*	65
Subtotal						101
Features stories	Marshalltown	0	0	7	0	7
	Postville	1	0	1	0	2
Subtotal						9
Editorial columns	Marshalltown	0	1	1	0	1
	Postville	1	1	2	0	4
Subtotal						5
Op-eds	Marshalltown	0	1	0	0	1
	Postville	0	1	1	0	2
Subtotal						3
Letters	Marshalltown	2	4	1	0	5
	Postville	12	8	3	0	23
Subtotal						28

There was an increase in the percentage of news articles that expressed a positive or sympathetic tone toward those who were detained and toward those who are “illegal.” In 2006, 25% of news articles published were considered sympathetic; in 2008, 48% were considered sympathetic, an increase of 92%. Although the number of letters to the editor published in the three papers dealing with the raids during the period of study is small, only 28, the number of letters that were sympathetic to the situation of the illegal immigrant decreased from 4 out of 5 letters in 2006 to 8 out of 23, a decrease of 56%. That can be compared to no published letters that expressed an anti-illegal immigrant views in 2006 to a total of 12 letters or 52% of all those published in 2008.

School children who are taunted by name calling have been heard to retort “sticks and stones will break my bones but words will never hurt me.” If only that playground chant were true; word choices can not only hurt emotionally, they can inflame racial and national

sentiments and lead to violence. The choice of words used to describe people who are in the U.S. without either having gone through the official protocols to enter or who have remained in the U.S. after a valid visa has expired is a difficult issue for the press. The appositives “illegal immigrant and “undocumented aliens” can become single word epithets hurled at individuals and groups – “illegals” and “alien.” The tone of our spoken and written lexicon contributes to how we understand and address salient issues, such as a news story about people from another country who have been administratively arrested because they entered the U.S. illegally and obtained fraudulent employment identification documents.

The articles reviewed in this study found 125 occurrences of the use of such terms as “illegals,” “those illegals,” “aliens,” “illegal immigrant workers,” “illegal people,” “the illegals,” “illegal labor,” and “law breakers.” These terms were used in sentences such as, “What part of illegal don’t you get?”, “Illegal immigrants don’t count the same as legal workers,” and “Agri knew they were illegals.” And while these sentiments were most often expressed in published letters to editors, the term “illegal immigrants” is frequently used in news reports both in headlines and in leads.

Twenty percent of all articles used at least one or more words or phrases that could be termed supportive or sympathetic to those who were arrested, such as “good people,” “contributors,” “hard working men and women,” “neighbors and friends,” Sister Mary McCauley, pastoral administrator at St. Bridget Catholic Church in Postville was quoted as saying “these people are beautiful,” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008) and Archbishop Jerome Hanus was quoted as saying “there is no legal or illegal to God” (Heinselman and Grevas, 2008) The tone of some quotes from immigrant advocates and letters to the editor included

admiration and sentiments such as “all they came here for was to work,” and they are “fighting to put food on the table.”

The number of news articles that were supportive of the government action decreased from 29% in 2006 to 7% in 2008, a decrease of 75%. And while 55% of all articles from all three papers during both immigration raids struck a neutral or mixed tone regarding the government’s actions, the tone of readers’ letters indicated that while citizens have sympathy for the plight of those who were detained and deported, they also want the government to act on both upholding the laws that are in place and repairing the current immigration situation.

The government’s actions, both in terms of the workplace raids and detentions, were said to be “totally uncalled for,” “frightening,” “unjust,” “not humanitarian,” a “violation of the U.S. Constitution,” “arbitrary,” and “unprecedented,” and “a total disaster.” Sister Mary McCauley referred to the raids as causing “a state of terror” (*The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 2008.) Mary Bauer, director of the Immigrant Justice Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center was quoted as saying “These enforcement actions, we know they are doomed to failure” (Krogstad, 2008, June 22.)

In a front page article three days after the raid, *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* interviewed National Cattle Congress president Wally Mochal who oversees decisions regarding leasing agreements for the facility. The U.S. General Services Administration rented the NCC for much of the month of May for what the NCC believed were some type of training exercises. The site was the location where detainees were transported and initially held by U.S. Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement. During the first week of the lease, the government prepared the facility for its purposes but did not make any public announcements that might tip off anyone about the impending raid. After the raid,

Courier reporter Drew Anderson asked Mochal a leading question about whether the government had not been honest or forthcoming with the NCC regarding how the facility would be used. Mochal was quoted as saying, “Am I misled by my federal government? Probably frequently” (Andersen, 2008).

Additional quotes that expressed a negative view of the government’s actions included comments about how the Postville raid “ripped the heart out of their community,” and “damaged Postville’s schools, businesses, and neighborhoods” (Krogstad, 2008, May 15). Comments critical of the government’s actions focused on how a raid disproportionately targeted workers instead of employers, and that post-raid turmoil was worse than what those who were in the country illegally had done.

Forty-one percent of all articles expressed at least one positive word or comment about the government’s actions including how, in the Postville raid, the government attempted to crack down on a large identity theft “ring” or “scheme.” In a 57-page affidavit filed by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Immigration and Custom Enforcement in U.S. District Court on May 9, 2008, three days prior to that raid, the government alleged that nearly 80 percent of the company’s workforce were in the U.S. illegally, that many used fraudulent Social Security cards and Permanent Resident Alien cards to gain employment, and that employment eligibility verification forms had not been properly certified. In addition the affidavit stated the government had reason to believe that some employees were involved with methamphetamine production inside the Agriprocessors plant.

Citizens have every right to expect their government to aggressively pursue identity theft, unauthorized entry into the country, illegal drug production and the exploitation of workers by employers. The numerous violations and criminal charges that have come to light

at Agriprocessors in Postville are serious, not the least of which are the egregious employment of underage workers in violation of child labor laws.

Identity theft alone plagued about 3.6% of all American in 2007, down 12 percent since 2006, yet still a \$45 billion dollar problem (Kim and Monahan, 2008). The fraudulent use of a Social Security number can allow a thief to wreak havoc in another person's name. They can use the number to apply for a credit card, make purchases and leave unpaid bills on another person's credit report. They can obtain employment with the number, but fail to pay taxes leaving the rightful owner of the Social Security number to face federal and state tax evasion charges. Often Social Security numbers that are fraudulently used by illegal immigrants in order to obtain employment are not just used once by one individual. Instead, many of these numbers have been acquired by a syndicate that creates fraudulent documents and one Social Security number may be used multiple times over by many illegal immigrant workers creating not just a single problem but perhaps two or three dozen problems for the rightful owner of the number³⁸.

Words that expressed a positive tone toward the government action acknowledged how the raid was the culmination of "eight months of investigation," and that the "timing of the raid was based solely on the progress of the investigation" and was not done to interfere with an investigation about serious workplace safety violations that the state was conducting, nor was it intended to interfere with efforts by a labor union to organize the workers at the plant.

³⁸ According to a report by *The Des Moines Register*, the use of fraudulent Social Security numbers at Agriprocessors was extensive. The numbers were stolen from people in 25 states, including Iowa, and Puerto Rico

Quotes from Governor Chet Culver, a Democrat, Senator Tom Harkin, a Democrat who was running for re-election, and Representative Bruce Braley, a Democrat from Iowa's First Congressional District who was also running for re-election, were all supportive of the government's action. Harkin and Braley were also quoted as calling for a probe of the employer. Three days following the raid, Harkin was quoted, "I have always supported vigorous enforcement of our immigration laws, but we have to enforce our laws equally" (Nelson, 2008). *The Courier* went on to quote the senator, "If employers are knowingly hiring undocumented workers, they must be held accountable." In a report filed by Charlotte Eby of *The Courier's* Des Moines bureau, Culver was quoted as saying, "I believe it is important that we crack down on illegal immigration" (Eby, 2008). The report went on to identify the governor's concerns about "not just those who are crossing the border illegally, but also those who are responsible for helping to make it happen – traffickers, identity thieves, those who knowingly hire illegal immigrants and anyone who has taken advantage of employees or turned a blind eye" (Eby, 2008).

A congressional staffer to Braley praised federal officials for running a "professional operation," and a diplomat from the Guatemalan consulate who came from the embassy offices in Chicago to observe the detention facilities pronounced the conditions at the NCC as "humane."³⁹

By far the most critical word and comments in all genres of articles addressed current U.S. immigration policy, and some of the most critical of these were reported by Postville's hometown paper. The *Postville Herald-Leader*, a paper that – by its own editorial policy –

³⁹ The *Courier* reported that people in Guatemala were very concerned about the place where detainees were being housed in Waterloo because of the facility's name, "The name 'National Cattle Congress' sounds very dramatic." People in Guatemala were worried that loved ones were being housed with livestock.

wanted to be a “vehicle for sharing the good news of Postville” and has shied away “uncovering or creating scandals” quoted individuals at a special meeting of the city council who said “the system isn’t working,” and that we have a “rotten policy that must be changed” (*Postville Herald-Leader*, 2008, May 26.)

Photographs and Story Tone

The photographs published by the three papers in conjunction with the two raids speak volumes in and of themselves, framing story in ways the text does not, particularly in articulating tone about the illegal immigrants and the action of the immigration raids.

In all there were 86 images, including 3 maps and 2 infographics. To give their readers some geographical perspective, the Marshalltown paper ran a map showing Marshalltown in relationship to Johnston, Iowa where detainees in the 2006 raid were transported to Camp Dodge. In 2008, the Waterloo paper ran a map on two different days showing Postville where the raid occurred in relationship to Waterloo where detainees were transported to the National Cattle Congress.

Color photos represented 64 percent of all the images, the largest of which was a 60-square inch photo of Governor Vilsack who was expressing outrage at a press conference over the way federal officials handled the December 2006 Marshalltown raid, and the smallest, .94-square inches, were photos used to identify sources quoted in articles.

An immigration raid is not an easy story to tell photographically. The photojournalist has limited access to the action of the raid because of the operations perimeter established by law enforcement which keeps both on-lookers and journalists at bay. Many of the images on the actual days of the raids are loved ones standing and waiting, looking through fences and across parking lots. Ironically, in both 2006 and 2008, it is the image of the fence, an object

that divides and separates, that photojournalists have captured in their pictures that document these stories.

The *Marshalltown Times-Republican* ran a photo (Figure 5) on the first day of the 2006 raid on the cover of their Extra section of a year-old child looking over a woman's shoulder, presumably his mother. She is looking straight ahead, through the fence, as workers from the Swift and Company plant are led away by a federal law enforcement officer. The photo does not show the viewer the woman's face, or the faces of the other two women with whom she stands. In the distance, employees at the plant watch through windows and from a fire escape as the workers are led away. The caption does not say anything more informative. At this juncture in the story, there is chaos and confusion in the community, fear among those who have loved ones employed at the plant, and no official information from federal officials. Journalists are scrambling to get the story as it is happening, and what was happening was a lot of watching and a lot of waiting.

The paper ran the same photo again with slightly different cropping the next day. The child's eyes appear to be focused on the photographer who is capturing the image. If this is a child of an illegal immigrant, he is young enough to have been born in the U.S. and is most likely a U.S. citizen, probably watching as his father is arrested for entering the country illegally to seek work, raise a family and reach for a piece of the American dream. The picture portrays a sympathetic tone toward those who were detained and toward the family members who waited anxiously.

Figure 5. Marshelltown raid 2006, outside the fence at Swift and Company.



Used with permission, Marshelltown-Times Republican.

Much of the action of the 2008 raid was not visible at the Agriprocessors, Inc. facility because of the distance from the front drive way to the buildings. As the photojournalist and reporter from *The Courier* arrived in Postville near noon on the day of the raid, busses loaded with detainees were leaving for Waterloo. The locus of activity was at St. Bridgit Catholic Church. Many family members had gone there to seek sanctuary. One photo the paper used the morning after the raid was of a woman whose hand shields her face as she holds her head.

She appears to be distraught and may be weeping. The image shows the human drama experienced by family members worried about loved ones.

Photojournalists from *The Courier* who remained in Waterloo waited for the busses filled with detainees to return to return to the National Cattle Congress. One photo taken by Matthew Putney at the NCC shows the faces of four Hispanic men. They are shackled and chained at the waste, and they carry in their hands what appear to be documents related to their arrests. One young man with close cropped hair and a red Old Navy sweatshirt wears a stoic expression on his face. The man behind him—if he is a day over 18—casts his gaze downward. Like the animals these workers had been dealing with at the slaughter house, these detainees look themselves to be lambs being led to a slaughter. This image, distributed by the Associated Press and used by many other news publications around the country, portrays a sympathetic tone toward those who were detained.

Figure 6. Detainees from 2008 Postville raid at the National Cattle Congress.



Used with permission, Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier.

Three images round out the passions that flared out following the immigration raid in Postville. A rally outside the NCC in support of those detained in Postville quickly materialized the night of the raid. There was also a group who rallied in support of the federal action. One of *The Courier's* photos shows the pro-immigrant/detainee group, with their signs "Grant Amnesty," "We are all equal," "Honk for human rights," and in the background don the far left-hand side, supporters of the raid, with American flags in hand, confront those supporting the detainees. One young girl, perhaps all of 9-years of age, is in the middle of the

picture, and she appears to be calling out or chanting to motorists driving by. At first blush, the picture appears to express a supportive tone toward those detained, however upon closer examination the picture depicts the conflict between two sides in the issue.

Figure 7. Protestors outside of the National Cattle Congress the night of the Postville raid.



Used with permission, Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier.

The conflict frame is further explored by two photos *The Courier* ran on the back page of its front section the day after the raid of dueling flags. The color photos ran side by side, each 21.56 square inches. The images are of a woman waving the Mexican flag and of two men waving an America flag. The photos show a real divide between how many people view the current illegal immigration situation as an issue between Mexico and the U.S. Although the majority of the 389 individuals arrested in the Postville raid were Latinos, 290 were Guatemalans and 93 were Mexicans.

Figure 8. Dueling flags in Waterloo after the Postville raid.



Used with permission, Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier.

The *Postville Herald-Leader* is staffed by two people. They do not have a designated photography staff. The two-person office handles all operations of this weekly paper. The photos that run in the *Herald-Leader* could be termed more snapshots than strong photojournalistic images. Nevertheless, their photos tell a story in keeping with their journalistic philosophy about positive news, and these photos have a very different perspective than those in the other two community papers.

The story of the Postville raid broke the day before weekly *Herald-Leader* went to press on May 13, 2009. Their front page on May 14, 2008 led with the story of the federal raid. Above the fold the paper ran a photo of the Agriprocessors plant which featured the parking lot, buildings on the grounds and, in the distance a large bus which the caption reported was carrying illegal immigrants detained in the raid. There were no people in the image. The image looks like a photo that might be found in an annual report about the meat packing business.

Below the fold, the paper ran another photo of people walking to the exit of the Agriprocessors campus. The image depicts Latinos and Chabad-Lubavitch Jews who are identified as employees at the plant along with law enforcement officials. The photo is

distant enough that facial expressions or emotions cannot be seen. It is a rather sterile image that looks almost like it could be workers at any factory getting off after a shift rather than people who had experienced a federal immigration raid where agents were dressed in paramilitary suits with assault rifles and military helicopters flew overhead.

Figure 9. Front page above the fold photo in *Postville Herald-Leader* following the raid.



Used with permission, Postville Herald-Leader

Figure 10. Front page photo below the fold in the *Herald-Leader* of workers being escorted off the Agriprocessors campus by law enforcement officers.



Used with permission, Postville Herald-Leader

The week following the raid, May 21, 2009, the *Herald-Leader* ran a photo (Figure 11) depicting the intersection of Lawler and Reynolds Streets in Postville with a cutline, “Solidarity and caring.” In the foreground is a utility pole wrapped with a red ribbon. To the left an A-frame sign sits in front of the Wishing Well announces, “YES: we are OPEN.” There are no people in the photo, no images of Latino women with heavy electronic ankle brackets strapped to their legs, no faces of people who have been anguished by the terror of the raid. The photo reflects a stiff-upper lip image of Postville trying to say to the world or to itself, “we’re doing just fine, thank you.”

Figure 11. Photo of red ribbons on a post at the intersection of Lawler and Reynolds Streets in Postville a week after the raid showing the towns concern.



Used with permission, Postville Herald-Leader

The following week, May 28, 2008, the *Herald-Leader* ran a front page group photo (Figure 12) of 11 people who are part of the Postville Community Support, a volunteer guild in the community that offers aid to the needy. The photo accompanies a story about how the community has stepped up to the plate to offer food and other aid to the families affected by the raid. The accompanying article encourages members of the community to donate to the guild's pantry or to get involved as a volunteer. Both the photo and the story are representative of the generous heart of small town Iowa, of a caring spirit that Iowans and visitors readily identify as natural to rural, small-town life.

Figure 12. Photo of the members of the Postville Community Support that appeared on the front page of the *Postville Herald-Tribune* two weeks after the raid.



Used with permission, Postville Herald-Leader

What is missing in the photo of mostly grey-haired women over 55, are the faces of those they are reaching out to help. The story in the photo is about the people who would call Postville their life-long hometown, not the Latino workers – the Latino outsiders, the illegals – who have lived in Postville for two, five, or ten years, who have had babies in the United

States, and whose children have been attending school with the grandkids of the people in the photo. While the story speaks about the ability of people in small town Iowa to respond in a time of crisis to others in need, the photo speaks volumes about a divide between the people in the community, a divide that exists not just in Postville, but across America in terms of racial prejudice toward newcomers who do not speak English nor share our cultural history and traditions.

Figure 13. Child outside the gate at the National Cattle Congress in Waterloo.



Used with permission, Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier.

The final photo for exemplar (Figure 13), again drawn from the Waterloo-Cedar Falls paper, echoes the photo in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* at the gate of the Swift plant. *The Courier* photo returns to the image of the fence. Federal agents dressed in black military-style uniforms are guarding the entrance to the Waterloo Cattle Congress as a little Latino

boy, perhaps between two to three-years of age, stands outside, observing the law officers. It could almost be the same child from the Marshalltown photo 18 months later. The photo is taken low to the ground, from the vantage point of the child. The scene behind the gate is ominous. Based on the age of the child, he was most likely born in the U.S. and is an American citizen. The tone of the photo speaks loudly about a huge national policy problem that needs to be addressed on the federal level.

Research Question 5.

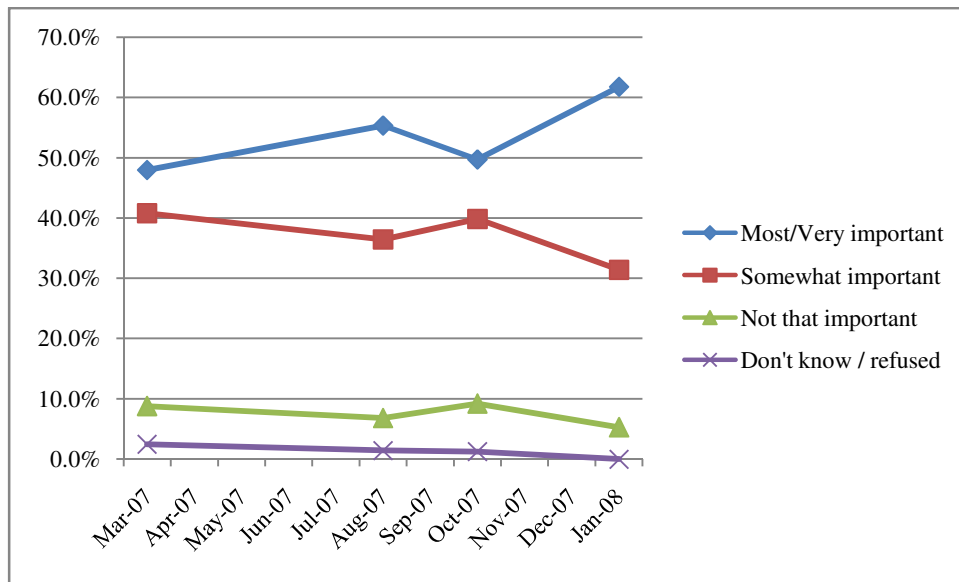
Based on the University of Iowa's Hawkeye Poll of public opinion, what is the relationship between the news frames used in the news coverage of the immigration raids in Marshalltown and Postville and public opinion about illegal immigration? Do the editorial positions of Iowa newspapers about the immigration raids differ substantially from the results of public opinion polls about immigration?

Public opinion polling of Iowans by the University of Iowa's Hawkeye Poll conducted by Dr. David Redlawsk and Dr. Caroline Tolbert (2008) in March, August, and October 2007 and in January 2008 examined three questions: (1) "How important is immigration to your vote for president?"; (2) "What is your view regarding what governmental policy should be regarding undocumented immigrants currently in the United States?"; and (3) "Who would you say is more responsible for the immigration situation as it is right now?"

Their polling data showed that for many Iowans (62%), immigration was an important presidential voting issue. The issue was particularly important among Republican caucus-going partisans who attended the Iowa Caucus on January 3, 2008. For this group in particular, 78% ranked immigration as either their most important or as very important issue

in their selection of a president. Among Democrat caucus goers, only 62% said the issue was “most/very important.”

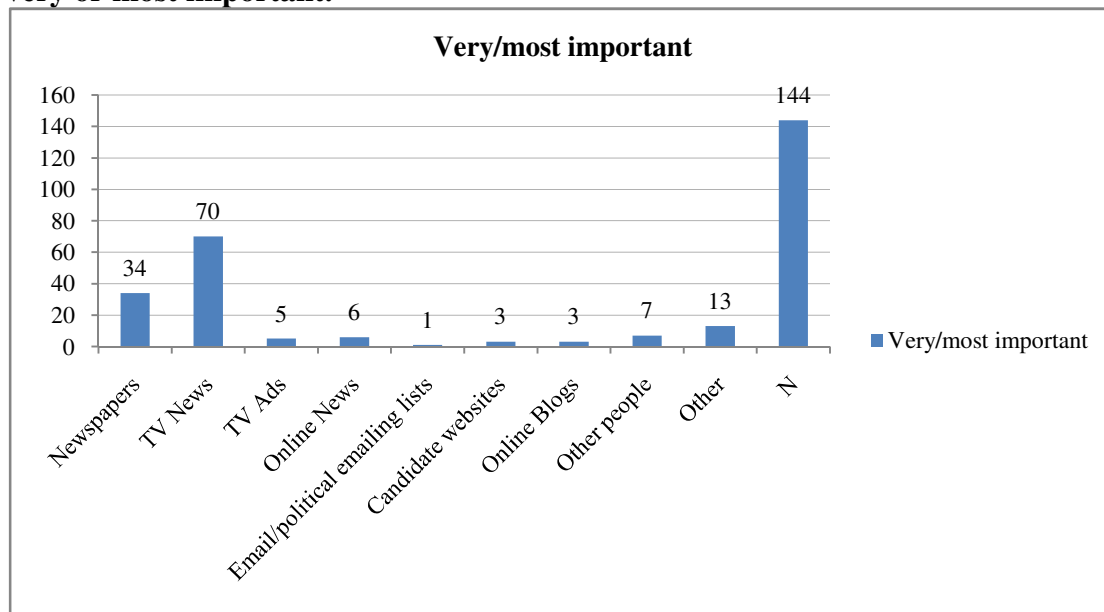
Table 16. Hawkeye Poll data showing the importance of immigration issue for some Iowans.



Unpublished data used with permission by Dr. David Redlawsk for purposes of this thesis only.

According to Redlawsk and Tolbert’s findings, people who got their news about political candidates and campaigns from TV were more likely to rank immigration higher than those who got their news from reading newspapers.

Table 17. Hawkeye Poll data showing news sources for those who ranked immigration very or most important.



Unpublished data used with permission by Dr. David Redlawsk for purposes of this thesis only.

The Hawkeye Poll went on to ask Iowans what sound be the public policy about undocumented immigrants. A path to citizenship was preferred by nearly 50% or more of respondents between March 2007 and January 2008 while slightly more than 20% to just over 31% favored deporting all those in the country illegally. Newspaper readers (60%) were far more likely to support a mechanism for earned citizenship for those here already than those who got their news from TV (45%), and those who listened to their news on talk radio were far more likely to support deportation (53%) than newspaper readers (22%)

The research by Redlawsk and Tolbert (2008) also indicates that Iowans placed the blame or the responsibility for the “immigration situation” on employers who hire illegal immigrants about 50% of the time and on the government about a quarter of the time, while only placing the blame for the situation on those who immigrate illegally about 20%.

Iowans opinions as assessed by the Hawkeye Poll about the “immigration situation” dovetail well with four media frames – conflict, human interest, responsibility and economic – used in this study to assess how print media tell the story. Iowans view illegal immigration as a problem (conflict); for the most part they have sympathy and compassion for the immigrant (human interest); they believe that there is an immigration policy problem, particularly a need for workers (economic) in certain labor sectors; and they want the government to address the often conflicting policy issues related to national border security, immigration quotas, and the enforcement of federal laws regarding employing those who are in the country illegally. They also want to reduce or eliminate large workplace raids that turn communities and family groups upside down.

In comparing the media frames employed by the three Iowa papers to tell the story of the immigration raids with the attitudes and opinions of Iowans about immigration, Iowa newspapers have echoed the sentiments of Iowan regarding a need for compassion toward those caught between the lure of employment and the reality of immigration law enforcement, and they have led public opinion in calling for important policy changes to address a system that is broken.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study began by asking the question: do the news media act as a mirror that reflects what is happening in society or do they shape public opinion through their framing of important social issues. Specifically this study looked at the coverage of two large immigration raids by three community newspapers in Iowa and compared the framing of that coverage to public opinion polling about Iowans' attitudes about illegal immigration.

In addition this study also researched the history of U.S. immigration policy and the history of immigration and settlement in Iowa in order to put the contemporary story of the immigration crisis facing America in context. The history – or backstory – of immigration is essential to understanding the situation at hand. Despite the myth embodied by Emma Lazarus' poem about the tired, poor and huddle masses being welcomed to America's shores, this country has never had what today would be termed an "open-borders" immigration policy. Although the Page Act may have been the first federal legislation that restricted immigration, there were many other federal and state laws that served to regulate the number, health, wealth, and race of immigrants.

At this time there are an estimated 12 to 20 million undocumented people in the U.S. who have either entered the country illegally or who have remained beyond their visas. These individuals are not able to legally work; they often use false and stolen identification to obtain employment which can jeopardize the rightful identities of American citizens; they are willing to take employment at lower wage scales which serves to lower industry wage standards for those who can legally work; the American born children of illegal immigrants

are caught in a state of limbo between their own American citizenship and their parents' country of nationality when their parents are deported.

Critics of illegal immigrants point out that those who are not in the country legally fly under the radar in terms of accurate census counts for state and community infrastructure and service planning. By being paid "under the table" they do not equitably pay federal, state and local taxes yet they require the same community services, such as police and fire protection, and educational services for their children; lacking official documentation, they are not eligible for drivers' licenses and thus are not eligible to have liability auto insurance should they be involved in an car accident where people are injured or property is damaged. Many community hospitals claim their emergency rooms see a disproportionate number of immigrants who lack insurance for primary care and who thus resort to higher-cost emergency services when a health care matter becomes serious.

Last but not least, critics of the number of illegal immigrants in the nation point to concerns about national security as well as the rule of law in insisting that a sovereign nation has a right and duty to protect its borders and to control who enters its ports. There are literally millions of people standing in line who have applied to enter the United States through the legal channels. Their applications are weighed and measured by quotas established by U.S. policy about how many people the country should admit annually, and from what nations. Part of this process involves a weighting system that gives priority to those with certain types of education and skills. Critics of the situation at hand decry that those who have crossed over the U.S. border illegally have cut the line unfairly in front of those who are legitimately waiting their turn.

As the numbers of illegal immigrants have increased, policy makers have grappled with how to address the problem. In the past three years there have been an increasing number of high profile immigration raids. These raids have been the cause of much criticism by many over both the way the government has handled these situations and how U.S. immigration policy seems to be enforced sporadically and somewhat schizophrenically: many people, such as workers in Postville, are allowed to live in the U.S, for more than a decade, to sink down roots, have children and send them to school, and then are rounded up in a dramatic swoop, while U.S. Customs and Border Patrol agents are sent out, alone without partners, to patrol vast areas of dessert in the hopes of capturing people, the more than 5,000 people who are estimated to be crossing the U.S.-Mexican border each day.

To understand the raids that took place in Iowa, it is necessary to understand the background that underpins the larger story, and to understand how Iowans shape their opinions of the events of the day, including the situation of illegal immigration and federal immigration raids, it is important to look at how the press mediates the story to the public.

All three papers studied addressed the issues of the raids but each framed the story somewhat differently based on their community's experience with illegal immigrants and prior federal raids. The *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* aggressively reported the stories that unfolded in their own backyards when each story broke. The 2008 raid was about four times as large as the 2006 raid, and as the largest federal worksite raid up until that time, it commanded more coverage because of some of the unprecedented ways the government handled the detentions and prosecutions for foreign nationals.

All three papers showed strength in their role as community papers in addressing the particular issues that occurred in their own communities. In the aftermath of the raid at the Swift plant in 2006, the *Marshalltown Times- Republican* played an important role in calling for an immigration summit to bring policy makers and community people together. Perhaps because of this meeting and the manner in which the paper framed the effects of the raid on the town and its residents, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Immigration and Customs Enforcement made modifications in its planning for subsequent raids, such as the one that occurred in Postville. Even though the Postville raid was devastating on the individuals involved and on the community itself, changes— such as how immigration officials quickly released mothers⁴⁰ with young children— may have been directly related to feedback provided at the Marshalltown summit sponsored by the *Times-Republican*.

The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier did an exemplary job of reporting the Postville raid story. Not only was the raid a huge state and national story, but the event was complicated by language and cultural barriers which the paper was able respond to with a bilingual reporter who was able to make important connections with sources and actors within the Latino community. Additionally *The Courier's* newsroom staff pulled out all the stops to drill deeply into the story about the detainments and unprecedented federal court proceedings which took place in Waterloo. *The Courier* also played an important civic journalism role in producing a DVD that documented the paper's role in reporting on the

⁴⁰ More than three dozen women were released for humanitarian reasons so they could take care of their children. They were fitted with ankle monitoring bracelets so they would not be able to leave Postville until given permission by the government. This situation, while intended to allow these mothers a form of house arrest, was the target of a lot of criticism. The women were not able to work which meant they could not support themselves and they were not eligible for state financial aid.

Postville raid, the Parkersburg tornado and the Cedar River flood. And, in true civic journalism style, copies of the DVD were then sold as a fundraiser to benefit the community.

The *Postville Herald-Leader* remained true to its editorial mission of reporting the “good news” of Postville, yet it did not duck from reporting on the Agriprocessors raid. While the paper does not pretend to compete with larger daily papers, what it did do well was to play the role of town cheerleader, encouraging and celebrating Postville residents as they stepped up to the plate week after week to respond to the need of people who had been their neighbors. Sharon Drahn, editor of the *Postville Herald-Leader* said that the way the federal government dealt with the immigrants “is not the way we are here in small town Iowa toward our fellow man.” The paper’s framing of the story reflected an ethic of community concern for the immigrant families whose lives were turned upside down.

Each of the papers took a leadership role in their communities and utilized the power of the press to tell an enormous national yet hometown story. All three papers voiced a need for the federal government to address a broken immigration policy and a schizophrenic form of enforcing that policy.

The *Postville Herald-Leader* covered a special session of the city council about a week after the raid. One council member spoke up and commended the government for enforcing the law. Another council member who had been a law enforcement officer for many years and who now is a minister was quoted as saying that when he was a police officer he enforced the law every day, not every 15 years.

The newspapers emphasized the human interest angle in telling the immigration story — the toll an immigration raid takes on those detained, on their loved ones, on their employer, and on the affected community— and in doing so may have not only have

influenced public opinion but possibly the way the government may choose to handle such raids in the future.

Limitations of the Study

The sample size derived from a complete census of the three papers over the course of the two raids was small which easily allowed for a qualitative case study approach but made a more in-depth quantitative study difficult.

The design of the codebook used for gathering data on the units of text worked better than the codebook developed to analyze the photo and graphic images. If this study were to be undertaken again, this instrument could be adapted to better suit analysis of the images.

Research involving the reporting of how human being are treated by a government can be emotionally moving and draining for those involved in the study. This type of research might best be done by a team of researchers, writers and editors to insure fairness, balance, neutrality as well as accuracy.

Suggestions for Further Study

As the federal government conducts additional worksite and community-based immigration raids across the country, similar qualitative and quantitative studies of how community newspapers in those locations report those events could be done to see what regional differences exist in attitudes and opinions of readers and what media frames are most emphasized.

APPENDIX A

**ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS CODEBOOK
FOR ARTICLES, OPINION PIECES, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

No.	Variable	Variable label	Codes	Missing values
1	Coder	Coder number	1= Coder A 2= Coder B	
2	Id	Article identification number		
3	Paper	Publication where article appeared	1= Des Moines Register 2= Marshalltown Times Republican 3= Postville Herald Leader 4= Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier	
4	Date	Date of publication	<i>Enter as day, month, date, year</i> Example: Saturday, September 1, 2008	
5	Picce	Newspaper piece to be analyzed	1= straight news report 2= feature story 3= editorial column 4= other editorial picce (appearing in the op-ed pages) 5= letter to the editor/publisher	9
6	Length	Article word count	<i>Enter number of words</i>	
7	Head	Article headline	<i>Copy the exact headline or title of the article</i>	
8	Source	Source of newspaper item	1= Newspaper staff writer 2= Associated Press or other wire service 3= Iowa News Service 4= Other source	9
9	Authnum	Number of authors	<i>Enter number of authors</i>	9
	Author1	Name of first author	<i>Copy author's exact name</i>	9
10	Author2	Name of second author	<i>Copy author's exact name</i>	9
11	Scction	Section of the newspaper where item appeared	1= front page 2= op-ed pages 3= Metro or city section 4= Business section 5= other	9
12	Page	Exact numerical page on which the unit of analysis begins	<i>Enter newspaper page number</i>	
13	Loc1	Dividing the broadsheet into four quarters, code the exact location where the unit of analysis begins	1= top left quarter 2= top right quarter 3= bottom left quarter 4= bottom right quarter	
14	Jump	Whether article jumped or not	0= article did not jump 1= article jumped	
15	Loc2	If the article jumped to a another page, code the page number the receiving page	<i>Enter page number</i>	

16	Conflict	The <i>conflict</i> frame sees immigrants as the problem because they are here illegally. Also shows people who want immigration laws upheld as racists, xenophobes, or nativists.	0= absent 1= present	
17	Human	The <i>human interest</i> frame sees immigrants as human beings caught in an unfortunate set of circumstances struggling with lack of work in their native country and an inhospitable, wealthy nation that exploits the worker and treats them inhumanly	0= absent 1= present	
18	Response	The <i>responsibility</i> frame expresses an opinion about: the raids and the way the government conducted them; the employers who hired and exploited illegal immigrants; the nation's conflicting immigration policies and failure to remedy immigration laws; the compassion and leadership groups and individuals.	0= absent 1= present	
19	Economic	The <i>economic consequence</i> frame examines the economic benefits of illegal immigrants who contribute to the community by paying wage, sales and other taxes; the cost to communities to provide medical, educational, social services to illegal immigrants; the economic impact on a community of an immigration raid.	0= absent 1= present	

20	Negval1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>those who have been arrested</i> . Value terms can include such words as "illegal," "illegals," "alicens."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
21	Negval2	Second <i>negative</i> value term used in the story to describe the <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
22	Negval3	Third <i>negative</i> value term used in the story to describe the <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
23	Posval1	First <i>positive</i> value terms used in the story to describe <i>individuals arrested</i> . Positive value terms can include such words as "hard workers," "religious," "people with family values"	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
24	Posval2	Second <i>positive</i> value terms used in the story to describe <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
25	Posval3	Third <i>positive</i> value terms used in the story to describe those <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
26	NegvalR1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
27	NegvalR2	Second <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
28	NegvalR3	Third <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
29	PosvalR1	First <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
30	PosvalR2	Second <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
31	PosvalR3	Third <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
32	NegvalP1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the immigration policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
33	NegvalP2	Second <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	

34	NegvalP3	Third <i>negative</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
35	PosvalP1	First <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the immigration policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
36	PosvalP2	Second <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
37	PosvalP3	Third <i>positive</i> value term in the story to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
38	Toneimm	Image tone toward illegal immigrants	1= Anti-illegal immigrants (negative tone, unsympathetic to immigrants) 2= Pro-immigrant (positive tone, sympathetic to immigrants) 3= Neutral or mixed (without a predominant tone)	53
39	Tonraid	Image tone toward the federal immigration workplace raids	1= Anti-raid (negative tone, not supportive of the federal action) 2= Pro-raid (positive tone, supportive of the federal action) 3= Neutral or mixed tone (a mixture of tones without a predominant one)	9
40	Fed	Source is a federal spokesperson (DHS or ICE official)	0= absent 1= present	
41	Imm	Source is an immigrant spokesperson (member of the immigrant community)	0= absent 1= present	
42	Fam	Source is a family member of a detained individual	0= absent 1= present	
43	Atty	Source is an attorney or lawyer for someone detained	0= absent 1= present	
44	Swift	Source is a spokesperson for Swift & Co.	0= absent 1= present	
45	Agri	Source is a spokesperson for Agriprocessors	0= absent 1= present	
46	Marshall	Source is a Marshalltown town official	0= absent 1= present	
47	Postvil	Source is a Postville town official	0= absent 1= present	
48	Relig	Source is a religious spokesperson speaking on behalf of one or more people detained, or for family members of the detained	0= absent 1= present	
49	Citizen	Source is an interested citizen	0= absent 1= present	
50	Prescan	Source is a presidential candidate or politician running for office	0= absent 1= present	
51	Other	Other sources	0= absent 1= present	

APPENDIX B

**ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS
CODEBOOK FOR PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER IMAGES**

No.	Variable	Variable label	Codes	Missing values
1	Coder	Coder number	1= Coder A 2= Coder B 3= Coder C 4= Coder D	
2	Id	Image identification number		
3	Paper	Name of publication where image was found	1= Marshalltown Times Republican 2= Postville Herald Leader 3= Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier	
4	Date	Date of publication	<i>Enter as day, month, date, year</i> Example: Saturday, September 1, 2008	
5	Piccc	Image to be analyzed	1= photograph 2= cartoon 3= information graphic (bar graph, pie chart, line graph.) 4= diagram 5= map 6= photo-illustration	
6	Size	Size of image in inches	<i>E.g., 4 x 6</i>	
7	Source	Source of image	1= Newspaper staff photographer/artist 2= Associated Press or other wire service 3= Iowa News Service 4= Other source	
8	Section	Section of the newspaper where image appeared	1= front page/section 2= op-ed pages 3= Metro or city section 4= Business section 5= other	
9	Page	Exact numerical page on which the unit of analysis begins	<i>Enter page number</i>	
10	Loc	Dividing the broadsheet into four quarters, code the exact location where the unit of analysis begins	1= top left quarter 2= top right quarter 3= bottom left quarter 4= bottom right quarter	
11	Color	Is the image in color or black-and-white?	1= printed in color 2= printed in black/white	
12	ActorNum	Number of persons shown in the image	<i>Enter number. If none, enter 0.</i>	
13	Actor1	Name of first identified actor in the image	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	9
14	Actor2	Name of second identified actor in the image	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	9
15	Actor3	Name of third identified actor in the image	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	9
16	Actor4	Name of fourth identified actor in the image	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	9
17	Actor5	Name of fifth identified actor in the image	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	9

18	Detain	Image shows people who have been arrested and detained during one of the immigration raids	0= absent 1= present	
19	Family	Image shows an individual or of a group identified as family members of someone arrested/detained	0= absent 1= present	
20	Support	Image shows one or more individuals identified as concerned persons in an advocacy role	0= absent 1= present	
21	Law	Image shows one or more individuals identified as law enforcement officers involved in some way in the raid or detentions	0= absent 1= present	
22	Tears	Image shows one or more individuals crying	0= absent 1= present	
23	Plant	Image shows exterior, interior, or campus of raided processing plants	0= absent 1= present	
24	Sanct	Image shows exterior or interior or campus of a place of sanctuary, such as a church	0= absent 1= present	
25	Comty	Image shows town where an immigration raid took place, such as a shot of Main Street or town square, a school, a community building or place other than a sanctuary.	0= absent 1= present	
26	Mect	Image shows <i>formal</i> meeting of individuals gathered to discuss or act because of the immigration raids, such as a public forum, town hall meeting, church	0= absent 1= present	
27	Gather	Image shows <i>informal</i> gathering of people to discuss the immigration raid, such as a group of neighbors, people at a coffee shop.	0= absent 1= present	
28	Antiraid	Image shows an individual or group gathered to make a public statement <i>against</i> the immigration raid	0= absent 1= present	
29	Forraid	Image shows an individual or group gathered to make a public statement <i>in support of</i> the immigration raid	0= absent 1= present	
30	Mugshot	Image shows mug shot of individuals used for identification purposes in an article rather than as a documentary part of the story	0= absent 1= present	
31	Conflict	The <i>conflict</i> frame sees 1) immigrants as the problem because they are here illegally; 2) sees people who want immigration laws upheld as racists, xenophobes, or nativists.	0= absent 1= present	
32	Human	The <i>human interest</i> frame portrays the illegal immigrant as a human being caught in an unfortunate set of circumstances between the lack of work and other opportunities in his or her country and a wealthy but inhospitable nation that exploits workers and treats them inhumanly.	0= absent 1= present	

33	Respons	The <i>responsibility</i> frame examines: 1) the raids and the way the government conducted them; 2) the employers who hired and exploited illegal immigrants; 3) the nation conflicting immigration policies and failure to remedy immigration laws; 4) the compassion and leadership of groups and individuals.	0= absent 1= present	
34	Economic	The <i>economic consequence</i> frame examines 1) the economic benefits of illegal immigrants who contribute to the community by paying wage, sales and other taxes; 2) the cost to communities to provide medical, educational, social services to illegal immigrants; 3) the economic impact on a community of an immigration raid.	0= absent 1= present	
35	Negval1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the caption used to describe <i>those who have been arrested</i> . Value terms can include such words as "illegal," "aliens," "criminal."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
36	Negval12	Second <i>negative</i> value term used in the caption to describe the <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
37	Negval13	Third <i>negative</i> value term used in the caption to describe the <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
38	Posval1	First <i>positive</i> value terms used in the caption to describe <i>individuals arrested</i> . Positive value terms can include such words as "hard workers," "religious," "people with family values"	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
39	Posval12	Second <i>positive</i> value terms used in the caption to describe <i>individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
40	Posval13	Third <i>positive</i> value terms used in the caption to describe <i>those individuals arrested</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
41	NegvalR1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> . Value terms can include such words as "abusive," "unjust," "frightening," "painful."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
42	NegvalR2	Second <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
43	NegvalR3	Third <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
44	PosvalR1	First <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> . Value terms can include such words as "upholding the law," "appropriate action."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
45	PosvalR2	Second <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
46	PosvalR3	Third <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the raids</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
47	NegvalP1	First <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the immigration policy</i> . "Conflicting," "confusing," "outdated," "strict."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
48	NegvalP2	Second <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
49	NegvalP3	Third <i>negative</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
50	PosvalP1	First <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the immigration policy</i> . "Legal," "lawful."	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	

51	PosvalP2	Second <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
52	PosvalP3	Third <i>positive</i> value term in the caption to describe <i>the policy</i> .	<i>Enter as string variable</i>	
53	Toneimm	Image tone toward illegal immigrants	1= Anti-illegal immigrants (negative tone, unsympathetic to immigrants) 2= Pro-immigrant (positive tone, sympathetic to immigrants) 3= Neutral or mixed (without a predominant tone)	9
54	Tonraid	Image tone toward the federal immigration workplace raids	1= Anti-raid (negative tone, not supportive of the federal action) 2= Pro-raid (positive tone, supportive of the federal action) 3= Neutral or mixed tone (a mixture of tones without a predominant one)	9
55	Fed	Source/image is a federal official/spokesperson (DHS/ ICE)	0= absent 1= present	
56	Imm	Source/image is an immigrant spokesperson (member of the immigrant community)	0= absent 1= present	
57	Fam	Source/image is a family member of a detained individual	0= absent 1= present	
58	Atty	Source/image is an attorney or lawyer for someone detained	0= absent 1= present	
59	Swift	Source/image is a spokesperson for Swift & Co.	0= absent 1= present	
60	Agri	Source/image is a spokesperson for Agriprocessors	0= absent 1= present	
61	Marshall	Source/image is a Marshalltown town official	0= absent 1= present	
62	Postvil	Source/image is a Postville town official	0= absent 1= present	
63	Relig	Source/image is a religious spokesperson speaking on behalf of one or more people detained, or for family members of the detained	0= absent 1= present	
64	Citizen	Source/image is an interested citizen	0= absent 1= present	
65	Prescan	Source/image is a presidential candidate or politician running for office	0= absent 1= present	
66	Other	Other sources	0= absent 1= present	

REFERENCES

- Allen, B. (2007). *Iowa German-Language newspapers in existence five or more years*. Reference list in PDF format from the Rod Library University of Northern Iowa, Retrieved October 12, 2008, <http://www.library.uni.edu/ris/staff/IowaGermanNewspapers.pdf>
- Allen, J. T., & Doherty, C. (2006, December). *What was—and wasn't on the public's mind...and how opinions changed during 2006*, The Pew Research Center for People and the Press: U.S. News Interest Index. Retrieved, 26 September, 2008, <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/110/what-was-and-wasn't-on-the-public's-mind>.
- Andersen, D. (2008, May 15). NCC was not told ICE plan, president says. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 1A.
- Ashbrook, T. (2004) Journalism mirrors the public mood. *Nieman Reports*, 58 (4), 48.
- Associated Press. (2007). Top ten stories of 2007.
- Associated Press (2006). Top ten stories of 2006.
- Barlett, D., Steele, B., Karmatz, L., and Levinstein, J. (2004). Who left the door open. *Time*, (Sept. 20), p. 51-66.
- Bennett, M. (1963). *American immigration policies: A history*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press.
- Berinsky, A. (1999). The two faces of public opinion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 43 (4), 1209-1230.
- Berleson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. Glencoe, IL: Free.
- Bernhard, V. (1992). Men, women and children at Jamestown: Population and gender in early Virginia, 1607-1610. *The Journal of Southern History*, 58 (4), 599-618.
- Bhushan, C. (2003). *The romance of construction*. Noida, India: CBS Forum
- Blau, J., Thomas, M., Newhouse, B. & Kavee, A. (1998). Ethnic buffer institutions the immigrant press: New York City, 1820-1984. *Historical Social Research*, 23(3), 20-37.
- Bloom, S. (2000). *Postville*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.
- Bonner, T.J. (2005, May 24). National President of National Border Patrol Council of the AFL-CIO, testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Management, Integration and Oversight.

Brewer, M., & McCombs, M. (1996). Setting the community agenda. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 73(1), 7-16.

Buk-Swienty, T. (2008). *The other half: The life of Jacob Riis and the world of immigrant America*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Burgoon, J., Buller, D., & Woodall, W. (1996). *Nonverbal communication: The unspoken dialogue*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Bush, G. (2007) State of the Union Address, January 23, 2007. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070123-2.html>.

Boorstin, D (1961). *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America* (1992 edition). New York: Atheneum.

Brian, D. (2001). *Pulitzer: A Life*. New York: John Wiley & Sons

Byerly, K. (1961). *Community Journalism*. Philadelphia: Chilton.

Chavez, L. (2001). *Covering immigration: Popular images and the politics of the nation*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Chernoff, M. (2008, September 16). One team, one mission: securing our homeland. U.S. Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plan Fiscal Years 2008-2013. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/DHS_StratPlan_FINAL_spread.pdf

Cohen, B. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Crary, D. (2006, December). Iraq war voted top news story of 2006, outpolling U.S. election. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/fronts/ARCHIVE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME> .

Curtain, P. (1969). *The Atlantic slave trade: A census*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Dallas Morning News, (2007, December 30). The Illegal Immigrant, 1P.

Dearing, J. W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). *Agenda Setting*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Des Moines Register, (1979, November 22). Giving from Iowa's bounty, 18A.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (2005). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research, third edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Derr, N., (1979, July/August). The Babel proclamation. *The Palimpsest*, 60(4), 98-115.

Donohoe, G., Olien, C., & Tichenor, P. (1989). Structure and Constraints on Community Newspaper Gatekeepers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66(4), 807-812.

Eby, C. (2008, May 13). Culver Expresses Support for Crackdown. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 4A.

Edleman, M. J. (1993). Contestable categories and public opinion. *Political Communication*, 10: 231-242.

Entman, R. (1993) Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

F.A.I.R. (2007, December 27). Fact sheet distributed by Federation for American Immigration Reform at conference held at the Marriott Hotel, Des Moines, Iowa.

Fetterman, D. (1998). *Ethnography step by step (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage Publications.

Fogel, R.W., & Engerman, S.L. (1974). *Time on the cross: The economics of American negro slavery*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Franklin, B. (1751)[1961]. Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, &c. In L. Labaree, (Ed.), *The papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 4, July 1, 1750 through June 30, 1753*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gallup, G. (1938). Government and the sampling referendum. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 33 (201), 131-142.

Garcia, J. (1980). *Operation Wetback: The mass deportation of Mexican undocumented workers in 1954*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Garcia, M. (1987). *Contemporary newspaper design*. Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Garcia, M., & Stark, P. (1991). *Eyes on the News*. St. Petersburg, Florida: The Poynter Institute.

Genette, G. (1997[1987]) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Geske, J. and Brown, P. (2008, May 26). *Gay marriage in Iowa: The visual framing of a controversial social issue*. Unpublished paper presented at the 58th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Gibbons, A. (1977). "Monte Verde: Blessed but not confirmed." *Science*, 275, 1256-1257.

Gibson, C. (1999). Historical census statistics on the foreign-born population of the United States: 1850-1990. *Population Division Working Paper 29*. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. Retrieved October 6, 2008
<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/twps0029.html>.

Gibson, C. & Jung, K. (2002). Historical census statistics on population totals by race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic origin, 1970 to 1990, for The United States, regions, divisions, and states. *Population Division Working Paper 56*. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. Retrieved October 6, 2008
<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/twps0056.html>.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goddard, F. (1869) *Where to emigrate and why: Homes and fortunes in the boundless west and sunny south with a complete history and description of the Pacific Railroad*. Philadelphia: The Peoples Publishing Company.

Greeley, H. (1853, November 10). *New York Tribune*, 4, col.3.

Gue, B. (1903). *History of Iowa from the earliest times to the beginning of the twentieth century, Vol.III*. New York: The Century History Company.

Hayworth, J.D. (2006). *Whatever it takes*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery.

Heinselmann, K. & Grevas, L. (2008, May 18). Archbishop leads prayer service for detainees. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 1A.

Heuman, G. & Walvin, J. (2003) *Slavery reader*. London: Routledge.

Hoefler, M., Rytina, N., & Baker, B. (2008). *Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2007*. Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved September 26, 2008 from, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_ill_pe_2007.pdf

Hoefler, M., Rytina, N., & Campbell, C. (2006). *Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2006*. Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved September 26, 2008 from, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ill_pe_2006.pdf

Holmes, P. (1999). Ed Bradley. In M. Murray (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Television News*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Holmqvist, K. & Wartenberg, C. (2005). The role of local design factors for newspaper reading behavior – an eye-tracking perspective. *Lund University Cognitive Studies*, 127, 1-21.

Ingstad, H. (1969). *Westward to Vinland: The discovery of pre-Columbian Norse house-sites in North America*. Toronto: Macmillan.

Ingstad, H., & Ingstad, A. S. (2001). *The Viking discovery of America: The excavation of a Norse settlement in L'Anse Aux Meadows*. Newfoundland: Checkmark Books.

Iorio, S. (2003). *Qualitative research in journalism: Taking it to the streets*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Iowa Board of Immigration. (1870). *Iowa: The home for immigrants; being a treatise on the resources of Iowa and giving useful information with regard to the State for the benefit of immigrants and others*. Reprinted (1970) Iowa City, IA: State Historical Society of Iowa.

Iowa Rail Road Land Company. (1871). New York: G.W. & C.B. Colton & Co. In the permanent collection of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4061p.rr004360>.

Jeffres, L., Cutietta, C., Lee, J. & Sekera, L. (1999) Differences of community newspaper goals and functions in large urban areas. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 20 (3) 86-98.

Josephson, S. (1996). Questioning the power of color. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 4 (3) 12.

Jones, G. (1986). *The Norse Atlantic saga: Being the Norse—Voyages of discovery and settlement to Iceland, Greenland, America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kehoe, A. B. (2004). *The Kensington runestone: Approaching a research question holistically*. Illinois: Waveland Press.

Kennedy, B. (1974). *Community journalism: A way of life*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Kiousis, S. (2004). Explicating media salience: A factor analysis of New York Times issue coverage during the 2000 U.S. presidential election. *Journal of Communication*, 54 (1) 71-87.

Kim, R. & Monahan, M. (2008, February) *2008 identity fraud survey report: Identity fraud continues to decline, but criminals more effective at using all channels*. Pleasanton, CA: Javelin Strategy and Research.

Kinney, P. (2006, December 20). Governor: Raid “total disaster.” *The Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*, 1A.

Koestler, F (1999). *Operation wetback. The handbook of Texas online*. Retrieved April 3, 2007, from <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/OO/pqo1.html>.

Kohut, A. & Parker, K. (2007, December). *Gas prices, disasters top public’s news interests in 2007*, The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press: U.S. News Interest Index. Retrieved September 26, 2008, from the World Wide Web <http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/380.pdf>

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (1998). Front pages: The critical layout of newspaper layout. In A. Bell and P. Garrett, (Eds.), *Approaches to media discourse*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Krippendorff, K. (2007). *Computing Krippendorff’s Alpha-Reliability*. Annenberg School for Communication, Departmental Papers, Scholarly Commons, Retrieved November 1, 2008, from the World Wide Web http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/43.

Krogstad, J.M. (2006, December 13). Cedar Valley Latinos fuming about raid’s timing. *The Waterloo Cedar Falls Courier*, 1A.

Krogstad, J.M. (2008, May 15). Postville reeling after raid. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 1A,

Krogstad, J.M. (2008, June 22). Employers face immigration crackdown too. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 1A.

Lamay, M. & Barken, E., Eds. (1999). *U.S. immigration and naturalization laws and issues: A documentary history*. West Port, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Larsen, L. (2004). *The foreign-born population in the United States: 2003*. Current Population Reports, p. 20-551, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, D.C. Retrieved March 4, 2007, from the World Wide Web, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/p20-551.pdf>.

Lauterer, J. (2006). *Community journalism: The Personal Approach*. Oak Park, IL: Marion Street Press.

Lester, P. (1991). *Photojournalism: An ethical approach*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Linn, W. (1903). *Horace Greeley: Founder and editor of the New York Tribune*. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York: Macmillan.

Lodge, H.C. (1891). The restriction of immigration. *North American Review*, 152

Lo, D. (1997). The Thaidam. In T. Bouy, J. May, T. Cordova, W. Walker-Moffat & J. First (Eds.). *Unfamiliar partners: Asian parents and United States public schools*. Boston: National Coalition of Advocates for Students.

Martin, J. (2007, December). *The costs of illegal immigration to Iowans*. Washington, D.C.: Federation for American Immigration Reform.

Martin, P. (2003). *Promise unfulfilled: Unions, immigration, and farm workers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Martin, P., & Midgley, E. (2003) *Immigration: Shaping and reshaping America*. Population Bulletin 58:2, (Population Reference Bureau) Retrieved April 7, 2007, from <http://www.prb.org/Source/58.2ImmigrShapingAmerica.pdf>.

McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Cambridge: Policy Press.

McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73, 176-187.

McGraw, D. (1998, March 2). The Iowan Connection: Powerful Mexican Drug Cartels have hit Rural America. *U.S. News and World Report*, 33-36.

Mencher, M. (2004 Winter). Journalism reflects our culture. *Nieman Reports*, 58 (4), 50.

Merritt, D. (1998) *Public journalism and public life: Why telling the news is not enough*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Messariss, P., & Abraham, L. (2003). The role of images in framing news stories. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds.). *Framing Public Life: Perspective on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*. Mahwah, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: 215-226.

Miller, S. (1987). *The ethnic press in the United States: A historical analysis and handbook*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Mundt, T. (Host). (2007, March 19). *Assignment Iowa: The state of immigration* [Television Broadcast]. Johnston, Iowa: Iowa Public television.

Nagourney, A. (2007, March 20). For G.O.P., first stop on '08 trail is hotbed of immigration politics, *The New York Times*, pp. A1, A14.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks. (2004). *The 9/11 commission report: Final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Nauer, K. and Rhodes, S. (1992). Postville's better paper. *Columbia Journalism Review*. 30 (6), 12-14.

Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Nelson, J. (2008, May 15). Lawmakers call for Agriprocessor's probe. *The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier*, 3A.

Nielsen, R., & Wolter, S. F. (2005). *Kensington runestone: Compelling new evidence*. Eden Prairie, MN: Outernet Publishing.

Norman, Jane (1996, September 6). Iowa Ranked 4th in INS Crackdown. *The Des Moines Register*, A1.

Oliver, P., & Myers D. (1999). How events enter the public sphere: Conflict, location and sponsorship in local newspaper coverage of public vents. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 38-87.

Park, R. (1922). *The immigrant press and its control*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Passel, J. (2006, April 26). *Reports and fact sheet: The size and characteristics of the unauthorized migrant population in the U.S. estimates based on the March 2005 current*

population survey. Pew Hispanic Center: Washington, D.C. Retrieved September 26, 2008, from <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/61.pdf>

Passel, J., Capps, R., & Fix, M. (2004, January 12). *Undocumented immigrants: facts and figures*. Washington D.C.:Urban Institute Immigration Studies Program. Retrieved April 7, 2007 from <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=1000587>.

Pedersen, D. (1979, September 30). Most Iowans oppose more boat people, *The Des Moines Register*, 1A.

Perlmutter, D. D. (1999). *Visions of war: picturing warfare from the Stone Age to the Cyber Age*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Pew Hispanic Center Fact Sheet. (2006, April 26). *Estimates of the unauthorized migrant population for states based on the March 2005 CPS*. Retrieved September 24, 2008, <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/17.pdf>.

Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, (2007, August 20). *Campaign for President Takes Center Stage in Coverage: Quarterly Report on the News*. Retrieved October 10, 2008, <http://journalism.org/node/7174>.

Postville Herald-Leader. (2008, May 26). City Council meets in special session to discuss impact of raid on community, 13A.

Postville Herald-Leader. (2008, June16). Community Foundation assists Postville families and children, 4A.

Powell, C. (2001, March 23). Speech to the National Newspaper Association, Hyatt Regency Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Prouty, D. (1999, September 30). *Refugee and immigrant growth in the state of Iowa*. Iowa Legislative Fiscal Bureau. Retrieved April 7, 2007, from <http://www.legis.state.ia.us/lsadocs/IssReview/1999/IR1003A.PDF>.

Pumarlo, J. (2005). *Bad News and Good Judgment: A Guide to Reporting on Sensitive Issues in a Small-Town Newspaper*. Oak Park, IL: Marion Street Press, Inc.

Rediker, M. (2007). *The slave ship: A human history*. New York: Viking.

Redlawsk, D & Tolbert, C. (2008). *University of Iowa Hawkeye Poll*, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA.

Rosen, J. (1999). "The action of the idea: Public journalism in built form." In T. Glasser, (Ed.), *The idea of public journalism*. New York: Guilford Press.

Rubin, H. & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data*. London: Sage.

- Sage, L. (1974). *A history of Iowa*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Seichter, B. (1991, February 13). *The Postville Leader*, 4.
- Snyder, H. (2006). *Populist saints: B.T. and Ellen Roberts and the first Free Methodists*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Garcia, M., & Stark, P. (1991). *Eyes on the news*. St. Petersburg, Florida: The Poynter Institute.
- Starr, P. (2004). *The creation of the media: Political origins of modern communication*. New York: Basic Books
- Swenson, D. & Eathington, L. (2008, August). *Iowa's native born and foreign born participants in the economy: Analysis of public use micro sample data from the 2006 American community survey*. A report released by Iowa State University's Regional Capacity Analysis Program. Retrieved October 6, 2008 from http://www.econ.iastate.edu/research/webpapers/paper_12984.pdf
- The seventh census of the United States: 1850* (1853). Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer. Retrieved March 4, 2007, from <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1850a-02.pdf>.
- The ninth census of the United States: 1870, Vol. I.* (1872). Washington: Government Printing Office. Retrieved March 4, 2007, from <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1870a-01.pdf>.
- The twelfth census of the United States: 1900* (1901) Washington: United States Census Office. Retrieved March 4, 2007 from <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/33405927v1.pdf>.
- The Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier* (2006, December 31). Lawmakers must fix immigration system, 1G.
- The Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* (2008, May 15). 1A.
- Tichenor, D. (2002). *Dividing lines: The politics of immigration control in America*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Tyndall Report (2006). *Top 20 stories of 2006*. Press release issued by Tyndall Report, 135 Rivington, St., New York, NY, 10002 and emailed to author by Andrew Tyndall on Sept. 9, 2008.

Tyndall Report (2007). Top 20 stories of 2007. Press release issued by Tyndall Report, 135 Rivington, St., New York, NY, 10002 and emailed to author by Andrew Tyndall on Sept. 9, 2008.

Tristian, P. (2007, April 4) Mutiny on Ike's hell ship for illegals. *Daytona Beach News-Journal On-line*. Retrieved April 7, 2007, <http://www.news-journalonline.com/NewsJournalOnline/Opinion/Columnists/Essays/colESSAY040507.htm>.

United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (2008, August 12). *Frequently asked questions about worksite enforcement*. Retrieved October 6, 2008, <http://www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/worksite.htm>

United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (2008, October 23). ICE multifaceted strategy leads to record enforcement results: *Removals, criminal arrests, and worksite investigations soared in fiscal year 2008*. <http://www.ice.gov/pi/nr/0810/081023washington.htm>

United States Census Bureau (2006), *2006 population estimates*. An on-line state-by-state census counter. Retrieved April 17, 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFPopulation?_event=Search&_name=&_state=04000US19&_county=&_cityTown=&_zip=&_sse=on&_lang=en&pctxt=fph.

United States Department of Homeland Security. (2006). *Yearbook of immigration statistics: 2005*. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics.

Valkenburg, P., Semetko, H., & DeVreese, C. (1999). The effects of news frames on readers' thoughts and recall. *Communication Research*, 25 (5), 550-569.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 60-78.

Verba, S. (1996). The citizen as respondent: Sample surveys and American democracy. *American Political Science Review*, 90 (1), 1-7.

Wahl, J. (2008, March 26). *Slavery in the United States*. EH.Net Encyclopedia, edited by Robert Whaples. Retrieved September 29, 2008, <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/wahl.slavery.us>

Wainwright D. (1997, July). Can sociological research be qualitative, critical and valid? *The Qualitative Report*, 3:2. Retrieved October 5, 2008 www.nova.edu/ssw/QR/QRs-2/wain.html.

Walley, C. (2002). The Old Man's Creek Welsh community of Johnson County, Iowa. *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 2 (1) 38-49. Retrieved April 9, 2007, from <http://spruce.flint.umich.edu/~ellisjs/Walley.PDF>.

Watts, J., Mazza, M. & Snyder, L. (1993). Agenda setting of television news coverage and effects decay curve. *Communication Research*, 20, 408-435.

Wells, R. (1992). The population of England's colonies in America: Old English or New Americans? *Population Studies*, 46 (1) 85-102.

West, F. H. (1999). The archeological evidence. In F. H. West (Ed.). *American beginnings: The prehistory and palaeocology of Beringia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Williams, R. (2006). *Horace Greeley: Champion of American freedom*. New York: NYU Press.

Wimmer, R. & Dominick, J. (2003). *Mass media research: An introduction*. Belmont, CA: Thompson Wadsworth.

Wu, A. (2006, November). *Border apprehensions: 2005 fact sheet*. Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved September 24, 2008, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_apprehensions_fs_2004.pdf

Zhang, J. (2005, May). U.S. newspaper coverage of immigration in 2004: A content analysis. Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University. Retrieved September 30, 2008, <http://txspace.tamu.edu/bitstream/handle/1969.1/2464/etd-tamu-2005A-STJR-Zhang.pdf;jsessionid=C9896CCE36571EE04A51F4F0EB086FCB?sequence=1>

Zillmann, D., Gibson, R., & Sargent, S. (1999). Effects of photographs in news-magazine reports on issue perception. *Media Psychology* 1(3) 207-228.

Zolberg, A. (2003). The archaeology of remote control. In A. Fahrmeir, O. Faron & P. Weil (Eds.), *Migration control in the North Atlantic world: The evolution of state practices in Europe and the United States from the French Revolution to the inter-war period*. New York: Berghaha Books.

Zolberg, A. (2006). *A nation by design*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Yepsen, D. (1979, October 30). I watched refugees die. *The Des Moines Register*, A1.

Yin, 1984, *Case study research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA. SAGE Publications.

LEGAL REFERENCES

- 1 Stat. 103, Naturalization Act of March 26, 1790.
- 1 Stat. 414, Naturalization Act of January 29, 1795.
- 1 Stat. 566, Naturalization Act of June 18, 1798.
- 2 Stat. 153, Naturalization Act of April 14, 1802.
- 3 Stat. 488, Steerage Act of March 2, 1819.
- 18 Stat. 477, Page Act, March 3, 1875.
- 22 Stat. 214, Immigration Act of August 3, 1882.
- 23 Stat. 332, Contract Labor Law/Foren Act of Feb. 26, 1885.
- 26 Stat. 1084, Immigration Act of March 3, 1891.
- 34 Stat. 596, Basic Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906.
- 79 Stat. 911, Immigration and Naturalization Act Amendments of October 3, 1965.
- 100 Stat. 3359, Immigration Reform and Control Act of November 6, 1986..
- Henderson vs. Mayor of New York*, 92 U.S. 259 (1875)
- Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 US 390 (1923).
- Senate Bill 1033, 109th Cong., 1st Session, (2005).
- Senate Bill 1348, 110th Cong., 1st Session, (2007).
- U.S. Constitution, Art. I, § 9, cl. 2.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Rarely is any project truly the sole work of any one person. Although I conducted the research and wrote this thesis, many people were a part of this product and I wish to thank them.

I am indebted to Greenlee Professor Lulu Rodriguez, Ph.D., for instilling in me a respect for academic research, for helping me to focus this project which began in her research methodology class, and for her adroit editing and moral support. I want to thank my major professor, Dennis Chamberlin, M.F.A., and David Bulla, Ph.D., both of whom I chose for my thesis committee because each is a real journalist with a passion for the story – the visual story and the story in text. Their critiques and editing requests made for a much better final product. I want to thank Political Science Professor Steffen Schmidt, Ph.D., whose course on Electronic Democracy helped me understand the scope of identity theft and how this relates to the situation of undocumented people who are in the country illegally, and subsequently our need on the national level for immigration policy reform. And I want to thank University of Iowa Professor David Redlawsk, Ph.D., for sharing his yet unpublished polling data set with me on Iowan’s opinions regarding illegal immigration, and the good professor’s research assistant, Benjamin Kroll.

There were so many people who spent time with me along the way for interviews, or in helping me to chase down information for fact checking. I hope I can remember most of them without slighting any of them: U.S. Customs and Border Protection Agent Dove Crawford for an extensive interview at the headquarters of the Tucson sector headquarters; members of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps for allowing me to observe their overnight watch operations south of Tucson near the U.S.-Mexican border; Sharon Drahn, editor of the *Postville Herald Leader*; Nancy Raffensperger Newhoff, editor, Jens Manuel Krogstad, staff writer, and Matthey Putney, director of photography of the *Waterloo Cedar-Falls Courier*; Ken Larson, editor of the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*; Brian Cooper, editor of the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*; Father Paul Outerdike, retired pastor of St. Bridget’s Catholic Church in Postville; Kristen Westby of Luther College’s public information office; Loren Bawn, operations manager for the Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services; Alan Tyndall of the *Tyndall Report*; and Governor Robert D. Ray and Ambassador Kenneth M. Quinn for meeting with me for an extensive interview about the history of the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees in Iowa during the 1970s and the role of *The Des Moines Register* in influencing public opinion about welcoming the stranger and making room for those in need. I also want to acknowledge the librarians at the Iowa State Historical Library in Des Moines and Iowa City, Susan James at the Associated Press library in New York City and Rebekah Eppley of the Oakland Public Library. And last but not least my coders Mark and James.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my husband of 34 years, Bill, for love and support during the process of “grad school redux.” And above all, I owe everything to the blessings of God in whom I live, and breathe, and have my being.