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Anti-Immigrant Ideology in U.S. Crime Reports: Effects on the Education of Latino Children

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Abstract

This article investigates the link between how Latino migrants are represented in U.S. crime reports, the formation of immigration laws/policies, and the effects on children of Latino migrants in U.S. schools. From a framework of cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis, I examine crime reports in U.S. online newspapers depicting crimes allegedly committed by Latino migrants in the years 2008–2010. The analysis exposes linguistic strategies such as the use of metaphor and metonymy to construct a negative representation of Latino migrants. I conclude with a discussion of the indirect effects on Latino schoolchildren.

Keywords: activism, critical pedagogy, Latino/a children and families, migration/transnationalism, qualitative research, teacher preparation

Latinos are the fastest growing minority population in the United States, and this growth is most noticeable in the area of education. Latino students (both migrants and those born in the United States) constitute 16% of the U.S. population, 20% of elementary and high school students combined (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), and they are the largest group of English learners in P–12 schools (Irizarry & Raible, 2011, p. 190). Because 37% of U.S. Latinos adults are migrants, immigration laws and policies have a marked effect on the Latino children in U.S. schools (Batalova & Terrazas, 2010). Whether these communities thrive depends largely on the evolution of U.S. immigration policy (Hamann & Harklau, 2010, p. 165), which is dependent on a variety of factors. One such factor is the economy, and concerns over immigration have historically risen during a recession. Although the number of undocumented migrants in particular has decreased dramatically since 2007 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2009, p. 10), anti-immigrant sentiment in American society today appears to be increasing. This is in part because of the negative representation of Latino migrants in everyday media discourse and the use of this issue by politicians to gain political support (and to distract from their own mistakes in governing). This politicization of immigration and unfavorable representation of Latino migrants has resulted in the proposal and enactment of recent laws and policies that are directed mainly at “illegal” immigration (Markon, 2011). These laws and policies have greatly affected Latino

families and, in particular, children of undocumented Latino migrants, which make up 80% of undocumented migrants (Bahrampour, 2010).

This article aims to identify the effects of current immigration policies and laws on children of Latino migrants by first establishing a nexus between everyday discourse (such as that found in first-time crime reports) and the enactment of anti-immigration policy and laws. This link is established through the examination of crime reports in U.S. online newspapers recounting crimes committed by Latino migrants (primarily Mexican nationals but also Latinos from Central and South America) in the years 2008–2010. The analysis of crime reports includes a corpus analysis conducted to reveal patterns in the discourse followed by the exposing of linguistic strategies used to construct a negative representation of Latino migrants. Dominant metaphors and metonymies are then uncovered as modeled by Santa Ana (1999), and the effects on children of Latino migrants in U.S. schools are discussed.

BACKGROUND

Several theories and approaches influence this study's methodology, analysis, and interpretation, such as critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and theories regarding the media's role in immigration discourse. Adopting the view of qualitative research as a method for enhancing the lives and concerns of otherwise neglected and oppressed people, such as Latino migrants, this article is informed by critical theory and, more specifically, critical discourse analysis (Deyhle, Hess, & Le Compte, 1992, p. 609). Critical discourse analysis is primarily concerned with revealing the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial, and gender inequality (van Dijk, 1993, p. 250). This is often accomplished by examining linguistic strategies used by the authors of a text to present groups negatively or positively to the reader. Moreover, critical discourse analysis is especially useful in demonstrating how ideology is encoded in text (Hart, 2010, p. 23). Some of the ways in which this ideology is encoded include the use of rhetorical devices such as metaphor and metonymy, lexicalization (using words to highlight a positive "us" or a negative "them"), overcompletion¹ (adding an irrelevant detail that may be relevant within a more general negative portrayal of this group), selected quoting of elites, stereotyping, and mitigation of actions by groups in power through the use of the passive (van Dijk, 1991).

Cognitive linguistics is also essential to the analysis and interpretation of the data in this article because of its view of metaphor as a way of structuring the conceptual system. The general academic public is most familiar with cognitive linguistics through the works of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson and conceptual metaphor theory. Within this framework, metaphors are considered to be "conceptual instruments that embody otherwise remote concepts in ways that the public can readily understand" (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 195) and "are pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 1). One of the basic tenets of this approach is that human cognition (the production, communication, and processing of meaning) is dependent on "a correspondence between two sets that assigns to each element in the first, a counterpart in the second" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 1). Otherwise known as *mappings*, these cor-

1. This is also referred to as *irrelevance* (van Dijk, 1991, p. 185).

respondences involve a *source* domain (the more concrete and clearly organized domain) that is used to talk about and understand another more abstract domain (known as the *target* domain; Kövecses, 2006, p. 117). People then call on these source domains to provide structure when they are focused on abstract concepts. For example, if one views the target domain of "argument" through the source of "war," some of the linguistic realizations of this conceptual metaphor might include "Your claims are *indefensible*," "He *attacked every weak point* in my argument," and "If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). If, however, one perceives the target "argument" through the source of "dance," he or she will have completely different linguistic realizations and perhaps a completely different way of thinking about the concept of "argument." Metaphor in this light is viewed as part of *thought*, ubiquitous and unavoidable. Therefore, according to this framework conceptual metaphor is one of the primary tools people use to reason about themselves and their world, especially when encountering abstract or complex concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 11).

Metonymy, in contrast, is when one element in a frame² stands for another element (in the same frame) that it is related to or closely associated with in order to direct attention to it (or away from something else) in an indirect way (Kövecses, 2006, p. 99). One recent example of metonymy and how it is used for political purposes involves the phrase *job creator*. When lobbying for no tax increases for the wealthy, Republicans (and the wealthy in general) have chosen to refer to the rich as "job creators." It is easy to see that in an economic downturn, with unemployment rates at 9% or more, adopting the term *job creator* allows the public to conceptualize the wealthy as necessary and beneficial to society and highlights this one aspect of what wealthy people (sometimes) do. This conceptualization then influences voters as to whether to enact a law that might potentially harm this group's interests. Imagine, for example, the results in this argument if one were to choose alternative metonymies such as "the wealthy" or "the rich" to argue the same point.

Regardless of the context in which they are used, metaphors and metonymies inevitably highlight some aspects of reality and hide others. Therefore, they can have misleading effects if their presence and operation are not recognized and challenged (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 236). Metaphors/metonymies can also be viewed as instruments of social control that make problematic political and moral concepts readily accessible for guided evaluation to the voting public (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 196). Political ideologies (like other types) are framed in metaphorical terms, but because they constrain people's lives, metaphors matter more, and metaphor in political systems, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 236). This idea is particularly salient for the purposes of this article because of the impact that media discourse such as crime reports can have on the public's perception of Latinos.

Discourse on Immigration and Immigrants in the Media

In order to understand current anti-immigrant sentiment and its relation to anti-immigration policies, it is necessary to review the media's role in constructing public discourse about immigration and immigrants. Ono and Sloop claimed that "contemporary mainstream media . . . provide a specific locale, a space, where social issues collide, where political issues

2. Frames are structured mental representations of a conceptual category, also known as *idealized conceptual models* or *schemas* (Kövecses, 2006, p. 64), and they are key to helping people understand the world around them.

are struggled over and subject positions . . . are constituted" (as cited in Flores, 2003, p. 365). Thus, "the public comes to understand and conceive of immigrants via mediated discussions" (Flores, 2003, p. 365). Regional and mainstream media have been persistently influential in shaping the public opinion of immigrants and immigration (Hofstetter & Loveman, 1982; Miller, 1994). Media representations have been shown to be powerful rhetorical forces that allow the public to participate in anti-immigrant practices (Flores, 2003; Mehan, 1997; Santa Ana, 1999). According to Gramsci (1971/1980), rhetorical arguments circulating in society serve as a support to the more explicit force of police and state institutions. Therefore, rhetoric and government forces are mutually dependent on each other. This can be seen as a form of manipulation by people in power over dominated groups resulting in negative consequences because "recipients are unable to understand the real intentions or see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by the manipulator" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 361). This may be because they lack specific knowledge that might be used to resist manipulation (Wodak, 1987). An example of this type of manipulation is governmental and/or media discourse about immigration and immigrants that is constructed so that ordinary citizens blame the bad state of the economy, such as unemployment, on immigrants and not government policies (van Dijk, 1993). The exploitation of the fear of Mexican immigration (and the scapegoating of Mexican migrants) is a ploy that has been used politically for generations and can still be seen today (Burkhart, 2010).

Since the deportation drive of the 1930s,³ rhetoric has played an important role as a mobilizing factor in Mexican repatriation, and government officials have become aware that "it takes only an insinuation from a welfare official in the United States to create widespread fear among Mexican immigrants" (Bogardus, 1933, p. 174). Since this time the narrative of the "Mexican body" has transitioned from that of the peon laborer and the ideal worker (uneducated and willing to work for little money to be tapped in times of emergency) to occupying the space of the criminal and threatening the safety of Americans (Flores, 2003, p. 376). "The emphasis on criminality and the criminalization of entry combined to provide a rhetorical space in which the Mexican body became a criminal body" (Flores, 2003, p. 376). This redefinition of the Mexican migrant away from peon laborer to illegal alien served to reconfigure unemployment so that it was a result of immigration rather than an economic crisis due to internal factors. Case in point, it is common in current anti-immigration rhetoric by conservative political parties (Danbury, 2007) to cite that "illegal immigrants" take jobs Americans could have (among other arguments), even though this has been proven to be false.

According to social construction theory (Schneider & Ingram, 1993), social constructions of groups are dynamic, fluctuating with the cultural *Zeitgeist* or "spirit of the times" (Short & Magaña, 2002, p. 701). This theory is consistent with contemporary theories of psychological racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988) that support the idea that "when racial-ethnic groups are constructed negatively, it is easier to rally against them and avoid being labeled 'racist'" (Short & Magaña, 2002, p. 702). Therefore, if an immigrant has come to this country illegally, labeling him or her as such makes it easier to discriminate against other members of this ethnic group under the guise of being "anti-crime" as opposed to "anti-Mexican" or "anti-Latino." In addition, this becomes

3. I refer here to the deportation drive and repatriation campaign that extended throughout the decade and occurred across the southwest as well as in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota. It marked the first time in history that the federal government sponsored and supported the mass expulsion of immigrants (Guerin-Gonzales, as cited in Flores, 2003, p. 363).

a problem for Mexican Americans and others who share the term *Latino* with the stigmatized “other” (illegal Latino immigrants), thus making them vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination (Short & Magaña, 2002, pp. 702–703).

METHOD

The attempt to link Latino crime reports with the creation of anti-immigration laws and policies that have onerous effects on the education of Latino students is accomplished by analyzing 13 crime reports found in online newspapers (see Appendix A). These papers range from local news sources (such as KPHO.com, Le High Valley Live, WJHG.com) to the *Denver Post*, *L.A. Times*, and *Arizona Daily Star*. Articles were published between the years 2008 and 2010, which corresponds with the time the analysis was conducted. Because this article is part of a larger study in which Latino crime reports were compared to Chief Executive Officer (CEO)/Wall Street crime reports, 13 texts (approximately 4,500 words) were used in order to equal the length of texts analyzed for the Wall Street/CEO part of the analysis (Catalano, 2011a). In addition, only those articles that qualified as first-time crime reports (as opposed to articles discussing a previously reported crime) and that specified that the perpetrator had been born in Mexico or another Latin American country could be chosen in order to be sure that the person in question was a migrant and considered Latino or Hispanic. Articles were found by searching www.google.com for the words *migrant*, *migrant worker*, *immigrant*, *illegal immigrant*, *undocumented immigrant*, and other terms used to identify migrants paired with the names of common crimes, such as *assault*, *murder*, *burglary*, and so on. The first 13 articles found were chosen. In this corpus, crimes reported as having been committed by Latino migrants consisted of the following: rape, stabbing, burglary, reckless driving, carjacking, driving while intoxicated, homicide, sex offenses, and assault.

Articles were converted to plain text files and subjected to a corpus analysis (using AntConc 3.2) in order to look for patterns with attention paid to frequency and rank. Lexical items relating to Latinos and their involvement in the crime (excluding function words such as *the*, *a*, *of*, etc.) were then categorized as instances of naturalization, denaturalization, and derogation. For the purposes of this article, *naturalization* is defined as the act of making something appear more natural, whereas *denaturalization* is the act of making something appear less natural or less human, which functions to “subordinate other living creatures to human beings” and “to justify denigration of certain groups of people” (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 201). *Derogation* is the use of a word to convey or transmit negative connotations and stereotypes. Here linguistic strategies such as *referential* strategies and *predication* strategies used in the portrayal of the Latino migrants (as per Hart, 2010, p. 57, 65) are pointed out with examples from the texts. Referential strategies are used to represent social actors in discourse and include despatialization (i.e., by using anthroponyms and actionyms such as *immigrants* and *illegal entrants*), dissimilation (xenonyms and anthroponyms such as *aliens*, *strangers*, and *foreigners*), and collectivization (pronouns such as *we* and *they*) as well as the use of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic resources such as adjectives that ascribe particular qualities to people, verbs and nominalizations that describe actions in particular ways, or implicatures and presuppositions that have negative connotations (Hart, 2010, p. 57, 66). Finally, metaphors and metonymies found in the discourse are identified and tabulated from the lexical items and the contexts in which they were used following Santa Ana’s (1999) model.

RESULTS

The corpus analysis results point to the theme of humans being *illegal* as most prevalent in crime reports of Latino migrants, which is due in part to the fact that this term was one of those used in order to find the articles about Latino migrants committing crimes. The type *illegal* appears 32 times in a total of 4,522 tokens and is ranked 20th out of 1,461 total word types. Words ranking above *illegal* are function words such as *the, and, a, of, to, in, was, he, for, his, on, is, with, by, who, and he*, with the only content word being *said*.

The lexical items referring to Latinos were grouped into the categories of naturalization, denaturalization, and derogation (content words only) and are displayed in Tables B-1 through B-3 in Appendix B. Words that did not refer to Latinos or did not fall into any of the categories are not listed. Many terms were found to refer to Latino migrants in a negative light. However, these terms are not obvious and are sometimes difficult for the average reader to detect. I argue here that a much more subtle form of bias is occurring in these articles that needs to be examined on a case-by-case basis. In keeping with van Dijk's (1991) analogy that "text is like an iceberg of information of which only the tip is actually expressed in words and sentences" (p. 181), this analysis attempts to dig under the surface systematically to examine implicitness in the texts in order to gain a better understanding of the strategies used to represent this group as "negative other."

The first text to be examined reports the rape of a girl in Guadalupe, Arizona.

Text 1 – Illegal Immigrant Charged in Rape of Girl

(KPHO.com, April 17, 2008)

1. An **illegal immigrant has been arrested** on suspicion of **raping** and **kidnapping** a **15-year-old girl** at her Guadalupe home.
2. Sanchez **was booked** into the Maricopa County jail late Wednesday on one count of **sexual** assault, one count of kidnapping and two counts **sexual** abuse.
3. Sheriff's deputies said they began investigating the case when the victim **disclosed** that Sanchez **sexually assaulted her** at a Guadalupe home.
4. Sheriff's deputies said Sanchez has **been in the country illegally** for the past 10 years.
5. "This **suspect sexually assaulted a young innocent girl** and this is **yet another example of a violent crime committed by an illegal alien** in Maricopa County," Sheriff Joe Arpaio said. "The deputies working in **Guadalupe did a professional and thorough investigation.**"

In this text of only 164 words (including the title), there are four tokens referring to the legal status of the perpetrator, which has nothing to do with the crime being reported but serves as part of the overall semantic strategy of the article: positive "us" versus negative "them" representation. This form of overcompletion and violation of Grice's maxim of quantity⁴ helps to reinforce the idea of group crime. That is, this crime

4. This refers to Grice's cooperative principle and the idea of a maxim of quantity, which dictates that in a dialog a person gives as much information as is required and no more than is required. Violations (flouting) of this maxim can serve the purposes of misleading or providing a specific implicature, that is, implying something that is not expressed directly (Grice, as cited in Lindblom, 2006, p. 178).

is covered not as involving Latino immigrant individuals but as a form of group crime for which the whole Latino/immigrant community tends to be blamed and represents a prominent proposition in racist ideology (van Dijk, 1991, p. 100). The rhetorical strategy of first presenting the crime and then highlighting the most negative parts followed by the connection to the macro context and the larger issue in Example 5 works to serve the purpose of negatively representing undocumented immigrants, and the article uses the word *yet* as an intensifier that adds force to the word *another*. Furthermore, the anaphora/xenonym *illegal alien* is an example of the referential strategy of despatialization, which defines groups in terms of physical or metaphorical space by categorizing undocumented immigrants as being from a different place or space than the in-group (as in outer space; Hart, 2010, p. 57). In this example, Sheriff Joe Arpaio (known internationally for human rights abuses against immigrants) is quoted to lend credibility to the investigation, but there are no quotes from the perpetrator or the victim. In fact, in the 13 articles analyzed for this article, there were no examples found of quotes by the perpetrators or non-White victims. Examples 1 and 3 point to the strategy of vagueness, which draws attention to the agency of out-groups when their acts are negative. The article reports that the accused is a suspect (arrested on *suspicion*. . .) but then uses the active transitive verb *assaulted*, which effectively assumes guilt even though it is clear that the perpetrator has not been officially charged of the crime and is listed twice as *suspected* or *on suspicion*. The use of the passive in Examples 1 and 2 to describe police actions toward the perpetrator (*has been arrested/was booked*) can be contrasted with the use of the active verb *assaulted* in Examples 3 and 5 to explain the perpetrator's actions. This use of the passive demonstrates the strategy of vagueness, which is applied to present a negative "them."

Another strategy this text uses to present the offender negatively is to highlight the sexual nature of the crime. Combined with the quoting of a person with political motives to feature this type of crime, the forefronting of the sexual nature of the crime (with repeated use of the word *sexual/ly* – with 4 tokens in a 164-word text) demonstrates a clear bias and ulterior purpose to the reporting of this crime. All of the aforementioned strategies function to present undocumented immigrants (as a group) as criminals, although there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary. According to Rumbaut and Ewing (2007), "Even as the undocumented population has doubled to 12 million since 1994, the violent crime rate in the United States has declined 34.2 percent and the property crime rate has fallen 26.4 percent" (p. 1). In addition, "Foreign-born Mexicans had an incarceration rate of only 0.7 percent in 2000 – more than 8 times lower than the 5.9 percent rate of native-born males of Mexican descent" (p. 1). However, despite this fact, the general public obtains the opposite impression from the media, and this article (Text 1) is one prime example of how this is accomplished. One could argue that the negative portrayal of Latino migrants is due to the nature of the genre of crime report and that a person accused of a crime will never appear positively. This argument is not valid, however, because previous studies have shown this not to be the case in situations in which the offenders are those in a position of power (Catalano, 2011a, 2011b).

In the following article, which reports a home burglary, the strategies of aggregation, collectivization, and functionalization can be seen as the accused are depersonalized, dehumanized, and objectified (Khosravinik, 2010, p. 13) in the following manner.

Text 3—BCSO [Bay County Sheriff's Office] Arrest Illegals for Home Burglaries
(WJHG.com, February 3, 2010)

6. BCSO Arrest **Illegals** for Home Burglaries (headline)
7. **Four illegal aliens are arrested** by Bay County Sheriff's deputies on Monday for **string** of home burglaries. (lead)
8. The four **were spotted** in a vehicle that law enforcement was looking for and **believed** was being used in **numerous** home burglaries.
9. The **vehicle** was seen on Patrick Road in Southport, and **had in fact just burglarized** a residence on Patrick Road when the **four Hispanic men were apprehended** by the Bay County Sheriff's Office.
10. After **being found to be in the United States illegally**, Ruiz-Toledo **was processed for removal** in September of 2009.
11. Camacho-Ruiz and Chirinos-Rivera **were found to be illegal** in the United States, have **holds for ICE⁵ placed on them, and are to be processed for removal** by the Bay County Sheriff's Office 287g Task Force.
12. Bernal is in the United States as a lawful Permanent Resident (**LPR**) but may be **subject to removal** due to his charges.

Example 6 shows how the process of the nominalization of an adjective can have negative effects for the group in question. References to *illegal* or *illegality* are placed in the forefront (with 4 tokens in the 278-word article), and the reader now does not even need the noun *alien* or *immigrant* to follow. It is worth noting that by definition of the word *illegal* (prohibited by law or by official or accepted rules; <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>), the use of the word in these examples would not be considered accurate, as a person cannot be prohibited by law or accepted rules, only an action can. Here, the substitution of the type of action for the person doing the action is a kind of metonymy. This process of taking the adjective and slowly turning it into a socially acceptable noun has dehumanized undocumented migrants and makes it psychologically easier to discriminate against them (Short & Magaña, 2002) and easier for law officials and anti-immigration activists to carry out their jobs with no emotional effects. Examples 7–11 provide more examples of the use of the passive for actions taken by law enforcement. Examples 11 and 12 illustrate the use of the passive to make the processes of dehumanization and depersonalization evident and refer to the perpetrators as “to be processed for removal.” Acronyms (such as *LPR* in Example 12) also serve to distance the reader from the human side of the issue.

Text 6 reports a carjacking in Murrysville, Pennsylvania. The headline of this article again demonstrates the process of nominalization of adjectives (*illegal*) and summarizes the way this crime is reported. That is, not only does the text report the crime, incorporating a sarcastic tone, but it reproduces an anti-immigrant ideology under the guise of telling the story of the person accused of the crime. The following examples illustrate this practice:

Text 6—Illegal Arrested in Murrysville Carjacking Attempt Fond of U.S. Life (*Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, April 10, 2010)

13. **Illegal immigrant** Noe Tovar Baltazar knows that you can go home again. His **problem** seems to be staying there.
14. He was found **crouched** behind a dumpster at the rear of the shopping center.

5. ICE refers to Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the principal investigative arm of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

15. **Federation spokesman** Ira Mehlman said the government is reluctant to deport **illegals** unless they are charged with a violent crime.
16. "The Obama administration only deports violent felons at the exclusion of everybody else," Mehlman said. "The message is, you really need to do something awful. **Unless you're really bad, they're really not going to deport you.**"
17. By all accounts, Baltazar, **who speaks no English**, led a solitary existence. But he was a **good worker**, Wang said.
18. Wang employs other Mexicans, as well as **Chinese workers** she said are here **legally**.
19. Wang said she hired Baltazar through a New York agency that refers foreign workers. She said she didn't know he is an **illegal alien**.
20. "He's a **good kid**," she said. "They are very **hard workers, wonderful workers**," said Wang, who came **legally** to the United States from China in 1976 and owns two restaurants.

Example 13 demonstrates the use of sarcasm as a potent strategy to discredit opponents of the anti-immigrant ideology. The presupposition that "not staying home" (meaning Mexico) is a *problem* expresses implicitly the idea that just coming to the United States (whether one has legal permission or not) is the problem, and the journalist is clearly attempting to be clever at the expense of the subject. Example 13 also contains intertextuality and perhaps a reference to Thomas Wolfe's (1940) *You Can't Go Home Again*, in which the protagonist George Webber realizes at the end of the novel that

You can't go back home to your family, back home to your childhood . . . back home to a young man's dreams of glory and of fame . . . back home to places in the country, back home to the old forms and systems of things which once seemed everlasting but which are changing all the time—back home to the escapes of Time and Memory. (p. 706)

This idea of "going home" being a problem is supported by Examples 15 and 16, in which the speaker (from the anti-immigration group Federation of American Immigration Reform) implies that people should be deported for just being in the country without proper documentation.

Other strategies of negative "them" presentation in this article include the use of the word *crouched* in the context of Example 14. This lexical item presents the accused in a negative, animalistic light (e.g., *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*), whereas Example 17 displays irrelevance/overcompletion (with the phrase *who speaks no English*). This indexical expression of group boundaries creates distance and solidarity with anti-immigration advocates (Chilton, 2004, p. 201) and is a clear example of xeno-racist discourse. According to Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2009), xeno-racism is a confluence of racism and xenophobia that disguises a stronger opposition to migrants and, despite the absence of clearly definable "races," effectively reproduces racism all the same (p. 3).

Throughout the article there exists an underlying dichotomy of illegal versus legal. Examples 18 and 20 serve to make this contrast clear with the mention of *Chinese workers . . . here legally* and *Wang . . . who came legally to the United States from China. . .* In Examples 17 and 20, "He's a good kid," "But he was a good worker," and "They are very hard workers, wonderful workers" provide the only examples of naturalization of Latino migrants in this corpus but perhaps also act as a remnant of the "peon laborer" narrative that was central to the narrative of need and meeting the goals of the nation because of the view that they were a temporary labor force (Flores, 2003, p. 371).

Text 8 reports the killing of a rancher near Douglas, Arizona, in April 2010 and can perhaps be viewed as the straw that broke the camel's back in the immigration debate because of its prevalence in the local and national news at the time and the emergence of SB 1070 (Arizona's immigration bill) in the news in the days after the crime was reported. In the following quotation from the *Arizona Daily Star*, a senate candidate (at the time this article was published, and one officially endorsed by Sheriff Joe Arpaio) reveals how Rob Krentz has become an icon for immigration reform: "'Rob has become a martyr for this cause, a symbol,' U.S. Senate candidate J.D. Hayworth said at a community meeting held on March 31 in the unincorporated community of Apache, near where the Krentz family has worked its 35,000-acre ranch for 100 years" (Brady, 2010). The following examples illustrate the use of this incident to rally against undocumented migrants (Brady, 2010).

Text 8 – Killing of Beloved Arizona Rancher Near Mexico Border Inflames Immigration Debate (*L.A. Times*, April 9, 2010)

21. Foot tracks were followed from the shooting scene about 20 miles south, to the Mexico border, and **authorities suspect an illegal immigrant**.
22. The killing of the third-generation rancher has become a **flashpoint** in the immigration debate as politicians cite the episode as further **proof** that the U.S. must do more to secure the **violent U.S. Mexico border**.
23. The Krentz family was no stranger to the **problems of illegal immigration**. Their home was robbed, and Krentz once found the carcass of one of his calves that had been killed for food, presumably by **starving immigrants**.
24. "If they come and ask for water, **I'll still give them water**," Krentz once told PBS' Religion & Ethics Newsweekly in 1999. "**You know, that's just my nature**."
25. "**Their** disregard of our repeated pleas and warnings of **impending violence** toward **our** community fell on deaf ears shrouded in **political correctness**," according to the statement. "As a result, **we** have paid the ultimate price for **their** negligence in credibly securing **our** borderlands." (by family of Rob Krentz)

In Example 21, *authorities suspect an illegal immigrant* illustrates the fact that the perpetrator has not been found but is *assumed* to be an illegal immigrant. Because the rest of the article discusses illegal immigration and provides support for anti-immigration sentiment, the fact that the perpetrator has not been found and therefore may not be an illegal immigrant is lost. This point was highlighted by the *Arizona Daily Star* when it was reported that the suspect authorities were investigating was in the United States (Brady, 2010), but it did not receive much media attention. Examples 22, 23, and 25 represent the rhetorical strategies employed to use this incident for political gain and reinforce the narrative of "us" versus the "government." This is accomplished in Example 22 by connecting the death of the rancher to the need for border security and the use of the lexical item *flashpoint* (defined in international relations as an area or dispute that has a strong possibility of developing into a war; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flashpoint_\(politics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flashpoint_(politics))), or the point at which something is ready to blow up (<http://word-netweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>). In addition, the mention of *starving immigrants* in Example 23 brings forward again the narrative of need (including the predication strategy that introduces the theme of burden) and the metonymy of undocumented migrants being a burden to the body that is the nation. In Example 25, the use of the pronoun *their* to refer to the government and its lack of response to border issues is in stark contrast to the use of the pronoun *we*, which is "of utmost importance in the discourses

about nations and national identities” and has received increased attention in (national) identity studies (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999, p. 163). The use of *we* is a type of referential strategy (collectivization) that helps to reveal boundaries between Self and Other (Petersoo, 2007a, 2007b). Example 24 is one of many examples used to portray the victim in a positive light and play on the emotions of the readers by quoting from a past interview with the victim: “*If they come and ask for water, I’ll still give them water*” and “*You know, that’s just my nature.*”

Metaphor/Metonymy

The lexical choices and strategies displayed previously contribute to clusters of metaphors and metonyms that add to the public’s mental model of this group. These appear in Table 1. The dominant metaphor of the Latino immigrant articles is IMMIGRANTS ARE CRIMINALS. Although it may seem natural for CRIMINAL to be a theme, because after all, these are crime reports being analyzed, two factors make this argument invalid. One must note that it is not just that the individual accused in the article is a criminal but that the entire ethnic group (Latinos and Latino immigrants) are criminals. Evidence for the metonymical relationship (one person committing a crime representing the entire ethnic group) lies in the use of phrases that index the ethnic group of the offender (i.e., *Spanish-speaking, four Hispanic men were apprehended*) and the assumption and “code” that the majority of undocumented migrants are Latinos; therefore, the mention of *illegal immigrants* indirectly indexes Latinos. These lexical items then lead to the construction of social cognitions of the entire ethnic group and not just the reporting of an individual crime. The journalists and the people quoted in the articles (such as Sheriff Arpaio and other government officials) then use these articles as a platform for the larger political agenda of anti-immigration policies. That is, under the guise of a police crime report, the dominant group expresses its ideology and, essentially, propaganda.

Table 1. Metaphor and Metonymy in Latino Crime Reports

Type	Source Domain	Sums	%
Metaphor			
Negative			
Dominant	CRIMINALS (e.g., <i>illegals, illegal immigrant</i>)	21	53%
Secondary	ANIMALS (e.g., <i>spotted, crouched</i>)	5	13%
	NONHUMAN (e.g., <i>alien, processed for removal</i>)	4	10%
Occasional	UNCOOPERATIVE (e.g., <i>refused to be interviewed</i>)	1	3%
Positive	GOOD WORKERS	3	8%
Metonymy			
Negative			
	Community/nation as a body (e.g., <i>burden</i>)	3	8%
	Community/nation as a house (e.g., <i>lightning rod, illegally entering</i>)	2	5%
	Immigration as a liquid (e.g., <i>flashpoint</i>)	1	3%
Positive —			
Total metaphors/metonyms		40	100%*

* Numbers were rounded off to the nearest ten.

EFFECTS ON THE EDUCATION OF LATINO CHILDREN

This study demonstrates the systematic use of language (particularly xeno-racist discourse) in presenting Latino migrants in a negative light in crime reports in U.S. online newspapers and the subsequent linking of Latino migrant crimes to the immigration issue. The negative metaphors and metonymies displayed in the texts reveal an underlying racist ideology in crime reports that leads to a pejorative conceptualization of Latino migrants that in turn helps politicians to gather support for anti-immigration laws and policies that affect Latino children in U.S. schools. A prominent example of the effects of such policies/laws can be seen in Alabama after the passing of Alabama's immigration law,⁶ where groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center called the law a "humanitarian crisis" after receiving 2,000 calls from worried families directly following the passing of this law (Fausset, 2011). According to Ruben Navarrette (2011a, p. B5) from the *Lincoln Journal Star*, "Principals were going into elementary school classes and telling kids: 'Raise your hand if you weren't born in the United States.'" Not surprisingly, 2,285 Latino students (about 6% of the statewide total) stayed home from school and parents feared they could be taken by the police while walking their kids to school. Furthermore, many Latinos reported feeling "depressed" and "afraid" (Fausset, 2011). Three weeks after this law was passed a federal appeals court blocked the part of this law that requires schools to check the immigration status of students (Bluestein & Reeves, 2011). However, it was in effect "long enough to frighten Hispanics and drive them away from the state," and schools have reported that Latino students stopped coming to class (Bluestein & Reeves, 2011). Other proposed laws or policies include Arizona's HB 2281, which would prohibit a school district or charter school from including ethnic studies courses (which they claim promote the overthrow of the U.S. government or promote resentment toward a race or class of people); HR 1868 of Arizona, which proposes to deny the automatic citizen right; and Florida's policy of treating American citizens born in the United States as nonresidents for tuition purposes if they cannot demonstrate that their parents are in the country legally (Greenhouse, 2011). These are just a few of the laws/policies that have been proposed in the past few years that have had negative effects on Latino migrant students (and Latino students in general) and that cause unnecessary fear and anxiety for Latino students, some of whom are already struggling with adapting to a new country and language.

As mentioned previously, everyday discourse such as crime reports facilitates the enactment of immigration laws and policies that affect Latino students and their families in detrimental ways. Policies such as deportations in particular have harmful consequences for Latino families. Because the concept of *familia* is central to life for Latinos (Abi-Nader, as cited in Huerta & Brittain, 2010, p. 391), the breaking up of the family structure is extremely detrimental to Latino children. According to a yearlong investigation of the U.S. immigration enforcement system by *Frontline* (and the American University Investigative Reporting Workshop), the Barack Obama administration has deported or detained more immigrants than any other administration and has boosted the number of deportations to score political points with voters (De Melker, 2011; Navarrette, 2011b). These deportations have had devastating effects on Latino children (many of whom are American

6. This law requires police to check the immigration status of suspects and turn over undocumented migrants to federal authorities as well as requires schools to demand birth certificates from newly enrolled students. It also forbids undocumented migrants from engaging in business transactions with the state government (Fausset, 2011).

citizens), who are often left with one parent (or none) and sent to stay with relatives or friends or end up in the foster care system (Navarrette, 2011b). This is a traumatic experience for these children that has lasting effects on their psyche and ability to concentrate in school. In turn, school connectedness (defined as a student's feeling part of and cared for at school), which is crucial for success in education, decreases (Raible & Irizarry, 2010, p. 1202). Research on Latino students also suggests that academic achievement is dependent on the development of caring relationships between students and their teachers, counselors, administrators, and other school agents (Irizarry & Raible, 2011, p. 188). However, the possibility for these caring relationships is inhibited when students are in fear of their immigration status being reported by those very same people. Furthermore, 74% of Latino youths who do not continue their education say that they do not do so because they need to help support their family (Lopez, 2009, p. 2). When parents are deported (often leaving U.S.-born children), many of the children are forced to quit school in order to support the family because the parents have been deported and are no longer able to do this. Therefore, these policies and laws have a lasting impact on the ability of Latino children to go to school and be successful in school when they are able to attend.

Besides leading to the creation of policies and laws that affect Latino students negatively, the negative portrayal of Latinos in crime reports can lead to negative perceptions of this group among teachers. Negative conceptions of Latino students not only contribute to their marginalization but lead to labeling and sorting of these students once they enter school. In addition, they can facilitate the development and implementation of school policies and practices that set in motion a series of actions that "function to normalize an expectation of incarceration" (Meiners, 2007, p. 31) and position minority youth of color as "undesirables" (Raible & Irizarry, 2010, pp. 1197-1198).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, everyday media discourse such as crime reports is one source that can lead to the creation of laws and policies that have negative effects on Latino migrants and their children. These laws/policies can cause depression, fear, and anxiety for Latino students (both migrants and those born in the United States) and can increase dropout rates as students struggle to support families broken up because of deportation policies. Latino students (both migrants and those born in the United States) constitute 16% of the U.S. population and 20% of elementary and high school students combined (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), and therefore they cannot be ignored when education policies are being formed. Crime reports (as opposed to articles overtly debating the immigration issue) are particularly dangerous because they are thought of as transparent views of reality (Barthes, 1972) and are viewed as "neutral" because they involve the reporting of "facts." Media discourse such as crime reports constitute cultural and structural forces that shape Latino students' experiences in school because of their role in the construction of Latino identities and how Latino students are perceived by others, such as teachers and administrators (Noguera, 2003, p. 452). Therefore, it is our right and privilege as academics and educators to perform analyses such as the one in this study in order to uncover these hidden ideologies and expose them for what they are. Most important, as educators, we need to understand the negative effects that resulting laws and policies can have on students in our classes. Furthermore, we must work to lobby on behalf of our students for immigration reform that protects the rights of migrants from exploitation and provides a path to legalization for migrants whose contributions to the economy benefit the entire country.

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APPENDIX A

Primary Sources

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- Text 2: http://www.lehighvalleylive.com/hunterdon-county/express-times/index.ssf/2010/03/suspected_illegal_immigrant_ar.html
- Text 3: <http://www.wjhg.com/home/headlines/83357332.html>
- Text 4: http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_11418189
- Text 5: <http://www.examiner.com/x-5919-Norfolk-Crime-Examiner-y2009m12d20-Illegal-alien-arrested-for-slashingthroat-of-elderly-woman>
- Text 6: http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/westmoreland/s_675836.html
- Text 7: <http://www.todaystmj4.com/news/local/45778067.html>
- Text 8: http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/politics/wire/sns-ap-us-cattle-rancher-killed_0,4361402.story
- Text 9: <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2010/03/deported-sex-offenders-calexico.html>
- Text 10: http://www.latimes.com/search/dispatcher.front?Query=mexican+national+arrested&target=article&sortby=display_time+descending
- Text 11: <http://www.newarkpostonline.com/articles/2010/04/14/news/doc4bc4d791db5aa343271177.txt>
- Text 12: <http://www.wtnh.com/dpp/news/crime/stamford-illegal-immigrant-attack>
- Text 13: http://azstarnet.com/news/us/article_077e3e29-b435-5632-a65b-db4ecb892f65.html

APPENDIX B**TABLE B1.** Naturalization of Latino Migrants

Naturalization	Tokens Referring to Latinos
Good/hard/wonderful worker(s)	3
Good kid	1
Total naturalization	4/38 = 11%

TABLE B2. Denaturalization of Latino Migrants

Denaturalization	Tokens Referring to Latinos
Illegal, illegally	19
Aliens (not including illegal alien[s])	1
Illegals	2
Spotted/spotting	2
Processed for removal	2
Subject to removal	1
Ambushed*	1
Crouched	1
Lightning rod	1
Starving	1
Living under the radar	1
Through a small crevice	1
Total denaturalization	32/38 = 84%

* Context: *Border agents question if they will be ambushed by illegal aliens.*

TABLE B3. Derogation of Latino Migrants

Derogation	Tokens Referring to Latinos
Heavily tattooed	1
Refused to be interviewed	1
Total derogation	2/38 = 5%