THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN? A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE DREAM ACT AND UNDOCUMENTED YOUTH IN EVENING TELEVISION NEWS

by

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A dissertation submitted to the

Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Colorado in partial fulfillment

of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education

2015

This dissertation entitled:
Through No Fault of Their Own? A Critical Discourse Analysis of the DREAM Act and Undocumented Youth in Evening Television News
written by Ruth María López
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Of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

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Through No Fault of Their Own? A Critical Discourse Analysis of the DREAM Act and Undocumented Youth in Evening Television News

Dissertation directed by Professor Rubén Donato and Professor Michele S. Moses

This study focuses on the rise of one of the most publicized policies related to U.S. immigration: The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would create a path to legal residency for young undocumented immigrants living in the United States. Following the 1982 *Plyler v. Doe* Supreme Court decision, undocumented children gained the right to a free public K-12 education in the United States (Olivas, 2012b), but their immigration status and access to institutions of higher education were left largely unaddressed (López, 2004; Yates, 2004). In response to the uncertainty faced by thousands of undocumented students upon high school graduation in this country each year, the DREAM Act was first introduced to Congress in 2001 (Olivas, 2004). In this multi-method study, I examined the DREAM Act versions presented to Congress during President Barack Obama's first term in office—a time when the DREAM Act was expected to pass for the first time since its inception in 2001. First, through a content analysis of DREAM Act policy documents, I explored how this policy was framed and how DREAMers were legally constructed (Johnson, 1996). Following this, I conducted a multimodal (Kress, 2011) critical discourse analysis (CDA; Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 2002, 2003) of national television news coverage of the DREAM Act of 2010, the version that came closest to passing, and highlighted the role news media played in communicating this policy issue. Considering Haas's (2004) argument that news media play a large part in how education policy issues come to be understood by the public, I explored how framing (Hand,

Penuel, & Gutiérrez, 2012) was used to portray the DREAM Act and DREAMers. My theoretical framework centers on understanding immigration in the United States as a racial issue (Pérez Huber, 2009) by using Omi and Winant's (1994) theories of racial formation as well as Bonilla-Silva's (2014) frames of color-blind racism.

DEDICATION

Para todos los inmigrantes que arriesgan sus vidas por un futuro mejor.
For all immigrants who risk their lives for a better future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many. I often recall a moment in 2008 when I was an outreach counselor in Houston, Texas and I e-mailed my future co-advisor *Dr. Michele Moses* about the graduate program at the University of Colorado Boulder (CU-Boulder). She immediately called me back on my cell phone and shared that she thought I was a good fit for the doctoral program. I was in disbelief, perhaps I myself not convinced that I could take something like this on, but she believed in me. Thank you, *Michele*, for believing in my potential on that day and throughout the doctoral program. *Dr. Rubén Donato*, thank you for being my co-advisor, for always having your office door open and being available when I had even the smallest of questions. Your scholarship on Latino education has been pivotal not only for my research, but also for understanding myself as the daughter of immigrants. I cannot thank you both enough for your mentorship, for helping me develop as a scholar, and your invaluable feedback on this dissertation through its many iterations. *Dr. Kris Gutiérrez*, thank you for serving on my committee, for opening my eyes to the world of qualitative research and for helping me engage in the study of critical discourse analysis. You have pushed my scholarship in profound ways. *Dr. Daryl Maeda,* thank you for serving on my committee and for providing a space in your *Deconstructing Race* course to explore issues of race and racism in critical ways. *Dr. Ryan Gildersleeve*, thank you for agreeing to serve on my committee after being in Colorado only a short time. I knew after reading your work that I would value your input in my research. I appreciate all the valuable feedback you have provided me. I am also grateful for the mentorship I received from *Dr. Linda Mizell* and the research experience I gained with *Dr. Margaret Eisenhart*. *Dr. Glenda Russell,* the dissertation support group provided me the structure I needed to get this dissertation done. I very much value the input I received from you and the group.

To my husband, *Dr. Christopher Arellano,* when I had doubts about selling our house, leaving my job and moving to Colorado, you convinced me that it was a good decision to pursue our PhDs at CU-Boulder. I am blessed to have you as my life partner and as a partner in the struggle towards social justice. We leave many memories in Boulder, but the most important one is the birth of our son, *Marcelo Xavier* during my third year of graduate school. *Marcelito,* being your mother is my highest honor and in you I see the potential in our society. To both of you, thank you for giving me extra writing time when I needed it and for always showing me love and care—this dissertation is done thanks to your support. Hermana, *Verónica López*, you constantly motivate and encourage me to keep going with my work. I am so proud that you are now the second person in our family to pursue a graduate degree and I look forward to writing together in the future. To my mother, *María López*, your story of coming to this country as a teenager from El Salvador and working as a housekeeper to make sure that your children had a good life is something I can never take for granted. Thank you for being my advocate in the school system from an early age, for teaching me empathy and for never doubting my potential. You are the reason I am here and my success is your success. To my father, *Juan López,* thank you for making sure I learned Spanish fluently and for always buying me books—you helped nurture my cultural pride and love for reading. To my familia, including brothers *Juan* and *José*, sisters-in-law *María* and *Adela*, nephews (*Trovoy, Romello, Miguel and Juanito),* and many tías, tíos and primas/os: thank you for always supporting and motivating me. I look forward to coming "home" more often now that my dissertation is finished.

Before attending graduate school, I was greatly influenced by an amazing community of friends. *Amy Poirier, Karla Vargas, Bianca Flores, Celina Moreno, Frances Valdez, Irma Pérez, Jennifer Hamilton, Sarah Ramírez* and *Susie Velis,* you all are working to make the world a more

equitable place through your contributions to the field of education, law, policy and health. You all are my role models and I am so lucky to have you as life-long amigas. I came to CU-Boulder School of Education just as the group Racial Initiative for Students and Educators (RISE) was being created. This group, which included *Dr. Subini Annamma, Dr. Darrell Jackson, Dr. Elizabeth Mendoza, Dr. Deb Morrison,* and *Dr. Christina Paguyo,* quickly became my scholar family. Thank you for all the camaraderie and support you provided me at CU, I am proud of everything we have accomplished. *Christina, Liz* and *Subini,* my scholar sistas, even though we are all now in different time zones, we have found a way to support each other as women of color in the academy. You all have helped me every step of the way through my coursework and dissertation research, and you have also become great friends that have been there through major milestones together. I am also thankful to good friends that made my experience at CU-Boulder memorable: *Dr. Rebecca Beucher, Dr. Brandi Gilbert, Dr. Mabel Ramírez, Dr. Adam York, Dr. Bethy Leonardi*, *Dr. Edilberto Cano*, *Liliana Vazquez, Danielle Griego, Evy Valencia*, *Heather Hudson* and all the soon-to-be doctors: *Kristina Ruiz-Meza, Joshua Childs, Odessa Gomez,* and *Kathryn Wiley*. My doctoral experience was enhanced by working on campus at the Colorado Diversity Initiative (CDI) with *Barbara Kraus* and volunteering at Casa de la Esperanza with *Carlota Loya-Hernandez*—thank you both for providing me these enriching opportunities.

In 2013, I began working at the Annenberg Institute for School Reform (AISR) at Brown University and am now a Senior Research Associate in Research & Policy (R & P) under the leadership of *Dr. Rosann Tung*. In R & P, I get to put into practice many of the skills I learned in the doctoral program. But more importantly, I have the privilege of working with colleagues that have supported my dissertation research and helped me grow as a scholar. R & P team (*Vianna Alcantara, Sherita Allen, Dr. Jaime Del Razo, Dr. Michelle Renée, Dr. Joanna Geller, Sara*

McAlister, *Dr. Christina Mokhtar, Dr. Marisa Saunders),* you all are the best. Here, I also met two brilliant scholars also dedicated to issues of immigration and education, *Dr. Jaime Del Razo* and now doctoral student at Harvard University *Jaein Lee.* I am so lucky to have found you two and I look forward to our future work together. *Dr. Alexandrina Agloro,* thank you for being my writing partner in Providence, I love that we were able to defend our dissertations on the same day. *Dr. Felicia Salinas-Moniz,* thank you for supporting my research by providing me with a quiet space on Brown's campus to write on the weekends. To the young(er) scholars and leaders I had the honor of meeting and working with in Texas, Colorado and Rhode Island, especially *Eddy Arias, Melissa Arreola Peña, Kendra Cornejo,* and *Julia Stoller*—I am so proud of everything you all have accomplished and I am so glad our paths crossed, each of you has taught me so much.

Lastly, I am thankful to the programs that have supported me as a doctoral student. The *Ofelia Miramontes Doctoral Fellowship* funded most of my doctoral studies. I am honored to have received this fellowship in the memory of Dr. Ofelia Miramontes. I am also grateful to have been named an *American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education* (AAHHE) graduate fellow. Here I gained valuable knowledge that I applied throughout my studies, but more importantly a large supportive networks of fellow Latin@ scholars. My dissertation research was supported by the *American Educational Research Association (AERA) Minority Fellowship in Education Research*, which provided funding for me to complete my dissertation in my final year. Thank you to AERA and *Dr. George Wimberly* for supporting my research. I also extend my gratitude to *Dr. Francis Steen,* Associate Professor of Communications Studies at UCLA, who generously provided me access to the UCLA NewsScape television news archive that made it possible for me to conduct my dissertation research.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Background and Purpose 3

The Education of Undocumented Students 3

Policy Issues in the Media 6

The Rise of Spanish-Language Television News in the United States 8

Arrangement of the Dissertation 10

II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 12

The DREAM Act: A Legal Perspective 12

Critical Race Theory: The Legal Perspective 14

A Response to Opponents of the DREAM Act 17

Through No Fault of Their Own: Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act. 22

Social Construction of DREAMers in Law Reviews 24

Conclusion 25

Framing Immigration and Immigrants in the Media 26

Comparative Studies 30

Conclusion 33

III RACIALIZED DISCOURSES OF THE DREAM ACT AND DREAMERS . . .34

Racial Formations: Latinos and the Ethnicity Paradigm 34

Applying Racial Formation Theories to the DREAM Act 36

Using Frames of Color-Blind Racism in Analysis of News Discourse . . 36

Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory 38

Racial and Dominant Discourses 39

Discourse Does Ideological Work 39

Power Relations Are Discursive 40

Applying Themes About Minorities and Immigrants to DREAMers 41

Assumptions and Positionality 42

IV OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY 44

Content Analysis of the DREAM Act 45

Sources of Information 45

Data Organization 46

Data Analysis 47

Coding 47

Visual Tool: A DREAM Act Timeline 49

Research Memos 50

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis Methods 51

Sources of Information 52

Access to Television Archives 52

Search Parameters 54

Data Organization 57

Data Reduction 58

Content Logs 59

Transcriptions 61

Frame-Grabs 61

Data Analysis 62

Coding 62

Choosing Stories 64

Taking a Closer Look: Video Scrolls 65

Limitations 66

V A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE DREAM ACT (2009 – 2013) 67

What Was the Purpose of the DREAM Act? 69

Amends IIRIRA of 1996 70

Cancellation of Removal and Adjustment of Status 71

Other Purposes 71

No Longer About Higher Education? 72

Amending IIRIRA Returns in Later DREAM Acts 76

Requirements for DREAMers 77

Initial Requirements for Application 78

Adjustment of Status 81

The Legal Construction of DREAMers as "Aliens" in the DREAM Act. 84

Discussion: Policy Implications of the DREAM Act 90

VI AMNESTY FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS OR AN EDUCATION POLICY FOR JÓVENES INDOCUMENTADOS? HOW THE DREAM ACT OF 2010 AND DREAMERS WERE FRAMED IN EVENING TELEVISION NEWS 93

Ideologies About the DREAM Act in Evening News 96

Arguments Against the DREAM Act 96

Opposition to Amnesty 97

Securing the [Southern] Border 102

Historical Amnesia in the News: Why the DREAM Act Now? 103

Myths About the DREAM Act 104

Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act 105

DREAMer Contributions 107

DREAMers Contribute to the Country 107

Professional Aspirations 108

Economic Contributions 108

Workforce Contributions 110

Americans by Heart, DREAMers as Symbolic Americans 110

DREAMers Are American 111

Serving in the Military 112

Have Lived Here a Long Time 114

In Moral Defense of the DREAM Act 118

Through No Fault of Their Own 117

The Right Thing to Do 118

Self-Determination, Liberty, and Self-Actualization 118

"Aliens" or "Estudiantes Indocumentados"? How the News Media Constructed the Identities of Undocumented Students in the DREAM Act of 2010 120

Negative Social Constructions 122

DREAMers as Illegal Immigrants 123

DREAMers as Illegal Aliens 126

Other Negative Social Constructions 129

Positive Social Constructions 130

DREAMers as Youth 134

DREAMers as Children Not Always Positive . . 135

DREAMers as Estudiantes [Students] 137

DREAMers Positioned in Positive Ways 139

Neutral Social Constructions 142

Discussion: A Public Education of the DREAM Act Through Evening Television News 142

VII REPORTERS AS POLICY ACTORS 147

English-Language News Coverage of the DREAM Act 150

FOX News: Against the DREAM Act 150

MSNBC and CNN 155

MSNBC: Neutral to Positive Coverage 155

CNN: Neutral to Negative Toward the DREAM Act . . .160

Non-Cable English-Language News: ABC, CBS, and NBC . . . 166

ABC 167

CBS 169

NBC 170

La Ley Del Sueño: DREAM Act Coverage on Telemundo and Univision 173

Noticiero Telemundo 173

Positive Representations of DREAMers 175

Insider Perspective: A Reporter Who Is Part of "La Comunidad" 178

The DREAM Act Battle 179

A DREAM Act Correspondent in DC 181

Telemundo Promoting Civic Engagement 182

Noticiero Univision 185

Keeping the Public Informed on the DREAM Act 186

Addressing the Realities of DREAMers 189

Discussion: The Social and Political Implications of Reporters as Policy Actors 196

VIII CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS 205

Summary of Methods and Findings 204

The DREAM Act News Coverage as a Racial Project 209

Educational Significance and Future Research 213

REFERENCES 216

APPENDIX

A. POWER & SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TARGET POPULATIONS 232

B. POLICY CODES 233

C. SOURCES OF INFORMATION, EVENING TELEVISION NEWS 240

D. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF EVENING NEWS STORIES 245

E. PILOT RESEARCH CODES 246

F. CDA ANALYSIS CODE BOOK 249

G. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF DREAM ACT FROM JANUARY 2009 – JANUARY 2013 256

H. DREAM ACT PURPOSE - SUMMARY AND CHANGES 257

TABLES

Table

1. Arguments Against the DREAM Act (adapted from Barron, 2011) 18

2. Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003) 24

3. Themes About Minorities and Immigrants (van Dijk, 2004) 41

4. Policy Sources 46

5. CDA Analysis of News Coverage of the DREAM Act of 2010 52

6. Television Evening News Sources 56

7. Legal Representations of DREAMers in the DREAM Act of 2010 & 2011 86

8. Arguments Against the DREAM Act, Frequeny From Highest to Lowest 96

9. Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act, Frequency From Highest to Lowest 106

10. Examples of the Argument "DREAMers Are American" 111

11. Examples of "DREAMers Have lived Here a Long Time" and "Home Country Unknown" 115

12. Examples of Counter-Stories From DREAMers. 119

13. Negative Social Constructions of DREAMers 122

14. Positive Social Constructions of DREAMers 130

15. Top 15 Positive Social Constructions of DREAMers Organized Into Three Major Categories 133

16. Examples of the Positive Social Construction "Estudiantes" 137

17. Examples of DREAMers Positioned in Exceptional Ways 140

18. DREAM Act Reporters From September to December 2010, From Highest to Lowest Frequency 148

19. Example From The Cafferty File 162

20. Example of José Díaz-Balart Interview With DREAMer 175

21. Telemundo Multimodal Example 177

22. Nuestra Comunidad Telemundo Example 178

23. Telemundo Metaphor as Battle in DREAM Act Coverage 179

24. Jorge Ramos Discusses Deportation on Univision on 12/17/10 190

25. DREAMers React to Failure of the DREAM Act of 2010 on December 18, 2010 192

26. DREAMer Gabriela Interviewed by Univision on December 20, 2010 194

FIGURES

Figure

1. Content log template 60

2. DREAM Act timeline 2009 - 2012 68

3. Example purpose statement of DREAM Act, Senate Bill 729 70

4. DREAM Act of 2010, S. 3926 72

5. Spread of 120 Stories on Eight Networks From September to December 2010 94

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Any attempt to understand contemporary public policies aimed at immigrants must begin by examining the discourse and the "knowledge/truth" it produces about immigrants and immigration's impact on the nation that emerged during the specific historical period of the post-1965 era. What we think we know about immigration in the post-1965 period has a bearing on how we regulate, control, constrain, and punish immigrants. (Chavez, 2001, p. 40)

This dissertation examined the rise of one of the most publicized immigration policy issues of the last decade: The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would have provided access to higher education and a path to legal residency for young undocumented[1] immigrants living in the United States. The immigrants seeking such access have become known as DREAMers.[2] As has been documented by historians of education, Latinos have fought for equal educational opportunities in the United States for over 100 years (Donato, 1997; Gonzalez, 1990; San Miguel & Donato, 2009). Gaining access to higher education for undocumented students is just one of the most recent struggles toward inclusion. As Leo Chavez stated in the quote above, public policy issues, in this case one greatly impacting Latino educational trajectories, are linked to broader factors such as immigration policy.

In this dissertation study I considered this context as I examined the DREAM Act versions presented to Congress during President Barack Obama's first term in office—a time

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[1] In this dissertation, I use "undocumented" to "refer to foreign-born persons who entered the United States without inspection, or who violated the terms of a temporary admission and who have not acquired lawful permanent resident status or gained temporary protection against removal by applying for an immigration benefit" (Department of Homeland Security as cited in Connolly, 2005, p. 193). It is common to see these individuals referred to as "aliens" or "illegals," but as legal scholars such as López (2004) have noted, terms like "alien" are pejorative and have a "lack of humanity" (p. 1373). Most recently, the Associated Press ceased using the word "illegal" to refer to undocumented individuals (Kennedy, 2013).

[2] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to the group of undocumented students who would benefit from the DREAM Act as DREAMers.

when the DREAM Act was expected to pass for the first time since its inception in 2001. First, through a content analysis of DREAM Act policy documents, I demonstrated how this policy was framed and how DREAMers were legally constructed (Johnson, 1996). Following this, I conducted a multimodal (Kress, 2011) critical discourse analysis (CDA; Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 2002, 2003) of national television news coverage of the DREAM Act of 2010, the version that came closest to passing, and highlighted the role networks played in communicating this policy issue. Although social media news consumption is steadily on the rise (Pew Research Center, 2015), evening television news continues to be the main source of news for many and during the time this study focuses on, several evening news networks experienced higher ratings (Bauder, 2011).[3] In my research, I considered Haas's (2004) argument that news media play a large part in how education policy issues come to be understood by the public and Gil de Zúñiga, Correa and Valenzuela's (2012) research on how selective exposure to television some cable news can influence negative perceptions about immigrants and policies toward this group. Then I explored how framing (Hand, Penuel, & Gutiérrez, 2012) was used to portray the DREAM Act and DREAMers. The following research questions guided this study:

Primary Question 1: How did policymakers frame the DREAM Act from 2009 to 2012?

a. What were the purpose and requirements of the DREAM Act?
    i. What were the main differences among the various versions of the DREAM Act?
    ii. Were there particular versions of the DREAM Act that stood out? Why?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed within the DREAM Act?

Primary Question 2: How was the DREAM Act of 2010 represented in evening television news?

[3] See also http://www.mediaite.com/tv/fox-news-dominates-cable-news-ratings-in-2010-beating-cnn-and-msnbc-combined/

a. What discursive practices were used by networks to frame the DREAM Act policy?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed in evening television news?
c. What were the similarities and/or differences between the discursive practices of the different networks?

Primary Question 3: What role did members of the news media play as policy actors?

Background and Purpose

The Education of Undocumented Students

Following the 1982 *Plyler v. Doe* Supreme Court decision, undocumented children gained the right to a free public K-12 education in the United States (Olivas, 2012b), but their immigration status and their future beyond high school graduation were left largely unaddressed (López, 2004; Yates, 2004). In response to the uncertain future faced by thousands of undocumented students upon high school graduation in this country each year, a proposed federal policy known as the DREAM Act was first introduced to Congress in 2001 (Olivas, 2004; Rincón, 2008). If passed and implemented, this piece of legislation would have created a path to legal residency for undocumented students who met a number of requirements,[4] including earning a high school diploma or GED and attending college or serving in the military (DREAM Act, 2010).

Although the DREAM Act once received bipartisan support in Congress and was at first co-sponsored by Republicans, it has failed to pass numerous times amid Democrat and

[4] The 2010 version of the DREAM Act (H.R. 5281) included the following requirements:
be present in the United States for no less than 5 years preceding the enactment of the Act,
be younger than 16 years old on the date they entered the United States,
be younger than 30 years at time of passage,
have good moral character,
have not been convicted of any federal or state offence with imprisonment of more than 1 year,
be admitted to an institution of higher education or enlist in the military,
have earned a high school diploma or GED in the United States, and
not be under final deportation orders.

Republican disagreement—the most recent time being in 2010 (Barron, 2011). Notably, since President Barack Obama's first year as president in 2009, the DREAM Act largely lost support of the Republican Party. This loss of bipartisan support occurred at a time in this country's history when the rising Latino population continued to await the passage not only of the DREAM Act but also of a larger comprehensive immigration reform that could affect many of the parents of the DREAMers (Olivas, 2013). Although there was a lot of hope that immigration reform legislation would pass during President Obama's first term, this was not the case. On the contrary, recent history has been marked by strong anti-immigrant sentiments all through the United States, made evident by the passage of several state bills targeting immigrants in states, such as Arizona, Alabama, and Georgia (Fryberg et al., 2011; Noriega & Iribarren, 2011; Olivas, 2013). These bills have created a climate of fear for those who are perceived to be Latino. For example, Senate Bill 2070 in Arizona essentially allowed for Latino immigrants to be racially profiled (Soto & Joséph, 2010) and in some instances, immigrants and their US-born children have fled states with anti-immigrant bills (ABC News, 2011; American Civil Liberties Union, 2011a, 2011b).

In terms of state-level policies impacting undocumented college-age youth, from the time the DREAM Act was first debated in Congress, 18 states have passed in-state tuition legislation,[5] which does not create a path to citizenship but allows for undocumented individuals to pay a lower college tuition rate than international or out-of-state students (American Association of State Colleges and Universities [AASCU], 2003; Flores, 2010; Gildersleeve & Hernandez, 2012; Gonzales, 2008; Olivas, 2004, 2013; Robinson, 2007). On Election Day in November 2012, Maryland became the first state to pass in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants via a voter-

[5] See http://www.ncsl.org/research/education/undocumented-student-tuition-state-action.aspx for a current list of states with in-state tuition policies.

approved ballot initiative (Anderson & Lazo, 2012), and in April 2013, Colorado became the 15th state to pass an in-state DREAM Act after 10 years of failing to pass (Cotton, 2013). In some states, such as California and Texas, these policies have been in place since 2001, and students are also able to receive state financial aid (Flores, 2010; Olivas, 2012a). However during each legislative session, supporters of this policy in Texas have had to fight to keep this policy in place, and at the time of this writing, Senate Bill 1819 was underway that would eliminate this benefit for undocumented students in the state.[6] States like Arizona and Indiana have passed legislation that bars undocumented students from paying in-state tuition, and Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina have legislation that bars undocumented students from attending public colleges and universities.

Although on a federal level, the DREAM Act has yet to pass, on June 15, 2012, President Barack Obama made an executive order called Deferred Action for Child Arrivals (DACA) that granted students eligible for the DREAM Act[7] a 2-year work permit and a Social Security number; in some states this also means they are eligible to receive a driver's license (Olivas, 2012a, 2013; The White House, 2012). According to a 2014 report by the Migration Policy Institute, 1.2 million individuals immediately qualified under this executive order, and as of July 2014, 587,000 individuals were granted deferred action (Batalova, Hooker, Capps, & Bachmeier,

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[6] See http://www.texastribune.org/2015/04/06/-state-tuition-repeal-bill-goes-subcommittee/

[7] Requirements for DACA include the following:
be under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012;
be in the United States before reaching your 16th birthday;
have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007 up to the present time;
be physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012 and at the time of making your request for consideration of deferred action with United States Citizenship and Immigration Services;
had no lawful status on June 15, 2012;
be in school, have graduated or obtained a certificate of completion from high school, have obtained a general education development (GED) certificate, or be an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the United States; and
not have been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more other misdemeanors, and not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety.

2014). Although this is a helpful policy, undocumented students still face a dilemma considering their long-term uncertainty without the passage of comprehensive immigration reform (CIR; Olivas, 2013). With President Obama's re-election in 2012 and with over 70% of Latino voters supporting him (Foley, 2012), many expected that there was going to be increased activity related to DREAM Act legislation and CIR, but this was not the case. However in November 2014, President Obama announced an expansion to the DACA program and a new program, Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA), which would protect parents of United States citizens and legal permanent residents from deportation.[8] Both DAPA and the DACA expansion have been blocked from being implemented by a federal district court in Texas, so those qualified for either program continue to wait in limbo.[9] These recent events that impact the lives of undocumented and mixed-status families in this country (Passel, 2006), as well as the uncertain status of CIR underscore the timeliness of this study on how media covered the DREAM Act policy and how undocumented students, such as the DREAMers, were portrayed within this coverage.

Policy Issues in the Media

> A full-fledged policy argument may be many pages in length, with a clear exposition of value priorities, lots of tables and graphs, and specific public policy recommendations. In practice, however, most policy arguments are brief, and they often require the listener or the reader to connect the dots. A policy recommendation may be implied, rather than stated outright; relevant evidence may receive only passing attention; a reference to values may be oblique. In truth, most of the policy arguments that we digest as citizens are sound bites rather than treatises. (Gormley, 2012, p. 12)

In the above statement, Gormley (2012) described a process much like the one a policy goes through as it travels from policymakers to the public; members of the public may only ever

[8] See http://www.nilc.org/dapa&daca.html

[9] See http://www.nilc.org/TXvUSdistrictdecision.html

hear about what a policy entails in a sound bite. When looking at how educational policies reach the public, it is important to consider the powerful role the media play as policy actors in how the public forms opinions about such policies (Collins, 2009; Paguyo & Moses, 2011; Saarinen, 2008). For example, Haas (2004) found that representatives from conservative think tanks were often positioned as "experts" on educational policies in the news media, and he explained that this was dangerous since the public was being told "what" to think as opposed to "what to think *about*" (para. 2). In my study, I considered Gormley's position about how a policy gets altered as it reaches the public by first examining how the United States government presented the official DREAM Act policy. My goal in doing this analysis was to use qualitative research to visualize and later note the changes the policy went through by the time it was reported on by news media.

In addition, by looking at the original policy, I examined how DREAMers have been represented in this policymaking process. Guided by Johnson's (1996) discussion of how immigrants are first legally constructed in policy and law as "alien" and how this is related to the social construction of immigrants as "nonpersons," I considered the legal construction of DREAMers in the DREAM Act itself and how they might later be socially constructed in news stories. In their work on policy design theory (PDT), Schneider and Ingram (1993, 1997) and later Schneider and Sidney (2009) conceptualized the idea of mapping of "social construction of target populations" (see Appendix A). They argue that in policy development, there are policy actors who contribute to how specific groups are directly impacted by a policy and that social constructions are "conveyed to citizens through the messages, interpretations, and experiences that people have about public policy" (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p. 5). These messages may appear in a news report for example. Schneider and Sidney (2009) explained social construction mapping as involving the following:

> The idea is that target populations have varying levels of political power, and that actors characterize them in positive or negative terms. Schneider and Ingram (1993) suggest a set of four "ideal types" of constructions: advantaged (powerful groups with positive images), contenders (powerful groups with negative images), dependents (powerless groups with positive images), and deviants (powerless groups with negative images). (p. 106)

Groups can be seen as falling along this spectrum. For example, they may be portrayed as "children" or "students" by those in support of the DREAM Act but as "illegal immigrants" by opponents. Although their framework was helpful as I began to examine the DREAM Act policy and news media stories, it did not include Latino students or Latino immigrants specifically—the largest group of immigrants. Nevertheless, I used these categories when I created deductive codes, which I explain in more detail in the methodology section, to help me see how the DREAM Act represented DREAMers and then how this representation changed once the policy was reported on by news media.

The Rise of Spanish-Language Television News in the United States

"'Maybe we are more sympathetic to the issue because we live it; we are immigrants,' said Ms. Garcia, news anchor for Spanish-language television network Telemundo and an immigrant from Juárez, Mexico. 'But we ask the president tough questions because that's what our viewers want us to ask'" (Shear, 2013, para. 20). Jorge Ramos, news anchor for Spanish-language television station Univision, said, "All House Republicans have to do is vote against immigration reform or boycott the process. . . . That's enough to make your candidate lose the presidential election in the United States in 2016" (Todd, Murray, Montanaro, & Brower, 2013, para. 1). These Spanish-language news comments demonstrate the role that Spanish-language news stations have come to play in American politics and the Latino community today (Shear, 2013). This are some reasons I included the Spanish-language television news broadcasts as well as prominent English-language news reports in the present study. Garcia (2010) in particular

points out the relationship between Telemundo viewers and the political issues they want to know more about. As a young girl growing up in the 1980s, I still remember when Spanish-language television news first became available in my hometown of Dallas, Texas. When Spanish-language television stations like Univision and Telemundo became available in Dallas, it was exciting that the reporters were actually speaking our home language, and my parents and I gained direct access to the latest news and issues that were relevant to us.

Today, Univision ranks among the five major United States television networks in terms of viewership (Guskin & Mitchell, 2011) and most recently in February 2013 surpassed NBC in the Nielsen TV ratings (Harnick, 2013; Shear, 2013). This points to the important role Spanish-language media might play in terms of disseminating news to the public. In terms of the topic of immigration and politics, Spanish-language media, which is often referred to as Hispanic Media, is increasingly playing a larger role in terms of the future of immigration policies. In a July 2013 interview with a Washington Post reporter, Univision anchor Jorge Ramos made a connection between Hispanic media, Latino viewers, and voters and stated that the future of the Republican party depended on its support of immigration reform (Sargent, 2013).

Immigration policy is one of the most polarizing issues this country faces, and the way the news media have frames it varies by geographic location, political ideology of the networks and their viewers (Fryberg et al., 2011; Olivas, 2013), and language of the news source (Abrajano & Singh, 2008). For example, Abrajano and Singh (2008) found that one of the main differences between English-language and Spanish-language news when covering the topic of immigration was that Spanish-language news media tended to take a more "pro-immigrant" stance than the English-language news media. Although I am familiar with the fact that Spanish-language media have a history of being "pro-immigration," I take a critical stance in this study so

that I can gain a better understanding of the relationship between education and immigration policies and the way they get reported by the news media.

Arrangement of the Dissertation

In this multi-method study, I examined the DREAM Act within the sociopolitical context of the last decade by investigating how hidden ideologies about the DREAM Act and DREAMers were embedded in evening television news coverage of this proposed policy. In Chapter II, I discuss the literature that grounded this study. I first share literature from the legal perspective that examined the DREAM Act through its many iterations as this helped me begin to understand the legal arguments surrounding the DREAM Act. Next, I discuss studies mostly coming from the field of communications that examined the framing of immigration and immigrants in the news media. These studies informed not only the subject matter I focused on, but also helped me to understand the methods researchers have engaged in to analyze different forms of media.

In Chapter III, I lay out my theoretical framework. I begin from the premise that immigration in the United States is a racial issue (Del Razo, 2012; Pérez Huber, 2009) by using Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation as well as Bonilla-Silva's (2014) frames of color-blind racism. I then discuss CDA (Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 1993) as a way to ground my methods theoretically. Lastly, I discuss my assumptions regarding what I thought I would observe in the news coverage of the DREAM Act based on my own television watching practices and my positionality as the daughter of once undocumented immigrants and as someone who in the past has been active in the pursuit of this policy.

In Chapter IV, I put forward the two main methodologies I used in this study. First, I discuss the content analysis I conducted to examine the official DREAM Act policy that was

presented to Congress between 2009 and 2012—President Obama's first term in the presidency. By looking at the DREAM Act policy, I gained an understanding of what the actual text of the policy entailed and how DREAMers were represented through the official policy text during this time. Next, I discuss how I designed the second part of my study using multimodal (Kress, 2001) CDA (Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 2002, 2003) to examine the role that the news media played in how the DREAM Act came to be understood by the public. For both of these methods, I discuss sources of information; data organization and reduction; data analysis, including coding; and the limitations I encountered.

In my three findings chapters, Chapters V through VII, I share the results and close each chapter with a discussion and implications section. In Chapter V, I discuss the findings from analyzing 10 versions of the DREAM Act presented in Congress during President Obama's first term. I share how the DREAM Act's purpose and requirements changed during this time and how DREAMers were legally constructed as "aliens." In Chapter VI, I discuss the framing (Hand et al., 2012) of the DREAM Act by proponents and opponents of the proposed policy on Spanish- and English-language evening news from September to December 2010. Then, I give an overview of the nuanced, and sometimes-problematic, ways that DREAMers were socially constructed through the evening news. In Chapter VII, I continue sharing findings from the CDA analysis, but my focus is specifically on the broadcast networks and the reporters themselves as I explore the role of reporters as policy actors.

Lastly, I conclude the dissertation in Chapter VIII by summarizing the findings and discussing the news coverage of the DREAM Act as a racial project. I also share the educational significance of this research and future research I plan to conduct to build upon this study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this literature review I examine research that focuses on the DREAM Act policy as well as media studies on immigrants and immigration. To do this, I first discuss the literature that examined the DREAM Act since it was first proposed in 2001—most of these sources are law review articles. This body of literature is important to consider as I examined what was entailed in the DREAM Act and how this policy was represented by news media. I excluded material that focused on in-state tuition policies for undocumented students—commonly known as state DREAM Acts—because my focus rested on the DREAM Act at the federal level. However, if an article or book focused on both the state and federal DREAM Acts, I considered it for inclusion in the literature review. Other literature I generally excluded from this review included the growing number of research studies with a focus exclusively on DREAMers and the DREAM Act movement. These articles are important, and I may include them in future work, but they are not the focus of this particular study.

I also included research studies that analyzed how immigrants and children of immigrants were framed in the media. This perspective helped me consider how the framing of DREAMers might compare to the framing of other immigrant groups. I included studies where scholars conducted comparative media analyses of English- and Spanish-language news. These studies contributed to my methods and influenced the approach I took in my analysis. Terms I searched to locate the studies in this literature review included the following:

- DREAM Act and media and news and undocumented
- Immigration/immigrants and news
- Immigration/immigrants and media
- Comparative content analysis and news

The DREAM Act: A Legal Perspective

In the last 10 years, there has been an increase in scholarly research surrounding higher education opportunities for undocumented students, and many of these studies focused on the implications for gaining access to in-state tuition through state policies (Flores, 2010; Flores & Chapa, 2009; Kaushal, 2008). Although these policies are not completely separate from the goals of the DREAM Act, for the purpose of my study, I provide an overview of legal studies that have looked specifically at the proposed federal DREAM Act policy since its inception in 2001 to the present. This helped me understand the type of research that has been conducted on this policy and what remains to be done. It is important to note that even though there has been more quantitative and qualitative research published around the DREAM Act in recent years (Flores, 2010; Perez, 2009; Rincón, 2008), there are little to no studies on the media coverage about the federal DREAM Act specifically. Thus, I want to help close this gap in the literature.

Most of the scholarly articles I located on the DREAM Act came from a legal perspective (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003; Garcia, 2010; Gonzales, 2008; López, 2004; Olivas, 2004, 2009; Romero, 2001; Yates, 2004). The law review articles are helpful for thinking about various historical and political aspects of the DREAM Act and to also become familiar with the discourse used by those in the legal field about this proposed policy. For example, Michael Olivas (2004, 2009, 2012a, 2012b) is the most prominent law scholar on issues relating to the education of undocumented students, including in-state tuition legislation and how it intersects with federal laws, as well as the DREAM Act and its significance. Although I include his most recent articles discussing the DREAM Act in this literature review, it is important to note that he has law review articles discussing the higher education of undocumented students dating back to the 1980s.

I organized this section according to the themes I found most prevalent in the legal articles I reviewed: Critical Race Theory (CRT) approaches by legal scholars of immigration, a response to arguments used by opponents of the DREAM Act, arguments in support of the DREAM Act, and finally, the social construction of DREAMers in law reviews. Many of the legal scholars I reviewed discussed both sides of the argument, allowing me to identify which perspective a news segment might be coming from based on the arguments presented by reporters and their guests.

Critical Race Theory: The Legal Perspective

CRT began in the legal field in the 1970s and is described by legal scholars and critical race theorists Delgado and Stefancic (2001) as "a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power" (p. 3). Since this time, CRT has been applied in other fields, such as education (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). In the literature I reviewed about the DREAM Act, CRT was sometimes used by legal scholars when discussing higher education opportunities for undocumented students. Something that was common in some of the law review articles I reviewed was the use of storytelling at the beginning of the article to share the real-life experiences of undocumented students (Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003; Garcia, 2010; Romero, 2001). Storytelling is one of the tenets of CRT and according to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), "the 'legal storytelling' movement urges black and brown writers to recount their experiences with racism and the legal system and to apply their own unique perspectives to assess law's master narratives" (p. 9). Although most of the legal scholars I note here did not explicitly state they were employing CRT, I'd like to point out how they included storytelling in writing about the DREAM Act.

One of the earliest law review articles that I found that mentioned the DREAM Act was by Romero (2001). At the beginning of this article, Romero tells the story of Ms. Medina, an executive director of a community center in a migrant farm worker community. At this community center, Medina works with youth to prepare them for success in high school and life, but according to Romero, Medina finds it increasingly difficult to do this knowing that the youth she serves are mostly undocumented and cannot legally work in the country—so the idea that their education will be fruitful in the form of a career does not exist for them. Romero described how, "two factors—undocumented status and poverty—work in tandem to preclude many undocumented children, like most of those in Adams County, from pursuing a college degree, leading Medina to comment sarcastically that all her program is doing is creating a class of well-educated farm workers" (p. 296). Romero used this story to lead into his discussion of whether undocumented students should have greater access to higher education opportunities.

In 2003, Galassi published, "Dare to Dream? A Review of the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act." This is the first law review article I located with a clear focus on the DREAM Act. Galassi used vignettes based on news stories of undocumented youth to show how students like José and Esperanza face the challenge of having been educated in the United States but not being able to afford a college education and in many ways being barred from it. Similarly, in her legal comment, Connolly (2005) shared the story of Angela Perez, an undocumented student who appeared in the *New York Times* in 2004. Connolly highlighted the limitations that Perez will face due to not being able to afford college and even if she could afford it, not being able to work legally without federal legislation, such as the DREAM Act. A few years later in another legal comment, Garcia (2010) provided an extensive analysis of the DREAM Act to demonstrate the need for its passage, and she began by sharing

the story of Sindy, a young girl from Guatemala who was successful in her K-12 schooling yet was awaiting deportation proceedings. Sindy's story first appeared in a 2005 article in the San Francisco Gate newspaper. These undocumented students all appeared first in newspapers yet were used as examples when arguing for the importance of the DREAM Act. This demonstrates the influence of the news media in the legal field and the power of personal stories.

López (2004) referred to critical race theorist Derrick Bell's (2004) notion of interest convergence to describe how higher education opportunities might arise for undocumented students. She commented, "Educational opportunities for minority students exist only when the students' interests and the nation's interests converge" (López, 2004, p. 1377) and added that if higher education opportunities do open up for undocumented students, one must pay attention to the interest convergence that occurs when policies such as the *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) decision or even the DREAM Act are considered. For example, she mentioned that the ruling in *Plyler v. Doe* was ultimately tied to the need for a cheap labor force comprised of the parents of undocumented children and the future need for a cheap labor force comprised of the undocumented children themselves. López added, "Analyzing *Plyler* under an interest convergence model demonstrates the nation's interest in the maintenance of an underclass of undocumented, low-wage earners who fuel the nation's economy by performing work that is undesirable to many United States natives" (p. 1377). Applying the idea of interest convergence in this instance shows that even with *Plyler* in place, undocumented children would be limited in their education potential in this country since they would only be guaranteed access to a K-12 education and would still have no legal way of working in this country. One can refer to *Plyler* when thinking about the DREAM Act as well and the political and social factors that have to align in order to see its successful passage. Also referring to Bell's (2004) idea of "silent

covenants," she adds, "The very endurance of *Plyler* as precedent may itself then perpetuate the 'silent covenant' of the 'shadow population' of the undocumented, who have the right to at least a secondary (high school) education, but are unable to work and become full members of society" (p. 1405). López's points are important for this study and although my main foci were the language and images in the media, from a policy perspective, I was also interested in how the policy changed over time and which historical and social events might have played a role in the DREAM Act being unsuccessful in Congress.

A Response to Opponents of the DREAM Act

According to Olivas (2009), the DREAM Act is highly contested:

> …surprisingly so, especially considering how few such students exist in the context of over eighteen million college students. No estimates exceed 50,000 to 60,000 students nationally, which would constitute the entire enrollment at the main Columbus campus of The Ohio State University. (p. 1765)

The controversy surrounding this policy is much larger than the small percentage of the college population that would be impacted by the passage of the DREAM Act on an annual basis. In this section, I discuss some of the contentious aspects of this proposed policy. Most of the law review articles I reviewed brought up the main points that opponents of the DREAM Act made, points that may explain why the DREAM Act has still not been passed to this day (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003; Garcia, 2010; Gonzales, 2008; López, 2004; Olivas, 2004, 2009; Romero, 2001; Yates, 2004). For example, Barron (2011) summarized opponents' arguments that were first voiced by the anti-immigration group FAIR:[10] "opponents of the DREAM Act characterize it as 'a back-door amnesty' that will reward the violation of immigration laws, encourage 'chain migration' and 'exponential population growth' and 'transfer' [higher education] seats and tuition subsidies to illegal aliens" (p. 624). Barron continued with a

[10] Federation for American Immigration Reform

description of what opponents believed the DREAM Act would really do, which included not following up with DREAMers about their fulfillment of the college degree or military requirement. She mentioned that for opponents, one of the main concerns about the DREAM Act was that it did not include border security measures. These arguments were often shared by the media and in debates about the policy. This legal review in particular was useful in analyzing these types of arguments. Although many of the legal scholars provided arguments used by opponents of the DREAM Act, Barron concisely summarized them and even went so far as to say that some of the arguments were valid. I list them below in Table 1 because these were helpful in coding and noting my data and identifying in a straightforward manner whether an argument was being made for or against the policy.

Table 1

Arguments Against the DREAM Act (adapted from Barron, 2011)

Argument against the DREAM Act	**Description**
General opposition to amnesty for illegal immigrants	"Concerns that passage of the DREAM Act would reward illegal behavior and result in a flood of illegal immigration" (Barron, 2011, p. 638).
Fear that the bill is overbroad and indiscriminate in its eligibility criteria	Insufficiently stringent qualification requirements; overly lenient waiver and hardship exceptions; potential for fraud; the ability of DREAM Act beneficiaries to bring otherwise ineligible relatives into the United States (Barron, 2011).
Fears that the DREAM Act will strain budgets and take opportunities and resources away from deserving, legal citizens	Higher education benefits for undocumented "would take away opportunities from equally deserving [American] children" (Barron, 2011, p. 644). Other public benefits (such as health insurance, Medicaid, and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program).
Should be part of comprehensive immigration reform	Should not be a stand-alone policy.

One of the main arguments against passing the DREAM Act revolved around section 505 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA)[11] of 1996 that

[11] The language of the section reads: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, an alien who is not lawfully present in the United States shall not be eligible on the basis of residence within a State (or a political subdivision) for any postsecondary education benefit unless a citizen or national of the United States is eligible for such a benefit

addressed the role that states might play in providing benefits for undocumented individuals. According to Romero (2001), opponents of the DREAM Act believed that IIRIRA allowed citizens and legal residents to access certain tuition benefits that undocumented immigrants should not have. In addition, there were concerns that through the DREAM Act undocumented students would gain access to something that only Americans should be entitled to and that such a tuition benefit would open the door to "illegal" immigration (p. 396). In her article, Connolly (2005) dispelled the idea that the DREAM Act would lead to more "illegal" immigration:

> The DREAM Act would only be applicable to those students who meet the physical presence requirements at the time of the enactment. Therefore, anyone who is older than 16 when they enter the United States, or "who has been in the United States less than 5 years at the time of enactment," is not eligible to benefit from the DREAM Act. This would provide little incentive for persons to enter the United States illegally in the future, as they would not meet the requirement for physical presence at the time of enactment. (pp. 212-213)

In my analysis, I noted when and how often the term "illegal immigration" was mentioned by opponents of the DREAM Act, as this argument was prevalent in many immigration discussions. Later in the article, Connolly added that studies have shown that people do not migrate to the United States for educational opportunities, but instead for economic reasons such as work.

In his 2004 article, Olivas provided a detailed history of the federal and state policies that led to where the DREAM Act was at the time that article was written. His legal analysis was helpful as I examined the DREAM Act text and the aspects of it represented by news media. In this legal analysis, Olivas also explained the misinterpreted section 505 of IIRIRA and clarified the role states played in choosing to allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition. He said, "IIRIRA, however badly written, allows states to confer (or not to confer) a residency benefit upon the undocumented in their public postsecondary institutions" (pp. 452-453). He

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(in no less an amount, duration, and scope) without regard to whether the citizen or national is such a resident" (IIRIRA of 1996, § 505, 8 u.s.c. § 1623).

mentioned that some believed this federal act prohibited states from allowing undocumented students to pay in-state tuition, but that in actuality it prohibited nonresidents from receiving benefits that a citizen or national would not be entitled to. This clarification about IIRIRA was helpful in my analysis of the DREAM Act media coverage, as many times this coverage included a discussion of what the policy would mean for American citizens around in-state tuition and by referring back to Olivas' analysis, I was able to determine whether the news outlet had accurate information.

Like Olivas (2004) and Romero (2001), Galassi (2003) analyzed IIRIRA and posited that passing the DREAM Act was the solution for undocumented students to gain access to higher education because of the fact that states interpreted IIRIRA differently to either grant or deny in-state tuition to undocumented students. It's interesting to note that at the time the article was written, the DREAM Act had bipartisan support. Perhaps addressing another misconception from dissenters, Galassi added that the DREAM Act, "looks to assist children who have grown up and been educated in the country—not those children who are 'crossing the border today'—who played no role in their illegal arrival in the United States" (p. 86). This commentary is interesting to consider when thinking about the way that DREAMers and their counterparts are socially constructed by those who support the DREAM Act and those who do not. It also addresses the fact that those who disagree with the DREAM Act might use the argument that it invites more "illegal" immigration as Romero (2001) mentioned. This argument also helps to strengthen the idea that DREAMers are perhaps assimilated into American life by having been here for a longer time period than new immigrants and for being educated here.

Yates (2004) used the *Plyler v. Doe* ruling as a starting point to weigh whether undocumented immigrants should be eligible for in-state college tuition. Also, like the other

review articles I have discussed thus far, she provided an in-depth analysis of the intersection of state policies and federal policies, like section 505 of IIRIRA, and what this might mean for the passage of the DREAM Act and other opportunities in higher education for undocumented students. Yates also discussed the arguments by opponents of the DREAM Act, such as the idea that immigrants will be creating an economic loss if public funds are used to continue educating them and that it will promote more "unlawful" immigration. She added supporting literature that showed that immigrants did not come to the United States for "public education and public services" (p. 606)—dispelling the myth that opponents often noted. These are all points I continued to note as part of the justifications made by supporters and opponents of the DREAM Act and that I referred to when coding for this in the news archives.

In her in-depth law review analysis of the DREAM Act, Connolly (2005) provided a detailed account of what she referred to as the "nativism inherent in the history of the United States' immigration policies" (p. 197). Connolly also mentioned policies, such as the Immigration Act of 1924 that were enacted to preserve the racial make-up of the country by creating immigration quotas based on country of origin. This was helpful for considering where the DREAM Act fell in terms of the racial history of immigration policies in this country. Additionally, she explained the debate surrounding the DREAM Act. Along with discussing the idea that opponents of the DREAM Act believed that it would cause more immigration, she brought up the argument that some thought passing the DREAM Act would "reward illegal behavior" (p. 214). Connolly argued that this statement was not accurate because it would mean that the children who had no decision in migrating to the United States were being punished.

Another argument that Connolly (2005) brought up was that of taxes. She commented that opponents claimed, "unauthorized persons do not pay taxes and should not receive benefits

paid for with their tax revenue" (p. 215). She provided evidence showing that undocumented people do pay taxes and then argued that passing the DREAM Act would lead to an increase in tax revenue. Lastly, Connolly brought up an argument by opponents that "granting education benefits to unauthorized students harms U.S. Citizens" (p. 216). She challenged this argument by saying that undocumented students were American in every other sense of the word since they were educated in the United States and that many of them were not even aware of their status until they applied for college.

In summary, two themes were most often invoked explicitly by opponents of the DREAM Act: (a) it would allow undocumented immigrants to have certain benefits over Americans and (b) it would invite illegal immigration. Although not often discussed explicitly but frequently implied by the legal scholars I have highlighted, many of the DREAM Act opponents' arguments seemed to be guided by nativist and racial ideologies. Further in this literature review I explore these ideas when I discuss how immigrants have been framed in this way and later, in my theoretical framework, I discuss how immigration can be thought of in a racialized manner. These discussions, in conjunction with the arguments presented by the legal scholars above, were key in my analysis of the discourse found in television news about this policy.

Through No Fault of Their Own: Arguments in Support of The DREAM Act

In addressing some of the arguments against the DREAM Act, I have already addressed some of the arguments supporting it as well, but here I point to some of the explicit arguments for the DREAM Act made by legal scholars supporting it. One of the arguments supporting the passage of the DREAM Act was that there has already been an investment in these students' education, so it is a waste of an investment to not support their access to higher education. This

argument was exemplified through the student narratives shared by legal scholars (Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003; Garcia, 2010; Romero, 2001).

I titled this section "Through No Fault of Their Own" because this is one of the arguments mentioned by the legal scholars in support of this policy (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003). For example, Galassi (2003) made the argument that was first used in *Plyler v. Doe* in 1982 that undocumented children's presence in the United States was due to the actions of their parents and not the child's doing and that parents' decisions to come to this country should not hold the child back from pursuing a college education. This can be a problematic argument because it does not entirely challenge the idea that immigrants are criminals and instead shifts the blame solely to the parents.

Another point made by those in support of the DREAM Act was that undocumented students who have been raised in the United States and educated here are very "American" (Galassi, 2003; Romero, 2001). Galassi (2003), for one, stated that although they were not born here, undocumented children consider the United States home and have largely been educated in the United States and that giving these children access to higher education would only improve society. Based on my informal observations of the news coverage of the DREAM Act prior to beginning my research study, these were all points brought up in the media coverage by proponents.

Regarding her justification for the passage of the DREAM Act, Yates (2004) raised many points also made by other legal scholars: after high school undocumented students find themselves needing a college education in order to compete in the labor market, these students intend to stay in the United States, the government already invested in their education, and students are not to blame for their parents' "misconduct" (p. 604). Without the DREAM Act, she

argued, undocumented immigrants would be relegated to low-skilled jobs, when they could have become professionals. She added, "not only does this deprive the United States of the potential economic contributions of capable and talented young people, but by keeping undocumented immigrants in the lower classes, it also indirectly increases societal ills such as poverty, dependence on government support and crime" (p. 605). This idea of maintaining a low-skilled workforce falls in line with the points that López (2004) made regarding interest convergence, and it may be something that opponents would view as a positive outcome of not passing the DREAM Act. Table 2 below summarizes the arguments in support of the DREAM Act that I have discussed in this section.

Table 2

Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003)

Arguments for the DREAM Act	**Example**
Should not be punished for their parents' decision	"Through no fault of their own"
Undocumented students are "American"	Raised and educated in the United States
Waste of investment	Education investment has been made and waste to not support their higher education

Social Construction of DREAMers in Law Reviews.

I go into greater detail about the social construction of DREAMers in a later section of this literature review, but I include this section now because of the explanations used by legal scholars regarding the labels used to refer to undocumented students. For example, in 2004, López wrote a critical analysis of the education of Latino and Latino undocumented students in the post-*Plyler v. Doe* era. Although she included it, the focus of this law review was not the DREAM Act. However, she provided a good overview of the social conditions and anti-immigrant policies that in many ways contributed to anti-immigrant sentiments while the DREAM Act was being considered in 2004. From the beginning of this article, López

established that she used the term "noncitizen" as opposed to the pejorative term "alien" to refer to those who were not United States citizens. She cited literature that supported her claim (Johnson, 1996) and that focused on the social construction of immigrants; this was helpful in thinking not only about the social construction of immigrants but also about the ideology that is attached to this social construction.

In 2004, like López, Yates's law review did not focus exclusively on the DREAM Act, but she provided a section where she argued for its passage. Interestingly, Yates referred to undocumented immigrants throughout the article as "undocumented aliens." This stood out to me because of the points made by López (2004) in the same year this article was published regarding the social construction of undocumented immigrants. This points to the phenomenon that although scholars might support the DREAM Act, they might still use the language readily used by opponents of the same policy. The "naming" of this group is something I monitored closely in this dissertation.

Connolly (2005) explained her use of "unauthorized" and "undocumented" as opposed to "alien" to "refer to foreign-born persons who entered the United States without inspection, or who violated the terms of a temporary admission and who have not acquired lawful permanent resident status or gained temporary protection against removal by applying for an immigration benefit" (p. 193). Like López (2004), she explained the need to refer to immigrant students by identifiers that do not have negative connotations associated with them the way "alien" does.

Conclusion

All of the legal scholars I cited in this literature review argued for the passage of the DREAM Act. But it is important to note that they were also critical of the Act and mentioned that it was not a permanent solution (Connolly, 2005; Yates, 2004). For example, although Yates

supported the passage of the DREAM Act, she made an important point regarding one of the limitations of the policy—that it only applied to those who were here for 5 years at the time of passage and left out those who came less than 5 years prior or would arrive in the future (Yates, 2004). She stated that the passage of the DREAM Act would be a short-term solution. In a similar argument, Connolly (2005) asked, "What happens, then, in a few years, when there is a new class of unauthorized students who cannot afford a postsecondary education because they entered the United States after enactment of the DREAM Act?" (p. 224). This comment touches on larger immigration policy discussions beyond the DREAM Act, but they are important to keep in mind. This shows that the DREAM Act by design is not "amnesty" as opponents argued, but instead targets a specific group of individuals.

Framing Immigration and Immigrants in the Media

In this section, I included a review of media studies that looked at the issue of immigration and how Latino immigrants have been portrayed—only two of the studies I located mentioned undocumented students (Jefferies, 2009), DREAMers, or the DREAM Act in the media (Santa Ana, 2013), so I looked to the larger topic of immigration as a starting point for understanding the research in this area. Additionally, I included in this part of the literature review, comparative studies and those that have examined the role of Latino or Spanish-language media.

This study was guided by literature that addresses how immigration has been *framed* in public discourse, such as the media and the political arena. Lakoff and Ferguson (2006a) noted, "Frames structure the way we think, the way we define problems, the values behind the definitions of those problems, and what counts as "solutions" to those frame-defined problems" (para. 2). One of the most obvious ways the "problem" of immigration has been framed in the

media is by referring to undocumented immigrants as "illegal." Several scholars have argued that the use of this term represents conservative anti-immigrant ideologies (Haas, 2008; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006b; López & López, 2009; Noriega & Iribarren, 2011, 2012; Pérez Huber, 2009). Noriega and Iribarren (2011), for example, found in their qualitative content analysis of talk radio that a new kind of "hate speech" was often used in the language surrounding Latinos, people of color in public office, undocumented immigrants, and immigration. In one segment of the Lou Dobbs Show, they found that the word "illegal" was used 44 times (Noriega & Iribarren, 2011, p. 9). Their work shows that there is a need to critically analyze this type of language and how it has become more prevalent in the last decade.

In another study that used framing, Jefferies (2009) addressed meritocracy and how the issue of access to higher education was framed for undocumented students in Massachusetts. This was the only study I located with an exclusive focus on the same population I looked at in this study, undocumented students, but it made no mention of the DREAM Act although the timeframe coincided with earlier iterations of the proposed policy. In this study, Jefferies examined newspapers in Massachusetts from September 2002 to 2008 that made mention of in-state tuition policies. To this day, Massachusetts does not offer in-state tuition to undocumented students. In this study, he identified three frames: the fiscal frame, the American dream frame, and the legal frame. He connected these frames to ideology and shared the following:

> Within the three frames found in these media accounts, two ideologies emerge in the construction of these frames: the use of a fiscal frame, connected to a neo-liberal economic perspective on society. . . . The American Dream and the legal frames are shaped by notions of membership and the justification of success in society, linked to the historical discourse of meritocracy in the United States. (Jefferies, 2009, p. 27)

The first frame is similar to the one I discussed in the first section of this literature review where proponents talked about the economic benefits of policies that aided undocumented students and

opponents brought up the costs for "citizens." The American dream frame was also one that was supported in the legal literature and Jefferies mentioned, "Within the frame, the resounding belief is that everyone has equal opportunity to be upwardly social mobile, garner the benefits of this society, and for immigrants, forge new beginnings in a new land" (p. 25). The legal frame is reminiscent of the use of words like "illegal" by those against the policy and the use of more humanizing terms by those in support. He argued that the repercussions of using negative terminology were that one moved away from having a pro- or anti-immigrant stance, to negatively characterizing a group of people. Jefferies's study informed the way I thought of ideologies presented in the media as being along a spectrum. In this case, he presented how those for and against the in-state tuition policy invoked each of these frames.

In his CDA of newspaper representations of Latinos, Santa Ana (2002) employed cognitive metaphor theory and found that the metaphor used to represent immigrants in the media the most was "animals," and more recently, he argued that this has now been replaced by the metaphor of immigrants as "criminals" (Santa Ana, 2013). Cognitive metaphor theory "claims that the conventionalized everyday metaphor constitutes the social values of people who use these ways of speaking" (Santa Ana, 2013, p. 21). In another study that looked at metaphors not only in the text but also in the images we see in the media, Cisneros (2008) identified the metaphor "immigrants as pollutants" (p. 569) Cisneros argued that this has consequences in how immigrants in this country are treated and how immigration policies are designed. He also said the following:

> Since news media are a 'cultural product' that construct our 'social reality,' analyses of metaphoric representations of immigrants in news media must examine how visual images either co-construct or challenge dominant discourses of immigration and the social relations that imbricate these discourses. (Cisneros, 2008, pp. 573-574)

Looking for metaphors both in text and images in news discourse allowed me to go beyond the surface and further understand what opinions news reporters conveyed to the public about young immigrants and the DREAM Act.

I also included studies that helped me identify the political positions news shows and reporters tended to side with. Fryberg et al.'s (2011) analysis of the Arizona anti-immigration bill, Senate Bill 1070, provided me with a helpful model of research in that it looked at how partisan the original bill was for Arizona state politicians, yet how unclear the issues were for the public as they learned about them. They concluded, "How the media presents the relevant issues and what issues receive attention is likely to play an important role in how people understand this important social and political issue" (Iyengar, 2010 as cited in Fryberg et al., 2011, p. 2). Through their content analysis, they coded for frequency of frames used in the arguments for and against anti-immigration policies found in 3 weeks worth of newspaper stories in Arizona and national newspapers. One of the frames that stood out to them was, "immigrants as a threat" (Fryberg et al., 2011, p. 12) and Fryberg et al. tied it into the idea of what constitutes an "American" identity. In my study, I also looked for instances of this portrayal of DREAMers. Overall, their research was helpful in looking at how to use frames in a coding scheme and how to also analyze the news source based on political ideology. It is important to note that in their limitations section, Fryberg et al. called for future studies to look at other media, such as television and Internet, and similar to Cisneros (2008) they added, "Future studies should examine how the images accompanying the news influence attitudes and legislation at immigrants" (p. 12). Going beyond frequencies of how often something is mentioned in the news coverage of the DREAM Act, I included the images used in news stories and used qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of how this policy was discussed.

More recently, Santa Ana (2013) once again presented his research of representations of Latinos in the media through his book, *Juan in a Hundred: The Representation of Latinos on Network News.* In this multimodal study, Santa Ana reviewed 12,140 television news stories from the major networks in 2004[12] and found that Latinos were only represented in stories 96 times or .79% of this total. One of the main questions he explored was, "What is the major-network journalistic portrait of Latinos?" (p. 23). This question was helpful in my thinking around how DREAMers are socially constructed in television news and what their "journalistic portrait" is depending on the news source. Santa Ana argued that although news stories can be factual in nature, "events that involve nation, citizenship, and identity are politicized, and so news stories about Latinos and other minorities are inescapably political" (p. 23). This point proves that the coverage I examined on this policy was inherently political because of the social climate of the country. This was also the only source I reviewed that gave an actual example of how the DREAM Act was represented in television news. Although Santa Ana shared only one story about the DREAM Act, the themes he identified mirrored what I identified in the literature on the DREAM Act. Overall, this book helped push my thinking not only about the subject matter, but also methodologically and theoretically about multimodal semiotics and what it means to "watch" news through visuals, graphic, text, speech, and audio. This method helps one gain an understanding about the political and social implications of the identity construction of certain groups, such as Latinos, in the news.

Comparative Studies

According to Branton and Dunaway (2008), at the time of their publication, there were only a handful of studies that compared English- and Spanish-language media and their

[12] His focus was on 118 of these 12,140 stories.

perspective on immigration. One of the earliest comparative content analysis studies of Spanish-language and English-language television news shows was by América Rodriguez (1999). Rodriguez conducted a multi-method study that included an ethnography on the production of Noticiero Univision as well as a comparative quantitative content analysis of the Noticiero and ABC's World News Tonight to examine how the Latino identification of the Spanish-language television interacted with the economic aspects of the network. In her study, Rodriguez not only compared the two networks, but she delved into the question of how Latinos were framed by Univision in a cultural way while at the same time the station was benefiting from Latinos through profits. I had not considered the aspect of profits until I read her study, and I believe it added an additional lens through which to look at the Spanish-language news coverage of the DREAM Act in my study.

In their quantitative content analysis, Branton and Dunaway (2008) examined the difference in how immigration was covered in 1,712 English- and Spanish-language newspaper stories by looking at the frequency with which immigration was talked about and the tone of this topic. They used economic theories to argue that Spanish-language newspapers spoke about immigration in a neutral and positive light to increase their Spanish-speaking viewership and therefore their profits and that English-language newspapers spoke from a negative perspective guided by the beliefs of their particular viewership (Branton & Dunaway, 2008). This study also mentioned that newspaper coverage of policies could influence political agendas, but the authors did not explain how. In addition, they conflated the interpretation of "tone" and "framing," whereas in my study, the definition of framing is part of the analysis and tone is only one part of that. I did not depend exclusively on tone because in some instances the tone may appear neutral, yet not be so (Luke, 1996). Finally, Branton and Dunaway briefly mentioned that corporately

owned newspapers tended to cover the topic of immigration more than privately owned newspapers. Although both theoretically and methodologically, the Branton and Dunaway study differs from my study, it was helpful to become familiar with their findings on the differences between English- and Spanish-language media sources.

Abrajano and Singh (2008) shared the same hypothesis as Branton and Dunaway (2008) and predicted, "Spanish-language news will cover immigration in a more positive and informative manner than will English-language news" (p. 1). Differently than Branton and Dunaway who posited that Latinos viewed immigration in a more homogenous way, Abrajano and Singh argued that Latino attitudes toward immigration varied by generational status and by the news source they accessed, be it Spanish-language, English-language, or in both languages. The Abrajano and Singh study is of particular relevance to my study because the researchers did a quantitative content analysis of television news segments of English- and Spanish-language news sources followed by an analysis of a survey of Latino media preferences. Abrajano and Singh made the important distinction that "where Latinos receive their news is crucial not because of the actual language of communication, but because the source (English or Spanish) is indicative of the goals of the news organization, and their subsequent decisions on how to discuss a particular issue" (p. 2). Abrajano and Singh went a step further than Branton and Dunaway by distinguishing that there is a difference between the coverage of corporately and privately owned news companies and questioning the source of the coverage rather than the language the coverage is in. This last point was relevant in my study as I included news from different types of networks. Their point reminded me to look past the language of communication and instead focus on the ideologies each of the networks conveyed to their audience.

Just like Branton and Dunaway (2008), Abrajano and Singh (2008) added that news coverage of issues was driven by market forces, but they add that Spanish-language media were created to serve a need in the Latino community and that many Spanish-language journalists saw themselves as taking part in a civic duty and informing the community on issues that were important to them, such as immigration. Additionally, Abrajano and Singh used a similar coding scheme as Branton and Dunaway by noting whether a news segment appeared negative, positive, or neutral in tone toward immigration. However, they added a code, "group centric," to refer to instances in which an immigration policy was presented as only impacting Latinos. They added that this could lead viewers to develop a view about Latinos and not directly about the policy itself. This study guided my thinking about the role of reporters as policy actors and the various positions that broadcast networks took on the issue of the DREAM Act.

Conclusion

Conducting this literature review where I focused on law studies about the DREAM Act and media studies examining the framing of immigrants and the issue of immigration helped me situate this study. First, I gained an understanding of the legal history, legal arguments, and possible implications of the DREAM Act that I used to inform the content analysis I conducted on the DREAM Act from 2009 to 2012. Second, I found that although there were important studies that focused on immigrant representations in the media, very few of them did this in a multimodal way and even fewer studies focused on undocumented youth specifically. By analyzing the areas of study described above, I aimed to demonstrate that there is a need in the education field to think about the DREAM Act in a more interdisciplinary and nuanced way such as by engaging in a comparative multimodal qualitative study of the media coverage of the DREAM Act.

CHAPTER III

RACIALIZED DISCOURSES OF THE DREAM ACT AND DREAMERS

My theoretical framework centers on understanding immigration in the United States as a racial issue (Del Razo, 2012; Pérez Huber, 2009) by using Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation as well as Bonilla-Silva's (2014) frames of color-blind racism. I used CDA (Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 1993) as a way to ground my methods theoretically. One of my goals in this dissertation was to identify a framework of race to use when analyzing the arguments put forth about the DREAM Act in public discourses such as those in the news media.

Racial Formations: Latinos and the Ethnicity Paradigm

Before discussing the theories that grounded my methods, I want to make the case for why I argue that the DREAM Act became an issue of race for Latino immigrants. Omi and Winant's (1994) rejection of the ethnicity paradigm provided a valuable way to understand how groups such as Latinos have been the recipients of racial discrimination. The ethnicity paradigm was the dominant theory of race in the United States into the 1960s, and those that followed this paradigm believed that assimilation was the same for all groups, including racial minorities and European immigrants (Omi & Winant, 1994). As scholars such as Menchaca (2002) and Donato and Hanson (2012) document, Mexican Americans have been racialized through social and legal practices. In addition, Pérez Huber, Benavides Lopez, Malagon, Velez, and Solórzano (2008) have shown how framing about undocumented immigrants is used to discuss immigration in terms of being a racial group. Within the ethnicity paradigm, Omi and Winant argued that the immigrant analogy has been used to promote notions of individualism and to prove that if one immigrant group can succeed, so should other immigrant groups, such as immigrants from Latin America. They argued that instead we should acknowledge the unique history that shapes the

experiences of groups that come from places that have gone through "slavery, colonization, racially based exclusion, and in the case of Native Americans, virtual extirpation" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 20). They added that the immigrant analogy directed toward certain racialized groups actually applies to European immigrants, the groups who have usually assimilated into American society rather differently than Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans.

Omi and Winant (1994) concluded that once a group begins to be seen in the aggregate and their distinguishing characteristics are not acknowledged that the group has gone through a "racially based process" (p. 23). One of the consequences of being perceived as a member of a supposed homogenous group is that immigrants from Latin American countries are currently living in a very politically dangerous situation, they are seen as "illegal" and as "criminals." This is reflected in the anti-immigrant bill that was passed in Arizona, Senate Bill 1070 (Soto & Joséph, 2010). The ethnicity paradigm helped me understand that it is important to think of the group I refer to as *Latinos* and sometimes more specifically as *Mexicans* throughout my dissertation as a racialized group and not only as an ethnic group. Omi and Winant also mentioned that the ethnicity paradigm shows an "unwillingness to consider whether there might be any special circumstances which racially defined minorities encounter in the U.S." (p. 22) This point will be evident later in this document where I describe my analysis of arguments against the DREAM Act that boldly denied the existence of a different social situation for people of color in this country.

Applying Racial Formation Theories to the DREAM Act

Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation helped me situate the "racial projects" we currently see playing out in the United States as products and consequences of history. They added the following explanation for how racism gets reproduced:

> A racial project can be defined as *racist* if and only if it *creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race.* Such a definition recognizes the importance of locating racism within a fluid and contested history of racially based social structures and discourses. Thus there can be no timeless and absolute standard for what constitutes racism, the social structures change and discourses are subject to rearticulation. (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 71)

From the statement above, I realized that as I proceeded to search for instances of racial projects in news coverage of the DREAM Act, I could not be looking only for what was most obviously thought of as racist discourse and perhaps even what has been seen as racist in the past—an example of this is how Santa Ana (2002) first identified the racist metaphor of immigrants as animals and later noted that a new prevalent metaphor for immigrants was that of criminal (Santa Ana, 2013). What I observed in my study is that the opponents of immigration reform rearticulated their anti-immigrant statements to make them more palatable to the public, yet their ideas carried many consequences and led to "essentialist categories" of immigrants. Thinking about the fluidity and rearticulation that discourse goes through guided me in being able to more critically examine these situations evident in the news coverage of the DREAM Act.

Using Frames of Color-Blind Racism in Analysis of News Discourse

Bonilla-Silva's (2014) framework of color-blind racism provided another theoretical tool for understanding the arguments made for and against the DREAM Act and helped me build on Omi and Winant's (1994) theories of racial formation. He described color-blind racism as a new racial structure where racial discourse has become more "covert" and embedded in everyday

speech. In his analysis of surveys and interviews, Bonilla-Silva found that racial ideology was "produced and reproduced in communicative interaction" (p. 11). He provided the following explanation regarding racial ideology:

> Racial ideology can be conceived for analytical purposes as comprising the following: common frames, style, and racial stories. The frames that bond together a particular racial ideology are rooted in the group-based conditions and experiences of the races and are, at the symbolic level, the representations developed by these groups to explain how the world is or ought to be. And because the group life of various racially defined groups is based on hierarchy and domination, the ruling ideology expresses as "common sense" the interests of the dominant race, while oppositional ideologies attempt to challenge that common sense by providing alternative frames, ideas, and stories based on the experiences of subordinated races. (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 10)

This racial ideology that Bonilla-Silva describes is useful in thinking about the ways in which immigration has come to be seen as a nonracial issue by those who oppose it. It has also become "common sense" to refer to immigrants as "illegals" and "illegal immigrants," further promoting the ideologies of the dominant groups. As I discussed in the literature review chapter, when critically analyzed, the frames used to talk about immigrants and immigration in the media were revealed as being highly racialized.

Although he does not focus on the racialization of Latinos in his book, I found Bonilla-Silva's frames of color-blind racism applicable to this group, especially in terms of their context in the United States. These four frames include abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. For the purposes of this study, I focused on abstract liberalism and cultural racism. Regarding abstract liberalism, Bonilla-Silva (2014) said, "By framing race-related issues in the language of liberalism, whites can appear 'reasonable' and even 'moral,' while opposing almost all practical approaches to deal with de facto racial inequality" (p. 76). Abstract liberalism emphasizes individualism and meritocracy and ignores systemic practices that negatively impact people of color such as those I discussed in the

previous section. In the case of immigration, there are arguments that are aligned with this view that have come to be fairly common, such as "they should have come here the legal way" or "they should get in the back of the line, just like everyone else or just like my ancestors did." History demonstrates that the "back of the line" argument is unrealistic and does not acknowledge a system of immigration laws that has been designed to benefit some racial groups over others.[13] Additionally, Bonilla-Silva described the cultural racism frame as one that "relies on culturally based arguments such as 'Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education' or 'blacks have too many babies' to explain the standing of minorities in society" (p. 76). He argued that the use of this frame may not appear outright racial, so in this study when examining how DREAMers and other immigrants were described, I looked for arguments that seemed to come from a cultural deficit perspective and that were "effective in defending the racial status quo" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 77)—in essence, I looked for instances of the racial projects that Omi and Winant (1994) described. Application of this frame was evident not only in the words used by those on television, but also in the images shown—this is where using CDA both as a theory and a frame, which I discuss next, was useful.

Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory

I chose to use CDA for this study because some of its tenets (van Dijk, 2003), which I describe later in this section, allow for the critical examination of social and political problems reflected in discourses such as those found in the news media. Van Dijk (2002) argued that by engaging in CDA and going beyond the "content-analytical quantitative research" often conducted on mass media, one should be "able to actually explain why media discourses have the structures they have, and how these affect the minds of the recipients" (p. 152). In my

[13] See http://colorlines.com/archives/2011/07/visa.html and http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/why-don%E2%80%99t-they-just-get-line for a discussion on the U.S. immigration system.

analysis of the news media, I did not just want to focus on how many times a certain phrase was used when discussing the DREAM Act, but I wanted to be able to make a connection between the discourse used and the ideologies surrounding this discourse.

Racial and Dominant Discourses

Taking into consideration the ideology of language, Luke (1996) explained that, "all texts are normative, shaping, and constructing rather than simply reflecting and describing" (pp. 18-19). This definition calls into question the idea that news media, for example, are neutral in reporting "the facts." Although Gee (2008) defined discourses as, "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing" (p. 3), van Dijk (2003) expanded on this definition by pointing out racist discourse and added that "the overall characteristic of such racist discourse is the negative portrayal of Them, often combined with a positive representation of Ourselves" (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352). This particular definition combined with Omi and Winant's (1994) concept of racial projects and Bonilla-Silva's (2014) frame of cultural racism that I discussed earlier were helpful for analyzing instances in news clips that represented DREAMers as immigrants in negative and racialized ways.

A characteristic of what Fairclough (1989) called "dominant" discourse was that it appeared to be natural (Luke, 1996; Santa Ana, 2002; Urciuoli, 1995). When dominant discourse becomes natural, the ideologies underlying it are disconnected from the discourse, and social relationships of power are more difficult to counter. Subsequently, CDA is a valuable tool for bringing to the fore hidden ideologies embedded in news talk.

Discourse Does Ideological Work

One of the tenets of CDA is that "discourse does ideological work" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 as cited in van Dijk, 2003, p. 353). Fairclough (1989) and Gee (2011) argued that

language cannot be examined without also looking at ideology—this point highlights the need to engage in critical analysis when looking at news media coverage. In this study, by looking at the news media coverage of the DREAM Act, I not only found instances in which the facts of an educational policy were shared with the public, but I also found that the media outlets sent ideological messages about DREAMers and immigrants. In terms of ideologies about race and racism within discourse, van Dijk (1993) explained, "Critical discourse analysis may literally reveal processes of racism that otherwise would be difficult to establish, or that would be formally denied by the majority participants" (p. 119). What van Dijk is describing here are the social processes by which racism appears in discourse and then gets taken up by the "majority" in indirect ways so as not appear as racism—this idea combined with Bonilla-Silva's (2014) notion of racial ideology helped to reveal hidden racial ideologies in news discourse. In terms of looking at DREAMers, this was relevant because although the DREAM Act was often presented as an issue of immigration or education, underlying some of the representations in the news media were racialized ideas of specific immigrant groups such as Mexican immigrants.

Power Relations Are Discursive

Another tenet of CDA is that power relations are discursive (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). So in the representations of the DREAM Act, I took note of what role reporters and other policy actors (Schneider & Ingram, 1993) played in relation to the groups most impacted by the DREAM Act. According to CDA scholars, social relations are influenced by underlying ideologies that are often invisible yet powerful (Fairclough, 1989; Luke, 1996; Santa Ana, 2002; Urciuoli, 1995; van Dijk, 1993). For example, Santa Ana (2002) explained, "Ideology is the articulated social order to which people are normally oblivious. It is usually taken for granted as individuals go about their everyday lives and fulfill their various tasks and habitual actions" (p.

18). So ideology is hegemonic, and there is a danger in interpreting it as "common sense" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33). Based on these definitions, I viewed ideology as maintaining the status quo so that individuals could continue to accept the social order they have come to know. CDA seeks to disrupt this effect of ideology through social action and counter ideologies (van Dijk 1993, 2004). By including Spanish-language news segments in this study, understanding that this source was usually favorable toward the topic of immigration, I found instances of counter ideologies about the DREAM Act and DREAMers within the media itself.

Applying Themes About Minorities and Immigrants to DREAMers

To help me operationalize CDA in my analysis, I started with van Dijk's (2004) three themes about minorities and immigrants described in Table 3 below. These themes are aligned with how immigrants have been framed in the media, such as I described in my literature review, and they served as a guide when first creating my coding scheme. In essence, the themes summarize three key ways van Dijk found that minorities and immigrants were "othered" in news discourse. When identifying the many ways that DREAMers were negatively socially constructed in the news media, most of these themes came to the fore.

Table 3

Themes About Minorities and Immigrants (van Dijk, 2004)

Code	Description
Behavior of the Other as deviant or criminal	"Breaks Our norms and rules. They do not (want to) speak our language, they walk around in funny dress, they have strange habits, they eat strange food, they mistreat their women, and so on" (p. 352).
Difference of the Other	"Others are portrayed as less smart, beautiful, fast, hardworking, democratic, modern, etc. than We are" (p. 352).
Others portrayed as a threat to US	"This happens from the moment they arrive, for instance when immigration is represented as an invasion, until the new citizens have settled in "our" country, in which case they may be seen as occupying our space, running down our neighborhood, taking our jobs or houses, harassing "our" women, and so on" (p. 352).

Assumptions and Positionality

Although the DREAM Act applies to undocumented immigrants from many nations, I chose to look at Mexican immigrants specifically because they are the largest group (Passel & Cohn, 2011) potentially impacted by this act and one that continues to be the target of anti-immigrant policies (Olivas, 2013; Pérez Huber et al., 2008). As Michael Olivas shared in his 2013 American Educational Research Association speech, "Anti-immigrant sentiment . . . is largely an anti-Mexican phenomenon." One of my main assumptions was based on my personal television viewing practices: much of the English-language media seemed to take a neutral and sometimes even negative stance on the DREAM Act whereas the Spanish-language media seemed to take a positive stance and were seen as proponents of the policy. This assumption I had about the English-language media stemmed from being exposed to sources such as CNN and FOX News who many times seemed to position immigration restrictionists (Olivas, 2013) such as Lou Dobbs and Bill O'Reilly as public experts on the issue of immigration. On the other hand, the Spanish-language media were seen as doing advocacy work as evidenced, for example, by radio personality Piolín, who rounded up thousands in support of immigration reform ("Piolin's Progress," 2007), and Univision reporter Jorge Ramos, who has written several books on the plight of immigrants and whose personal immigration story resonates with fellow immigrants (Ramos, 2002). Recently (Calmes, 2015), Jorge Ramos was referred to as the Walter Cronkite of Spanish-language news, and his influence on Hispanic voters is not taken for granted by either political party.

In terms of my own positionality, being the granddaughter of a Bracero, a guest worker from Mexico, and the daughter of a Mexican father and Salvadoran mother who were undocumented for a period of my life, immigration policies are part of my personal history and

as a child I was taught that my immigration history and the sacrifices my family made should be seen with pride. Therefore, I view the immigrant experience as one of resilience in spite of transnational policies that negatively affect the lives of all impacted by immigration. I view myself as an immigration and education activist scholar, an identity that was developed in large part from the lessons my parents taught me about my privileges as a U.S.-born citizen and from the connections they helped me build with my family regardless of what side of the border those family members lived on or the legal status they held. Although I find myself in a privileged position within an institution of higher education, I have family members who are dealing with harsh and violent realities that continue to exist in countries like El Salvador. I know first-hand of the terror and desperation that drives one to make the decision to migrate to a place like the United States for hopes of a better future. My family history and experience in the US influenced how I conceptualized this study.

In the Fall of 2011, I had to deal with the possible deportation of one of the former students I worked with as a college outreach counselor—a DREAMer and a college graduate from a Tier 1 institution who found himself with teaching credentials and no way to use them. I had the responsibility of notifying his parents when he was arrested and helped find the legal support to assist him. His case was timely, he was found innocent of the charges and qualified for deferred action. He is now a teacher in Texas and taking courses to prepare himself for medical school—a dream he shared with me since the time I met him. His experience is not uncommon. This is why I aim to use this research to inform the public about immigration policies such as the DREAM Act and other policies that would benefit not only undocumented students, but also their families.

CHAPTER IV

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

To help me answer my research questions, I employed two distinct methodologies. First, I used content analysis to examine DREAM Act policy documents that were presented in the United States Congress during President Obama's first term in office (2009 - 2012). The goal of this aspect of the study was to learn what the policy entailed, that is, what was the purpose, what were the requirements that individuals needed to fulfill, and what provisions did the DREAM Act generally include. Lastly, I also wanted to learn how DREAMers were legally constructed (Johnson, 1996) within the policy. The content analysis of policy informed the next stage of my study where I conducted a multimodal (Kress, 2011) CDA (Luke, 1996; van Dijk, 2002, 2003) of national television news coverage of the DREAM Act of 2010, the version that came closest to passing. Through this second part of the study, I explored the questions that address how the DREAM Act was framed on television news and how DREAMers were socially constructed in these stories.

In this chapter, I describe both of the methods employed in two separate sections. For the policy analysis, first I explain my methodological approach for this section, then I share sources of information, the coding process, and some of the outputs and memos I created to guide my analysis. For the media analysis section, I also explain my methodological approach of CDA and the multimodal perspective I took. Then, I share sources of information, my strategies for organizing the data, and my process for engaging with the news stories through watching videos (Santa Ana, 2012) and creating content logs (Gutiérrez, 2012). Later, I share the coding process and how I delved deeper into certain cases through the creation of video scrolls, which are a

visualization tool that allows one to analyze images across multiple layers. Lastly, I also share some of the limitations I faced in conducting this study of news media.

Content Analysis of the DREAM Act

The content analysis of the DREAM Act policy documents was guided by my literature review of law reviews of this proposed policy. Through this literature review, I gained a historical understanding of each of the versions of the DREAM Act presented from January 2009 to January 2013 and the arguments surrounding them. In terms of methodology, I was guided by PDT (Schneider & Ingram, 1993) and recent research on policy that urged scholars to explore the "policy implications of different ideological positions" (Dumas & Anderson, 2014, p. 7).

Sources of Information

I began building my sources of information by first visiting the Library of Congress website (http://www.congress.gov/) and searching its archives for proposed policies that contained the text "DREAM Act" from the beginning of 2009 through the end of 2012.[14] The website had the capacity to search by congressional sessions, and I searched sessions 111 (2009 - 2010) and 112 (2011 - 2012). This search yielded 13 accurate[15] results, but after reading about the history of this policy (Olivas, 2012b) and online timelines about the DREAM Act (Bruno, 2010; "What Is the DREAM Act and Who Are DREAMers?," 2013), I realized that I needed to locate one other version of the DREAM Act that did not appear in my search results. The missing bill was attributed to the fact that the DREAM Act was at times included in other proposed policies such as the National Defense Authorization Act in 2011. I then compiled a list

[14] There were no versions of the DREAM Act proposed in January 2013, when President Obama's first term ended.
[15] There were 16 total results, but some of these did not refer to the DREAM Act I was analyzing, instead they referred to other bills containing similar language.

of the 14 Senate and House versions of the policy, which resulted in the following sources of information for my analysis.[16]

Table 4

Policy Sources

	Session	Date	Bill title	Title
1	111th	March 2009	S. 729	DREAM Act of 2009
2	111th	March 2009	H.R. 1751	DREAM Act of 2009
3	111th	June 2010	S. 3454	National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2011
4	111th	Sept 2010	S. 3827	DREAM Act of 2010
5	111th	Sept 2010	S. 3932	Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2010
6	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3962	DREAM Act of 2010
7	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3963	DREAM Act of 2010
8	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3992	DREAM Act of 2010
9	111th	Dec 2010	H.R. 5281	The Removal Clarification Act of 2010, amended by DREAM Act, H.R. 6497
10	111th	Dec 2010	H.R. 6497	DREAM Act of 2010
11	112th	May 2011	H.R. 1842	Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2011
12	112th	Jan 2011	S. 6	Reform America's Broken Immigration System Act
13	112th	May 2011	S. 952	Development, Relief, and Education for Minors (DREAM) Act of 2011
14	112th	June 2011	S. 1258	Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2011

Data Organization

Next, I downloaded PDF files of each of the documents and uploaded them to the qualitative software ATLAS.ti. As I compiled the policy documents, I also created a database using Microsoft Excel that included the following fields for each version of the DREAM Act:

- Congressional session
- Bill number
- Date

[16] It is important to note that although President Obama's passage of the executive action called Deferred Action for Child Arrivals (DACA) occurred on June 12, 2012 and impacted many of the DREAMers, this document is different from the DREAM Act and it was not presented to Congress, so I did not include it in the analysis.

- Official Title
- Purpose (as stated in proposed policy)
- Source (congressional archive, scholarly article, online timeline)
- Coding?[17]
- Coded?
- Need to recode? If so, date recoded?
- Notes

Creating this database allowed me to track each step of the content analysis and revisit my approach if needed.

Data Analysis

Coding. The next step in my methods for the content analysis was to code various versions of the DREAM Act so that I could begin understanding what the purpose of the DREAM Act was according to the "official text" and also to learn what the main distinctions were between the different versions of this proposed policy. I wanted to identify what the text in the policy entailed, so I created the first codes by noting what the content of the policy was, what the requirements were, and what the stated purpose was. I also coded for how DREAMers are legally constructed within these documents (Johnson, 1996). I was interested in this category based on my reading of Schneider and Ingram's (1993) social construction of target populations and would later connect these findings to the media analysis. I first coded the version of the DREAM Act that appeared first within my timeframe, the DREAM Act of 2009 (S. 729) and created codes for each of these categories along with a category of descriptive codes I called "content" to represent different components of the policy. For example, I added codes signaling where the requirements for the DREAM Act were discussed (see Appendix B). Another

[17] I will explain this field in the next section, but some versions of the DREAM Act contained the same language. In these instances, I coded the earlier version presented in Congress.

emergent category of codes I added was “migration descriptions.” I call it this to refer to the way DREAMers’ migrations to the United States were described in the DREAM Act. For example, in HR 1751 DREAMers were said to have “entered the US as children.” The following can be summarized as my policy code categories:

- General content of the DREAM act
- Legal construction of undocumented students or DREAMers
- Migration description
- Purpose of the DREAM Act
- Requirements

After I finished coding the first document, Senate Bill 729, I coded the next DREAM Act document (DREAM Act of 2009, H.R. 1751) and then made the methodological decision to code larger segments of text so that I could gain a better understanding of the context of what I was coding. After this decision, I went back and coded S. 729 in the same way and proceeded to code the subsequent DREAM Act versions in a similar way. Because some of the documents tended to be quite similar, I used a feature in ATLAS.ti with which I could code two documents side by side. With this tool, I would place the last policy document I coded next to the one I was currently coding so that I could compare the texts in vivo and note any distinctions between the documents in a memo within ATLAS.ti. Through each close reading of the policy documents, I also kept a research diary (January - May, 2014) documenting what stood out to me as distinct between each version and where I noted questions and ideas I had through this first process of analysis. By the end of this stage of the study, I completed coding 10 of the 14 DREAM Act documents. I did not code four of the bills (S. 3454, S. 3932, S. 6, and S. 1258) since these were larger bills such as a defense bills and CIR bills where the language of the DREAM Act was

added in.[18] This language mirrored other versions of the DREAM Act at the time of proposal, which I did code.

In terms of coding reports, I did not want to privilege the frequencies of the codes I applied to the documents over the reasoning behind each application of that code (Yanow, 2006 as cited in Schneider & Sidney, 2009). Instead, I wanted to know *how* I coded each different version of the DREAM Act. This coding process was useful for noting the changes of each version since the documents were so similar to one another. However, later on I made the decision to run frequencies only for the "legal construction of DREAMers" since it helped to compare the frequency of these labels through each version of the DREAM Act. I share these results in Chapter V. In order to get an accurate count of each of the legal construction codes, I used the "auto code" feature in ATLAS.ti and coded for any instances in the text where these words appeared. I used this feature since I originally coded larger segments of text that could have included some of these descriptors more than once (Kuckartz, 2014). This allowed me to see every single instance of these legal construction codes. Additionally, I reviewed each of the outputs of this auto-coding and removed any false positives. For example, the word "person" was one of my codes, but within the bill, this word may not always be referring to a person eligible for the DREAM Act, or a DREAMer.

Visual tool: A DREAM Act timeline. As I analyzed my code reports, I organized the results by creating a comprehensive timeline of the DREAM Act using Microsoft Excel. Here, I noted the major decisions that occurred for each bill using the immigration law literature, policy

[18] From 3/24/14 research diary: Decided not to code the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2011 because it uses S. 729 (DREAM Act) as an amendment to include the DREAM act, so it's the same text I already coded. Additionally, I didn't code the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2010 since it incorporates the DREAM Act of 2010 (S. 3827) verbatim, which is a document I already coded. I don't want to encounter having double codes for the same exact text and what I'm most interested in are the changes between different versions of the DREAM Act.

briefs, the congressional website, and Internet news articles about the DREAM Act. Additionally, based on my coding, I mapped out the major changes that were made to each version of the policy. Using color-coded cells, I noted when the purpose and requirements of the DREAM Act experienced major changes. This coincided with some of the more contentious topics around the policy. The following are the major fields I completed for my sources of information in this timeline:

- Bill, date, title
- Outcome description
- Stated purpose (with subfields)
- Application requirements (with subfields)
- Requirements to adjust status (with subfields)
- Naturalization process

By creating a detailed timeline, I mapped when the requirements became more strict throughout the different versions and when the DREAM Act did not include a provision that would allow states to determine residency for higher education purposes. These pieces of information were important for me to understand as I approached the media analysis piece of my dissertation.

Research memos. In order to help me make sense of the data, I wrote two memos—one about the overall analytical approach of the content analysis and one about my methods and how I was beginning to narrow in on what were to become the parameters for my news media analysis chapter. During this time, I focused in on the DREAM Act of 2010, a version of the DREAM Act that came the closest to passing and the one that was reported on the most during the timeframe I looked at. I did this by looking at the dates a bill was presented in Congress and cross-referencing this with the number of times the DREAM Act appeared per month on English

television news between 2008 and 2013. The highest numbers were around the time the DREAM Act almost passed in December 2010 and when President Obama's DACA was passed in June 2012. Because my focus was on the DREAM Act as a proposed federal policy, I chose to focus on the December 2010 version. This made me ask the question of how it was reported on during the times most of the activity was happening around the proposed policy.

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis Methods

In the second phase of my study, I conducted a multimodal CDA of television news reports to analyze the framing (Hand et al., 2012; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006a, 2006b) of the DREAM Act of 2010 and social construction of the DREAMers. I did this by critically examining the visuals, graphics, texts, spoken words, and audio sounds (Altheide, 1996; Erickson, 2006; Kress, 2011; Santa Ana, 2012) in evening news coverage of this policy from September to December 2010. CDA methodologically and theoretically guided this study, and one of the challenges that CDA scholars noted in prior research was connecting instances of racist and anti-immigrant discourse to language ideologies—that is connecting big "D" Discourse to small "d" discourse (Alim & Reyes, 2011; Fairclough, 1989; Luke, 1996; Santa Ana, 2002). I used CDA as a strategy for showing a greater connection between this discourse and endemic racism toward immigrant groups such as the DREAMers. Another aspect of CDA that was helpful for analyzing anti-immigrant discourses was its interdisciplinary nature (Alim & Reyes, 2011; Santa Ana, 2002; van Dijk, 2003). For example, Alim and Reyes (2011) said the following regarding interdisciplinary approaches to discourse analysis:

> [Discourse analysis] constantly seeks new ways of understanding the link between microinteractional phenomena (how speakers articulate race across multiple social axes through discursive practices) and macrosociopolitical processes (how ideologies and histories of race articulate with those of class, gender, sexuality, or whatever category of local significance). (p. 381)

These aspects of CDA allowed me to bring in the theories I mentioned in my theoretical framework as well as others that might become more relevant during my analysis to better make the connections between macro and micro aspects of anti-immigrant and racist discourse in the media.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I discuss in greater detail my process of engaging CDA methods for the analysis of evening news, and the timeline in Table 5 summarizes the sequential process I followed in analyzing evening news reports.

Table 5

CDA Analysis of News Coverage of the DREAM Act of 2010

Month/year	**Main task**	**Note**
June 2014	Selected news stories	Gathered 120 stories from eight networks
July 2014	Watched 120 news videos	Noted general summary and length of videos Created database
August & September 2014	Watched videos again and created content logs for each one	Noted length of stories in seconds Transcribed audio Described setting (images, videos, people interviewed) Embedded still frames Embedded observation comments
October 2014	Coded content logs in ATLAS.ti qualitative software	Main code categories: DREAM Act content & requirements Social construction of undocumented students Social construction of undocumented parents Arguments for/against DREAM Act Other policy issues discussed simultaneously Discursive practices
November 2014	Created scrolls	

Sources of Information

Access to television archives. When initially planning my analysis of the news coverage of the DREAM Act in the Summer of 2013, my first step was to search broadcast news transcripts on the LexisNexis database and compare the results with news videos available through Archive.org. I sorted through hundreds of English-language transcripts where the

DREAM Act was mentioned and began to see how I could begin to explore my research questions. But there were some challenges, LexisNexis did not seem to show complete results and did not include Spanish-language news—and since I was interested in viewing video for my analysis, I had to think about alternatives to this archive. Archive.org houses a comprehensive archive of television news videos—both Spanish and English—but the analytic capabilities were quite limited, and I could not control the video player in a way that allowed for in-depth analysis. It was also not as dependable in terms of search results, and sometimes the output differed even when my parameters remained the same. The librarians at the university worked closely with me and offered me financial assistance in accessing the Vanderbilt Television News Archive, but this would also be limited as not all networks were available through this archive. In order to conduct this study, I needed a reliable and comprehensive database that included video.

In October 2013, I learned about a television news archive housed at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) called the UCLA NewsScape.[19] In this extensive television archive, I could search for both English and Spanish television news coverage of the DREAM Act and then access videos and transcripts and also conduct discourse analysis. The only drawback was that it was only available on site at the UCLA campus library or through the network for those affiliated with the university. This tool and database was established by Professor Francis Steen at UCLA, and in June 2014 we connected and he granted me special permission to access the NewsScape website through their Little Red Hen Lab research

[19] The UCLA NewsScape Archive contains more than 200,000 hours of television and video news programs from 2005 to the present, indexed by three billion words of closed captioning, transcripts, and on-screen text. The collection has been developed by the Department of Communication at UCLA and the Distributed Little Red Hen Lab. Most of the collection consists of national and cable broadcasts from the US, with extensive coverage of the Los Angeles and Cleveland, OH media markets. A growing international component includes news in English from Israel, Japan, Russia, and the UK, and news in national languages from the Czech Republic, Denmark, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. The collection is accessible through an online search engine at http://newsscape.library.ucla.edu/. For copyright reasons access is currently restricted to the UCLA campus community and RHL researchers.

collaborative. Dr. Steen and his research partners created this tool to allow researchers to conduct multimodal analysis of the news. This access saved me a great deal of time and allowed me to do the type of rigorous research I envisioned doing on this topic—I not only analyzed what was said on a news segment, but also how it was said and what was shown on the screen while this policy was being reported on.

Search parameters. Before gaining access to the UCLA NewsScape, as I mentioned before, I first did a search on LexisNexis. Here I searched the term "DREAM Act," which yielded 152 results from six cable and television news stations,[20] and I also searched Vanderbilt's Television News Archive online, which yielded 12 results from CNN and NBC. The time frame I searched was from January 1, 2009 to January 1, 2013 occurring at any time on those days, to encompass President Obama's first term in office. During this time, from February 2013 to February 2014, I went through several iterations of searches and created databases where I entered data into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet labeled with descriptive categories such as source, air-date, time length, language, and type (Moses & Saenz, 2008). Since I encountered news stories that were not relevant to the topic of the DREAM Act but that contained my search term, I scanned the data for false positives (Haas, 2004), which is how I arrived at the 158 results. Once I created the database, I downloaded the transcripts and searched for their accompanying videos on Archive.org and news Internet sites.

Beginning in March 2014, I was also engaged in analyzing the DREAM Act bills, and I was beginning to pay particular attention to the DREAM Act of 2010. This is when I made the decision to narrow the focus of my media analysis to the DREAM Act that almost passed in December 2010. I wanted to know what was being said about the policy at this time and how the

[20] ABC, CBC, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, and NBC

DREAMers were being portrayed at this time as well—I began to wonder how this critical point for the policy was covered in the news media. I knew from reviewing other media studies on immigration, that researchers often focused their parameters on a particular time frame to better respond to their research questions, and these time frames could range from a single day to a number of years (Abrajano & Singh, 2008; Apollon, Keheler, Medeiros, Ortega, Sebastian, & Sen, 2014; Branton & Dunaway, 2008; Cisneros, 2008; Fryberg et al., 2011; Jefferies, 2009; Orellana & Johnson, 2012; Rodriguez; 1996; Santa Ana 1999; Subervi, Torres, & Montalvo, 2005). For example, Abrajano and Singh (2008) reviewed television coverage from January 7, 2004 to February 14, 2004 to coincide with a Pew public opinion survey, which was given a month after then President Bush's guest worker program announcement. Branton and Dunaway (2008) looked at a larger time period from March 1, 2004 to March 1, 2005 to gain an understanding of newspaper coverage of the topic of immigration. I followed parameters similar to Fryberg et al. (2011), where they reviewed news coverage of responses to anti-immigrant measure SB 1070 in Arizona. I set my parameters to encompass both time before and time after the events I was most interested in. So I decided to focus on the time frame when the DREAM Act almost passed—December 8 – 18, 2010. To gain greater context around what was happening and being said before and after this time, I searched for evening news months before and weeks after, so I landed on September 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010.[21] I also focused only on evening news stories that were televised anytime between 6:00pm - 7:00pm EST. I wanted to search all networks during the same time frame so I could document what each covered during the same time slot (Santa Ana, 2012)—this would result in my being able to compare coverage across networks. Evening news viewership had also been increasing for some of the networks and for

[21] I also expanded my search beyond December 2010, but the DREAM Act had almost no coverage during that time.

cable companies during this time (Bauder, 2011), so I was interested in how the DREAM Act was covered at this time of the day. Once I entered these search criteria along with the term "DREAM Act" in the UCLA NewsScape, I had 80[22] results from seven networks.[23] The Spanish-language television network, Telemundo, was not included in these results because its archive was not available on this database. Still, I wanted to include Telemundo since they are among the top two Spanish-language networks (Guskin & Mitchell, 2011), and I also wanted to compare coverage between at least two Spanish-language networks, so I relied on Archive.org for these news stories. Lastly, I compared results from the NewsScape with Archive.org to confirm that I did not miss anything, and I located two additional news stories this way. My total results were 120 evening news stories that mentioned the DREAM Act between this span of time. In Table 6, I include a summary of these results and in Appendix C I share each of the 120 stories and their descriptive information.

Table 6

Television Evening News Sources (UCLA NewsScape Archive & Archive.org*)*

Network	**Evening news show**	**Cable**	**Language**	**Result**
CNN	Situation Room	Yes	English	8
FOX News	Special Report With Bret Baier	Yes	English	17
KABC	World News With Diane Sawyer	No	English	3
KCBS	CBC Evening News	No	English	2
KMEX/UNIVISION	Noticiero Univision	No	Spanish	37
KNBC	Nightly News	No	English	3
MSNBC	The Ed Show	Yes	English	12
TELEMUNDO	Noticiero Telemundo	No	Spanish	38
TOTAL				120

Search parameters: Search term "DREAM Act," aired between September 1, 2010 and December 31, 2010 between 6-7pm EST.

[22] 114 true results, but 34 were not aired between 6-7pm, so I omitted those.
[23] ABC, CBC, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, NBC, and Univision

As the table above indicates, Univision and Telemundo had the most coverage with a similar number of stories, 37 and 38 stories respectively. The English-language non-cable television networks had the lowest number of stories (2 or 3 each). The stories about the DREAM Act within each episode also spanned a wide range of time from as short as one second to as long as 21 minutes (see Appendix D).

In terms of how the UCLA NewsScape worked, once I had my search results, I could save this query and access different elements of each story, such as the closed captioning transcript and the video, which was not downloadable but the online video player I could access them through allowed me to rewind and fast forward in 10 second, 45 second, and 10 minute increments. The search results of each video created a special link that would take me exactly to the place where the DREAM Act was mentioned in a news story—for example, in some instances, the DREAM Act was announced at the opening of a news story and the story might actually be later in the segment, NewsScape gave me both of those places as links. One of the other features that I found helpful was the ability to screenshot or frame-grab a still image of the video at any given time and save this as a digital image file. This allowed for closer analysis of certain instances in the news stories (Goodwin, 1993).

Data organization. Once I selected the 120 stories, I organized them into a Microsoft Excel database (see Appendix C) that allowed me to keep track of the analysis process as I watched the stories for the first time and later as I created content logs. The fields included in the complete database were the following:

1. Network name
2. Show name
3. Air date
4. Air time
5. Language (Spanish or English)
6. Matches (indicated number of times DREAM Act was mentioned in the story)

7. Important time stamps (based on first time watched)
8. Permalink/source (hyperlink to video)
9. Date first watched
10. After watching the video, do I want to include it in further analysis? Why? (After watching all 120 videos for the first time, I made the decision to include all of them for further analysis through content logs, but I kept this field as a reference to my first reactions to each video.)
11. DREAM Act version (I documented which version of the DREAM Act would coincide with the air date of a particular episode.)
12. Story type: Brief mention, short, in-depth, very long (I created these categories upon first watching without noting exact time.)
13. Key words and general comments (This was based on my first viewing and generally included first reactions upon watching an episode or questions I had as I watched.)
14. Created content log
15. Date content log created
16. Estimated segments (This was more difficult to track for some, but my intention was to track how many separate times the DREAM Act was mentioned in one news episode.)
17. Date content log coded
18. Need to recode?
19. Date recoded
20. Create scroll?

As the list of categories above reflects, not only could I track the results I had from both NewsScape and Archive.org, but through this database I could also start documenting my preliminary thoughts based on what I was seeing for the first time. I sorted the results and watched by date from oldest to most recent because I wanted to view and analyze the stories as a progression that mimicked the way they were aired. I wanted to get the sense of what viewers saw if they were watching these same news channels every night of the week from September to December 2010. This process also helped me understand the changes and similarities in the coverage of the DREAM Act through this span of time.

Data Reduction

> In the etymology of the word, text is the result of processes of "weaving" different "threads"—usually assumed to be (either of speech or) writing—into one coherent whole. In my use, these "threads" are many and materially diverse: gesture, speech, image—still or moving, writing, music as on a website or in a film. In that use, text may stand for a semiotic entity in two, three, or four dimensions. . . . (Kress, 2011, p. 207)

Including various dimensions of a news story as part of my analysis allowed me to focus not only on the words being said by the reporters but also on the layout and images in reports about the DREAM Act—hopefully leading to a multidimensional analysis much like the one Kress (2011) mentioned in the quote above. Employing Altheide's (1996) method of qualitative media analysis where he assumed that the researcher's role was central to the analysis, I also took into account his idea that "like all ethnographic research, the meaning of a message is assumed to be reflected in various modes of information exchange, format, rhythm and style, e.g., aural and visual style, as well as in the context of the report itself, and other nuances" (p. 68). This idea that the meaning of the message, or the framing in the case of my study, was reflected in various modes was applicable when I looked at the various components encompassed in a television news story about the DREAM Act.

After I finished watching all 120 evening news segments on the DREAM Act and logging their information into my database, I used Microsoft Word to create content logs, or in-depth summaries, as I watched the videos once again. Erickson (2006) provided a helpful model for the process of video analysis that I employed. According to Erickson, "Approaches to analysis of video must take seriously the phenomenology and theoretical grounding of video watching; we need a critical, reflective phenomenology of video watching" (p. 179). That is, as I watched the videos and created content logs, I was being guided by my research questions and theoretical framework, and I was also being cognizant of my own positionality as I interpreted and commented on what I was seeing.

Content logs. After creating the 120 content logs, I proceeded to code them in the qualitative software ATLAS.ti, which I discuss in the next section. For the content log process, I focused only on the segments of each news story that mentioned the DREAM Act, so not the

whole evening news episode. Since news stories within the whole episode tended to be short, I generally divided my summaries into 30-second intervals, but those I accessed through Archive.org were divided into 1-minute intervals since this is how their video player divided videos. I created a content log template that included the following fields and observation prompts based on my research questions:

Network:
Show:
Date Aired:
Time Aired:
Database:
Link:
Content log created on: Date

Notes: include hyperlinks to segments that stand out, try to use at most 30-second intervals

Looking for: How DREAMers were socially constructed, how the DREAM Act described/framed, what requirements were shared, who discussed it, who was interviewed, what stance did the host or correspondent take, what images or videos were shown.

Estimated length:
Number of segments:

Figure 1. Content log template.

Within each content log I also included time stamps[24] for each time interval and within each segment of the story I described what was occurring during that segment using the prompt in the template above that I labeled "looking for." Using this prompt ensured that I paid special attention to those instances directly related to my research questions. Within the description, I also provided details about the images being shown at the time or the setting the report took place in, such as the studio or on location in a place like Los Angeles, California, or Washington, DC, where these reports tended to take place. In order to differentiate between the observations I was making and my own inferences and assumptions, I wrote observer comments within the content log (Gutiérrez, 2012). Sometimes I wrote these observer comments to document my

[24] Most were between 30-60 seconds long; some were also shorter than 30 seconds.

emotional response to something I watched in the news, to record hunches, and to make initial connections between what I was seeing and my research questions.

Transcriptions. Once I described what was happening in a segment, I transcribed what was said in that segment either by a reporter or a guest on the show. If it stood out to me, I also made a note of the inflection and body language used by the person speaking. In terms of transcriptions of the Spanish-language news segments, I first transcribed them in their original language—documenting the stories in their original language was important to me—*what* a person said was as important as *how* they said it (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). I translated Spanish-language excerpts once I decided if a content log or episode warranted closer examination after coding. Although I had access to the closed-captioning transcripts in the UCLA NewsScape and Archive.org, I only used these to confirm whether I transcribed something correctly if it was difficult to understand. Because I tended to embed descriptions and comments before segments of transcriptions, it did not make sense for me to use only the provided transcription by itself.

Frame-grabs. Within the transcriptions, I also included *sequenced digital images* or *frame-grabs* (Goodwin, 1993) by using this feature on the NewsScape.[25] I inserted frame-grabs into my content logs in those instances in which a particular imagery captured my attention or where I felt like my description needed to be supplemented by an image—later on I also coded these images along with their descriptions. Including frame-grabs allowed me to focus not only on the words uttered by reporters and their guests, but also on the layout and images in reports about the DREAM Act so that I could conduct a multidimensional analysis (Kress, 2011; van Dijk, 2004). In order to provide the critical aspect that Erickson (2006) mentioned, when I

[25] Frame-grabs were not possible to access for Telemundo stories on Archive.org, so these are the only reports missing them.

selected frame-grabs, I also wrote observation notes documenting the decisions I made as a researcher to frame-grab certain instances and not others.

Data Analysis

Coding. After I completed all 120 content logs, I uploaded the files into the ATLAS.ti qualitative software where I coded all of the documents. I chose this software because it gave me the capabilities to correct any mistakes I found in the content logs, add additional notes or descriptions to each of the content logs, and also to code the frame-grab images embedded within some of the content logs. To help me operationalize CDA in my analysis, I *created deductive codes* (Erickson, 2004) based on my theoretical framework where I looked for instances in which immigrants and undocumented students were framed and socially constructed (Schneider & Ingram, 1993; van Dijk, 2004). I also used my literature review to create deductive codes based on the arguments for and against the DREAM Act (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003). Other deductive codes that came directly from my policy analysis of the DREAM Act were those related to the content, purpose, and requirements of the DREAM Act and the way that DREAMers were legally constructed within the policy. Lastly, I reviewed codes from my pilot CDA analysis of a FOX News April 2009 interview about the 2009 DREAM Act with former Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo (see Appendix E). As I was coding content logs using these deductive codes, I created inductive codes (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) based on emergent themes and data results. Among the inductive codes, I created hundreds of descriptive codes to point to things such as the type of images being shown, the name of the person being interviewed, or the name of the reporter covering the story. This allowed me to capture who was interviewed the most times and which ideological position they came from. From these codes, I could also start gathering which images were shown the most when covering the DREAM Act

on the news. In Appendix F, I include a codebook with definitions, but the list below points to my main categories of codes.

1. Descriptive codes
    a. Image
    b. Interviewed
    c. News elements
    d. People mentioned or shown
    e. Reporter
2. Emergent code categories
    a. Critical Race Theory
    b. Discourse (such as metaphors, symbolism, sarcasm)
    c. DREAMer strategies
    d. Migration described as…
    e. Outlook on future of policy
    f. Other issues discussed (political)
3. DREAM Act policy analysis codes
    a. DREAM Act content
    b. DREAM Act purpose
    c. DREAM Act requirements
    d. Number of DREAMers in country
4. Theoretical codes based on literature review and theoretical framework
    a. Arguments against the DREAM Act
    b. Arguments in support of the DREAM Act
    c. Immigrant themes
    d. Social construction of DREAMers
    e. Social construction of parents of DREAMers

I coded the content logs in chronological order, from oldest to most recent, the same order I first watched them and the same order in which I created content logs. In terms of organizing the content logs within ATLAS.ti, I used the groups feature to create groups for each of the television networks. Each document was assigned a group. This allowed me to run code reports not only for all 120 content logs, but also filter by particular networks. For example, if I wanted to see how many times the code “amnesty” appeared on CNN, I could filter by the group

"CNN" to see this result. Additionally, I created groups within the codes as well, so that I could run reports for groups of codes, such as "social construction codes" all at once.

Choosing stories. I envisioned analyzing the results from coding as my first step of analysis. In the next step, I would delve into particular segments that stood out. One way I chose these stories was to run code reports and see which codes were the most frequent, which codes co-occurred with each other, and which news stories these codes appeared in. Another way I chose these segments was by applying the codes I called "interesting quotes" and "scroll." The code "interesting quotes" always co-occurred with another inductive or deductive code and I created it to bookmark quotes that stood out to me based on my research questions or that also represented emergent themes I had not considered. I coded something as "scroll" when I thought this segment warranted closer analysis due to the images shown. I discuss the details of this type of analysis in the next section. Additionally, in order to figure out which particular stories to delve into after coding the content logs, I asked myself the following exploratory questions, some of which follow Santa Ana's (2012) analysis of representations of Latinos in television news:

- How is the DREAM Act framed on the same day by different stations (Santa Ana, 2012)?
- What were the sources of visual images (Santa Ana, 2012)?
- What were the ideological differences between different networks (Santa Ana, 2012)?
- Did the story include both sides of the argument (Santa Ana, 2012)?
- Did a DREAMer appear in a story about the DREAM Act? If so, how many times?
- Did some social constructions of DREAMers co-occur within a story and were these oppositional social constructions? That is, could a DREAMer be socially constructed in negative and positive ways within one story?

Throughout my analysis, I also searched secondary resources to inform the media episodes I would delve into for close analysis. For example, I referred to some of the policy documents that added to my analysis of the DREAM Act bills. I also downloaded any reports cited in the news stories and searched for the text of speeches such as President Obama addressing the nation on the failure DREAM Act on December 22, 2010.

Taking a closer look: Video scrolls. Although my initial coding of content logs in the ATLAS.ti software allowed me to take a closer look at a news segment than one would on average when watching the news at home, if my goal was to look at discursive practices in greater detail, one way to accomplish this was through creating a scroll of the video (Gutiérrez & Erickson, 2005). By scroll, I mean that I took a short segment of video from a longer episode and looked at it more closely across several layers (images shown, what was said, gestures). I created scrolls by choosing a short sequence of images from an episode I wanted to examine closer—one second of video can be split into multiple image frames. I chose one frame per second, so for example, if I wanted to look at 30 seconds of video, I received 30 digital images that now made up that clip. Once I saved the images, I then imported each image or frame-grab into a Microsoft Excel file in such a way that they appeared from left to right, or in the form of a scroll. Once I had the images in Excel, I decided what it was I wanted to look at more closely. For example, in some instances I decided to show sequential actions of verbal and nonverbal interaction, overlapping speech, and verbal and nonverbal actions of the people in the frame (Gutiérrez & Erickson 2005). I also added in speech conventions that may have not been visible in the transcription I first created in ATLAS.ti. Although I delved in close to each episode through the creation of content logs, the scrolls helped me focus in on particular short segments of a news

story that warranted further analysis. Many times the images we are shown through news stories are quite brief, and these tools helped me capture those instances.

Limitations

I have already touched on some of the limitations toward the beginning of my study utilizing television news archives. Another limitation that arose was the fact that I had to rely on Archive.org for the Telemundo stories, which meant that I could not delve in and do closer analysis of these stories through the use of a scroll. To remedy this, if I did choose to highlight a story from Telemundo, I watched it several more times and annotated the content log for that source in a more detailed way. In the future, I hope to talk with Dr. Steen and work with him to archive stories from Telemundo on the UCLA NewsScape so that others can use this tool for these particular news stories.

Two other limitations I faced were, first, not including stories from other times of the day in my database, and second, only focusing on national news stories rather than local ones as well. Broadening my parameters would certainly reveal more, but I was limited in capacity and because I chose to do a close analysis of 120 stories through content logs, I needed to narrow my parameters. This study can be viewed as a snapshot of the national television discourse around the DREAM Act of 2010.

CHAPTER V

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE DREAM ACT (2009 - 2013)

> Policy design is inherently a purposeful and normative enterprise through which the elements of policy are arranged to serve particular values, purposes, and interests. We contend that policies are not simply the random and chaotic product of a political process, as some other perspectives assume. Instead, public policies have underlying patterns and logic, and the ideas included in policies have real consequences. (Schneider and Ingram, 1997, p. 3)

The DREAM Act has been labeled a "controversial" policy for many reasons, among them that it reflects the values of those who argue either in support or against immigration reform in this country, and as Schneider and Ingram (1997) demonstrate in the passage above, the content of this policy can have very real consequences. In this chapter, I share the major findings from a content analysis of the text of various versions of the DREAM Act, the versions of the DREAM Act that were proposed in the United States House of Representatives and Senate from January 2009 to January 2013 (see Appendix G).[26] The goal of this analytical exercise was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the DREAM Act so that I could begin to understand some of the "underlying patterns and logic" (Schneider and Ingram, 1997, p. 3) of the policy. Figure 2 shows the various versions of the DREAM act that were proposed during the timeframe delineated in this study.

[26] Although I had 14 primary sources, I did not look at four of these because doing so would have been redundant, as they embedded parts of the other versions of the DREAM Act I did code.

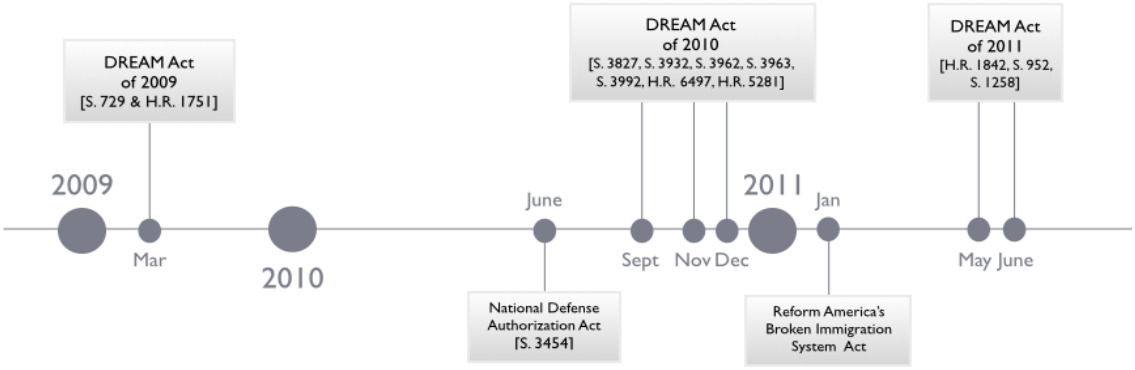


Figure 2. DREAM Act timeline 2009 - 2012.

The highest number of DREAM Acts proposed in Congress occurred in 2010, with eight versions of the DREAM Act being proposed during this time either as amendments to larger bills or as stand-alone bills—none of which resulted in the passage of the DREAM Act. Throughout this chapter, I pay special attention to the DREAM Act of 2010 version because it came the closest to being passed in December 2010.

I framed my research questions in the introduction, and in this chapter I pay attention to the following questions:

Primary Question*:* How did policymakers frame the DREAM Act from 2009 to 2012?

a. What were the purpose and requirements of the DREAM Act?
    i. What were the main differences among the various versions of the DREAM Act?
    ii. Were there particular versions of the DREAM Act that stood out? Why?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed within the DREAM Act?

The findings I share in this chapter in response to the questions above directly informed the second part of my dissertation where I conducted a CDA of the evening television news coverage of the DREAM Act. I planned the analysis process in this order so that I could first learn what the *purpose* of the DREAM Act was and how it changed through different iterations, and what the *requirements* were for those qualified to apply—these seemed to be the most

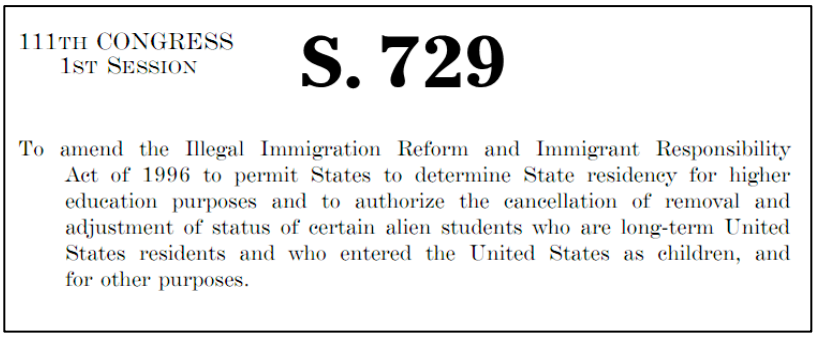
debated aspects that surfaced in public conversations about the DREAM Act. Then I discuss how the eligible individuals known as DREAMers were *legally constructed* in this official text. In his analysis of the legal and social constructions of "aliens," immigration law scholar Johnson (1996) argued for the examination of legal constructions of groups. According to Johnson, "Critical analysis of immigration and human rights law, which today disparately affects people of color in particularly harsh ways, is much needed. In this realm, legal terminology is important" (p. 292). Thus, I focus specifically on the legal constructions of DREAMers used in the policy text under the assumption that these legal constructions were directly related to the social constructions of DREAMers evident in public discourse such as the media, which I examine in the next chapter.

What Was the Purpose of the DREAM Act?

The perceived purpose of the DREAM Act has been one of the most highly debated aspects of this policy. For example, in naming the arguments against the DREAM Act, legal scholars (Barron, 2011; Bruno, 2010) pointed to opponents calling the DREAM Act an "amnesty"[27] and how they argued that in actuality, it was not a policy having to do with higher education for undocumented immigrants. In this section, I explore the DREAM Act by looking at the stated purpose of the policy in my sources of information, 10 versions of the bill. I came to this reading of the DREAM Act understanding that once a policy is written, the purpose can be taken up by opponents and proponents in different ways (Moses, in press). But even so, I wanted to have a baseline of what the "official" purpose was. The purpose section of the proposed policy is found at the beginning of the House and Senate bill documents, so it is the first text a reader

[27] The term amnesty is often invoked by opponents of immigration as being a reward for "illegal behavior." (Woodruff, 2014). See also, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/11/what_republicans_mean_when_they_say_amnesty_only_immigration_hard_liners.2.html

sees upon examining the document. The excerpt below represents an example of the purpose section of Senate Bill 729, the DREAM Act of 2009, which was presented during the 111th Congress in March 2009.



111TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 729

To amend the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to permit States to determine State residency for higher education purposes and to authorize the cancellation of removal and adjustment of status of certain alien students who are long-term United States residents and who entered the United States as children, and for other purposes.

Figure 3. Example purpose statement of DREAM Act, Senate Bill 729.

In the above example, there are two main components to the purpose of the DREAM Act: (a) amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 that allowed those eligible to be counted as state residents for the clear purpose of higher education and (b) cancels the removal of those eligible and allows for their adjustment of legal status.

Amends IIRIRA of 1996

The purpose of this version of the DREAM Act included amending IIRIRA of 1996, an act that several legal scholars noted has confused state lawmakers as they debated whether to provide in-state tuition rates for undocumented students living in their states (Galassi, 2003; Olivas, 2004; Romero, 2001). Amending IIRIRA through the DREAM Act would give clarification around this policy and explicitly allow undocumented students to be considered state residents of their states for in-state tuition rate purposes—one of the most publicized goals of DREAM Act proponents (Olivas, 2004). This proposed bill also included the phrase "higher education purposes," which addressed the arguments claiming it was not really about higher education.

Cancellation of Removal and Adjustment of Status

This version of the DREAM Act of 2009 allowed "certain alien students who are long-term United States residents and who entered the United States as children" (S. 729, 2009) to not be deported and to adjust their legal status in this country. I will go into a longer discussion around the implications of the term "alien students" later in this chapter where I discuss the legal construction of DREAMers, but for now I want to pay attention to the delineation of who the proposed policy was meant for. This target group of people was key to the DREAM Act itself, and to opponents' claims that it was an "amnesty." This framing of the DREAM Act as amnesty implied that the proposed policy was broad and encompassed more than just this relatively small group of undocumented immigrants (Olivas, 2009). In reality, the purpose specified that the policy would only apply to a particular group—those who had been here a long time *and* who entered the United States as children.

Other Purposes

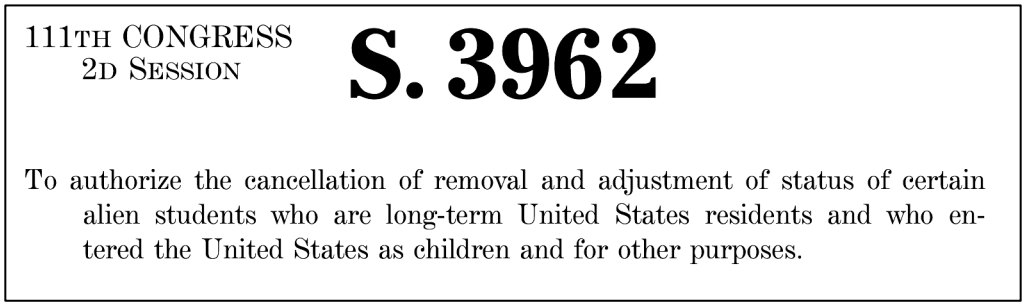
The purpose section of S. 729 closed in an open-ended way by saying it had "other purposes" as well—this seems to be typical language of congressional bills. In the bill I came across what could be interpreted as other purposes, such as eligible individuals being able to enlist in the military and/or being allowed to be lawfully employed, but I gave priority to what was prefaced in the bills such as in the examples above as the main purposes. After analyzing the purpose of the first bill in this series, I examined how each subsequent purpose of the DREAM Act changed, and I found that all 10 versions included similar language regarding cancellation of removal and adjustment of status for this specific group of undocumented immigrants. The table in Appendix H indicates that S. 729, H.R. 1751 in March of 2009, and S. 3827 in September

2010 all included this same purpose. However, in November 2010, the DREAM Act purpose changed, and it became more restrictive. I discuss this next.

No Longer About Higher Education?

> I thought that analyzing a policy would be a non-emotional process, perhaps even boring; mainly because of the legal jargon I am not accustomed to reading. But now that I'm seeing the DREAM Act change from something that could have been helpful to so many, to something that more and more is becoming exclusionary for those who are the whole reason the DREAM Act exists—it is disheartening. I see why it is so important to document policies, to read policies, to know what they're really about. (Research Journal Entry, 3/26/14)

In the entry above, I was reacting to the changes that I was documenting as I analyzed the DREAM Act bills. In this particular case, I witnessed how the proposed bills progressively became more restrictive and exclusionary. One way this was done was by removing the clause that would more clearly allows states to provide in-state tuition rates for undocumented students. Beginning in November of 2010 and through December 2010, the purpose of this proposed bill had a noticeable change when the language about IIRIRA and "higher education purposes" was removed from S. 3962, S. 3963, H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992—not only in the purpose statement but also in the main content of the proposed bills. The excerpt below from Senate Bill 3962 in November of 2010 shows the new and shorter purpose statement of the DREAM Act of 2010 (see Figure 4).



111TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 3962

To authorize the cancellation of removal and adjustment of status of certain alien students who are long-term United States residents and who entered the United States as children and for other purposes.

Figure 4. DREAM Act of 2010, S. 3926.

The purpose here was encompassed in three lines of text, whereas in the version only 2 months prior and those before, it took up six lines of text. As I realized the shift that occurred in only a matter of months, I thought about the scholars who pointed to the importance of amending IIRIRA and how it could lead to affordable higher education through in-state tuition rates for undocumented students (Galassi, 2003; Olivas, 2004; Romero, 2001). Referring back to the statements from Olivas (2004) regarding the debates that existed around IIRIRA, it seemed significant that this section would be removed from the DREAM Act, continuing to cause confusion for the states considering passage or blockage of in-state tuition rates for undocumented students. In addition, this omission might also have had negative implications for proponents of the DREAM Act who argued for the DREAM Act as a policy having to do with higher education. However, this change might have made the proposed bill more palatable to critics, as it reduced the type of "benefits" that undocumented immigrants could receive due to the bill's passage (Romero, 2011).

This change happened during a time when there were even more expectations that the DREAM Act would pass due to the Democratic majority in Congress, and in December of 2010, the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 5281) almost passed when it was approved in the House and failed by only five votes in the Senate (Olivas, 2012b). Even with their Democratic advantage, due to a Republican rule, the Democrats needed 60 "yes" votes in the Senate in order for the Senate version, S. 3992, to pass, which they did not receive (Olivas, 2012a). Although the DREAM Act's failure came as a surprise to many, sociologist Bonilla-Silva (2014) has posited that policies such as immigration policies and any policy that addresses racial inequality or provides a social welfare, would suffer under President Obama's presidency due to challenges from opponents.

As I reflected on these new changes to the purpose of the DREAM Act, I was reminded of critical race theorist Derrick Bell's (1979, 2004) notion of interest convergence and questioned whether and how the omission of IIRIRA was a result of political bargaining to receive more votes and support for the DREAM Act. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) stated, "The majority group tolerates advances for racial justice only when it suits its interest to do so" (p. 149). In terms of the votes needed to pass the DREAM Act, I saw the Republican and Democrat opponents of the DREAM Act as the majority, since in some ways they held the power in the Senate version to either pass or fail the bill due to the 60-vote rule. In order to get their support, the DREAM Act would have to suit their interests. I searched for evidence of this type of political negotiation in policy briefs and press releases from organizations both for and against the DREAM Act. In December 2010, the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA, 2010) posted on their website that these new Senate versions (S. 3962, S. 3963, and S. 3992) of the DREAM Act were "paired down . . . in the hopes of getting the bill passed during the lame duck session." AILA addressed the concerns raised by Republicans and they pointed to a white paper sent from Republican Senator Jeff Sessions to the Senate Judiciary Committee (Sessions, 2010) where he outlined 10 concerns for Senate Bill 3827 proposed in September 2010, the last version of the DREAM Act that included the provision to amend IIRIRA. Sessions is well known for his opposition to immigration reform and this document, which he called a "Critical Immigration Alert," pointed to the aspects of the DREAM Act that would need to be changed to suit the interests of those against the proposed bill. Below is an excerpt from Sessions's (2010) white paper addressing his concerns specifically around amending IIRIRA:

> 5. ILLEGAL ALIENS WILL GET IN-STATE TUITION BENEFITS
> The DREAM Act will allow illegal aliens to qualify for in-state tuition, even when it is not being offered to U.S. citizens and legally present aliens living just across state lines. Section 3 of the DREAM Act repeals Section 505 of the Illegal

> Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1623) which prohibits giving education benefits to an unlawfully present individual unless that same benefit is offered to all U.S. citizens. (p. 3)

In the above statement, Sessions addressed the most contentious aspect of IIRIRA, and his interpretation was much different from Olivas's (2004) who argued that amending IIRIRA by repealing Section 505 would clear up the confusing wording in the current law that has led some states to not support in-state tuition policies for undocumented students. Olivas explained that the wording in this section of IIRIRA gave opponents the impression that recipients of the DREAM Act would be getting a monetary benefit, but it was actually a "right to be considered for in-state resident status . . . a non-monetary benefit" (p. 454). Sessions's wording expressed that undocumented students would receive actual "in-state tuition," implying a monetary benefit and he argued that these individuals would in essence have more benefits than United States residents or citizens. Speaking to this point, Barron (2011) explained that opponents of the DREAM Act opposed higher education benefits for undocumented immigrants, believing they "would take away opportunities from equally deserving [American] children" (p. 644). However, according to Olivas's (2004) legal interpretation, IIRIRA did not take away benefits from citizens meeting the same residential requirements of DREAMers and instead residency benefits conferred to undocumented students would also need to be given to out-of-state United States citizens who met the same requirements. Even so, whether amending IIRIRA remained in the proposed policy seemed to be a major determinant of how the DREAM Act would be written in order to appeal to all political sides in hopes of getting the DREAM Act passed.

This period of politics around the DREAM Act of 2010 reflected a time of much political negotiation, as the midterm elections were also occurring in November 2010, and I questioned how proponents of the policy reacted to the narrowing of in-state residency benefits for undocumented students in the policy. I was not able to locate more documents or research that

addressed how changes in the DREAM Act impacted congressional votes directly. But in my media analysis chapter, I refer to those instances in which political negotiations for votes were mentioned. This way, I hope to build a better picture of these critical days of the DREAM Act by looking even more closely at the news coverage between November and December 2010 for evidence of what could have caused these type of negotiations and how both proponents and opponents of the proposed policy reacted.

Amending IIRIRA Returns in Later DREAM Acts

Following all the activity that occurred to the DREAM Act in November and December 2010, in the new Congressional Session 112 in May of 2011, H.R. 1842 and S. 952, the DREAM Act of 2011 had a purpose identical to the DREAM Act of 2010 without IIRIRA amended, but it included language within the bill that would amend IIRIRA later in the document. It was interesting to see the placement of this language within the policy itself. For example, in S. 729, H.R. 1751 and S. 3827, the earlier versions I reviewed that amended IIRIRA, the section that went into an explanation of this was found within the first three pages of the bill, yet in the May 2011 versions, amending IIRIRA through the repeal of Section 505 was found in the very last pages of the bill. It seems this aspect of the DREAM Act did not hold as much prominence in later versions or perhaps it was also the result of political negotiation to place this section back into the policy.

I focused first on the purpose of the DREAM Act because many times this is how a policy is defined to the public. During the time the DREAM Act was receiving the most attention in the media, in the winter of 2010, it included a lot of changes (AILA, 2010), and I questioned if these changes were accurately reflected in the media reports about the policy, by politicians, or by those in favor or against the proposed policy. In the following section, I investigate some of

the other changes that occurred to the DREAM Act during this time around the requirements for undocumented students in order to qualify for the policy.

Requirements for DREAMers

As I mentioned in the previous section, through its course thus far, the DREAM Act has undergone changes to the requirements for those that might be eligible to benefit from it if passed. These stricter changes have seemingly been spurred by political negotiations in order to garner more support (AILA, 2010; Barron, 2011; Sessions, 2010). Along with the argument from opponents that the DREAM Act is a form of amnesty, there were also many arguments that the DREAM Act was too lenient and should have included more about border enforcement in order to garner more support from Republicans (Barron, 2011). On the other hand, there were critiques from those who believed the DREAM Act was becoming too stringent and exclusionary and promoted military service instead of higher education (Diaz-Strong, Gómez, Luna-Duarte, Meiners, & Valentin, 2009). I became interested in analyzing the requirements for the DREAM Act in the policy documents themselves so that I could use these results to inform the analysis of news coverage on this aspect of the policy. Several versions of the DREAM Act differed in what they required of the DREAMers and what benefits would be afforded to them, and I wondered if this was something the news covered adequately. For example, in my pilot study where I observed an April 2009 news story on the DREAM Act, I noted the requirements of the DREAM Act that former Republican Congressman Tom Tancredo mentioned in his interview on FOX News (see Appendix E)—by establishing a baseline through this policy analysis, I could determine which version of the DREAM Act an interviewee was referring to when commenting and whether their comments were reflective of the actual policy or based more on their own perceptions. The version they were commenting on was relevant because they could be

commenting on an outdated version of the policy. In this section of the chapter, I share an overview of the requirements for eligible recipients in the DREAM Acts of 2009, 2010, and 2011, focusing more closely on those instances in which I saw changes that appeared to be politically motivated and that resulted in fewer individuals being eligible for the proposed policy.

Initial Requirements for Application

There were some requirements of the DREAM Act applicants that were the same in all versions that I coded (see Appendix H to see documents I coded). These requirements, some of which are outlined below, were those that must be met before a person could apply for the DREAM Act and they did not include the requirements that must be met to adjust their status, which I describe later:

- **Continuous presence:** Applicants must have been continuously present in the United States 5 years preceding enactment
- **Education:** Must have been admitted to an institution of higher education at the time of application OR earned a HS diploma or GED.
- **Not inadmissible** under paragraph (2), (3), (6)(E), or (10)(C) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a))
- **Not deportable** under paragraph (1)(E), (2), or (4) of section 237(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1227(a))

The following are requirements that changed beginning from March 2009 to May 2011:

- **Good moral character:** Good moral character is part of the Immigration and Nationality Act,[28] and from March 2009 - November 2010, this was required of applicants from the

[28] According to Aleinikoff, Martin, and Motomura (2003), "The INA [Immigration and Nationality Act] does not directly define 'good moral character'; rather it provides a (nonexclusive) list of acts that establish a lack

time of enactment. That is, applicants had to prove good moral character from the time of DREAM Act enactment and not before. Beginning in December 2010, all versions of the DREAM Act required that applicants exhibit good moral character from the date the applicant entered the United States.

- **Age at entry:** Beginning in May 2011 (H.R. 1842 & S. 952), the applicant must have been younger than 15 at the time of entry. Prior to this they were required to be younger than 16 at time of entry. Those who favored a younger age of entry to qualify for the DREAM Act, argued that at the age of 16, young people were conscious of their decision to migrate and knew the circumstances of coming to the United States without documentation (Sessions, 2010).
- **Participation in persecution:** Beginning in December 2010, a section was added that stated that applicants must have "not ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (H.R. 6497; H.R. 5281; S. 3992; S. 952).
- **Convictions:** Beginning in December 2010 (H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992), applicants could not have been "convicted of any offense under Federal or State law punishable by a maximum term of imprisonment of more than 1 year; or 3 o more offenses under Federal or State law." This was not present in prior versions of the DREAM Act and was not in the May 2011 versions. In his white paper in this same month, Senator Jeff Sessions (2010) expressed his discontent with a "loophole" (p. 2) in prior versions of the DREAM Act that did note state this exclusion based on criminal

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of good moral character" (p. 67). For more see http://www.uscis.gov/policymanual/HTML/PolicyManual-Volume12-PartF.html

convictions. This is one of the requirements that changed after the release of his memo (AILA, 2010).

- **Age limit:** This requirement changed more often than any other aspect of the DREAM Act. From March 2009 to November 2010, in S. 729, H.R. 1751, and S. 3962 the applicant must have been younger than 35 at the time of enactment. Beginning with S. 3963 in November 2010 and through December 2010 (H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992), the age limit changed and the applicant needed to be younger than 30 at the time of enactment. In May 2011, with H.R. 1842, the age requirement was increased to younger than 32 and increased again to 35 in S. 952 that same month. This is an important requirement as many of the DREAMers who were fighting for the policy's passage had been fighting for this since 2001 and were now approaching the age cutoff. This change meant that many of those fighting for the DREAM Act for the past 10 years would not qualify for it. Once again in his December 2010 memo, this is one of the requirements that Senator Jeff Sessions took issue with. He argued that if the DREAM Act was really for "kids," as proponents argued, it would have a younger cutoff age. He failed to recognize that many of those individuals who arrived in this country as undocumented children had lived in legal limbo for the past 20 or more years (Olivas, 2012b).
- **Other requirements at time of application:** Beginning with the December versions of the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992) and including the May 2011 versions of the DREAM Act (H.R. 1842 and S. 952), the applicant had to submit biometric and biographic data as well as a background check. These versions also required a medical examination and applicants to register for the selective service. This

requirement of the background check seemed to address the concerns from opponents that "criminals" would qualify for the DREAM Act.

Adjustment of Status

Once a DREAM Act-eligible individual would have applied for relief under this policy, there would have been a waiting period of a certain number of years before that individual could apply to adjust their status and become a conditional permanent resident. Once they were conditional permanent residents, DREAMers would remain in this status for a set number of years before being able to apply for naturalization to become United States citizens. In my examination of the literature around the DREAM Act and my pilot media analysis (see Appendix E), I noted that coverage of the DREAM Act sometimes communicated that this process was almost automatic for DREAMers; reporters often gave the impression that naturalization would happen immediately when the DREAM Act passed. Below I discuss the actual process and summarize some of the requirements that had to be met for someone to apply to adjust their status after they initially qualified for the DREAM Act:

Some requirements remained the same:

- **Good moral character:** In order to apply for conditional permanent residence, applicants had to once again meet the good moral character requirement outlined in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA).
- **Higher education and military:** In order to adjust status, applicants had to earn a college degree or complete 2 years in good standing toward a bachelor's degree or higher OR serve 2 years in the military and if discharged, this must have been done honorably. Unless it was for military obligations, they could not abandon their residence during their conditional period.

Requirements that changed:

- **Waiting period:** From March 2009 to November 2010, the applicant must have remained as a conditional permanent resident for 6 years. In December 2010, the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 6497 and H.R. 5281) stated that an applicant would have to be a conditional nonimmigrant for 5 years initially and then apply for an extension of 5 years for a total of 10 years as a conditional nonimmigrant before being able to adjust their status and naturalize. S. 3992 that same month included a 10-year conditional nonimmigrant status requirement. These three versions that came closest to passing included the longest wait period of all the versions I reviewed. Then in May 2011, H.R. 1842 and S. 952 reverted back to prior versions and required a 6-year conditional permanent resident status.
- **Naturalization:** Its opponents often described The DREAM Act as a "fast track" to gaining U.S. citizenship. In reality, it did not seem like a fast track and after the waiting process there were requirements that needed to be met to apply for citizenship. From March 2010 to November 2011, the conditional permanent resident status had to first be removed before applying for naturalization. In December 2010, H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992, it stated that after having lawful permanent residence for at least 3 years, been continuously present in the US for at least half that time, and resided within the state or the district of the US where they filed application for at least 3 months, eligible individuals could file for application for naturalization. Applicants also had to satisfy requirements from section 312(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 312(a)), which stated that applicants must be able to read, write, and speak English and also have knowledge of the history and government of the United States. Together with

the 10-year conditional nonimmigrant status, a DREAMer would have to wait 13 years before applying for citizenship.

- **Biometric & biographic data:** Similar to the application process, for the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 6497 and H.R. 5281), applicants had to submit biometric and biographic data as well as a background check to adjust their status. They also had to do this for the S. 3992 and the May 2011 versions of the DREAM Act.
- **Surcharge:** One of the least publicly discussed requirements of the DREAM Act was the cost incurred—this was not going to be a free process. For the DREAM Act of 2010, H.R. 6497 and H.R. 5281, applicants would have to pay a surcharge of $2,000 to apply for their 5-year conditional nonimmigrant status in addition to a $525 application fee.
- **Federal taxes:** One of the common misconceptions about immigrants is that they do not pay taxes. Although many economy studies have noted how much undocumented immigrants contribute to federal taxes,[29] the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 6497, H.R. 5281, and S. 3992) specified that applicants must satisfy federal taxes due and owed to adjust their status.
- **Higher education assistance:** Each version of the DREAM Act had a section under this heading where details were specified regarding what type of federal education aid benefits DREAMers would be eligible for. The versions of the DREAM Act from March 2009 to November 2010 stated that those who had received permanent resident status could be eligible for some federal Stafford loans and federal work study. In the DREAM Act of 2010, H.R. 5281 and H.R. 6497 both stated that beneficiaries would be ineligible for all Stafford loans, but still remain eligible for federal Work-Study. In that same

[29] See http://www.itep.org/pdf/undocumentedtaxes.pdf

month, S. 3992 maintained eligibility for some Stafford loans. The DREAM Act of 2011 proposed in May 2011 (H.R. 1842) specified that beneficiaries would not be eligible for Pell Grants and other federal education grants and S. 952 once again specified that beneficiaries would not be eligible for Stafford loans but would be eligible for federal Work-Study.

The DREAM Act during the time period I reviewed here was in constant flux. This was made evident by the changes in requirements I noted above; the fees and benefits in the DREAM Acts of 2009, 2010, and 2011; and by the documentation provided by AILA, Senator Jeff Sessions, and a policy brief by the ACLU in December 2010.

Beginning in December 2010 with S. 3992, H.R. 6497, and H.R. 5281, the DREAM Act changed much more compared to prior years. In these versions, as evidenced by the requirements I explained above, there were more limitations as to who would be eligible, the costs incurred for the process would be higher, DREAMer college students would not be eligible for most federal financial aid and perhaps even in-state tuition rates, and the time it took to become a naturalized United States citizen would be extended to 13 years. All these changes were still not enough to satisfy opponents. According to Barron (2011), “Efforts to tighten the bill from its 2009 incarnation—for example, by lowering the age cap for beneficiaries, increasing the possible disqualifications, and lengthening the ‘conditional nonimmigrant’ period from six to ten years—also failed to appease opponents” (p. 636). Although these changes did not result in the passage of the DREAM Act, it was still important to document them and show how the DREAM Act has been transformed through the years.

The Legal Construction of DREAMers as “Aliens” in the DREAM Act

> Legal construction of the "alien" has facilitated the rationalization of severe treatment of noncitizens. At times, "alien" has been used as a code word for racial

> minority. For too long, the racial impacts of legal rules and fictions have been obscured and ignored. We should remain vigilant of the use of language that masks the very human impacts of the immigration laws. Although difficult choices must be made, we should make them honestly with a full realization that persons, not faceless, nonhuman, demon "aliens," are affected in fundamental ways. (Johnson, 1996, p. 292)

After reading the quote above I wondered how it might impact someone who is undocumented to learn about policies that are dehumanizing to them? What does it feel like to be called an alien? I wrote this section thinking about the social repercussions that might surface due to the language used in law and policy to identify immigrants, specifically the young undocumented individuals known as DREAMers. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, my primary goal in writing this findings chapter was to present the purpose and requirements of the DREAM Act through a content analysis of the proposed policy. But as I read and analyzed each version of the DREAM Act multiple times, I began to take note of the ways in which DREAMers were described—that is, the identity labels that were used to reference them in the official text. As part of my next chapter, I address the social construction of DREAMers in news media, but as I engaged in the policy research, I thought examining the legal construction of DREAMers was an important precursor to the media analysis as this directly influenced how immigrants were socially constructed in the public spheres such as the media (Johnson, 1996; Schneider & Ingram, 1997). Building on the last section where the DREAM Act of 2010 (H.R. 5281) stood out from other versions of the DREAM Act, in this final section I focus on how DREAMers were legally constructed in this version in particular, which passed in the House of Representatives and came to a vote in the Senate in December 2010. This version also incorporated many new requirements as a result of political negotiations between Republicans and Democrats, as I stated previously (AILA, 2010; Sessions, 2010).

In the table below (Table 7) I share the legal constructions of DREAMers from four versions of the DREAM Act, two versions that came before H.R. 5281 and one that came soon after (H.R. 1842) in order to compare the changes from version to version. I first include Senate Bill 3827 because this was the bill that Republican Senator Jeff Sessions saw as too lenient, I then also include Senate Bill 3962 since this was the first "paired down" (AILA, 2010) version after Session's critique:

Table 7

Legal Representations of DREAMers in the DREAM Act of 2010 & 2011

Legal construction term	**S. 3827 (Sep 2010)**	**S 3962 (Nov 2010)**	**HR 5281 (Dec 2010)**	**HR 1842 (May 2011)**
Alien	82	84	120	102
Alien lawfully admitted	3	2	1	2
Alien student	3	3	1	2
Applicant	0	0	3	3
Children	5	6	3	4
Conditional nonimmigrant	0	0	10	0
Conditional permanent resident	3	3	0	0
Individual	3	4	8	4
Lawful permanent resident	1	1	0	0
Long-term resident	5	6	3	4
Person	1	1	3	2

As the table above indicates, in H.R. 5281 the word "alien" was used the most times (120) compared to other descriptors for DREAMers and also compared to the other three versions of the DREAM Act I included. In the prior two versions, S. 3827 and S. 3962, this word appeared 82 and 84 times respectively. One month later, the use of the word increased nearly 50%. In the version after H.R. 5281, the number decreased slightly.

As I began this aspect of my analysis, I knew I would be encountering a more "strict" version of the DREAM Act based on my review of the new requirements and new limits on benefits, but I did not expect the words used to describe DREAMers to necessarily change. Although the word "alien" is legally accurate and is often used in immigration law, its use is highly problematic. It has been critiqued and questioned by many law scholars and critical scholars in education for being a dehumanizing way to describe immigrants (Gildersleeve & Hernandez, 2012; Johnson, 1996; Meiners, 2011; Pérez Huber 2009; Shannon, 2013; Sotomayor & Greenhouse, 2014). According to Johnson (1996), "The concept of the alien has more subtle social consequences . . . it helps to reinforce and strengthen nativist sentiment toward members of new immigrant groups, which in turn influences U.S. responses to immigration and human rights issues" (p. 265). It is interesting to think of the use of this term when thinking about the history of the DREAM Act and how although it was seen as both an education and immigration policy by supporters, opponents took to naming it an "amnesty" for "illegal immigrants." I discuss this further in the next chapter. Similar to Johnson (1996), Gildersleeve and Hernandez (2012) offered the following comments regarding anti-immigrant ideologies in in-state tuition equity policies known as state DREAM Acts:

> We must scrutinize policies and practices that are seemingly supportive of immigrant educational opportunity. For even in the most progressive of policies, we might find discourse that handily supports anti-immigrant ideologies. The effects of anti-immigrant discourse within seemingly pro-immigrant policy shape reality just as powerfully as more obviously anti-immigrant discourses. (p. 2)

Their point is important and reflects that although the federal DREAM Act was for many supporters a "down payment towards comprehensive immigration reform"[30] that would grant relief to millions, by keeping language such as "alien" in the policy, anti-immigrant ideologies

[30] Congressman Luis Gutierrez used this phrase to refer to the DREAM Act on an MSNBC interview with Ed Schultz on 11/16/10.

continued to be reaffirmed. It seems that only by changing the language embedded in these policies that one could potentially impact the larger discourse around immigration reform in this country.

The second most frequent term used to describe DREAMers in the DREAM Act of 2010 was "conditional nonimmigrant" (10),[31] which was used to refer to DREAMers after they initially applied and were approved to benefit from the DREAM Act (H.R. 5281) but did not yet have an adjusted status. Within the proposed policy, this term was defined as, "an alien who is granted conditional nonimmigrant status under this Act" (H.R. 1528), and this was a newly used term in this version of the DREAM Act that replaced the use of "conditional permanent resident" in prior versions (Immigration Policy Center, 2012; National Immigration Law Center [NILC], 2010). According to the Immigration Policy Center (2012), "Most nonimmigrants are foreign nationals who come to the United States for a limited period of time and do not intend to stay permanently" (p. 12). In their memo, the Immigration Policy Center supported the idea that other proponents of the DREAM Act have argued, which is that DREAMers are not typical immigrants and in this case, typical "nonimmigrants." They argued that it would be more difficult to adjust status as a nonimmigrant than as a conditional permanent resident. In this version, DREAMers would remain as conditional nonimmigrants for 10 years before being able to apply for legal permanent resident status and 3 years later for citizenship. I wondered whether the use of this term was to show that DREAMers had less benefits than those with the status of conditional permanent resident. Perhaps, use of this term exemplified to opponents of the DREAM Act that several long steps must be taken before naturalization so that the DREAM Act was not equated with amnesty.

[31] Coded only when individual was referred to as a "conditional nonimmigrant" and not when they were said to have "conditional nonimmigrant status."

The third highest descriptor for DREAMers was "individual" (8). Six of the eight times it was used it referred to those who were granted conditional nonimmigrant status. The other two times it referred to those who were deceased and whose records might be accessed. Although this neutral term was used for conditional nonimmigrants, they were often still called aliens. Just as I was interested in the ways DREAMers were described most often, I also paid attention to the descriptors that appeared the least. Two of the descriptors that no longer appeared in H.R. 5281 were "conditional permanent resident" and "lawful permanent resident," and this seemed to be the result of using "conditional nonimmigrant" in its place.

Other descriptors appeared only a few times, including the neutral ones of "children," "person," and "applicant." Using "children" to describe DREAMers stood out because DREAMers and their proponents often argued that DREAMers arrived as children who had no autonomy in whether to migrate to this country and that they have been raised and educated in this country (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003; Johnson, 1996). The only place this was evident was in the purpose of the bill, where DREAMers were described as "long-term residents who entered the United States as children." Although many if not most of the beneficiaries of the DREAM Act if it was enacted would be over the age of 18, there existed in the DREAM Act a clause that allowed for those who were at least 12 years old and enrolled in elementary or secondary school (H.B. 1528) to not be removed from the country. In this instance, DREAMers were still referred to as "aliens." The lack of use of this descriptor together with the hyper-use of "alien" stood out—this also strengthened opponents' arguments that the DREAM Act was not for immigrant children or those who arrived as children. Additionally, more neutral terms such as "person" or "applicant" were not used often, which made me question

how the political and social interpretation of the DREAM Act would be different if DREAMers were referred to in neutral terms instead of the more value-laden term, "alien."

Discussion: Policy Implications of the DREAM Act

> Determining what policy is a "problem of" is certainly influenced by ideology, and we need not deny that in our sharing of policy knowledge. However, rather than evaluate which ideological position is most defensible, policy scholars might do better to explain the policy implications of different ideological positions. (Dumas & Anderson, 2014, p. 8)

In this chapter thus far, I have discussed the results from conducting a content analysis of the DREAM Act policies that were presented in Congress between 2009 and 2012. In this analysis, I posited some implications of the DREAM Act in the form of drastic changes to the purpose and requirements, many times based on the ideological positions (Dumas & Anderson, 2014) of those against the policy, such as Republican Senator Jeff Sessions. I noted how the implications of this policy changed throughout its different iterations—for example, they were much greater when (a) amending IIRIRA was removed because DREAMers would not have clear access to in-state tuition, something that was the goal of the DREAM Act since it was first presented in 2001; (b) when the age requirement was lowered from 35 years old to 30 years at time of enactment, excluding many who would have otherwise benefitted from the policy; and (c) when the DREAM Act came close to passing in 2010 yet did not, halting the dreams and hopes of hundreds of thousands of young people who would have qualified. Additionally, other changes to the proposed policy, such as changes to the moral character clause, the requirement not to have been convicted of criminal offenses, and the requirement of a background check helped to support existing anti-immigrant notions that immigrants such as the DREAMers are inherently criminals (van Dijk, 2004). Finally, through the content analysis, I demonstrated that in order for a DREAMer to complete the naturalization process and apply to become United

States citizen, this could take up to 13 years—dispelling the myth that the DREAM Act was something "given" to undeserving immigrants. Although the policy has been reshaped based on the demands of various stakeholders, it continues with the same name. This sometimes means that for those strongly against the DREAM Act, they continues to argue it is the same policy regardless of how many concessions are made at their request.

In this chapter, I also showed how DREAMers, the target population of this policy, were represented in the DREAM Act of 2010 and 2011. Guided by Johnson's (1996) theory about how legal constructions of immigrants in policy may influence their social construction in public spheres, I set out to examine how DREAMers were legally constructed in a policy that was thought of us as being something positive for this group. I found that DREAMers were overwhelmingly referred to as "aliens" in the policy, with the highest number occurring in the version that came closest to passing (H.R. 5281). Additionally, they were referred to very little in positive and neutral terms such as "children" and "applicant." Referring back to the quote at the beginning of this section by Dumas and Anderson, what are the policy implications of representations such as "alien" in official and legal documents when this word has come to represent the Other? This is a policy that many in the pro-immigrant camp have been fighting for, yet its language and constructions of undocumented young people reflect the ideological positions aligned with those against immigration relief.

By analyzing the purpose and requirements of multiple DREAM Act versions and the representation of DREAMers in these proposed policies, I discovered that the DREAM Act was not neutral, but that it represented the values of those who had the power to influence the direction of the Act, such as those who ultimately voted for its failure. I have thus far discussed some policy implications, but there are also implications in the public arena, in how a policy is

interpreted and its content relayed to the public through venues such as the media—whether this is accurate or not. Referring to the findings from this chapter, in Chapter VI, I focus on the months leading up to and the time during which the DREAM Act of 2010 was being covered in the news.

CHAPTER VI

AMNESTY FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS OR AN EDUCATION POLICY FOR JÓVENES INDOCUMENTADOS?
HOW THE DREAM ACT OF 2010 AND DREAMERS WERE FRAMED IN EVENING TELEVISION NEWS

Working as a college outreach counselor in Houston, Texas from 2004 to 2008, I often spoke with undocumented students and their parents about their prospects for college. Parents often asked me how much hope they should have for federal legislation to pass and whether it was worthwhile for their child to attend college without it passing. I considered this to be a valid concern. At the time, the prospects of putting their degree to use in a job were slim at best. My response was always that I did not know, but that no matter what happened, if the DREAM Act passed and their son or daughter was enrolled in college, this could be a good thing. In December 2010, I am sure many of my former students and their families had high hopes that the DREAM Act would finally pass and that many of their legal worries would subside. But despite great support for the DREAM Act, the proposed policy failed and although today thousands of DREAMers benefit from numerous opportunities through DACA, the vote on the DREAM Act of 2010 was the closest they came to possibly gaining a path to citizenship through federal legislation. By 2010, the policy had been proposed and not passed for 9 years, but the outlook seemed different this time around. Through my analysis of the evening news coverage during this time, I learned that some believed it was the midterm elections in November that might have allowed for the DREAM Act to pass. For example, many outgoing politicians had nothing political to lose, so they might have voted in favor of the act. According to many Republican opponents of the policy, Democrats wanted the “Hispanic vote,” so they might also vote in favor

of the DREAM Act. After the midterm election, the Republicans gained a majority in the Senate, and many saw the congressional lame duck session in December 2010 as the last opportunity to pass the DREAM Act before a change in power in Washington, DC.

With this political context in mind, in this chapter I share findings from a comparative multimodal CDA of the 120 evening news stories about the DREAM Act I located (see Appendix C). In addition to noting the political events leading up to the vote in December of 2010, I also analyzed the results of the news media search to determine the frequency of DREAM Act coverage on the evening news during this time (see Figure 5).

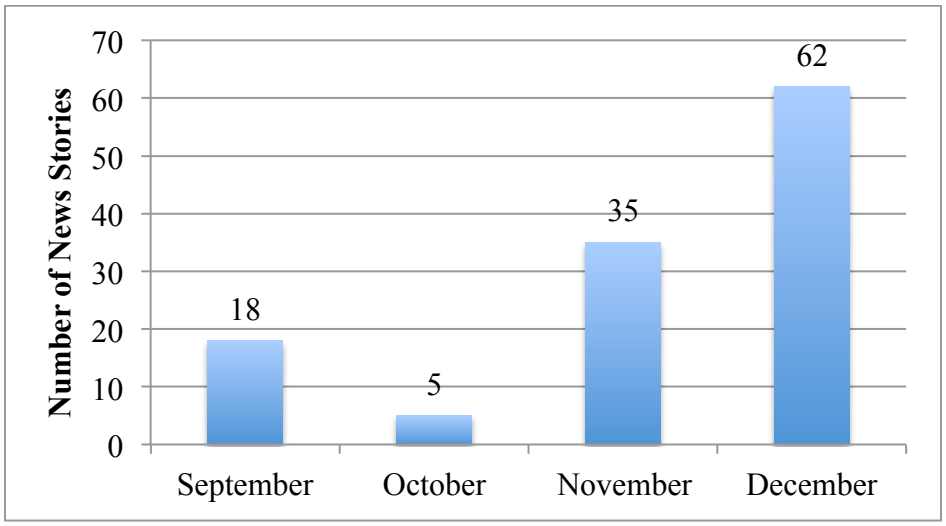

Figure 5. Spread of 120 stories on eight networks from September to December, 2010.

I found that in December 2010, the highest coverage of the DREAM Act occurred when it was mentioned in 62 news stories spanning the eight networks. In November, the DREAM Act was mentioned on 35 news stories and the month before that, only five times across the networks. September's coverage was higher than October's probably because the DREAM Act was included as part of a defense spending bill along with the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," the bill was not passed with these amendments. These results confirm that special attention must be paid to December 2010 news stories about the DREAM Act.

My goal in analyzing these news stories was to answer the following research questions:

Primary Question: How was the DREAM Act of 2010 represented by television news media?

a. What discursive practices were used by networks to frame the DREAM Act policy?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed in evening television news?
c. What were the similarities and/or differences between the discursive practices of the different networks?

Because 75 of the 120 stories I analyzed were from Telemundo (n = 37) and Univision (n = 38), both Spanish-language networks, and due to the comparative results of my coding,[32] many of the findings compared the coverage of English-language news with that of Spanish-language news. Within each section below, I include the theme that was most salient, who it was said by, and if relevant, what images were shown while this was being said or other discursive elements present. Throughout my analysis, there were instances where less frequent themes appeared. I note this, but my focus was often on a representative example or an interesting outlier.

To begin my analysis, I first share the ideologies about the DREAM Act that I identified through arguments used either in support or against the DREAM Act. Some of the ideologies I identify confirmed what was found in the literature, but I also share emergent ideologies I identified from the data. Next, I discuss the social construction of DREAMers both by the media and by DREAMers themselves through sharing their counter-narratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). I found that DREAMers played a role as policy actors and advocated on their own behalf for the passage of this policy. Finally, in the conclusion I discuss the implications of the news coverage of a policy issue such as the DREAM Act and why it is important not only for

[32] In many instances, I looked at whether arguments or the point of view supported or opposed the DREAM Act. I also looked at positive, neutral, and negative representations of DREAMers. Most times, the results differed by language of the news.

researchers but also for the viewing public to engage in television viewing in a more critical ways if we are to continuing using the news as a source of knowledge and information.

Ideologies About the DREAM Act in Evening News

Arguments Against the DREAM Act

In my literature review I listed arguments that were made against the DREAM Act by opponents of the policy. Some of these arguments also tended to be against immigration in general and not only against the DREAM Act. *Who* was making an argument against the DREAM Act (the source) was just as important as *what* they were saying about the policy. In my analysis I identified that these and other arguments came from four main categories: (a) based on the comments made by reporters in reference to opponents of the DREAM Act, (b) the comments of news guests invited to present their views against the DREAM Act, (c) lawmakers shown speaking in Washington DC, and (d) the commentary of those in support who mentioned these arguments and sometimes offered counter-arguments. By identifying these arguments, I determined how television networks generally covered the issue. The table below shows how often these arguments were mentioned in the evening television news coverage of this policy and where these arguments appeared—either in the English- or Spanish-language news.

Table 8

Arguments Against the DREAM Act, Frequency From Highest to Lowest

Arguments against the DREAM Act	Total		English		Spanish	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Opposition to amnesty	47	38%	23	49%	24	51%
Priority should be on securing borders	18	14%	7	39%	11	61%
Timing (why now?)	17	14%	8	47%	9	53%
Too broad or lenient	15	12%	7	47%	8	53%
Benefits noncitizens over citizens	13	10%	7	54%	6	46%
Taxpayer expense	6	5%	3	50%	3	50%
Advocating for CIR	2	2%	1	50%	1	50%
Advocating for stand-alone bill	2	2%	1	50%	1	50%
Advocating for temporary permit	2	2%	0	0%	2	100%

Arguments against the DREAM Act	Total		English		Spanish	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Preference over legal immigrants	2	2%	2	100%	0	0%
Not about higher education or military	1	1%	1	100%	0	0%
Total arguments against (N)	125		60	48%	65	52%
Total news stories	120		45		75	
Average per news story	1.04		1.33		.87	

Prior to conducting this analysis, I assumed that arguments against the DREAM Act would be more frequent in the English-language news, but as these results show, these arguments appeared on Spanish-language news as well, with the numbers being very similar between the English- and Spanish-language news. However, there was more coverage on the Spanish-language news, with over 60% (n = 75) of the total stories I looked at appearing on Telemundo and Univision. While the total arguments against the DREAM Act were similar for both languages, 60 for English and 65 for Spanish, on average, arguments against appeared more often on English-language news stories. Next, I expand on four of the major arguments against the DREAM Act: (a) opposition to amnesty, (b) priority should be on securing the border, (c) timing of the DREAM Act, and (d) myths about the DREAM Act.

Opposition to amnesty. The most frequent argument against the DREAM Act was *opposition to amnesty*, which occurred 24 times in Spanish-language news stories and 23 times in English-language news stories. Overall, this argument appeared 47 times, or 38% of the total arguments against. As evident in the table above, this argument appeared more than twice as many times as the next most frequent argument. The word amnesty by definition is not anti-immigrant and involves "the act of an authority (as a government) by which pardon is granted to a large group of individuals" (Webster's Online Dictionary, 2015). But when this phrase was used by those against the DREAM Act on the news, it took on a negative meaning resulting in the policy being explained as something that would lead to more "illegal immigration" and that

would "reward illegal immigration" (Barron, 2011). For example, in September (#2),[33] Jack Martin of the anti-immigrant group, Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), appeared on Noticiero Telemundo speaking in fluent Spanish and shared that he thought most people in the United States were against amnesty for people who were "illegally" in the county. Then he shared, "Es una amnistía para jóvenes indocumentados en los estados unidos." [It is an amnesty for undocumented youth in the United States.][34] This statement was not inherently negative, and Martin even used positive identifiers for DREAMers by referring to them as undocumented youth, but by first stating that this was something for people here illegally, he painted amnesty in a negative light. A few days later (#8), FOX reporter Jim Angle made the following commentary about the DREAM Act: "And those who qualify could become Americans, because after six years they can apply for full citizenship, which is why opponents call this, 'the first step down the road to amnesty.'" Again, this sentence may not sound negative, but because of the way amnesty has been redefined by those against the DREAM Act and any form of immigration reform, in this political context, the phrase took on a new meaning. How Angle framed the statement gave the impression that amnesty was unacceptable. The threat here was that amnesty would allow for the Other to become "American," which was a threat to the status quo (van Dijk, 2004). Sometimes the argument against amnesty was made without this word actually being used. On this same show (#8), Republican Louisiana Senator David Vitter was shown speaking on the Senate floor and said that the DREAM Act would, "provide a powerful incentive, for more illegal immigration, by allowing states to grant in-state tuition to

[33] I assigned each of the 120 news stories I analyzed a unique number and will refer to this number in parenthesis (#n) when discussing and quoting stories in the findings chapters. See Appendix C for archive information and detailed information about each news story; such as network, show name, date and time aired.
[34] I provide quotes in their original language followed by their English translation since my interest was in the discourse.

illegal alien students." Again, the idea here was that there was a belief that something like the DREAM Act could incentivize more "illegal immigration" and confer upon the Other a benefit they should not be entitled to. The amnesty argument has transcended the DREAM Act and was recently raised by Republicans opposed to President Obama's actions on immigration. They said it would attract more immigrants to come to the United States.[35] These three examples were representative of the ways "amnesty" was used to argue against the DREAM Act, and although those in opposition also spoke on Spanish-language news, those in support of the policy used it to present arguments against the idea of the DREAM Act as an amnesty. For example, on December 9th on Univision (#78), the day after the DREAM Act passed in the House, a young woman active in the DREAM Act movement was interviewed and said, "Esto no es una amnistía. Una amnistía se les da, sin haber, sin tener ningún tipo de condiciones." [This is not an amnesty. An amnesty is given, without, without having any type of conditions.] In this moment, this young woman challenged the DREAM Act as a form of amnesty and acknowledged the many requirements that must be met. Because of the way the word was redefined by opponents, there existed the idea that citizenship would be granted without prerequisites—she clarified this. The four examples shared above demonstrate how the use of CDA allows one to go beyond just identifying the words that are said and how often they were used, to be able to critically examine the manner in which they were used.

Although the next two arguments I discuss did not appear as often, they co-occurred with *opposition to amnesty* and reinforced misconceptions about the DREAM Act and immigrants. For example, the argument that the DREAM Act was *too broad or lenient* appeared 15 times, the fourth most frequent argument, and eight of those times (53%) it appeared in conjunction with

[35] http://blogs.denverpost.com/thespot/2015/03/05/tom-tancredo-ag-coffman-immigration/117878/

the amnesty argument. This argument reflected the idea that opponents believed the requirements for the policy were not stringent enough and that there was a potential for fraud. Referring back to Chapter V, this argument stood out because of Senator Jeff Sessions's white paper that spurred major changes to the DREAM Act in late November and early December. Although changes were made to the DREAM Act making it more restrictive, this argument appeared the most in December, demonstrating to me that even when changes were made to the DREAM Act, the arguments remained the same.

The other argument that appeared with *opposition to amnesty* was that it *benefits noncitizens over citizens.* This argument positioned immigrants, DREAMers in this case, as a threat to American citizens (van Dijk, 2004) by competing with them for jobs or through the appearance of having more higher education benefits than American-born citizens. In some of the instances where this argument appeared, the idea of American meritocracy was challenged and opponents argued that by creating the DREAM Act, immigrants would be put in direct competition with American citizens. In one example of this (#79), Republican Senator David Vitter was shown on CNN in early December standing in the Senate Chamber where he said, "These young illegals who would be granted amnesty would be put in direct competition with American citizens for those scarce resources." A picture is painted here that the United States has scarce resources and that the DREAM Act and DREAMers would take something away from American citizens—this is reminiscent of Bonilla-Silva's (2014) idea of abstract liberalism; the DREAM Act was proposed as something that would create better opportunities for immigrants, and in turn the United States, yet those opposed saw it as preferential treatment toward a group of others, whom they failed to see as American. In the next section on social construction, I

unpack terms such as “illegals” that Vitter used, but what is important for now is to note that he said “These” to refer to DREAMers, dehumanizing this group of undocumented immigrants.

Senator Vitter’s arguments were often reiterated by other Republican members of Congress. However, these arguments were not only presented by White Republicans against the DREAM Act, but on two occasions I observed on Telemundo (#11, #68) presenting similar arguments from Latinos against the DREAM Act. In September (#11), a Latino protester was shown wearing a sombrero; a shirt that read “Legal Latino Immigrant” with a picture of an eagle with the words, “This we will defend: Tea Party Patriots;” and holding a sign that read “Death to you and your dream.” He made the comment that he was upset that he had to pay taxes to subsidize the free education of DREAMers, when he could not give this to his own children. Here, the myth that the DREAM Act would provide free education was invoked along with the idea that DREAMers would take something away from American-born children. But, more disturbingly, the protestor’s sign called for violence towards DREAMers. A few months later (#68), a Latina woman with another anti-immigrant group, “Progressives for Immigration Reform,” made the comment that American families were dealing with major unemployment and insinuated that things would only get worse with the passage of any immigration reform. Statements such as hers are divisive and could cause the watching public to believe that their jobs would be under threat with the passage of the DREAM Act. These two examples demonstrate the Spanish-language news shows do not only show Latinos as sympathetic to immigration reform.

Another argument that occurred less frequently but was paired with *benefits noncitizens over citizens* was *tax-payer expense.* This reaffirmed the idea that DREAMers would be taking something that was undeserved and draining the resources of the United States if the DREAM

Act was to pass. In the next section where I focus on the arguments in support of the DREAM Act, I discuss how this argument against the DREAM Act was countered by Spanish-language media through a focus on the future contributions of DREAMers.

Securing the [southern] border. The second most frequently occurring argument I identified once again reaffirms the nativist sentiment found in the anti-immigrant discourse and shows how any issue dealing with immigration is assumed to be a Mexican issue (Pérez Huber, 2009; Pérez Huber et al., 2008). This argument, *priority should be on securing the border,* appeared 18 times (14%) and mostly in December. It was used to imply that there was a "Mexican" problem due to the conditions along the United States' southern border. This discounted the fact that if passed, the DREAM Act would impact immigrants from all over the world. This argument appeared more times on Spanish-language news than on English, showing that Spanish-language media, although associated with being pro-immigrant, brought in other sides of the issue as well. In one example (#71) of the use of this argument on the day the DREAM Act passed in the House, December 8th, Senator Jeff Sessions gave the following commentary on the DREAM Act on FOX News: "I think the fundamental thing is they surrender to lawlessness, it's basically an admission that uh, we don't have our borders under control and we're just going to start legalizing people that are here illegally. That's the exact wrong step to take." In this example, Sessions used exaggeration to refer to DREAMers as Others and being in a state of lawlessness or acting like criminals (van Dijk, 2004) and then stated that the reason undocumented people are in the United States was due to borders not being under control, He insinuated that border control needed to be dealt with first—although it is unclear whether he would support the DREAM Act with or without border control stipulations. On this same day on Telemundo (#73), when reporter Lori Montenegro asked Republican Senator Orrin Hatch

(original author of the DREAM Act) why he was no longer supporting it, he answered, "Well, I wrote the DREAM Act originally, number one, it's not the same as the one I wrote, that's not the real reason. Number two, they promised me when I wrote it, that they would get the borders under control. . . ." These two statements are reminiscent of Derrick Bell's (2004) idea of interest convergence and here there is no secret, that in order to support the DREAM Act, some Republicans would need to see greater enforcement on the southern Border. In contrast to the arguments presented by Republican members of Congress, those in the Spanish-language media played a role in rebutting such ideas. Also on this show (#73), while Sessions spoke about border security on FOX, Telemundo reporter Vanessa Huac presented statistics showing how President Obama's administration had recently increased security on the border and how at the time of her reporting, the administration was responsible for deporting a record number of immigrants. She closed by saying, "Para muchos, la respuesta de la seguridad de la frontera es simplemente una excusa." [For many, their response of border security is simply an excuse.] Here she positioned herself on the side of those in support of the DREAM Act and directly responded to the claims of Republicans such as Sessions and Hatch, but in her role as journalist, Huac provided facts to show that this argument was unfounded and led viewers to believe that there was more to the reason behind the use of this argument.

Historical amnesia in the news: Why the DREAM Act now? The next most frequent argument, *timing, why now?* was identified after observing that oftentimes in news coverage, the history of immigration in this country is disregarded—a historical amnesia occurs. As I mentioned, the DREAM Act was presented numerous times since 2001, but I found that opponents of the proposed policy sometimes cited the timing of the proposal as a political tactic, meaning that they thought Democrats were only presenting it for their self-gain. Thus, I

identified when those against the bill accused those for the bill of political tactics, and they asked the question of why now was the DREAM Act being presented when it could have been presented another time. Because the DREAM Act was presented numerous times in the past and in various political contexts, I began to wonder what does it take for it to be the right time? In one example (#71), on the day of the House vote, December 8th, a contributor on FOX, John Fund of the *Wall Street Journal* said the following:

> The DREAM Act is something that at least should have been debated in the fall campaign, just as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," just as a whole range of these things, instead they were swept under the rug, saved for the lame-duck session and I think most of these are actually going to fail.

The text on the bottom of the screen while this contributor was speaking read "ALL STAR PANEL." Although Fund was not a regular reporter on the show, he was positioned as an expert on a number of issues by being invited to this panel. In the statement above, he seemed to not realize that the DREAM Act was presented right along with the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" only 3 months prior in the fall and that the DREAM Act was not saved for the fall. Instead, many believed that in many ways this was its last chance to be passed. This argument appeared almost just as often in Spanish-language news (*n = 9)* as it did in English-language news (*n = 8)*, but when in Spanish-language news, it was usually an argument made by someone being interviewed who was against the DREAM Act. In contrast, I also noted when any mention of a past version of the DREAM Act was made, and out of 37 instances of this, only four occurred on English-language news. Although the DREAM Act already had a long history by 2010, it did not appear this way if one only watched the English-language news.

Myths about the DREAM Act. I have already alluded to moments where false information about the DREAM Act was relayed either by reporters or those interviewed on networks. Although I did not note these instances specifically as arguments against the DREAM

Act, I drew on the results of my policy analysis from Chapter V to determine whether false or misleading information was being relayed to viewers. I note examples of this in Chapter VII where I discuss reporters as policy actors, but it is important to mention that this strategy of relaying false information was used often by those opposed to the DREAM Act to strengthen their arguments. In all, I noted 26 occurrences of this within the 120 news stories, with only seven (27%) on Spanish-language news and so the majority (73%) occurred on English-language news. False or misleading information on Spanish-language news was relayed by opponents who were interviewed on those networks. One of the most frequent ideas being disseminated by opponents was that the Act would provide free tuition to undocumented immigrants. Consider, for example, FOX News correspondent Doug McElway invoking this idea on December 8th (#71) when he said: "Republicans say they are troubled the bill provides two years of in-state tuition for some illegals, when many native-born students struggle to pay their own tuitions." I found that in some instances reporters mentioned the arguments against the DREAM Act as a way of presenting both sides of the argument—this was not the case here and McElway's statements appear as facts. This is a clear misinterpretation of the DREAM Act policy and viewers were left believing that this might be a policy unfair to American citizens. As I discussed in the last chapter, through prior versions of the DREAM Act, DREAMers might qualify to pay lower in-state tuition rates in their state of residence, but this benefit would have to be given to citizens as well. Additionally, in no version of the DREAM Act was the cost of higher education provided.

Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act

Although there were many ways that arguments were presented against the DREAM Act during the time I observed, there were also instances in which reporters and guests, including

DREAMers themselves, spoke in support of the policy. Some of these statements seemed to be direct rebuttals to the points against the Act that I have discussed thus far. Arguments in support of the DREAM Act occurred primarily on the Spanish-language news. In the table below, I share the arguments I observed that served to strengthen support for the DREAM Act.

Table 9

Arguments in Support of the DREAM Act, Frequency From Highest to Lowest

Arguments in support of the DREAM Act	**Total**		**English**		**Spanish**	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Contribute to country	43	13%	7	16%	36	84%
Serve country in military	41	12%	7	17%	34	83%
Have lived here a long time	39	12%	11	28%	28	72%
DREAMers are American	31	9%	9	29%	22	71%
Professional aspirations	30	9%	5	17%	25	83%
Economic contributions	25	8%	1	4%	24	96%
Further education	21	6%	6	29%	15	71%
Not DREAMers' fault	18	5%	8	44%	10	56%
Self-determination, liberty, self-actualization	12	4%	1	8%	11	92%
Military in support	11	3%	0	0%	11	100%
Right or moral thing to do	11	3%	0	0%	11	100%
Workforce	8	2%	2	25%	6	75%
National Security (improve)	7	2%	0	0%	7	100%
Home country unknown	7	2%	3	43%	4	57%
Hispanics serve military	5	2%	2	40%	3	60%
Waste of investment	5	2%	2	40%	3	60%
Cost of deportation high	4	1%	0	0%	4	100%
Educational investment	4	1%	0	0%	4	100%
Stand-alone bill	3	1%	0	0%	3	100%
Global competition	2	1%	0	0%	2	100%
To motivate students	1	0%	0	0%	1	100%
Desire to belong to US	1	0%	0	0%	1	100%
Total arguments in support (N)	329	100%	64	19%	265	81%
Total news stories	120		45		75	
Average per news story	2.74		1.42		3.53	

In this section, I do not expand on each of the 22 types of arguments I included in the table above, but I share the complete list because sometimes those that occurred less often strengthened the most frequent arguments. Support for the DREAM Act occurred overwhelmingly on the Spanish-language news, with 81% of all arguments made in support of

the DREAM Act occurring Telemundo and Univision. Below, I discuss some of these arguments in support in three overarching categories: (a) the contributions of DREAMers, (b) the argument that DREAMers are American, and (c) other philosophical arguments used in support of the policy.

DREAMer contributions. In my analysis I noted four major arguments used to support the idea that the DREAM Act would create opportunities for DREAMers such that they could contribute to the country in various ways. These arguments were as follows: (a) DREAMers contribute to the country, (b) they have professional aspirations, (c) they will make economic contributions, and (d) they will join the workforce. Although in many ways these four arguments are similar, I found that there were important enough distinctions among them to warrant separating them out analytically. When considered together, they sent the message that the DREAM Act would benefit the country as a whole and not just immigrants. Overall, these arguments counter the ideas conveyed by those against the policy—that DREAMers were a drain on taxpayers and that they are taking resources away from American citizens.

DREAMers contribute to the country. This idea appeared seven times (16%) on English-language news stories from FOX, NBC and CNN and 36 (84%) times on Spanish-language news stories. The one time this argument was stated on FOX News occurred in September (#8) when a panelist, Mort Kondracke of the newspaper *Roll Call*, mentioned many arguments in support of the DREAM Act but specific to this, he talked about the "waste of human potential" and how students wanted to serve their country. After Kondracke shared his thoughts, anchor Bret Baier dropped the topic of the DREAM Act without reacting and proceeded to the next topic without acknowledging the remarks. Other times on English-language news, DREAMers themselves stated the idea that they wanted to contribute to the country. This argument occurred on Spanish-

language news often as well and when stated by DREAMers, it demonstrated that they were advocating for themselves. In one example, when DREAMer and student activist Erika Andiola appeared on Telemundo in November (#29), she said, “Realmente vamos a contribuir mucho a este país si es que pasa, algo así como el DREAM Act.” [In reality we are going to contribute much to this country if it passes, something like the DREAM Act.] So it is important to note how the students themselves influenced the framing of the policy as a positive endeavor.

Professional aspirations. This argument mostly occurred on Spanish-language news (83%), with only five occurrences (17%) on English-language media where it was only stated by DREAMers and President Obama and not by reporters of those networks. This argument occurred when the professional aspirations of DREAMers were highlighted to show the opportunities they would have if the DREAM Act passed and also the professional contributions they would provide to the country. For example, in December on Telemundo (#62), Carlos Amador, a DREAMer, mentioned the great need in this country for well-educated social workers, and he said this was what he was pursuing. He closed by sharing the following about the DREAM Act, “Me beneficiaria tanto a mi, como a la comunidad que pienso servir.” [It would benefit me as well as the community I plan to serve]. Again, showing that this policy would be for the greater good of the country and not a burden as those against tended to focus on.

Economic contributions. On Spanish-language news, statements highlighting the potential future contributions of DREAMers were not just made by the DREAMers themselves, but also by anchors and correspondents. The argument *economic contributions* seemed to be a direct rebuttal to the argument against the DREAM Act, which called it a *burden on taxpayers.* The economic contributions of DREAMers were mentioned 25 times (8% of total arguments in

support), of these only one was on English-language news and the majority were on Telemundo, with it being mentioned 21 (84%) times there. The mention of DREAMers' economic contributions occurred throughout the month of December and seemed to follow the release of two reports supporting the notion that DREAMers would benefit the United States economy. One report came from the Congressional Budget Office in December 2010 and looked at the DREAM Act version H.R. 6497. It stated that the DREAM Act could reduce the deficit by $2.2 billion from the years 2011 to 2020 (Immigration Policy Center, 2010). The second report was released by the UCLA North American Integration and Development Center and focused on the potential earnings of DREAMers over their working lives if the DREAM Act was to pass. Both of these reports were referenced by Univision and Telemundo throughout the month but especially in the days before and leading up to both the vote in the House and the Senate, with both networks even inviting first author Professor Raúl Hinojosa of UCLA to their shows to discuss his study. In one example (#64) that referenced the congressional report, reporter Lori Montenegro of Telemundo when speaking about a DREAMer said the following:

> Estudiantes como él, dice un reporte de la oficina del presupuesto del congreso, serían un beneficio y no una carga económica al país. Si, se les permite legalizar su estado migratorio, por medio del DREAM Act.
> [Students like him, says one report from the Congressional Budget Office, would be a benefit and not an economic burden on the country. If they are permitted to legalize their migratory status, by way of the DREAM Act.]

Here Montenegro mentioned the impact DREAMers could have on the economy. By citing the report she invoked the controversial idea that DREAMers would be a burden on the economy and challenged it. Statements of this sort that were accompanied by supporting evidence were common especially on Telemundo. Together, these three arguments focused on the contributions and professional aspirations of DREAMers and sent the message that this group of immigrants could give much to this country if only the DREAM Act was passed.

Workforce contributions. The argument that the DREAM Act should pass because DREAMers could become part of the *workforce* appeared eight times (2% of the total arguments). Although certainly connected, I separated this from the economic contribution argument because this statement was used to describe DREAMers specifically as workers or contributors to the workforce. For example, in September 2010, former Secretary of State Collin Powell made remarks that received the attention of many in the media when he expressed support for the DREAM Act. He followed his support for the policy by sharing that immigrants often do work around his house. By making this statement, he seemed to want to make the argument that immigrants contributed to our workforce; therefore, this policy should be passed. On Telemundo coverage of this story (#11), they showed a man working as a dishwasher in a kitchen. Lori Montenegro said the following while this image was shown, "Los indocumentados, dijo, hacen, cosas que necesitamos sean hechas en este país." [The undocumented, he said, do, things that we need done in this country.] I found the images they paired with his remarks strengthened the idea that immigrants do the work others in this country are not willing to do—immigrants do the low-wage labor-intensive jobs. This framing of the workforce argument privileged the country's need for a cheap labor force over the higher education and professional aspirations of DREAMers, downplaying what DREAMers and supporters had been fighting for years to portray about the policy.

Americans by heart, DREAMers as symbolic Americans. Several of the statements I observed in the news stories that were in support of the DREAM Act focused on how DREAMers *were* American for numerous reasons. This stood in direct contrast to the many times DREAMers were portrayed as a threat to the status quo, as foreign, and as the Other—in essence as everything but American. In this section, I discuss three ways that I found this

argument was used: (a) DREAMers simply are American*;* (b) they serve in the military; therefore, they are American; and (c) DREAMers have lived here a long time.

DREAMers are American. In news coverage, there were moments that showed DREAMers as American, and it seemed this was invoked as a reason for passing the policy. The argument that *DREAMers are American* appeared 21 times (9% of all arguments in support), and it was one of the only arguments that appeared on seven of the eight networks I analyzed, with the only network it did not appear on being CBS. Almost half of the time, those on Telemundo presented this argument. Table 10 below shows three key examples[36] of the use of this argument.

Table 10

Examples of the Argument "DREAMers Are American"

Network (story #)	**Date**	**Excerpt**	**Translation (if applicable)**
Univision (#74)	12/08/2010	Reporter Lourdes Meluzá: Los soñadores enfrentaron esta mañana, un viento helado (the wind is shown blowing where the students are) en el capitolio, en su último esfuerzo por conseguir (Capitol rotunda shown) un puñado de votos más para el DREAM Act. **(DREAMers say, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. . . .") Se sienten Americanos, no lo son ante la ley.**	Reporter Lourdes Meluzá: The DREAMers faced this morning, a cold blowing wind (the wind is shown blowing where the students are) in the capital, in their last effort to acquire (Capitol rotunda shown) a handful of more votes for the DREAM Act. **(DREAMers say, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. . . . ") They feel American, they are not by law.**
Telemundo (#98)	12/17/10	Reporter Rogelio Mora-Tagle: **Oficialmente, ellos carecen de documentos, pero son estadounidenses DE CORAZON** que quieren servir como (reporter Vanessa Huac nods slightly in agreement) profesionales a este país.	Reporter Rogelio Mora-Tagle: **Officially, they lack the documents, but they are Americans BY HEART** that want to serve as (reporter Vanessa Huac nods slightly in agreement) professionals in this country.
NBC (#113) & CNN (#111)	12/22/10	President Obama: **Even though I feel American, I AM an American, the law doesn't recognize me as an American.** I'm willing to serve my country, I'm willing to fight for this country, I want to go to college and better myself, and I'm at risk of deportation.	

[36] Transcription key for examples: Capitalized letters indicate emphasis by the speaker, bold red font highlights text related to the theme and parentheses indicate a description of what was shown on screen.

I share these examples because not only was the idea that "DREAMers are American" stated, but in the first two excerpts, this argument was accompanied by patriotic images of DREAMers saying the Pledge of Allegiance and statements demonstrating how the DREAMers are American. Recently, undocumented immigrant and journalist, José Antonio Vargas, started a "media and culture campaign" called "Define American," where people engage in conversations of how undocumented immigrants in this country are American—speaking to the merits of this argument as a strategy in support of the DREAM Act and other immigration policies. One of the examples that stood out the most to me of all of the uses of this term for DREAMers was reflected in example three above. This is when President Obama spoke on December 22nd in the White House on the legislative results of the lame-duck session. His speech was mentioned on five networks on this day and when speaking about the DREAM Act, he embodied the voice of a DREAMer by speaking in first person. This was a symbolic speech where the President of the United States himself referred to DREAMers as Americans, not similar to, not almost, but full-fledged Americans in all ways but the law. Ironically, he also mentioned the risk of deportation for DREAMers, something that President Obama's leadership has been scrutinized for because of its record rate of deportations—although he has also received praise for DACA, through which many DREAMers have avoided deportation. Still, this statement was powerful and challenged the idea that DREAMers and other immigrants are not American.

Serving in the military. Another way the DREAM Act was supported was when statements were made that DREAMers wanted to *serve the country in the military*. Serving in the military was seen a strong symbol of being American. This statement was the second most frequent appearing 41 times, and the only networks it was not mentioned on were ABC and CBS, with it most often occurring on Telemundo. Relatedly, sometimes the argument was made that

the military was in support of the DREAM Act, strengthening the military argument overall for the passage of the DREAM Act. Although DREAMers themselves stated their desire to serve in the military, going as far as appearing in military type clothing when advocating for the DREAM Act,[37] I found it compelling that this code occurred almost twice as many times as the one about wanting to *further their education (n* = 21). It seems the idea of DREAMers as members of the military was thought to be appealing to those undecided or against the DREAM Act. I placed this supportive argument in this major category of "being American" because this strengthened the argument that DREAMers were working hard to become American. Although I noted that some scholars have questioned the motive of the military requirement in the DREAM Act. For example, Diaz-Strong et al. (2009) said the following about the military requirement added to the DREAM Act of 2009, "military service is offered as a test of loyalty and a way to identify and reward 'good' immigrants who merit citizenship" (p. 74). Although I do not want to question the genuine commitment relayed by DREAMers who expressed interest in the military on the news, this statement by Diaz-Strong et al. supported what I found, that there was a greater emphasis placed on the military service requirement than the education requirement in a time when Latinos have not achieved racial equity in higher education (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). I found Díaz-Strong et al.'s arguments strengthened in a moment on MSNBC (#63) when former Congressman Tom Tancredo and Joe Madison of XM had the following exchange on Ed Schultz's show on December 3rd, less than one week before the House vote:

> **Tom Tancredo:** Now the military, let's talk about that, you know, cuz I think that's a, an intriguing aspect of this, to tell you the truth (footage changes to a war zone), and I'll tell you why. The military—although I don't know if the military is asking for this. Do they say that they can't reach their quotas? And they want more people? I'm not sure, but even if that's not part of the equation, whether the

[37] See Telemundo on September 20th, 2010 (#106) as an example. Students wore T-shirts that read DREAM ARMY and appeared marching in a military manner.

> military wants them or not, **at LEAST what you're talking about there, is, is, undertaking something that is difficult, challenge, and MAYBE can even be seen as sort of a, in a way a penalty, you have to serve in the military**, you know, that can be seen in a way, (Ed interrupts, "What about that Joe?") as **having to do something that you would not otherwise do. And I can understand that** (Joe tries to talk, "Well, I don't, I'm a little. . . .") **but a college education?** (He nods no.)
>
> **Joe Madison:** Yea, but hold, I think you insult military people who VOLUNTEER, this is not a draft (Tom closes his eyes and nods in agreement), these are folks (Ed says, "People that serve in the military, love the country."), these are people, honored, yea, (Ed, "This is not an out!"), who are honored, and they're honored to serve their country. We don't have a draft, we have our volunteers, who go there, and you're right the army, I'm sorry, the military (Joe and Tom on screen again, Joe nods in agreement) needs all the help they can get. There's yea, yea. (Joe shrugs, Tom says, "yea.")

In this exchange, an individual who has been publicly opposed to the DREAM Act, Tom Tancredo, seemed to be swayed for a moment by the military requirement, but only if it was sort of a "penalty," reaffirming what Díaz-Strong et al. described as almost a "test of loyalty." Additionally, his statements spoke to those who thought the DREAM Act was *too broad or lenient,* and he seemed to think the military requirement might actually be a way to overcome this problem with the policy. He also made the remark, "But a college education?" insinuating that this group of individuals was not worthy of a higher education, but perhaps military service was appropriate for them, as a sort of punishment. Then, in somewhat of a rebuttal, Madison responded in a similar vein to other supporters of the DREAM Act and qualified the commitment that DREAMers have as Americans wanting to serve their country. Ed Schultz also expressed his support for those who wanted to support the military. Although there were many dimensions to the use of this argument in support of the DREAM Act, it seemed the goal of its use was to promote the idea of DREAMers' commitment to the country.

Have lived here a long time. A seemingly less controversial argument that was made by those in support was that DREAMers *have lived here a long time* (n = 39) and sometimes along

with this argument, that their *home country was unknown*. I listed this argument in this general category because the point was made here that DREAMers have been in this country a long time and so they are American in a cultural and practical sense. This is the only home they know since they came to this country when they were very young. In many ways, these statements support the notion that DREAMers have assimilated. This idea appeared on seven of the eight networks from September to December, but did not appear on CBS. The following Telemundo example on December 16th (#93), two days before the vote in the Senate, demonstrated the role of religious leaders in publicly supporting the DREAM Act, and both of these arguments were employed.

Table 11

Example of "DREAMers Have Lived Here a Long Time" and "Home Country Unknown"

Statement	**Translation**
Pastor Constantino Ruiz: …están prácticamente en un limbo. Ellos no pertenecen a Guatemala o a El Salvador, o a Perú, ni a Estados Unidos. Osea, están como en un desierto. Dicen, tenemos que regresar a su país, pero si ellos, si regresan a este país de donde ellos vinieron cuando eran pequeños, no van a poder eh, desarrollar ya las habilidades que están aquí.	Pastor Constantino Ruiz:. . .they are practically in limbo. They do not belong to Guatemala, or El Salvador, or Perú, not even to the United States. That is, they are like in a desert. They say, we have to return to your country, but if they, if they return to this country from where they came when they were small, they will not be able to develop the capacities that are here.
[One minute later he says…]No podemos dejar, um, a estos muchachos, en el limbo, estamos, estamos prácticamente quitando, lo que, estos muchachos, cuando empezaron a hablar, empezaron a hablar en Ingles (José, "verdad"), empezaron a estudiar en Ingles, y ahora, si nosotros los mandamos a sus países de origen, esos muchachos van a quedarse (José, "Si"), prácticamente inutilizados. José says while off camera, "Ademas en países que nunca han conocido."	[One minute later he says. . . .]We can't leave, um, these youngsters in limbo, we are, we are practically taking away, what, these youngsters, when they started to talk, they started to talk in English (José, "True"), they started studying in English, and now, if we send them to their countries of origin, these youngsters are going to stay (José, "Yes"), practically underutilized. José says while off camera, "And in a country they have never known."

In this example, Pastor Constantino Ruiz spoke to reporter José Díaz-Balart about the need to pass the DREAM Act. First, Pastor Ruiz acknowledged that DREAMers were not just "Mexican" as those against the Act seemed to insinuate through the imagery of the border and

emphasis on its security. Second, he addressed the limbo that many DREAMers live in, this sense of not belonging here or there, but he made the statement that of these places, they belonged in the United States more because they grew up speaking English and were educated in this country. Although many of these students spoke Spanish as the children of Spanish-speaking immigrants, he invoked the idea that they mostly spoke English and because of the emphasis in this country on replacing one's native tongue with English, they will probably adopt this language as their primary one (Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean, 2006). The pastor's statements were about DREAMers being American, but they were also about human potential and how DREAMers would be better off in the United States, taking advantage of the upbringing they have experienced. Though Díaz-Balart did not speak much during the segment, on two occasions noted above, he agreed with the pastor, and at the end invoked the argument that DREAMers would be returned to a country they had never known. This is only one example of the use of these arguments, but it was also mentioned by lawmakers including the president, DREAMers, reporters, a celebrity, a lawyer, a commentator, an organization in support of immigration reform, and someone from the public who was asked to comment—so that DREAMers had lived here a long time seemed to be an idea that many referred to when showing support for the DREAM Act. This was a compelling argument, but in reality many immigrants, including the parents of DREAMers, have also lived here a long time (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014),[38] perhaps even longer than some DREAMers—yet this fact alone did not convince those against immigration policies to pass them.

[38] Passel et al. (2014) of the Pew Center shared the following: "Among the 9.6 million unauthorized adults who do not have formal protection from deportation, 16% have lived in the U.S. for less than five years, 60% for at least 10 years, and 20% for 20 years or more, according to Pew Research Center's estimates" (p. 8).

In moral defense of the DREAM Act. Although it could be argued that the statements I have discussed thus far in support of the DREAM Act were in many ways moral arguments, there were three themes that stood out to me as clearly being so: (a) DREAMers migrated "illegally" to this country through no fault of their own; therefore, they should not be punished; (b) implementation of the DREAM Act was the right thing to do; and 3) DREAMers should have a right to self-determination, liberty, and self-actualization.

Through no fault of their own. The first, *not DREAMers' fault* appeared 18 times (5% of all arguments in support) and in the literature, was known as the argument, "through no fault of their own" (Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003). This statement was usually used to support the idea that the DREAM Act should be passed because DREAMers should not be punished for the actions of their parents in migrating to this country without proper documentation. Although this statement supported the DREAM Act, it also characterized undocumented immigrant parents as lawbreakers—largely ignoring the greater political context that might have led to the parents' migrations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). This statement appeared 10 times on Spanish-language shows and 8 times English-language shows, but seldom was it stated by Univision or Telemundo reporters themselves—it was often made by lawmakers including the president, White House staffers, and English-language news reporters. One example was by Democratic Congressman Luis Gutierrez who was outspoken about his support for the DREAM Act and immigration reform. He appeared on MSNBC (#37) and made the following statement:

> We got two MILLION KIDS out there that can possibly benefit and become LEGALIZED, who are they? They've been to high school (Ed, "Yea") they go to college, they been to the armed forces. They CAME HERE AS CHILDREN—they shouldn't be held responsible for the actions of their parents.

First, Congressman Gutierrez invoked the arguments I described in the last section, and he framed DREAMers as American. Then, at the end of his statement he took the blame off DREAMers, positioned them as innocent, and placed blame on the parents. It is important here to think about the implications this could have for the millions of non-DREAMers who were also waiting for immigration reform. Most recently, DREAMers themselves turned this script and have pushed the idea that their parents also deserve a path toward legal status[39] and that they are not to blame for the decision to leave their home countries for the sake of their children.

The right thing to do. Another statement made in support of the DREAM Act was when the Act was described as being the *right thing or moral thing to do.* This appeared 11 times and only on Spanish-language news, it was mostly stated by politicians such as the president and by members of the clergy. As a clear example of this argument, I refer back to Pastor Ruiz's interview on Telemundo (#93):

> Pastor Constantino Ruiz: En este caso tenemos que hablar que es un caso moral, es un caso prácticamente de derechos humanos.
> [In this case, we have to discuss that it's a moral issue, it's practically an issue of human rights.]

In the cases where statements such as the one above appeared, those in support seemed to want to make the DREAM Act less about politics, therefore less controversial, and more about human rights of the DREAMers.

Self-Determination, liberty, and self-actualization. Finally, one of the last major themes in support of the DREAM Act went beyond DREAMers acquiring citizenship and the right to be educated, serving in the military, and legally working in this country. It was about DREAMers having the right to *self-determination, liberty, and self-actualization.* Overall, these statements

[39] See http://www.wsj.com/articles/dreamers-vow-to-fight-on-for-their-illegal-immigrant-parents-1416522958

stood out as quite personal and powerful. Of the 12 times I documented statements of this type, they appeared most often on both Univision and Telemundo and only once was it on an English-language network.[40] On nine of these occasions, these statements were made by DREAMers themselves in the form of counter-stories (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Counter-stories are a tenet of CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). DeCuir and Dixson (2004) argued, "Counter-storytelling is a means of exposing and critiquing normalized dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes. The use of counter-stories allows for the challenging of privileged discourses, the discourses of the majority, therefore, serving as a means for giving voice to marginalized groups" (p. 27). Table 12 shows three examples of counter-stories from the DREAMers on evening television news:

Table 12

Examples of Counter-stories From DREAMers

	Network	**Date**	**Excerpt**	**Translation (if applicable)**
1	Univision (#12)	09/20/10	Vanessa (DREAMer): Lo único que estoy pidiendo es una oportunidad, de ser yo (her name pops up and title "Estudiante Indocumentada"), demonstrar al mundo lo que quiero dar, y que nos den la oportunidad de realizar nuestro sueños, que es estudiar en una escuela y graduarnos.	Vanessa (DREAMer): The only thing I am asking for is an opportunity, to be me (her name pops up and title "Undocumented Student"), to show the world what I want to give, and that they give us the opportunity to realize our dreams, that is to study in a school and graduate.
2	Univision (#25)	11/03/10	Gaby Pacheco (DREAMer): Yo quiero poder realizarme como un ser humano, y eso es lo que el DREAM Act me daría, la oportunidad de hacer.	Gaby Pacheco (DREAMer): I want to be able to fulfill myself as a human being, and that is what the DREAM Act would give me, the opportunity to do.
3	CNN (#70)	12/08/10	Felipe Matos (DREAMer): It's such a, strange feeling that, right now there is, I don't know, hundreds of people going to Congress, they're about to debate whether or not I'm going to have freedom for the rest of my life.	

[40] CNN, stated by a DREAMer on 12/08/10 (#70).

These are only a few of the words spoken by DREAMers as they themselves have fought for years for the passage of this policy. The first example shows how Vanessa felt that she would finally be able to be herself through the passage of the DREAM Act. What was not shown often on English-news media were the struggles that DREAMers faced every day living in this country—her statements confirmed that, and she saw studying and graduating as a way to reach her full potential. In the second example, Gaby Pacheco, a well-known DREAMer and activist raised the idea of human rights and self-actualization and demonstrated how impactful the policy would be for her. Lastly, on the day of the vote in the House on the DREAM Act, hours before its passage, Felipe Matos appeared on CNN and showed his uneasiness before the vote. He demonstrated the power the lawmakers possessed and showed that for him it was not about things like border security, like those in opposition argued, but instead about his "freedom" for the rest of his life. In these and the other five times that DREAMers spoke about the power of the DREAM Act, they shared the impact the policy would have on them as human beings. Because these type of counter-stories only appeared once on English-language news, I thought about the power these stories might have had if they had aired days prior to the votes on the DREAM Act and more often on those six networks—would hearts and minds have been shifted, as those in support of the policy aspired to do?

"Aliens" or "Estudiantes Indocumentados"? How the News Media Constructed the Identities of Undocumented Students in the DREAM Act of 2010

Throughout this dissertation, I have described DREAMers. These young people, usually under the age of 35 (Batalova & McHugh, 2010), are the target population of the DREAM Act and because of this their identities are often at the center of media attention. Based on my understanding of how immigrants are framed and how I employed CDA, I posited whether

someone speaking on the news was for or against the DREAM Act depending on how they labeled DREAMers-in either a positive or negative way. This examination of language had to go beyond just looking at the words used. For example, a policy actor could use a positive word like "children" to refer to DREAMers yet have a negative tone and show stereotypical images of immigrants. So although what was said was a good starting point, I did not depend on only this for my analysis.

Referring back to Schneider and Ingram's (1993, 1997) power and social construction target populations (see Appendix A), I analyzed how these mostly positive and negative social constructions could have impacted the way the public thought about the policy and in turn how much support or opposition was given to the Act. According to Schneider and Sydney (2009), "The idea is that target populations have varying levels of political power, and that actors characterize them in positive or negative terms" (p. 106). Actors did characterize the DREAMers in varying ways, with these actors ranging from lawmakers, to reporters, to DREAMers themselves.

I organize this section by first describing negative social constructions that appeared in news stories, followed by positive social constructions. I found that neutral social constructions were the least used for this population. In each of the sections, I begin by sharing the frequency of social constructions that were the most salient, then I provide context by discussing how and when they appeared. Additionally, I note how the legal constructions I discussed in Chapter V appeared as social constructions of DREAMers in the news.

Negative Social Constructions

Often when DREAMers were described in the news, this occurred in the language that is used to frame Latino immigrants in nativist and racialized ways (Pérez Huber et al., 2008). Table 13 shows the negative social constructions organized from most to least occurring.

Table 13

Negative Social Constructions of DREAMers

Negative social construction category	Total		English	Spanish
	n	%	*n*	*n*
Illegal immigrants	20	36%	17	3
Illegal aliens	8	16%	8	0
Children of illegal immigrants	5	9%	5	0
Children of illegal aliens	4	7%	4	0
Criminal	4	7%	1	3
Mexican	4	7%	4	0
Young illegals	2	4%	2	0
Alien*	1	2%	0	1
Illegal alien students	1	2%	1	0
Illegal immigrant children	1	2%	1	0
Illegal students	1	2%	1	0
Illegals	1	2%	1	0
People here illegally	1	2%	1	0
Unlawful aliens	1	2%	1	0
Young illegal immigrants	1	2%	1	0
Alien minor(s)*	0	0%	0	0
Alien student(s)*	0	0%	0	0
Total negative social constructions (N)	56	100%	49 (88%)	7 (13%)
Total news stories	120		45	75
Average per news story	0.46		1.09	0.09

*Legal construction code from content analysis of DREAM Act

Negative social constructions of DREAMers appeared most often on English-language news stories (88%), and on average a negative social construction appeared 1.09 times per English-language news story and .09 times per Spanish-language news story. Taking into account the most prevalent descriptions above, in this section I elaborate on the following ways that DREAMers were discussed: (a) as "illegal immigrants," (b) as "illegal aliens," and (c) as other negatively perceived social constructions such as "criminals" and "Mexican."

DREAMers as illegal immigrants. DREAMers were described as "illegal immigrants" on seven of the eight networks. This term was used the most times (n = 12) to describe this group between the dates of December 8th and December 20th, during and right after the votes on the DREAM Act of 2010 in the House and the Senate—so during key dates for the proposed legislation. The few times it was used in the Spanish-language news (#11, #73, #74), it was said by opponents or protesters of the DREAM Act and not by reporters. In contrast, on the English-language news, this term was said mostly by the reporters themselves to describe the population of people the DREAM Act would impact. This description of DREAMers was not only used by reporters who sided against the DREAM Act. For example, Ed Schultz on MSNBC, who often used positive terms to talk about DREAMers, showed support for the DREAM Act and used the term three times (#63, #80). This demonstrates how normalized this negative term has become. Below is one example from September (#8) of the use of this term on FOX news, where it was used six times from September to December 2010:

> Reporter Jim Angle: Illegal immigrants could also stay here by volunteering for military service (big text that says "MILITARY SERVICE" appears on the screen over the scene of the busy city), and after 2 years of service (On the screen, the words "SERVICE or COLLEGE earns GREEN CARD") OR attending college, illegal immigrants could get a green card, the LAST step before citizenship.

I share the above example because Angle employed repetition of the term in one short segment. Also, by saying "illegal immigrants could also stay here," he gave the impression that DREAMers would not become part of this society, but only have a physical presence in this country. This is much different from the discourse of "DREAMers are American" I discussed in the previous section. In this segment, he also gave the impression that DREAMers would have a fast route toward citizenship after earning a "green card." Here, he did not use the legal term of "legal permanent resident." He also diminished the stringent requirements I discussed in Chapter

V and painted the DREAM Act as something that was too lenient. The use of "illegal immigrant" here also seemed to challenge the idea that DREAMers were young students who arrived here as child immigrants—instead it made them appear as adults and so perhaps deserving of the negative treatment that many other immigrants receive in this country.

In another example, Mary Snow on CNN (#79) used the term when showing a fairly positive segment with DREAMers:

> The legislation (camera on Lucia's face as she talks on the phone) would give a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants like her, (old photo of Lucia shown when she was a little girl, looks like in another country) who were brought to the US as children by their parents . . . (Lucia is seen talking to a group of students and she says to them, "It means I'm undocumented and . . ." and then her voice fades out.)

In this segment, Snow used the term in the way I observed most reporters using it on English-language news. But what stood out here was that the DREAMer, Lucia, was characterized positively several times in this short segment alone—and even more times throughout the longer segment that included the story about another DREAMer as well. Here, Lucia's photo was shown as a little girl, giving credence to the story that her parents brought her as a small child and so she may have had no choice in the matter. Then, in a sort of contradictory way, Lucia was shown talking to other students and explaining to them that she was, "undocumented" right after Snow referred to her as an "illegal immigrant." It was not clear whether Snow or CNN thought of these terms as interchangeable, such as Ed Schultz on MSNBC had demonstrated, but Lucia's use of a much more positive term stood out and made me question why Snow would say "illegal immigrant" when the subject of her story clearly did not subscribe to this label.

Another related term to this one that I noted was "children of illegal immigrants," which appeared five times (9% of all negative social constructions) on English-language media, mostly around the key dates I mentioned above in December, and although it seemed to be a more

positive terms since it referred to DREAMers as children, it still reaffirmed that there was a segment of this country that held this "illegal" presence. This terminology distinguished these children as different from other children in this country who perhaps were born here—challenging Schneider and Ingram's (1993) notion that children in general are seen as positive target populations. Perhaps children of color, and in this case more specifically, children of immigrants, are not a positive target population, negatively impacting the support the policy could garner. In one example of this term, NBC reporter Samantha Guthrie (#113) used the term to summarize President Obama's statements after the failure of the DREAM Act when she said, "Speaking at length about the failure of the immigration initiative, the DREAM Act, the president sympathized with children of illegal immigrants who have no path to citizenship." In reality, the president said the following about the parents of DREAMers, "Their parents were undocumented. The kids didn't know."[41] Although Guthrie was not directly quoting the president, her use of "illegal immigrants" stood out because CNN (#111) and Telemundo (#114) both showed the footage of the president where he used the word "undocumented" to refer to the parents of DREAMers—here, she made the decision to use the more negative term to recap the president's support for the DREAM Act and DREAMers. In three of the examples I have shared so far there were clear alternative terms that reporters were presented with, yet, "illegal immigrant" was still used. The question arose as to how and why reporters made the decision to socially construct marginalized populations in the ways I described above.

The term "illegal immigrant" has in recent times been challenged by immigrant rights activists as being an inhumane way to describe immigrants and there is even a movement to get

[41] See https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/12/22/news-conference-president for transcript.

major media outlets to begin using more positive terms such as "undocumented immigrant."[42] This movement has thus far been successful in some arenas, including the Associated Press, but has not gotten the full support from other major newspapers such as *The New York Times*.[43] At present, some television networks have banned the use of the term "illegal immigrant," something that had not yet occurred at the time period I focused on here.[44] For example, among the networks in my sample, ABC, NBC, and Univision have banned it unless it is used in a direct quote, whereas CBS encourages reporters to use alternatives but still allow it to be used. Although I have thus far only discussed the term "illegal immigrant," other terms with the word "illegal" were used 26 more times, meaning that descriptors with the word "illegal" appeared almost 50 times on 120 national evening news stories during the span of 4 months.

DREAMers as illegal aliens. Although the term "illegal alien" was similar in some ways to "illegal immigrant," I disaggregated it into its own section because it stood out from other terms used to describe immigrants as legal scholar Kevin Johnson described in the quote below:

> The most damning terminology for noncitizens is "illegal alien." Illegal aliens unquestionably are the most unpopular group of aliens. Although alien is found repeatedly in the Immigration and Nationality Act, illegal alien is not defined in this law. Illegal aliens is a pejorative term that implies criminality, thereby suggesting that the persons who fall in this category deserve punishment, not legal protection. Nevertheless, it is common, if not standard, terminology in the modern debate in the Southwest if not the entire nation, about undocumented immigration. (Johnson, 1996, p. 276)

When I read the quote above by Johnson, I was astounded at how relevant the terminology of "illegal alien" is almost 20 years later after this article was published. Although other forms of racial discourse have been rearticulated in new ways (Bonilla-Silva, 2014)—anti-immigrant

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[42] See http://colorlines.com/droptheiword/. Other alternatives they offered were "unauthorized immigrant" and "NAFTA refugee."

[43] See http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/24/business/media/the-times-shifts-on-illegal-immigrant-but-doesnt-ban-the-use.html?pagewanted=all

[44] See http://fusion.net/story/28845/the-illegal-index/?hootPostID=3134025180ce046ddcf6e6344434d6c0

language seems to remain the same even when directed toward a particular group of immigrants like the DREAMers. In another discussion of the term, Johnson (1996) argued that this term was used in color-blind ways to treat racial minorities badly without appearing to be racist. In the previous chapter, I described the use of the term "alien" in the DREAM Act as an othering term, and in the quote above Johnson took it a step further by showing that some anti-immigrant terms used in public discourses, such as "illegal alien," are not legal terms at all. Taking into consideration his statement above that some believe "persons who fall in this category deserve punishment, not legal protection," it makes sense that those appearing on the news who referred to DREAMers as "illegal aliens," "children of illegal aliens," or "illegal alien students" believed that the immigrants known as DREAMers did not deserve the passage of the DREAM Act.

Although this term was the second most used to describe DREAMers, its use was limited to only a handful of days and on two of the eight networks: FOX and CNN—where FOX was the only network that used the term "children of illegal aliens" (#42). Six of the nine times, the term "illegal alien" was used on CNN and this occurred on December 9th (#75), the day after the successful vote on the DREAM Act in the House, when reporter Jack Cafferty asked the public to answer his poll, "Should illegal aliens who came here as children, be given a path to citizenship?" Because the term used here was a negative one and he combined it with a statement that seemed like DREAMers would be given citizenship as opposed to earning it, he took a stance on the issue under the guise of asking for public opinions. His use of this term appeared on two segments, first the introduction of the survey where he repeated the term five times as he explained the proposed policy and then the results toward the end of the show where he repeated the question. As he first explained the DREAM Act, on the screen the phrase "illegal immigrants younger than 16 when they arrived" appeared, but Cafferty read it as "illegal aliens . . .,"

showing that he either preferred “illegal aliens” as a term for this group or that he used both interchangeably. Given Johnson’s argument above, these terms are not equal, much like “undocumented immigrant” and “illegal immigrant” are not equal, yet marginalizing words such as “illegal alien” continues to be prevalent in the media even when more humane alternatives are available. I examine this segment more closely in the next chapter where I analyze the role of reporters as policy actors.

With the exception of the CNN example I just provided, FOX News used terms such as “illegal alien” almost exclusively when compared to other networks. For example, “illegal aliens,” “children of illegal aliens,” and “illegal alien students” were used almost solely by reporters on this network, and reporters Jim Angle and Bret Baier used them more than once. One of the most vivid uses of the word “illegal alien” appeared in September (#8), during the time the DREAM Act was presented as an amendment in the defense spending bill. In this segment, reporter Jim Angle began to talk about the DREAM Act and he said, “an emotional and pointed debate is raging in the senate, where Democrat Harry Reid has inserted into a key defense bill a measure to make it easier for illegal aliens to gain citizenship.” Although this was a key example of how DREAMers were socially constructed on FOX News, Angle also presented the argument against the DREAM Act that it is too broad or lenient—what stood out the most in this segment was when footage was played as soon as Angle said, “measure to make it easier. . .” that showed a Hispanic-looking male being walked in handcuffs by another man (race unclear) wearing a blue jacket with the words POLICE ICE across the back. ICE stands for Immigration and Customs Enforcement, also known colloquially as the border patrol. The combination of this image with Angle’s statement above pushes the idea that immigrants are largely Hispanic, or even more specifically only Mexican, that they are criminals, and that the DREAM Act would

halt enforcement on the border. The imagery used here by FOX News represents how some visualize the term "illegal alien" as well as the intentionality that must come with selecting images while those on FOX News planned to discuss policies such as this one.

A little more than a minute after Jim Angle spoke, Republican Senator David Vitter was shown speaking on the Senate floor and he said, "it will provide a powerful incentive, for more illegal immigration, by allowing states to grant in-state tuition to illegal alien students." Here he coined a new combination of the term "illegal alien" by adding the word "student," but his statement paralleled the one reporter Jim Angle had just shared, adding that these "illegal aliens" would also be entitled to benefits. These two examples show how negatively the DREAM Act was framed when the arguments against it were coupled with negative social constructions about DREAMers.

Other negative social constructions. The list in Table 13 reflects that there were many other ways that DREAMers were described beyond the two main ways I have already discussed. In terms of other negative social constructions I observed, three out of the four times that DREAMers were framed as criminals or law breakers, it was on the two Spanish-language news networks, but it was stated by an anti-DREAM Act protestor once (#11), and on both networks it appeared on the cover of Jeff Sessions's white paper in which he argued against the DREAM Act (#61, #62). Although the networks here were not socially constructing the DREAMers directly, I noted it because it demonstrated how DREAMers were socially constructed by those against the DREAM Act.

I also noted "Mexican" as a negative social construction because of how images of individuals along the Mexico-US border were used in racialized and nativist ways (Pérez Huber et al., 2008)—the FOX example above showing a Mexican-looking immigrant in handcuffs is a

clear example of this. In the four cases of this term, two from viewers commenting on CNN (#75) and the others from Glenn Beck being quoted on MSNBC (#80), being an immigrant was equated with being Mexican and "illegal." There were other negative social constructions that appeared only once or twice, so I did not go into greater explanation of these—but as I point out in Table 13, some were spin-offs of the two main negative social constructions I discussed thus far. In the following section, I focus on positive social constructions that in some ways challenged the negative ones I have discussed here.

Positive Social Constructions

In the previous section, I demonstrated how DREAMers were largely socially constructed as either "illegal immigrants" or "illegal aliens" on evening television news depending upon which language and network the term was used on, when (if relevant), and by whom. For the most part, these labels occurred on English-language media, and so in this section, I explore not only what descriptions and framing were used to socially construct DREAMers in positive ways, but I also contextualize some of the major social constructions. Many of these terms were actually shared by DREAMers themselves, so I point out when this occurred. In Table 14, I share the positive social constructions and I specify the numbers for Telemundo and Univision since the distribution differed among these two networks:

Table 14

Positive Social Constructions of DREAMers

Top positive social construction codes	Total		English	Spanish	Telemundo	Univision
	n	%	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*
Jóvenes (young people)	86	16%	0	86	66	20
Estudiantes (students)*	77	11%	0	77	50	27
Estudiantes indocumentados (undocumented students)	54	7%	0	54	21	33
Jóvenes indocumentados (undocumented young people)	33	6%	0	33	22	11
Young leader (positioned as)	27	4%	4	23	14	9

Top positive social construction codes	Total		English	Spanish	Telemundo	Univision
	n	%	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*
Extraordinary young people (positioned as)	21	4%	3	18	14	4
American	20	4%	9	11	5	5
Activista (activist)	19	3%	0	19	15	4
Children/boys/girls*	16	3%	13	3	2	1
Indocumentados (undocumented)	15	3%	0	15	5	10
Kids	15	3%	12	3	3	0
Young people/men/women	15	3%	8	7	4	3
Estudiante universitario (college student)	14	2%	0	14	7	7
Military hopeful (positioned as)	11	2%	1	10	7	3
College students	9	1%	3	6	2	4
Students	7	1%	2	5	4	1
Graduada universitaria (college graduate)	5	1%	0	5	4	1
Niñas/niños (girls/boys)	4	1%	0	4	1	3
Undocumented	4	1%	3	1	1	0
Undocumented students	4	1%	0	4	4	0
Graduados de secundaria (HS graduates)	3	1%	2	1	0	1
Jovenes inmigrantes (young immigrants)	3	0%	0	3	2	1
Worker	2	0%	1	1	0	1
Young undocumented immigrants	2	0%	2	0	0	0
DREAMer	1	0%	0	1	0	1
Future professional	1	0%	0	1	0	1
Honor student	1	0%	1	0	0	0
Jovenes hispanos (young Hispanics)	1	0%	0	1	1	0
Jovenes universitarios (young college students)	1	0%	0	1	1	0
Undocumented children	1	0%	1	0	0	0
Young immigrants	1	100%	1	0	0	0
Total positive social constructions (N)	473	100%	66 (14%)	407 (86%)	255	151
Total news stories	120		45	75	38	37
Average per news story	3.94		1.47	5.43	6.71	4.08

Note: Social constructions appear in original language.

In terms of comparison, I observed 17 negative social constructions that in total were used 55 times. But for positive social constructions, I identified 31 terms used for DREAMers that appeared 473 times in total. On average, a positive social construction of DREAMers could be seen 1.47 times per English-language news story and 5.43 times per Spanish-language news story. This number greatly outnumbered the negative social constructions, and I attribute this large number to Univision and Telemundo coverage of the DREAM Act that accounted for 75 of the 120 news stories I looked at. Past Spanish-language media studies (Abrajano & Singh, 2008)

have noted how these networks tend to be more sympathetic toward the issue of immigration because this is an issue that is important to their viewers. Additionally, the amount of airtime devoted to each story tended to be much longer on Telemundo and Univision (Appendix D); this meant that there were more opportunities for these terms to appear. However, despite the stark differences between negative and positive social constructions, it still stood that the negative social constructions appeared mostly on English-language media and the positive on Spanish. As can be seen in Table 14, the top four positive categories only appeared in Spanish. I kept most terms in their original language when analyzing to demonstrate how exactly the term was used because some terms did not translate directly—for example, "jóvenes" could have meant young people, youth, or young adults. In almost all of the positive social constructions, Telemundo outnumbered Univision—the number of stories on the DREAM Act was about the same for each of the networks, but the difference could have occurred because of the longer duration of Telemundo stories on the DREAM Act. Univision stood out in their use of "estudiantes indocumentados" and "indocumentados" to refer to DREAMers. In 27 of the 31 instances, if a positive term or description of DREAMers appeared in the English news, it also appeared in the Spanish news.

Because of the expansive nature of this particular category, I grouped 15 of the most frequent terms[45] from Table 14 into smaller related groups in Table 15 and then expanded on some of them with examples. I did not include the term "indocumentados" [undocumented] because it did not clearly fit into one of the three categories. What did stand out to me about this term was that it was the only top positive terms that referred to DREAMers as immigrants,

[45] Those categories that appeared more than five times.

perhaps as adults and not young immigrants. In all, the positive social constructions aimed to describe DREAMers as young, hopeful students.

Table 15

Top 15 Positive Social Constructions of DREAMers Organized Into Three Major Categories

DREAMers as youth (all ages)	**DREAMers as students (all levels)**	**DREAMers positioned as….**
1. Jóvenes [young people] 2. Jóvenes indocumentados [undocumented young people] 3. Children/boys/girls 4. Kids 5. Young people/men/women	1. Estudiantes [students]* 2. Estudiantes indocumentados [undocumented students] 3. Estudiante universitario [college student] 4. College students 5. Students	1. Young leader 2. Extraordinary young people 3. American 4. Activista [activist] 5. Military hopeful

When thinking back to the arguments made in support of the DREAM Act, the first category above, *DREAMers as youth,* matched up with the argument that they had "lived here a long time." This social construction and framing reaffirmed the idea that the DREAM Act was about young people and perhaps not older immigrants who are often perceived as the Other who made the decision to migrate to this country "illegally." One thing to note about the term, *children/boys/girls*, under this category is that although verbally it appeared positive, in a couple of instances it was matched with negative social constructions or said while a negative image was shown—I expand on this nuance below. The second category of *DREAMers as students* matched up with the arguments made that DREAMers want to contribute to the country and further their education. It also helped strengthen the argument that the DREAM Act was about education first. This type of social construction only appeared five times in the English-language news, whereas on Spanish-language news it appeared 153 times. I created the third category for those moments when DREAMers were positioned in positive ways, such as young leaders and extraordinary young people—in many ways as exceptional. These types of social constructions

were mentioned by reporters, guests in support of the DREAM Act, but also by DREAMers themselves in the form of counter-stories. This category seemed to stand in direct opposition to the major negative social construction categories that painted DREAMers as "illegal immigrants," "illegal aliens," and in many ways as law-breakers. In the remainder of this section, I expand on each of these three categories.

DREAMers as youth. As I indicate in Table 15, this category of positive social constructions encompassed all ages of young people, from references of children or kids to references of young adults. The social construction "jóvenes" was the most used, and other similar meaning terms appeared more often than any other term on English-language news. The highest use of jóvenes was on Telemundo (n = 66) and because most of the coverage on Telemundo and Univision occurred in December, most uses of "jóvenes" appeared during this time. Oftentimes reporters on these two networks did not point out that these young people were immigrants, they used the term meaning "young people" on its own. For example, reporter Lori Montenegro on Telemundo (#11) once said the following, "Para miles de jóvenes, esta semana puede resultar ser el comienzo de sus sueños hacerse realidad." [For thousands of young people, this week could result being the beginning of their dreams becoming reality.] Here, Montenegro did not refer to them as young immigrants, but as solely "jóvenes" or young people—this gave the impression that DREAMers were like any other youth and perhaps deserving of this policy. In this statement, Montenegro also used a play on words regarding the word "dream" to make reference to what the DREAM Act meant to these young people.

Although equivalent words like "children" and "kids" were used by English-language media, and in similar ways by those lawmakers in support of the Act such as President Obama, Senator Harry Reid, and Congressman Luis Gutierrez—when presented by reporters,

commentators, or those lawmakers against the Act, it was often followed by an explanation of this young population's "illegal" presence in this country. Some of these examples I already shared in the negative social constructions of "children of illegal aliens" and "children of illegal immigrants." Other examples were not as obvious. For example, on December 10th, 2 days after the DREAM Act of 2010 passed in the House and only about a week before its ultimate failure in the Senate, a female reporter on CNN (#79) said the following about the policy: "it would help YOUNG people who were brought to the US ILLEGALLY as children, become citizens and get an education." Although two of the positive social constructions of DREAMers appeared here, the reporter emphasized the word "illegally" to highlight the status of DREAMers. There was also an abstract use of DREAMers' status in this country mentioned on MSNBC by guest Laura Flanders (#20) when she said the following in October: " . . . DREAM Act that would give kids like that and those in that class a chance. . . ." This was a very short segment and not a lot of context was given other than this being a comment on Harry Reid's stance on immigration reform. Although Flanders used the social construction of "kids," she alluded to their status by saying, "Kids like that" and "in that class" in abstract and color-blind ways (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Johnson, 1996). This furthered the notion of DREAMers and immigrants as the Other and showed how discourse can be racialized even when abstract words are used.

DREAMers as children not always positive. Another time on English-language news, the positive social construction "children" was used to mock the strategies of those in support of the DREAM Act. The following statement by FOX News contributor, Jonah Goldberg in December (#58) addressed the problem that those against the DREAM Act had against seeing DREAMers as young people:

> Yea, well, you know, the DREAM act is, you know, why is it age 16 is the cutoff? That supposedly the age, um, you know, that if you were born in another, born in

> another country, and you came here before the age of 16, and uh, basically what a lot of people on the right will argue is that, this is basically the camel's nose, towards the larger amnesty argument. And uh, they bring out all of these wonderful and VERY impressive poster children, you know for the accomplishments (shakes his head while he says this jokingly or in disbelief) of illegal immigrants in America.

This example shows the way that someone against the DREAM Act used the positive sounding "children" along with exaggeration to further socially construct DREAMers in negative ways. Here, Goldberg first tried to argue that 16 was too old to be considered a young person but then in a sign of rhetorical incoherence (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), he stumbled to connect his stance on the age requirement to the issue of amnesty. Finally, he cynically recapped one of the ways that DREAMers were portrayed both in Spanish-language media and by its supporters as "poster children" and closed by showing disbelief that "illegal immigrants" in America could have "accomplishments" such as those of the DREAMers. This segment demonstrated that those against the DREAM Act and FOX News were aware of other ways to represent DREAMers in more positive ways, but in this case, it was seen as a ridiculous way to describe this group of people. On two other occasions also on FOX (#17, #105), DREAMers were once again described as "children" but as this word was read, simultaneously an image of the border fence, presumably the border between Mexico and the United States, was shown. I labeled these types of occurrences as having "dissonance" between what was said and what was shown. In other news media studies, often the main source of data was a transcript of the news—these two examples show how important it is to engage in the story in multimodal ways just as the public would, by watching and listening.

In this section, I discussed the negative use of a positive social construction, but I believe this was important because these were instances that were more difficult to pinpoint. The examples of positive social constructions of "DREAMers as youth" on Telemundo were

numerous, and the first example I shared here showed how this group was often talked about on these networks.

DREAMers as estudiantes [students]. As I mentioned before, the social construction of DREAMers as students was largely missing from the discourse in English-language media, although it was used by those in support of the Act and by reporters to describe two DREAMers as honors students when they appeared on networks such as CNN (#70) and NBC (#72) the day of the House vote on the DREAM Act. In contrast, on Spanish-language news, the terms "estudiantes" [students] and "estudiantes indocumentados" [undocumented students] were often used to describe DREAMers. It seemed that Telemundo had a preference to use the first term and Univision, the second, although they both used these terms numerous times. The word "estudiante" was used in a similar way as I previously described "jóvenes" being used. It also appeared on screen next to the names of DREAMers when they were interviewed even when the word was not verbally stated. Additionally, the images accompanying this term tended to be the United States flag and young people dressed in graduation clothing. The three examples in Table 16, from a range of dates, demonstrate how the word "estudiante" was used with these images:.

Table 16

Examples of the Positive Social Construction "Estudiantes"

Network	Date	Spanish	English	Text or images on screen
Telemundo (#6)	9/16/10	Reporter Lori Montenegro: La propuesta ayudaría a millones de **estudiantes** a legalizar su estatus migratorio, si entre otra cosas completan estudios universitarios o se enlistan en el servicio militar.	Reporter Lori Montenegro: The proposal would help millions of **students** to legalize their migratory status if, among other things, they complete their university studies or enlist in the military service.	While she says this, there is footage of DREAMers wearing graduation regalia and yelling in a rally.
Telemundo (#29)	11/10/10	Reporter Lori Montenegro: DREAM Act que ayudaría a miles de **estudiantes** a legalizar so estado migratorio.	Reporter Lori Montenegro: DREAM Act that would help thousands of **students** legalize their immigration status.	Footage of DREAMers marching in a line, wearing graduation regalia, some wearing cowboy hats and chanting, "What do we want?"

Network	Date	Spanish	English	Text or images on screen
Univision (#53)	11/29/10	Anchor Jorge Ramos: Hoy se renovo la campaña para pedirle al congreso que apruebe el DREAM Act. **Estudiantes y activistas** se manifestaron a su favor en diversas ciudades de Estados Unidos.	Anchor Jorge Ramos: Today the campaign was renewed to ask congress to approve the DREAM Act. **Students and activists** demonstrated in its favor in many cities of the United States.	Jorge Ramos appears on screen, to his left is the image of a Capitol building, an American flag with three books, and an apple on top. Below that are the words in quotes, "DREAM ACT."

The top two examples show how video footage of DREAMers in graduation clothing was played while Telemundo reporter Lori Montenegro described the DREAM Act—this stands in stark contrast to the footage of the border played on FOX while the word "children" was said and shows how this group was socially constructed in a much more positive way on Spanish-language news. The information Montenegro provided about the policy, although brief, was fairly accurate, however, she does underestimate the number of students impacted by the policy, which was usually mentioned to be between thousands and two million on the various networks. The third example shows how DREAMers were socially constructed in multiple ways within one short segment. Here, Jorge Ramos called DREAMers both students and activists. These terms coupled with the symbolic images of an American flag, books, and an apple framed the DREAM Act as both an issue of immigration reform and education. Throughout the coverage of the DREAM Act that I observed on both of these networks, these images of the American flag and students in graduation garb were present numerous times, images that have come to represent who the DREAMers are, high school or college graduates without an opportunity to truly become American.

The positive social construction of "estudiantes indocumentados" appeared less than "estudiantes," and I point to it because of the use of the Spanish word for "undocumented" that was usually used to socially construct immigrants in a positive way and as an alternative to the racially charged word "illegal." The widespread use of this term by Telemundo and Univision

demonstrated intentionality around the language they used to talk about DREAMers. Oftentimes, this term was used as a way to contextualize the legal and life situation of DREAMers. For example, in a news segment Univision reporter Jaime García (#48) said the following:

> Anualmente, 60 mil **estudiantes indocumentados** se gradúan de las secundarias de los Estados Unidos, por lo que de aprobar el acta sueño potencialmente, hasta 2 millones de jóvenes, pudieran obtener su residencia legal siempre y cuando concluyeran 2 años de colegio, o se haigan inscrito en el servicio militar. [Annually, 60 thousand **undocumented students** graduate from high school in the United States and by approving this DREAM Act potentially up to 2 million young people could obtain their legal residence provided they complete 2 years of college or they register for military service.]

In this example, García gave factual information about who the proposed policy would impact and shared how many undocumented students graduate each year. He did not mention citizenship but instead the legal residency that this group would gain from fulfilling the higher education or military requirement. On English-language news, as I shared before, usually it was stated that DREAMers would acquire citizenship after completing one of these two requirements—leading one to believe that citizenship was given. On Spanish-language news, citizenship for DREAMers was only mentioned four times, and usually either the word "legalización" [legalization] or "legalizar su estatus migratorio" [legalize his/her migratory status] as Montenegro stated in the earlier example, or "residencia legal" [legal residency] as García stated above was said instead. This challenged the "amnesty" idea and the idea that the DREAM Act was too lenient or broad, instead showing that these undocumented students had to fulfill requirements that lead to legal residency before anything else.

Dreamers positioned in positive ways. I created this last set of positive social constructions category mainly when I observed that DREAMers were being positioned in particular ways through the words and stories being used to describe them because of the questions they were asked during interviews and because of how they responded to these

questions. When DREAMers were positioned as extraordinary young people for example, this usually happened on Telemundo, but this also happened on Univision a few times and on CNN (#70), MSNBC (#80), and NBC (#72) one time each. This particular social construction also appeared with some of the others I listed above in this group such as "young leader," "American," "activist," and "military hopeful." So I give a few examples in Table 17 of how this occurred on Telemundo, where the reporters and the DREAMers engaged in discussions that reiterated many of these positive social constructions.

Table 17

Examples of DREAMers Positioned in Exceptional Ways

Date	**Spanish**	**Translation**	**Positioned as**
11/29/10 (#52)	Reporter José Díaz-Balart: Bueno, Cesar por ejemplo, tu quieres servir en la fuerzas armadas cuando te gradúes el año que viene. Por que es TAN importante para ti ser militar de Estados Unidos? DREAMer Cesar Vargas: Porque este es el único país que conozco, (Title appears: Cesar Vargas/Estudiante de Leyes/NYU) es el único país que yo llamo mi casa. Nací, y quiero servir este país como un abogado. Hablo cuatro lenguajes y eso es mi sueño, de dar al país que me ha dado mucho.	Reporter José Díaz-Balart: Well, Cesar for example, you want to serve in the military forces when you graduate this coming year. Why is it SO important for you to be a military member of the United States? Cesar: Because this is the only country that I know (Title appears: Cesar Vargas/Law Student/NYU). It is the only country I call home. I was born and want to serve this country as an attorney. I speak four languages and that is my dream-give to the country that has given me so much.	American Extraordinary Military
12/03/10 (#64)	Reporter Lori Montenegro: . . . en San Antonio, Texas, Lizardo Buleje esta luchando por su sueño. DREAMer Lizardo Buleje: Quisiera haberme graduado con mi doctorado (name appears, LIZARDO BULEJE: FAVORECE EL DREAM ACT) en diez años aqui, un doctorado en ingienería electronica. Eh, a la misma vez eh quisiera este, empezar a estudiar leyes. . .	Reporter Lori Montenegro: . . . in San Antonio, Texas, Lizardo Buleje is fighting for his dream. Lizardo: I would have liked to graduate with my doctorate (name appears, LIZARDO BULEJE: FAVORS THE DREAM ACT) in ten years year, a doctorate in electrical engineering. Eh, and at the same time, I would like to start studying law. . . .	Extraordinary College Student

Date	Spanish	Translation	Positioned as
12/17/10 (#98)	Reporter Lori Montenegro: Juan Rodriguez ha pasado el dia tratando de comunicarse con senadores. El DREAM act se ha convertido en su mision. El se dio a conocer cuando deshizo las suelas de sus (his foot is shown with duct tape and then group marching outside) zapatos, caminando de Miami a Washington con su mensaje (he talks on a microphone outside) de esperanza. Juan is interviewed in a room with bookcases behind him. He says, "Fui criado en, aqui en los Estados Unidos (JUAN RODRIGUEZ/ESTUDIA EN MIAMI DADE COLLEGE), y yo no sabia nada sobre mi estatus migratorio, hasta que me hiba graduar del bachillerato, y era entre, eh, los mejores estudiantes de, de mi colegio.	Reporter Lori Montenegro: Juan Rodriguez has spent the day trying to get in touch with senators. The DREAM Act has turned into his mission. He became known when he wore his soles (his foot is shown with duct tape and then group marching outside) of his shoes out, walking from Miami to Washington with his message (he talks on microphone outside) of hope. Juan is interviewed in a room with bookcases behind him. He says, I was raised here, in the United States (name appears, JUAN RODRIGUEZ/STUDIES IN MIAMI DADE COLLEGE), and I didn't know anything about my migratory status until I was going to graduate from high school, and I was one of the best students of my college.	Young Leader Extraordinary Activist American

In all three examples above, the DREAMers had an opportunity to share their own counter-story (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). In the statements by the DREAMers above, and in many other examples I found on Telemundo and on Univision that were too long too include here, I found that DREAMers spoke for themselves and took pride in sharing their accomplishments. Although the Telemundo reporters above commented on the DREAMers' success, they gave DREAMers control over their own story, "giving voice" to this marginalized group. I labeled the three young men (DREAMers) from the stories in Table 17 as being positioned as extraordinary because two of them, Cesar and Lizardo, shared their dreams of acquiring multiple college degrees, and Juan was described as having sacrificed by marching from Miami to Washington, a vivid image is presented of his shoes being worn down to the soles. These moments were not just for DREAMers to share their accolades, but for them to break down stereotypes and show the viewing audience what the potential was for this group of people living in the United States. As Critical Race Theorists DeCuir and Dixson (2004) posited, this was an opportunity to challenge

the privileged and dominant narratives that said otherwise and that perpetuated the idea that DREAMers were "illegal immigrants," "illegal aliens," and criminals not worthy of the DREAM Act. Perhaps the only thing that would have made these moments even more powerful, was if they appeared on English-language news as often as they appeared on Spanish-language news. Might they have swayed those who were undecided or opposed to the DREAM Act? These particular stories occurred during the week leading up to the vote on the DREAM Act in the House and one day before the failure of the DREAM Act in the Senate—so these were decisive dates.

Neutral social constructions. I have not discussed neutral social constructions used for DREAMers, and this is because they were almost nonexistent (see Appendix F). This points to the way the DREAM Act came to be known as a controversial and divisive policy—it seemed that most of those I observed on the news were either for or against the policy and socially constructed DREAMers in either positive or negative ways.

Discussion: A Public Education of the DREAM Act Through Evening Television News

In this chapter, I presented my findings, which first centered on themes related to how the DREAM Act was framed. Common framing included the DREAM Act as "amnesty" or as an issue that someone should be for or against. Although in some ways, the DREAM Act was framed as a combination of education and immigration policy, to opponents it was all about immigration and citizenship for a population undeserving of this. Along with opposition to amnesty, other common themes in the evening news against the DREAM Act were that (a) securing the border should be part of the DREAM Act, (b) this was not the time to debate an issue such as the DREAM Act, and (c) myths about the DREAM Act were shared by opponents to make the policy appear unjustified. Although these three frames were present in both the

Spanish-language news and English-language news, they were more prevalent in English-language news where overall there was less coverage of the DREAM Act. In turn, arguments in support of the DREAM Act were more likely to occur on Spanish-language networks Telemundo and Univision. There were over 20 types of statements invoked to support the DREAM Act on networks, but the most common occurred when (a) the contributions of DREAMers were discussed as a positive, (b) DREAMers were said to be Americans and in essence part of this country, and (c) moral arguments were used to support the passage of the policy such as "this is the right thing to do." This last point was one of the times where DREAMers shared their own counter-stories of what the DREAM Act would allow them to do not only as students and professionals, but as human beings.

I also examined how DREAMers were socially constructed—as either "illegal," "young," or "students." Where DREAMers were socially constructed in negative ways such as "illegal immigrant" and "illegal alien," English-language network reporters were sometimes presented with more humane alternatives to the use of these terms, yet they continued using the terminology that served to *other* groups of immigrants in this country. This type of representation of DREAMers occurred not only on networks that held a reputation for being against immigrants such as FOX News, but I found instances of this othering language on multiple English-language networks, even those that were viewed as more liberal and sympathetic to immigrants such as CNN and MSNBC. In my theoretical framework, I presented van Dijk's (2004) themes about minority immigrants (see Table 3) where he posited that immigrants may be seen as criminals and deviants, essentially as the Other. On English-language news coverage, I found that DREAMers were portrayed in this way as well not only through the words spoken by reporters and those against the policy but also through the images shown by the

networks. Additionally, these terms were also equated with being "Mexican" demonstrating that sentiments about immigration in this country continue to be an anti-Mexican phenomena, although anti-Central American at times,[46] and not anti-immigrant about all countries of origin in general (Haney López, 2015; Olivas, 2013). For instance, the DREAM Act was discussed while vivid images of the U.S.-Mexico border, a presumably Mexican man being arrested by border patrol, and a Latino man washing dishes were being shown. The implications of such negative representations about DREAMers and other immigrants in the news are many, but I think about what this meant for the viewers of these news sources. If someone only viewed English-language networks for example, their views of this population might have been shaped in negative ways, leading them to believe that the policy should not be passed.

Although there were many negative representations of DREAMers, numerous positive representations occurred, greatly outnumbering the negative ones. I found that most of the positive social constructions occurred on Spanish-language news. The most common positive representations described DREAMers as (a) youth, (b) students, and (c) as exceptional. Similar to the arguments in support of the DREAM Act where DREAMers told their counter-stories, there were many instances of counter-stories where DREAMers portrayed themselves in positive ways. Although some things have changed in television news since the dates I analyzed in 2010—for example, Noticiero Telemundo anchor José Díaz-Balart now has a show on MSNBC where he frequently invites DREAMers to speak, the fact remains that on these key dates in 2010, there were important voices largely missing on English-language news: DREAMers and other supporters of the policy. Through the years, this group of young adults has advocated for themselves to national audiences, and they were not given the space on this major segment of

[46] See http://www.ibtimes.com/central-american-migrant-crisis-us-could-see-another-border-surge-year-1828376 for an example of recent Central American migration being labeled as a "surge."

television news to share their counter-stories. This meant that although the negative social constructions and arguments against the DREAM Act that appeared on the English-language news numbered less in the aggregate, because this represented the dominant discourse, it still held power and remained unchallenged due to the missing voices in these spaces.

These findings about the DREAM Act and DREAMers reaffirmed how the issue of immigration continues to be a divisive one in this country. Comparatively speaking, English-language news had one way of reporting on the DREAM Act and Spanish-language news had another. In essence, they tell a completely different story to their viewers. Interestingly, even though the Spanish-language networks showed the positive aspects of the policy and its target population, they also presented the "other side," something that occurred only a handful of times on English-language news. So Spanish-language networks modeled that it was possible to present multiple sides of the policy. Additionally, I found some differences among English-language cable networks versus non-cable television networks, whereas the DREAM Act was almost nonexistent on the primary non-cable English-language networks ABC, CBS, and NBC. Patricia Hill Collins (2009) commented that people look to media as "another kind of public education" (p. 176). Taking this statement into consideration, the implications are great and the education that the public received about this policy issue greatly varied depending on the source. This public education is not just a source of information, but it promotes ideologies about immigrants and can eventually lead to how people show support or opposition toward an issue such as the DREAM Act.

In the following chapter, I take a closer look at each of the networks individually to determine what role the reporters on these networks took as policy actors. I use the findings from

this chapter to determine whether some of the major figures on these networks took a stance on the DREAM Act.

CHAPTER VII

REPORTERS AS POLICY ACTORS

> **Reporter José Díaz-Balart:** Vamos a hablar sobre el DREAM Act. ¿Cuales son las barreras mas grandes que ve usted en estos momentos?
> [Let's talk about the DREAM Act. What are the greatest obstacles that you see in these moments?]
>
> **Congressman José Serrano:** Las barreras, fijate, están en la prensa, eh, me preocupa, que este fin de semana, eh, aquellos que se oponen al DREAM Act, usen la prensa—eh, de idiomas ingles, de la television, la radio, para atacar de una forma como lo saben hacer ellos, y me preocupa que puede influenciar los votos de algunas personas.
> [The obstacles, you see, are in the press, eh, it worries me, that this weekend, eh, those who oppose the DREAM Act, will use the press—eh, the English language [press], on television, the radio, to attack in one way or another like they know how to do, and it worries me that it could influence the votes of some people.]
> (#63, Telemundo, December 3, 2010)

In the segment above, Congressman José Serrano candidly described the worry he had about the English-language media's portrayal of the proposed DREAM Act of 2010 and how it could negatively impact some congressional votes. This exchange occurred 5 days before the Act was brought to a vote in the House of Representatives. It shows how a political leader thought of the English-language media as policy actors and how he believed that his counterparts might be influenced by what was said on the news. By sharing his opinion with the Telemundo reporter, he also positioned Spanish-language media as policy actors, ones who would presumably support the DREAM Act and not invite those who oppose the DREAM Act on their shows.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the framing of the DREAM Act, where I presented a summary of the arguments that were often shared in support of and against the policy and the social construction of DREAMers as either negative or positive. In this chapter, I address my last major research question: What role did members of the news media play as policy actors? I referred to the findings from Chapter VI to help me determine the type of policy actor a reporter

was. Throughout my analysis, I often noted the role reporters played in conveying "news" about the DREAM Act. I also observed whether the role a reporter took was neutral or not. Neutrality and balanced reporting are often expected but may not be present in the reporting of news (Santa Ana, 2013). Other questions I explored to help me evaluate reporters as policy actors were the following: Did they lean either against or in support of the DREAM Act? Did they present information about both sides of the argument, and was this information accurate?

In many instances, reporters appeared to be stating only factual information about the DREAM Act but in actuality, they used the language associated either with supporters or opponents of the DREAM Act. As I noted and tracked every reporter in my content logs, I aimed to see who were the main actors covering this topic. Then, I identified their point of view to determine if they were positioning themselves as against the DREAM Act, in a neutral position, or in support based on the language they were using, the text and images being shown on screen (and if it stood out), and the tone of their voice. In all, I documented 45 reporters during this time frame of September to December 2010, among them were news show anchors as well as regularly appearing correspondents. Table 18 shows who some of the reoccurring actors were in the coverage of the DREAM Act among the networks that covered the policy most often.

Table 18

DREAM Act Reporters From September to December 2010, From Highest to Lowest Frequency

Network	**Name**	**Role**	**Appearances/ total shows (%)**	**Position**
Telemundo	José Díaz-Balart	Anchor	32/38 (84%)	Support
Telemundo	Lori Montenegro	DC Correspondent	26/38 (68%)	Support
Univision	Jorge Ramos	Anchor	18/37 (49%)	Support
Univision	María Elena Salinas	Anchor	16/37 (43%)	Support
MSNBC	Ed Schultz	Anchor	11/12 (92%)	Neutral/support
Network	**Name**	**Role**	**Appearances/ total shows (%)**	**Position**

Univision	Lourdes Meluzá	DC Correspondent	11/37 (30%)	Support
FOX	Bret Baier	Anchor	10/17 (59%)	Oppose
Univision	Jaime García	Correspondent	6/37 (16%)	Support
Univision	Enrique Teutelo	Anchor	6/37 (16%)	Support
Telemundo	Maria Paula Ochoa	Correspondent	6/38 (16%)	Support
CNN	Wolf Blitzer	Anchor	4/8 (50%)	Neutral/oppose
Univision	Luis Megid	Correspondent	4/37 (11%)	Support
Telemundo	Vanessa Huac	Anchor	4/38 (11%)	Support
Telemundo	Angie Sandoval	Correspondent	4/38 (11%)	Support

Note: This list does not include reporters or anchors from ABC, CBS, or NBC since they only had a small number of shows and appearances related to the DREAM Act.

The fourth column in Table 18 represents the number of stories related to the DREAM Act that the reporter covered and the total number of stories about the DREAM Act on that particular network. In the networks with the most coverage, Telemundo and Univision, reporters tended to show support for the DREAM Act and DREAMers; MSNBC tended to take a neutral to supportive position; CNN took a neutral to against position depending on the reporter; and FOX took a strong position against the DREAM Act. The policy was not covered on ABC, CBS, or NBC evening news very much, with most coverage being very brief if it did occur at all, and so I could not identify a trend, but on the few times the DREAM Act was covered on these networks, reporters took a neutral to supportive stance. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I expand on each of the eight networks and how the representation of the DREAM Act and DREAMers on these networks occurred. Just like the results I shared in the previous chapter, there was a clear difference in how the DREAM Act was covered in Spanish-language versus English-language news. Because of this, I first discuss English-language news coverage, followed by the coverage on the two Spanish-language networks.

English-language News Coverage of the DREAM Act

FOX News: Against the DREAM Act

In Chapter VI, I shared various examples of FOX News's strategy of framing the DREAM Act and socially constructing DREAMers in negative ways. Here I focus more on the role of the reporters relaying this type of information. One example of a reporter taking a position through his tone and language occurred on September 15, 2010 when the DREAM Act was being presented as part of the defense spending bill. On this day, Chris Wallace on FOX News (#4) spoke in a neutral tone and not in an exaggerated or negative way when reporting on the DREAM Act, leading a viewer to perhaps believe that he was stating the facts on this proposed policy and not his opinion. As Wallace began to talk, on the screen to his right appeared a photo of Democratic Senator Harry Reid, the United States Capitol building, and the title "AMNESTY AMENDMENT" in yellow lettering below both images. He said the following:

> Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid says he will **tack an amnesty amendment** for **young illegals** onto a defense policy bill, the so-called "DREAM Act" would allow those who attend college or join the military and meet certain requirements to become legal residents. Critics say an immigration reform push this close to midterms is a political move.

After he shared this 25-second message, Wallace moved on to another story. My issue here is not that reporters should not state their opinions but that they should be clear that they are taking a position. By using the term, "tack an amnesty amendment," to refer to the DREAM Act being added to the defense bill, Wallace was already expressing his opinion of the policy. Here he gave the impression that this was a last minute decision and then used the term often used by those against immigration reform, "amnesty" to refer to the DREAM Act (Barron, 2011; Motomura, 2012). He also used the term, "young illegals," which is an extremely negative social

construction of DREAMers. As I have discussed previously, "illegals" is a term most often used by those who are anti-immigrant, and it is an *othering* term that further criminalizes immigrants (Macedo, 2000). He then went on to share information that was often shared about the bill, which were the name and some of the requirements for those eligible—these points were accurate. Finally, he shared what critics thought about this being a political move, and in this moment he positioned himself again as a neutral news actor who was presenting the other side of the argument. By first using the language of those against the DREAM Act and then presenting the arguments of the other side, Congressman Serrano's concerns I shared at the beginning of this chapter seemed to be validated, and on this particular English-news story, the arguments against the DREAM Act were strengthened. Although Wallace appeared on this FOX News show only once during the time frame covered in my study, his language was representative of what I found on this network.

Of the eight networks, reporters on FOX News seemed to take a stance against the DREAM Act the most and used anti-immigrant language when talking about DREAMers. This is important because of all the English-language networks I reviewed, FOX had the most coverage with 17 news shows that mentioned the DREAM Act. Bret Baier, the anchor of *Special Report With Bret Baier*, in his coverage of the DREAM Act referred to DREAMers as either "illegal immigrants" or "children of illegal aliens" on five of the 10 shows where he referenced the DREAM Act, and when he did not use this language, his views against the DREAM Act still resonated. Although on some occasions, Baier presented accurate information about the proposed policy, when presenting commentary on where politicians stood on the issue, he privileged what Republicans thought of the issue and not what some Democrats or others in support thought about it. Additionally, his show never brought on key players in support of the

DREAM Act such as Democratic Senator Harry Reid, Democratic Congressman Luis Gutierrez, or DREAMers. Except for one panelist in September (#8), guests on this show speaking on the DREAM Act were known as being largely against the DREAM Act. Through his language, Baier framed the DREAM Act in the same way that those against immigration and the DREAM Act often did. For example, on two occasions, once in September (#13) and once in November (#31), he defined the DREAM Act as "dealing" with illegal immigrants and illegal immigration. This word begins from the premise that there is a problem that needs to be fixed. Then also in November (#42), he said the DREAM Act, "mandates in-state tuition for children of illegal aliens." This statement gave the impression that by passing the DREAM Act, undocumented students would receive free tuition, not in-state tuition rates that still needed to be paid by the students. He again constructed immigrants negatively as "illegal aliens." Less than 15 seconds before Baier said this, correspondent Jim Angle referred to the DREAM Act in the same way. This use of repetition sent the message twice that the DREAM Act would be a sort of scholarship for undocumented students. This seemed to speak to those who argued against any benefits, or semblance of them, for immigrants (Olivas, 2004).

Another way that Baier showed his stance against the DREAM Act was in his framing of questions to guests and correspondents. On December 1, 2010 (#58), 7 days before the House vote on the DREAM Act, he asked a panelist the following:

> You bring up the DREAM Act, there is a LOT of concern on the right about this, this act and uh, providing the education benefits to children of illegal aliens, provided the kids attended college or served in the military. What about that, John?

The way he asked this question, Baier only wanted to hear more about the concerns around the proposed policy. He also once again used the term, "children of illegal aliens," but then oddly referred to DREAMers as "kids." This term was more positive than "illegal aliens" but was still

more condescending than other terms such as "young people." On December 8, 2010 (#71), the day of the House vote on the DREAM Act and right before the vote took place, during the introduction of the show, footage of what seemed to be a political rally was shown with a Latino man holding a sign. The title next to the video read, "DREAM On." As this footage was shown, Baier said, "And a move to give the children of illegal aliens a path to citizenship, comes to a vote on Capitol Hill, THIS hour." It is interesting here that through a play on words, the network used "DREAM On" and made it unclear whether they meant to say that the DREAM Act is on, implying the vote is happening, or that they believed the DREAM Act would not pass. If someone not listening to Baier, they might assume that this phrase referred to the colloquial term, "dream on" and that there was no way the DREAM Act would pass. Additionally, by saying that the DREAM Act proposed policy was a "move," he implied that this was a political move to once again "give" something to this undeserving population. This statement ignored that fact that the DREAM Act by this time had been proposed for numerous years.

Toward the end of the show on this same day in the form of breaking news, a live shot of the House floor was shown and Baier reported on the outcome of the vote, to this day a historic event. He said the following:

> Okay, you're looking live at the House floor. They have just had a vote there on the RULE that takes the DREAM Act into the debate phase. That passed, narrowly, 211 to 208, so now the House is debating the DREAM Act, this is the uh act that offers a way of legal residency for **illegal immigrants** brought to the US before the age of 16 if they meet certain conditions, uh, if they've been in the US for 5 years. They must have a high school diploma or its equivalent and must enter an institution of higher education or the military. Republicans are calling this **simple amnesty** and point out a lot of problems with the DREAM Act. Let's start there. Back with the panel.

The statement above gave accurate information about the policy itself and what occurred in the House this day. Along with the requirements shared, I also noted the position Bret Baier took by

again referring to undocumented students as “illegal immigrants.” Then toward the end of the statement, he referred to the Republican stance on the DREAM Act by calling the Act “simple amnesty.” This was similar to the framing of “amnesty amendment” used by another FOX News reporter (#4). Finally Baier said, “Let’s start there,” to lead into a panel discussion. This phrase once again set up the discussion to be about the arguments against the DREAM Act, instead of making it a space where both sides of the policy could be discussed.

Just as text on the screen could indicate what role the network was taking on the DREAM Act, images could also demonstrate this (Santa Ana, 2013). On December 9, 2010 (#76), the day after the House vote, at the beginning of the show, Bret Baier appeared at his news desk with an image in the top left of the screen of the Capitol and next to it two people, one was a man wearing a blue jacket that read “POLICE ICE,” and he was arresting the other man. Then below that were the following words in yellow: “DREAM ACT.” He said, “A piece of legislation passed by the House Wednesday, got the cold shoulder in the Senate today. Correspondent Molly Henneberg tells us about the vote on the DREAM Act.” Although the words Baier used in this segment were neutral, and he was just making a statement about what occurred in the Senate on this day, the image used to accompany this story showed an immigrant as a criminal and the focus was on ICE enforcement. There was no mention in this instance of the educational aspects of the DREAM Act or that it was geared toward young people.

Lastly, on December 17, 2010 (#96), the day before the Senate vote, toward the beginning of the 1-hour show, Bret Baier interviewed Republican Senator Mitch McConnell about all the different issues that the government was debating at the moment. Bret said, “Not to spend too much time on it, the DREAM Act is still on the table there.” Mitch McConnell was someone who had been vocal against the DREAM Act. By asking for McConnell’s input on the

proposed policy, but downplaying it by saying he does not want to spend that much time on it, Baier positioned himself in alignment with McConnell. Toward the end of the show, Baier hosted a panel of commentators as he did on many of his shows. He again referred to the DREAM Act as "the immigration act" and then said to the panel, "Um, conservatives call it the beginning of amnesty, this DREAM Act, you don't think the votes are there?" By including the format of a panel, Baier gave the impression that he was presenting various viewpoints but in asking the question this way, he affirmed the side of the Republicans against the DREAM Act. FOX News has widely been known to hold a strong position against immigration, and through these examples, we see how they might have shaped the opinions of those who watched this show regularly. In no instance did a reporter on this FOX News evening show attempt to present the side of those in support of the DREAM Act. They also never brought in the perspective of DREAMers themselves. I focused on Bret Baier since he had the most coverage of the DREAM Act, and the evening news show bore his name, but there were several other reporters on the show who reaffirmed these same ideologies against the DREAM Act.

MSNBC and CNN

MSNBC: Neutral to positive coverage. MSNBC had the second highest coverage of any English-language network on the DREAM Act, with it being mentioned in 12 episodes from September to December, 2010 (10 of these stories occurring between November and December, 2010). CNN mentioned the DREAM Act eight times, with coverage only occurring in December during the time frame I searched. Earlier in this section, I mentioned that reporters on MSNBC tended to take a neutral to more supportive stance on the policy and that CNN tended to take a neutral to negative stance. In this section, I share some examples from some of the key players at each of these networks.

The *Ed Show* on MSNBC hosted by Ed Schultz aired at the same time as other networks' evening news shows. I labeled Schultz as someone who tended to take a neutral to supportive stance on his show because on several occasions he expressed his support for the DREAM Act, used neutral terms when referring to undocumented students and immigrants in general, and invited guests on his show who presented both sides of the argument, although none of the guests included undocumented students themselves. On September 21, 2010 (#14), the difference in coverage of the DREAM Act between MSNBC and FOX News was evident when Schultz said the following after the failure of the defense spending bill in which the DREAM Act was included: "That vote also derails the DREAM Act, which would give immigrants a path to citizenship if they served in the military." This same day reporters on FOX (#13) referred to the policy as "dealing with illegal immigrants." Here, Schultz used the neutral term "immigrants," yet only mentioned military service and not the higher education requirement. Overall, I noted this as a neutral stance on the DREAM Act. In November 2010, on four separate occasions Schultz mentioned the agenda that Democrats would pursue in the December lame-duck session and among other issues, he included the DREAM Act as something that should be their priority. For example, on November 15, 2010 (#33), he said the following:

> Will the attitude of the Democrats in these last months in power be one of aggression, be one of try to get as much done as you can for the people? I mean you've got a lot out there. You've got the DREAM Act. You've got unemployment insurance, which is going to expire. You've got . . . you know that Republicans aren't going to help these folks out at all. The tax cuts that you were talking about? The helping out small businesses, I mean will it be an aggressive period for the democrats.

In mentioning the DREAM Act among other issues that should have been a priority for the Democrats to pursue "for the people," Schultz positioned himself as if he was not favoring either of the political parties, but as a supporter of certain policies. He also made the remark that

Republicans were not going to support these measures or help "these folks" and although it was unclear who these folks were, the DREAMers or the unemployed, he made it clear that the party would not support either measure.

Later Schultz again challenged the Democratic party and mentioned the position of Republicans against the Act, but he used images as he explained this. As he talked, on screen appeared images of President Obama, a graduation cap in the air, a card that read "citizenship" with a green check mark next to it, and the words, "GOP's WORST NIGHTMARE." While these images were shown he said the following:

> Time for the priority list to be checked. Time for the Democrats to get up off the mat and be counted. And it MAY be time for a lot of elected, who are going back to Washington on the skin of their teeth-to do something in this regard. The Latino community, SAVED Harry Reid in Nevada. And now they want the DREAM Act.

He went on to discuss how Latino lawmakers met with the president to discuss their priorities. By using the image of the graduation cap, Schultz positioned the DREAM Act as having to do with education. Although the DREAM Act if passed would have led to eventual citizenship, this was not automatic, which the image of the citizenship card could lead a viewer to believe. Through a play on words, he used the word "nightmare" in opposition to the word "dream" to explain the hard stance that Republicans took against this policy. In other instances, I recorded how Republicans used this terminology of nightmare as well, but it was used differently. Finally, through his commentary, he showed support for the DREAM Act by challenging Democrats to support it, but he also positioned it as a "Latino" policy that only benefitted Latinos. Although he showed his support, he reaffirmed the stereotypes that only the Latino community would benefit from this policy and not the country as a whole and that all immigrants are Latinos.

Schultz also positioned himself in support of the DREAM Act through the language with which he chose to identify DREAMers. In early December (#59), to the right of Schultz was an image of an elephant standing in front of an American flag and on top of the elephant a green citizenship card. The title read, "CRUSHING THE DREAM." Schultz said the following while this image remained on the screen:

> And in my playbook tonight, Senate Republicans are CRUSHING the American dream for millions of young people across this country. Their pledge to block ALL legislation until they get a deal on tax cuts, could put an end to the DREAM Act, which would provide a path to U.S. citizenship for undocumented children.

He once again used imagery to show how the Republican Party could lead to the failure of the DREAM Act. With a play on words once again, he compared the elephant (representing the Republican Party) to crushing the "DREAM Act" and the dreams of those impacted. Through describing the DREAMers as "young people" and "undocumented children" he socially constructed them in positive ways. After this statement, he once again mentioned the commitment that Democrats had to Latinos after the midterm elections and interviewed Democratic Congressman and avid supporter of the DREAM Act, Luis Gutierrez. Toward the end of the interview, Schultz once again showed his support for the DREAM Act by saying, "Congressman, good to have you with us tonight, congratulations, I hope the vote goes through in the house this week." Although the previous examples showed Schultz taking a neutral to perhaps supportive stance toward the DREAM Act, in this instance, he showed a clear desire for it to pass.

Surprisingly only a few days later (#63), Schultz described the DREAMers in a more negative way and provided inaccurate information. He said, "anti-immigration conservatives are going berserk over the DREAM Act, which offers a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants who are brought here as children and are now attending college (footage of a soldier shooting a

machine gun) or serving in the military." He referred to DREAMers as "illegal immigrants" although he seemed to be speaking in support of the policy. He also provided inaccurate information by saying that undocumented young adults were already serving in the military, even though they would not be allowed to do so without the DREAM Act or another federal policy in place allowing it. This was the only time I documented Schultz using a negative social construction term for DREAMers. A few seconds after using this terminology, he brought on former Congressman Tom Tancredo and radio talk show host Joe Madison to in a way debate each other on the DREAM Act and show two sides of the policy—in this segment, Schultz once again positioned himself as sympathetic toward DREAMers. Tancredo was known to be staunchly against the policy and had often spoken out against it, and Joe Madison expressed cautious support toward it. Although Madison showed support for DREAMers, he emphasized the military requirement and commented that the policy needed to be "tweaked." Through the use of the negative term on a day that Tom Tancredo was on the show, and through the emphasis on the military requirement, perhaps mentioned to attract the support of those undecided on the DREAM Act, this episode stood out as different than others on this show.

My last example of the coverage on MSNBC on the DREAM Act occurred on December 10, 2010 (#80), 2 days after the DREAM Act passed in the House. In this segment, Schultz discussed Glenn Beck's anti-immigrant tirade against the DREAM Act on his radio show where he accused immigrants of taking benefits away from White Americans. Schultz played a segment of the radio show on his show and then said the following:

> And of course the Beckster pulls this hogwash out of thin air. There is nothing in the DREAM Act that gives undocumented immigrants an advantage over White Americans. The BILL provides a path to citizenship for highly motivated children, who are IN this country illegally, through no fault of their own, it gives people who are willing to work hard, an opportunity to ACHIEVE the American dream. But of course, Glenn Beck can't understand that. He's too caught up in his

> WORLD of conspiracy theories. His fear-mongering that the DREAM Act is disastrous for White people is (laughs) COMPLETE psycho talk.

There are several words above that stood out that I could highlight, but I first focus on Schultz's positive social construction of DREAMers. In his response, he used the language and arguments often used by those in support of the DREAM Act and immigration reform. He did acknowledge that DREAMers were here "illegally," a more negative term and then transferred the blame away from them, presumably toward their parents. He also introduced the meritocratic idea of the American dream, whereby the DREAMers were working hard and deserved this opportunity, and he challenged the argument against the DREAM Act that this policy advantaged immigrants over "White Americans." This segment stood out as well because of the mention of race in the United States as American, one of the only segments I reviewed that explicitly did so. More often, when someone was against the DREAM Act, they referred to White Americans only as "Americans" in a color-blind way (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Schultz challenged Beck's ideas and positioned the DREAM Act as good for the country, not just immigrants. Although the examples above suggested Schultz was entirely in support of the Act, his position was actually more nuanced and ranged from supportive to neutral at times. There were also instances of him using the language of those against the policy.

CNN: Neutral to negative toward the DREAM Act. On CNN, the focus of my analysis was the evening news show *The Situation Room*, which aired nightly at the same time as the other networks' evening news shows. Wolf Blitzer anchored four of the eight segments I focused on, and overall, he spent very little time elaborating on the DREAM Act. Two particular cases stood out where he did discuss it a little more. On December 8, 2010 (#70), the day of the vote in the House, I documented the following:

> Wolf Blitzer stands in the situation room, dramatic music plays throughout, sort of urgent sounding. Behind him a group of protesters hold signs that read, "Stop Deportations Now." He says, "We're waiting for votes on Capitol Hill, on a bill that would impact millions of people who entered the United States ILLEGALLY (title appears on bottom: "FUTURES HANGING IN THE BALANCE: Awaiting vote on DREAM Act") but had no choices in the manner (DEVELOPING STORY appears above the title just mentioned). It's called the DREAM Act and there's huge controversy surrounding it." (On the big screen is the face of a person screaming, it's hard to tell if the person is in support of or against the Act.)

In a neutral way, Blitzer positioned DREAMers as "people" but then he emphasized the way they arrived in the country, saying the word "illegally" louder and slower. Like Ed Schultz on MSNBC, he presented the idea that undocumented youth did not migrate here on their own. Through the text shown on the screen, there was some consideration given to the impact on DREAMers when their futures were mentioned. This had the effect of humanizing DREAMers as people with hopes and educational aspirations whose lives hung in limbo. Finally, he framed the DREAM Act as being hugely controversial. The next day, on December 9th (#75), when the Senate decided not to vote on their version of the DREAM Act, he described the DREAM Act as the following: "DREAM Act that would allow thousands and thousands of young uh kids who were brought here illegally to get citizenship by going to college or serving in the United States military." The difference in language from one day to the next stood out. In the course of two days, this policy was described as impacting millions to impacting thousands and now they were described as kids and not people who entered the country illegally. Wolf Blitzer's coverage was neutral to negative, where he focused on the controversy surrounding the policy and used the word illegally to describe the migration of DREAMers, but a few other actors on this network displayed the language and tone of those usually against the DREAM Act.

Also on December 9th, at about 15 minutes into the 1-hour show on a segment called "The Cafferty File," Jack Cafferty shared a prompt with viewers about the DREAM Act and

requested their commentary on this issue. This was one of the instances in which there might have been the assumption that the news actor was neutral because he asked for feedback from the audience, but in his explanation of the DREAM Act, Cafferty often used the language of those against the DREAM Act. Blitzer set up the segment by asking, "Pathway to citizenship or back door amnesty?" Here Blitzer employed the language of those in support and those against the policy. Throughout the segment, Cafferty's tone stood out to me as highly apathetic. In Table 19, I documented the transcript of this segment along with the text that was shown on screen while Cafferty spoke. I numbered each segment I refer to in my analysis below. Although on the longer side, this segment's entirety warranted a close analysis because this example was one where the use of *repetition* occurred most often.

Table 19

Example From "The Cafferty File" on December 9, 2010

	Jack Cafferty said	**On screen**
1	Looks like it might be **nothing more than a dream** after all, Senate Democrats voted to pull the so-called DREAM Act from consideration today. They don't have enough votes to pass it. DREAM's an acronym for Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act and would have offered a path to citizenship for **illegal immigrants who came to the United States as children**.	Cafferty on screen
2	The measure passed the house yesterday, but **unless the Senate acts, it will die** with the lame-duck Congress. The DREAM Act would apply to	Title appears: PASSAGE OF DREAM ACT **UNLIKELY**/Citizenship for **children of illegal immigrants**?
3	**illegal aliens** who came here when they were younger than 16, who have lived in the US for at least 5 years, received a high school diploma or GED and shown good moral character. They would be given a 6-year conditional status before the next stage, where they'd be required to either go to college or serve in the military for at least 2 years and pass criminal background checks.	Cafferty becomes minimized and a red screen appears with the following: DREAM ACT **Illegal immigrants** younger than 16 when they arrived Lived here for 5 years, h.s. diploma, "good moral character" 6-year-conditional status College or military for 2 years, pass criminal background checks

	Jack Cafferty said	**On screen**
4	Those who don't fulfill those requirements, would lose their legal status, and they could be deported. Supporters say the measure offers legal standing to **youngsters** who were brought here, who have bettered themselves and served our country. Critics say it's nothing more than **back-door amnesty** for as many as **2 million illegal aliens.** They also say the bill allows **illegal aliens** to get in-state tuition at public universities and is a quote magnet for fraud unquote. Here's the question . . .	Cafferty on screen
5	Should **illegal aliens** who came here as **children**, be given a path to citizenship? Go to CNN.com slash Cafferty file. Post a comment on my blog. (low apathetic voice)	Red screen appears: QUESTION of the HOUR Should **illegal aliens** who came here as **children** be given a path to citizenship?
6	[At 50 minutes into the show, Cafferty returns to read the results of the survey] Question this hour is, "should **illegal aliens** who came here as **CHILDREN**. . .	With Cafferty on screen title appears in a black box: PASSAGE OF DREAM ACT **UNLIKELY**/Citizenship for children of **illegal immigrants**?
7	. . . be given a path to citizenship?" That's the uh, the subject matter, **the DREAM Act thing** that was, uh, taken out of consideration in the Senate today.	Red screen appears: QUESTION of the HOUR Should **illegal aliens** who came here as **children** be given a path to citizenship?

If I relied solely on frequencies of terms used, the negative term "illegal alien" appeared seven times; similarly, the terms "illegal immigrant" and "children of illegal immigrants" appeared four times in total, demonstrating to me that in this segment, DREAMers were socially constructed in negative ways numerous times. Although some positive social constructions of DREAMers appeared such as "children" and "youngsters," it seemed that Cafferty was more aligned with the negative terms. This segment was one of the reasons I labeled overall coverage on CNN as neutral to negative. Within the eight news shows covering the DREAM Act, this was one of the longest for CNN. In this segment, Cafferty used a play on words to refer to the DREAM Act as "nothing more than a dream," expecting for it to fail in the Senate. What was shown on the screen was equally as important as what Cafferty said, and in one instance there was a mismatch. For example, in segment three above he referred to DREAMers as "illegal aliens," but the terminology on the screen read "illegal immigrants." Although both terms are

negative, as I discussed in the last chapter, they are also distinct and "illegal alien" is a more dehumanizing term (Johnson, 1996). This moment demonstrated that he saw these terms as interchangeable. Cafferty did however refer to factual and accurate information about the DREAM Act and even presented both sides of the argument as seen in segment four above where he said those in support called DREAMers "youngster" and those against "illegal aliens"—leading the audience to believe he was a neutral player in the presentation of this topic. But then he continued to adopt the language of opponents in each of the remaining segments by continuously referring to DREAMers as "illegal aliens" both through his language and in the text shown on screen. Throughout the segments, he expressed little hope in the passage of the proposed policy, but at the very end in segment seven, before presenting the survey results, he expressed his disregard for the policy by referring to it as the "DREAM Act thing." Surprisingly, in spite of the negative portrayal of the DREAM Act and DREAMers in this segment, some of the comments he shared from viewers after this example were sympathetic toward the policy and those impacted.

Although the Cafferty piece was largely negative, there were two CNN shows that stood out as positive representations of DREAMers and where the reporter took a neutral to positive stance on the DREAM Act on CNN. On key dates in the DREAM Act of 2010, December 8th (#70) and December 10th (#79), CNN correspondent Mary Snow interviewed three DREAMers, two of them in their homes, and by doing so gave a glimpse into the lives of those directly impacted by the policy. By this time, the coverage would not have impacted the House vote, which had already occurred, but a vote in the Senate was coming. Of the three cable networks, CNN was the only one that included this perspective. On December 8th, Snow described the DREAM Act by saying, "This bill would pave the way toward legal citizenship for

undocumented immigrants whose parents brought them to the US when they were children." This was the only instance in all eight CNN shows I reviewed in which the more positive term "undocumented immigrant" was used by reporters to refer to DREAMers. At that moment, Snow aligned herself as perhaps a safe person for the DREAMers to tell their story to. But then only 2 days later, she described the legislation as being for "illegal immigrants." So her commitment to use the positive term seemed to be false. On each of these days, she presented multiple perspectives on the DREAM act by also showing footage of lawmakers speaking against the policy, but the focus was largely on how DREAMers' lives would be changed. After presenting the arguments against, she closed by bringing in the DREAMers' perspective, adding complexity to this often one-sided coverage. Although the coverage in these two segments was quite extensive and for the most part accurate, on December 8th, the day of the successful vote in the House, like others in the English-language media, Snow gave inaccurate information about the DREAM Act and said, "Now a big draw for the supporters of the DREAM Act is that they'd be eligible to receive in-state tuition at public universities. THAT measure has also drawn critics. . . ." Although past versions of the DREAM Act included a repeal of IIRIRA, which clarified how states could grant in-state tuition *rates* to undocumented students residing in their states, this version in particular did not include the provision—arguably due to critics' pressure to omit this. Second, by Snow describing it this way, she led viewers to believe that the in-state tuition was more like a scholarship and not an in-state tuition rate. Similar to the other CNN segments I analyzed, this network tended to take a neutral to against stance on the DREAM Act, although there were examples of reporters showing a more positive picture of DREAMers. In the next section, I discuss the coverage that occurred on non-cable English-language news.

Non-Cable English-Language News: ABC, CBS, and NBC

I grouped this set of news stories together because they were non-cable English-language news and because their coverage of the DREAM Act was so sparse. This was something that surprised me the most—I was expecting more coverage. If a viewer did not have access to cable news and was only watching English-language news, their knowledge of the DREAM Act based on news coverage would probably be little to nonexistent. ABC and NBC both mentioned the DREAM Act three times, and CBS covered the proposed policy only twice. With the exception of a story at the end of November (#55), all coverage of the DREAM Act on the TV network news occurred in December. Again, this was based on my search, which began on September 1, 2010 and ended 3 months later on December 31. This means that when the DREAM Act was added as an amendment to the defense spending bill in September, or when the DREAM Act was mentioned on other networks leading up to the midterm elections, nothing was said on any of these networks. Just as the more frequent coverage on cable networks could shape what the public thought of the policy, so to could non-cable networks' silence on this issue (Santa Ana, 2013). I recall when I first moved out of Texas, I was involved in the immigrants' rights movement and worked on a daily basis with undocumented students. Then I moved to Boulder, Colorado in 2008 and as I shared my work around the DREAM Act and higher education access for undocumented students, I was often met with blank faces. I thought everyone knew about the DREAM Act. Although there was a large immigrants' rights movement in Colorado, it was still surprising to me that it was not that individuals did not agree with the policy, but they had no knowledge of it—8 years after it was first presented in Congress. I imagine if the issue had received more coverage on evening network news, perhaps more individuals I came across would have been informed about the DREAM Act.

ABC. Of the three news stories that mentioned the DREAM Act on ABC (#103), only the story on December 19, 2010 discussed it in depth—this was one day after the DREAM Act's failure in the Senate. To set up the story, reporter Dan Harris appeared on the screen and on his right was an image of the Capitol with a small American flag in front of it and figures of four people who looked like a family. Then the words beneath this read, "*DREAM DIES*" in slanted letters. While this image was shown, he said the following:

> The president was, we should say, dealt one significant, defeat, this weekend, when republicans blocked the so-called DREAM Act, which would have provided a path to citizenship for ILLLEGAL IMMIGRANTS who came here as kids brought by their parents. BUT could this legislative loss ultimately turn into a political win? Here's Tahman Bradley.

In this short coverage, a play on words was used with the word dream shown on the screen. Through his narration, one would assume that the family in the image was an immigrant family. Although Harris socially constructed DREAMers in a positive way, he privileged what this loss could mean for politics by both saying it could turn into a political win and by saying this was a defeat for the president. Through my background research on this topic, I would argue it was a loss for many more beyond the president and that it was more of a loss for the millions of students and families directly impacted by the policy.

After the introduction to this topic, Tahman Bradley appeared at the home of a DREAMer in Iowa. In this 30-second segment, he showed a human side to the DREAM Act and the impact it would have had on this young man by saying once again through a play on words that this loss has meant a "dream deferred" for Diego Alvarez. Diego was allowed the airtime to tell his own story and in many ways he told his counter-story. But later, Bradley offset this by using negative social constructions and providing misleading information. After the segment with Diego he said, "Hundred of thousands of illegal immigrants were brought to the US as

children. The DREAM Act would have granted them citizenship by attending college or enlisting in the military." Here he referred to DREAMers as illegal immigrants and although the DREAM Act would have opened a path to legalization, leading to eventual citizenship, citizenship was not granted as automatically as Bradley suggested. While he said this, these words also appeared as text on the screen, sending the message twice to viewers that for undocumented students this might be an automatic process. He then said, "Critics call THAT a reward for illegal activity" and proceeded to show Lindsay Graham speaking against the DREAM Act and mentioned that political analysts believed this loss would mean more Hispanic votes for the Democratic Party in the future. Here he invoked the frame that immigrants were deviants and criminals (van Dijk, 2004). He closed by saying, "For Diego though, his dream of reaching his potential here, is far from certain." This was the third play on words for the word "dream" in this episode. Through his coverage, Bradley seemed to take a more neutral stance, similar to Mary Snow when she interviewed DREAMers on CNN.

Although this reporter still used negative labels for immigrants and gave misleading information, in a very short time frame one was given a view of the person who would be impacted by the policy—something not often seen in the English-language media. He also presented the other side of the issue through the segment, but in the end, he brought it back to the DREAMer. I question why a story such as this one was not aired earlier in the life of the DREAM Act of 2010, why was it not aired in early December, before the votes? By this time, it was too late for a viewer to watch and perhaps decide to call their U.S. Representative or Senator to share their opinion, and it was also too late for a lawmaker to watch and perhaps be swayed to vote in another way.

CBS. As I mentioned before, coverage on CBS only occurred on two occasions. The first, on December 5, 2010 (#66) involved reporter John Dickerson quickly mentioning the lame-duck session and all the issues that would be debated, including the DREAM Act and the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. He mentioned that no progress would be made on any of these issues until a tax cut deal was reached between Democrats and Republicans—signifying interest convergence (Bell, 2004) between these two polices and the Republican's agenda on the tax cut issue.

The second coverage occurred on December 18 (#100), the day of the DREAM Act's failure. On this show, reporter Anthony Mason appeared on screen with an image of the border fence, presumably the United States-Mexico border, and the text "DREAM ACT" above it. He said the following:

> Senate Republicans today, blocked consideration of the so-called DREAM Act, which would have offered a path to legal status for illegal immigrants who were brought to America as children. To help put today's Senate votes and the rest of the week in focus, we're joined in Washington by political analyst John Dickerson.

Oddly enough, John Dickerson did not mention anything about the DREAM Act and this short 11-second segment by Mason became the only substantial coverage of the DREAM Act in 3 months. In this short segment, similar to FOX News, the network used an image of the border fence to frame the DREAM Act as being about Mexican immigration and about protecting the border—no mention was made about the education or military requirements DREAMers would have to meet. Then Mason framed the failed policy similarly to the other English-language networks I have discussed by referring to DREAMers as illegal immigrants brought to this country as children. Based on this coverage, one did not learn much about the DREAM Act or

DREAMers, and it likely served to heighten the fears of those who saw border security as a major problem in this country.

NBC. Finally, on NBC, coverage occurred on three key dates: December 8th (#72), the day the DREAM Act passed in the House; December 18th (#101), the day it failed in the Senate; and December 22nd (#113), during President Obama's highly publicized press conference. Although it was difficult to identify a trend from these three very different types of stories; overall, the coverage on NBC was positive and supportive of the policy.

On December 8th (#72), anchor Brian Williams began coverage of the DREAM Act by saying the following: "This lame-duck democratic Congress (an image of the capitol rotunda and the words DREAM Act appear) is trying to pass what's called the DREAM Act, giving a path to legal citizenship to young undocumented immigrants in college or in the military." He then passed the story on to correspondent George Lewis. In this short introduction to the DREAM Act, Williams used positive language by identifying DREAMers as "young undocumented immigrants." The information he provided was also fairly accurate, although undocumented people would not be allowed to serve in the military without a policy such as the DREAM Act first passing. Following this, Lewis shared updated information about the passage of the DREAM Act in the House and gave background information about those who had been fighting for "immigrants' rights" and pushing for the passage of the measure. He then shared in-depth and accurate information about the requirements included in the DREAM Act and about who would qualify. After sharing this information, he included not only the perspective from a DREAMer, but also from an immigration and education expert who had done extensive research on undocumented students, Associate Professor of Education William Perez, from Claremont Graduate University. This was the only time an education expert appeared on English-language

evening news across the six networks—this segment gave credibility to the proposed policy as being about education.

Throughout the 2-minute segment, long in comparison to other segments on English-language news, Lewis used terms such as "young people" and "undocumented" to refer to DREAMers. Toward the end of the segment, he showed commentary by Dan Stein, a member of FAIR, who was against the DREAM Act. Very little time was given to him, but the typical arguments against the DREAM Act were shared: that this would reward those who broke the law and that it would take away jobs from American citizens. After this, the DREAMer was again shown saying what the passage of the DREAM Act would mean to her, and Lewis closed with the following, "They say they're undocumented and unafraid, but they also know many Americans consider them unwanted. A lot of young people with high hopes and no papers are keeping a close eye on the congressional action because their future is riding on it." In this powerful statement, Lewis told a different narrative about DREAMers often missing from English-language news, and he conveyed how important this vote was for their futures. He also identified them as a marginalized group by saying that they knew there were people in this country who considered them "unwanted." This statement directly addressed the views of opponents of immigration policies who often saw immigrants as the Other. Finally, he referred to DREAMers positively as "young people" and described them as having "no papers," a translation of the term commonly used among Spanish speakers [sin papeles]. Growing up in an immigrant family, this was how we referred to those in our family and community without legal status. Professor Monica Brown, from the University of Northern Arizona, described this term as more humanizing than other terms often used for undocumented immigrants and said the

following, "Without papers. It is a legal status they lack, not *who* and *what* they are."[47] Lewis's use of this term was its only occurrence in all of the English-language coverage.

On December 18th (#101), the day of the DREAM Act's failure in the Senate, in a very short 15-second segment, reporter Mike Viquiera said, "The bill would have offered a path to citizenship to children who are brought to this country illegally through no fault of their own." Here he socially constructed DREAMers positively as children and again used language similar to other English-language coverage, where the blame was not placed on them for their legal status but instead on immigrant parents. Finally, as I shared in the last chapter, on December 22nd (#113), Samantha Guthrie said the following before introducing a segment where President Obama spoke at the White House on the failure of the DREAM Act, "Speaking at length about the failure of the immigration initiative, the DREAM Act, the president sympathized (school children's feet shown walking in a hallway) with children of illegal immigrants who have no path to citizenship." Again, what stood out here is that the president actually referred to the parents of DREAMers as "undocumented," yet Guthrie used the negative term illegal immigrants. She also referred to the DREAM Act as an immigration initiative, although supporters of the policy would call it more than that and perhaps even frame it as an education policy. The feet of children shown in a school setting sent the message that the DREAM Act was about education, yet the words shared by Guthrie did not. As a result of this language, this segment was more on the neutral side.

[47] See http://knau.org/post/nau-english-professor-monica-brown-weighs-power-dehumanizing-language#.VMux3CMREBo.facebook

La Ley Del Sueño: DREAM Act Coverage on Telemundo and Univision

In the next two sections, I discuss the coverage of the DREAM Act on Spanish-language networks Telemundo and Univision and how news anchors and correspondents on these networks played a role as policy actors. For each network I focus on key examples that are representative of the coverage on each of them. Unlike the English-language news, coverage on both of these networks occurred during each of the 4 months I searched, but the most frequent coverage was in the key months of November and December 2010. Although I argue that both networks were largely in support of the DREAM Act being passed and they socially constructed DREAMers in positive ways, this did not mean that they only presented information or interviewed only those in support of the DREAM Act. I also note the unique role that these networks played in promoting civic and political education to their viewers. Although there might be an assumption that these two top Spanish-language networks were similar, and in many ways I found this as well, throughout my analysis I share some of the ways I saw them as distinct from each other.

Noticiero Telemundo

As I mentioned before, the most coverage on the DREAM Act between September and December 2010 occurred on the Spanish-language network Telemundo where it appeared on 38 shows, and most of these shows were in November and December. Specifically, it was reported in high numbers by news anchor José Díaz-Balart and Washington, DC correspondent Lori Montenegro. On this evening news show, Díaz-Balart made the remark several times that Telemundo was the only Spanish-language network present on location consistently in DC to share the latest news on the DREAM Act—insinuating their competitive nature with Univision. This also showed that they valued the DREAM Act as an issue in a way that warranted a

presence in the nation's capital. Although these were the major actors from this network, other less frequently appearing reporters played important roles in sharing information about the proposed policy and those impacted by it as well (see Table 18).

Telemundo was also unique from other networks because early in my study, I learned that Díaz-Balart, during the time frame I was looking at, was the brother of two Republican Representatives who supported and voted for the DREAM Act, Mario Díaz-Balart and Lincoln Díaz-Balart. So as I observed his coverage of the DREAM Act, I was influenced by this knowledge. For example, I noted if any mention was made of his brothers on the network and they were mentioned very little, four times total where they spoke in support of the Act and never by Díaz-Balart himself. Although there was this personal connection, their mention demonstrated to viewers that being Republican does not always mean being against the DREAM Act.

Not only did Telemundo have the most frequent coverage of the DREAM Act, but their coverage was more extensive with stories about the DREAM Act being much longer than those on English-language news. For example, I mentioned the short segment from CBS that was 11 seconds long.[48] Only a day before, coverage on Telemundo was almost 16 minutes long. Through viewing this extensive coverage, I identified five themes that stood out about the DREAM Act coverage on Telemundo that I elaborate on in this section: (a) positive representations of DREAMers, (b) reporters who were part of the community and shared an insider perspective, (c) the framing of the DREAM Act as a battle, (d) the symbolism of having a DREAM Act correspondent on location in Washington, DC, and (e) Telemundo's role as a civic educator.

[48] Appendix D shows the total and average duration for each story on each network I observed.

Positive representations of DREAMers. Overall Díaz-Balart socially constructed DREAMers in positive ways as "jóvenes" [young people] or "estudiantes indocumentados" [undocumented students] and communicated to viewers the urgency of the policy as it approached key dates. Although I categorized him as supportive overall, he sometimes commented that it was important to present both sides of the argument and when interviewing key political leaders in support of the policy such as Democratic Senator Harry Reid and President Obama, he asked critical questions and challenged them on their stance toward immigration. Just as text and images were part of presenting news in the English-language media, so to were they part of the Telemundo broadcasts. On September 21st (#15), the DREAM Act failed as part of the defense spending bill, and Díaz-Balart invited DREAM Act leader Cesar Vargas on his show to talk about the impact the loss of the vote in the Senate might have on his life. In Table 20, I present the original Spanish transcript, a translation, and the images or text shown during this interview.

Table 20

Example of José Díaz-Balart Interview With DREAMer

Spanish	**English**	**Text or images on screen**
José Díaz Balart: . . . en efecto como tú has vivido aquí toda tu vida, es el país que conoces que quieres (Cesar: "¡Claro!") y que te sientes ademas arraisgado a él.	…. . . in essence, like you have lived here all your life, this is the country you know, that you love (Cesar: "Of course!") and that you feel rooted to.	Text on bottom of screen: "MI GRAN DESEO ES GANARME LA OPORTUNIDAD DE LEGALIZARME Y PRESTAR SERVICIO MILITAR" Translation: ["MY GREAT WISH IS TO EARN THE OPPORTUNITY TO LEGALIZE MYSELF AND GIVE MILITARY SERVICE"]
Qué significa cuando no hay movimiento de un gobierno y de un senado, de una cámara, que dice, no, tú no tienes el derecho de seguir buscando tus sueños?	What does it mean when there is no movement in the government and from a Senate, from a House, that says, you don't have a right to keep pursuing your dreams?	Image of press conference, with three flags and banners in support of the DREAM Act in red, white, and blue.

In this segment of his interview with this DREAMer, Díaz-Balart positioned himself in support of the DREAM Act by using the language most often used by those in support. He mentioned how long Vargas had been in the country and painted him as American by highlighting his devotion to the United States. The text on the screen confirmed this by focusing on Cesar's desire to enter the military. Through a play on words, he asked Cesar what this decision, or rather lack of decision, from the House and Senate would mean for his "dreams." In this moment he framed the failure of the DREAM Act as something that halted the ability of DREAMers to pursue their dreams. Unlike on English-language news, DREAMers were often interviewed on Telemundo, and through these types of questions it seemed that Díaz-Balart wanted to reveal the human impact of not passing the legislation. He showed support for DREAMers in this instance and did not necessarily favor either political party by pointing out members of government as opposed to "Republicans" or "Democrats." Following Cesar's response, Díaz-Balart then closed by asking Cesar to share some words with those watching who might be afraid to come forward as Cesar had. Here, Díaz-Balart acknowledged the reality of his public—that many of them might not have papers and would be directly impacted by the DREAM Act's failure on this day. Reporters on the English-language media never spoke as if an undocumented individual was a member of their viewing audience.

Throughout much of the coverage leading up to the vote in the House on the DREAM Act, those on Telemundo painted a picture of DREAMers as activists, and they shared this group's efforts across the country to help pass the DREAM Act. One example in early December (#62) showed how this picture of DREAMers was painted multimodally through the use of music, images, and José Díaz-Balart's words (see Table 21):

Table 21

Telemundo Multimodal Example

Spanish	**English Translation**	**Text or image on screen**
		Video shown of DREAMers in graduation regalia marching. They hold a banner that reads, "DREAMS CAN'T WAIT" with a drawing of a diploma. They chant, "What do we want? DREAM Act! When do we want it? Now!" The title on the bottom of the screen reads, "BATALLA POR EL DREAM ACT." (Translation: BATTLE FOR THE DREAM ACT)
José Díaz-Balart: Estos son los rostros de la esperanza, los rostros de la batalla, en marcha, en protestas. Actos de desobediencia, y sobre todo con MUCHISIMA energía, se escuchan de costa a costa las voces de los mas de 800,000 jóvenes indocumentados que se beneficiarian con el DREAM Act, un sueño por el que han luchado durante años. . . .	These are the faces of hope, the faces of battle, marching, in protest. Acts of disobedience, and most of all with A LOT of energy, heard from coast to coast are the voices of more than 800,000 young undocumented individuals who would benefit from the DREAM Act, a dream that they have been fighting for many years. . . .	Dramatic-sounding music starts playing, somber, with the camera on DREAMers' faces and more footage of them at the rally. Some of the students have somber looks.
. . . y que marcaria definitivamente. . . .	. . . that would impact in a definite way. . . .	Violin music plays and a sign reads EDUCATION NOT DEPORTATION. Students in graduation clothing yell.
. . . el resto de sus vidas.	. . . the rest of their lives	Students chant: "Our dreams can't wait!"

In the first row of Table 21, a scene that was often shown on Telemundo coverage of the DREAM Act appeared, and DREAMers were shown protesting in graduation clothing—a symbol of this movement as one of education. In the second row of the table, accompanied by dramatic music and the faces of DREAMers, Díaz-Balart shared a narration about the lives of DREAMers. He described them as hopeful and as having fought hard in their movement and again mentioned how this had been a struggle for their "dreams" for years. In the last two rows, he made a remark about how this would impact their lives, and on the screen students appeared

saying, “Our dreams can’t wait” as he spoke. Here the word “dream” was taken up twice, both by the reporter and the students. He gave insight into the lives of DREAMers and also addressed the contribution they had made to see the DREAM Act come this far after many years—something drastically different from the framing of “timing, why now?” I discussed in the last chapter where reporters on English-language news often remarked about the policy as if it was something new. He also shared how significant the policy was in the lives of these young people. I share this example because just as the English-language media seemed to use images and video to compliment the words they spoke, so did the Spanish-language news. In this moment however, unlike on a network like FOX News, there was a match between what Díaz-Balart said and what was shown on the screen.

Insider perspective: A reporter who is part of “la comunidad.” At times, José Díaz-Balart seemed to use his position as a Latino and the son of immigrants from Cuba to relate to his audience. For example, in November (#40), he made a reference to “nuestra communidad” [our community] as he introduced a segment on the DREAM Act. In Table 22, I share his words as well as the images that were presented.

Table 22

Nuestra Comunidad Telemundo Example

Spanish	**English Translation**	**Text or image on screen**
José Díaz Balart: Empezamos en la capital estadounidense. Con la creciente expectative de muchos en nuestra comunidad en torno a la possible aprobación del DREAM Act en el congreso actual.	We begin in the capital of the United States. With the growing expectation of many in our community in terms of the possible approval of the DREAM Act in the current Congress.	On his right is an image of an American flag, and in front of the flag is a female student who looks Latina. She sits with her hands in front of her while she seems to study a book. Below this image is the text, “DREAM Act.”

Although other reporters on Telemundo used the phrase, "nuestra comunidad," Díaz-Balart used it the most. In this short segment, he connected to his viewers as one of them, more importantly he did not construct undocumented immigrants as the Other, rather as members of "our" community. Additionally, through the image portrayed of the student studying while he spoke, the DREAM Act was framed as having to do primarily with education. Lastly, the goal of becoming American was characterized by the American flag in front of the girl.

The DREAM Act battle. As I mentioned before, Díaz-Balart and others on Telemundo acknowledged that there were many opinions on the DREAM Act. Once again in November (#46), in the introduction of the show, he made reference to "defenders and detractors" of the policy, and he used the metaphor of a battle to describe the debates that were taking place in DC. Once again, using the image of the student above, he said the text that appears in Table 23.

Table 23

Telemundo Metaphor as Battle in DREAM Act Coverage

Spanish	**English**	**Text or image on screen**
José Díaz-Balart: Senadores republicanos y demócratas enfilan sus cañones CONTRA el DREAM Act—medida que propiciaría una legalización para miles de jóvenes estudiantes indocumentados que fueron traídos ilegalmente por sus padres a estados unidos, y ahora enfrentan obstáculos para trabajar y estudiar.	Republican senators and Democrats are sharpening their cannons AGAINST the DREAM Act—a measure that would offer legalization for thousands of young undocumented students that were brought illegally by their parents to the United States, and now they face challenges to work and study.	On his right is an image of an American flag and in front of the flag is a female student who looks Latina. She sits with her hands in front of her while she seems to study a book.

In the statement above, he noted that there were both Republicans and Democrats against the DREAM Act—a point not stated in the English-language news. Although the DREAM Act at this point was largely partisan, with most Republicans against and most Democrats in support, there were a few outliers in each of the parties. His statement did not make this division clear,

however. He continued with the use of the metaphor of a battle to describe the events in DC, a metaphor often used on Telemundo, and then described DREAMers positively as "young undocumented students." Yet it's important to note here that he then described their arrival to this country as having happened "illegally." This is an outlier, and on Telemundo this word was used mostly by those being interviewed against the DREAM Act. In this instance, he used similar language to those in the English-language media who transferred the blame of this situation to the parents of DREAMers. Along with the description of the conflicting sides around the proposed policy, he once again framed the DREAM Act not only as an immigration policy, but also as something that would benefit undocumented students so they could work and study in this country.

In an example of wanting to respond to those against the DREAM Act, on December 6th (#67), 2 days before the vote on the DREAM Act in the House, Díaz-Balart asked a DREAMer the following:

> Reporter: Isaias, que respuesta le darías tu a esas personas que dicen, "miren, yo se que no es culpa de ustedes, pero los padres de ustedes los trajeron aquí, que se los lleven"?
> [Isaias, what response would you give to those people that say, "look, I know that it is not your fault, but your parents brought you here, now they should take you back'"?]

Through this prompt, Díaz-Balart addressed the commentary often given by those who are neutral or against the DREAM Act, who place blame on the parents, and who promote the return of this community to their home country. In some instances I recorded, Republicans against the policy noted that they held sympathy toward the DREAMers because of the way they arrived here, but they would still vote against. This prompt spoke to this idea and showed that sympathy was not enough to change the minds and votes of those opposed to this policy.

A DREAM Act correspondent in DC. Although José Díaz-Balart played an important role as a policy actor on Telemundo being the anchor of the *Noticiero*, much of the time he gave a brief introduction of the DREAM Act before handing off the in-depth coverage to correspondent Lori Montenegro, who reported 26 times during this time frame and from Washington DC. Montenegro's segments stood out because of their format, they often were shorter segments combined into one longer segment where she presented several aspects of the DREAM Act, including the voice of those opposed to it, lawmakers, organizations in support, and DREAMers themselves. These segments were quite comprehensive and on days before the vote in the House in December, Montenegro included various perspectives on the DREAM Act within 2-to-4-minute segments. Although I noted a few examples where Montenegro appeared to be in support of the DREAM Act, in most of these segments she maintained balanced coverage. As an example, the following is an outline of how a segment was structured on December 7th (#69):

1. Díaz-Balart mentioned that Montenegro had the latest news on the DREAM Act in DC.
2. House Democratic Leader Stenny Hoyer spoke about the DREAM Act.
3. Democratic Congressman José Serrano spoke in front of DREAMers outside the Capitol.
4. Republican Congresswoman Ileana Rose-Lethinin spoke in support of the DREAM Act.
5. Montenegro presented about the national DREAM Act movement and a DREAMer was interviewed.
6. Two Republicans against the DREAM Act shown in DC.
7. DREAMers shown again in Capitol demonstrating on economic contributions they could make, Lori explained hunger strike they participated in.
8. Republicans against shown again.
9. Letter from DREAMers to Republicans shown where they tried to convince them to change their votes.
10. Hispanic woman against the DREAM Act interviewed.
11. Montenegro ended the segment by sharing that Republicans thought of the DREAM Act as an "amnesty" and that a White House representative negated this saying it was something that had an endless amount of requirements.

In the span of a little more than 2 minutes, various perspectives on the DREAM Act were presented, including one from a Republican lawmaker in support of the policy and a Hispanic

protestor against the policy—two unexpected actors when looking at how the DREAM Act was usually presented. Montenegro balanced the political perspective from lawmakers with the human stories of the DREAMers, showing how they advocated for themselves to help pass the policy. At the end, she summarized how those against thought of the DREAM Act as an "amnesty" and then shared the counter-argument of it not being something that was given, but that DREAMers had to meet multiple requirements before benefitting from it. Segments like this from Montenegro were common and demonstrated how many viewpoints could be shared in a short span of time. The physical presence Montenegro had in Washington, DC throughout the time the DREAM Act was being debated is a symbol of the prominence the network gave this issue. This stands in contrast to English-language news once again where those in Washington, DC, other than Republicans against the policy, were rarely asked to comment on the DREAM Act.

Telemundo promoting civic engagement. One way that those on Telemundo were policy actors was through mentioning their website as a source of information for viewers. On several occasions, Díaz-Balart made the announcement that viewers could learn more about how Senators and Representatives were voting on the issue and use this venue to also reach out to their lawmakers. In early December (#64), before referring viewers to the Telemundo website, Díaz-Balart shared the names of five members of Congress who at one time supported the DREAM Act but that at that point had not publicly announced their position. Common on Telemundo was a reference to the past iterations of the policy in Congress, something that was not apparent in the English-language media. This historical context was important and once again responded to those against the policy who said, "timing, why now?" Next, he told his audience, "USTED se puede COMUNICAR con ELLOS para de alguna forma o otra dejarle

saber su opinion." [YOU can COMMUNICATE with THEM so that one way or another you can let them know your opinion.] In this moment, Díaz-Balart again spoke directly to his audience, and in what seemed to be a moment of civic education, he instructed viewers that they themselves could communicate with lawmakers to share their opinion. This example was one of the reasons I challenge the idea that Telemundo was only supportive toward the DREAM Act. Yes, they showed great compassion toward the DREAMers, but more importantly, they conveyed to their viewers that regardless of where they stood on the issue, they should practice their right to voice their opinion to those who represented them in DC.

The last examples I share of Telemundo reporters as policy actors are with reporter Vanessa Huac. Huac appeared four times and took the role almost of civic educator on the *Noticiero* at times during the key dates in December, even appearing in front of a chalkboard to explain to viewers how the votes on the DREAM Act needed to turn out for it to pass. I noted her style of reporting because on some occasions she engaged in dispelling the myths of those against the policy. For example on December 9th (#77), she recapped that three Republican senators changed their stance from supporting the policy because, "it did NOTHING for border security." This echoed the second most used argument against the Act that I noted in Chapter VI. After stating their view on this, she dispelled it by sharing how much the current government had spent on border security:

> Sin embargo, la realidad es que aunque ellos digan esto, pues en este verano, el gobierno aprobó 600 millones de dolares, para asegurar la frontera y envió 1,200 tropas a la frontera. En el 2010, el gobierno deportó a 392,000 inmigrantes indocumentados. Esta es una cifra, record, desde de que se tienen registro. Para muchos, la respuesta de la seguridad en la frontera es simplemente una excusa, José.
> [However, the reality is that even if they say this, well this summer, the government approved 600 million dollars to secure the border, and it sent 1,200 troops to the border. In 2010, the government deported 392,000 undocumented

> immigrants. This is a record number, since they started keeping records. For many, the response about the security on the border is simply an excuse, José.]

This example shows how Huac's investigative skills allowed her to dispel the response about border security given by Republicans by providing the actual facts about border security in this country. Based on this episode, Huac did not appear as either for or against the DREAM Act because she presented both sides of the argument even though her response in this case was to those opposed to it. In her role as a policy actor, she informed the audience and labeled the tactics of the three Republicans as "excuses." Moments like this one seemed to move the debate forward so that one could ask opponents, Why then do you not support this policy? The answer might reveal the racist nativist reality this country still finds itself in.

Myth-dispelling also occurred in face-to-face moments with Huac and those who opposed the policy. On one occasion that stood out to me from all of the stories I reviewed, she did reveal a supportive stance toward the DREAM Act when fact-checking Israel Ortega, a representative from the anti-immigrant organization, The Heritage Foundation, on December 17th (#98), the day before the vote in the Senate. In this segment, Huac framed the question to Ortega by describing DREAMers as exceptional, then asked him why his organization was against it. Ortega then shared that although students would benefit, there would also be people who had committed crimes who would benefit from the DREAM Act as well. This furthered the idea that immigrants were criminals. Right after this statement, Huac and fellow reporter Rogelio Mora-Tangle responded in the following way:

> Ms. Huac interrupted Mr. Ortega, "No, los que han cometido delitos, no califican señor! Señor Ortega. Tienen que tener una, una buen caracter moral (she extends her hand out at Rogelio)." Rogelio says, "Exactamente, es uno de los requisitos. Creo que alli, hay una imprecision."
> [Ms. Huac interrupted Mr. Ortega, "No, those who have committed a crime, do not qualify, sir! Mr. Ortega. They have to have a, good moral character (She

> extended her hand out at Rogelio).” Rogelio says, “Exactly, it’s one of the requirements. I think that there, there is an imprecision.”]

After this response by the reporters, Ortega was allowed to respond and in an incoherent way he said that from his understanding someone who had committed a crime could qualify, then he went on to say that no one knew who wrote the policy or what exactly it said. As I demonstrated in my policy analysis chapter, the content of the policy was clearly stated. Huac and Mora-Tagle recognized this as well and rebutted with language from the actual policy documents, language not often used by television news reporters. After allowing Ortega to finish his response, they said goodbye to him, took him off the screen, and once again repeated a statement similar to the one above. Mora-Tagle closed by saying that Ortega, “estaba mal informado” [was misinformed]. Huac and Mora-Tagle used their knowledge of the policy to correct information that was not accurate. In both examples this demonstrated that those on Telemundo were willing to show the “other” side, but the cost of this was that it was responded to with facts and research.

Noticiero Univision

Noticiero Univision had the second most frequent coverage of the DREAM Act. From September to December 2010, they covered this issue 37 times on evening news, only one less time than Telemundo. However, segments about the DREAM Act on Univision on average were half as long at 2.7 minutes versus on Telemundo where they were on average 5.4 minutes long (see Appendix D). Just as on Telemundo, on key dates surrounding the policy, it was covered on Univision. On Univision, the reporters who covered the DREAM Act the most were Jorge Ramos and Maria Elena Salinas, both long-time anchors on Univision. Jorge Ramos in particular is known as a proponent of immigrants’ rights as a Mexican immigrant himself. He has written

several books on this topic and was a prominent public figure in the Latino community and beyond.[49]

In this section, I focus on the strategies that reporters used to discuss the DREAM Act and how I interpreted this as their role as policy actors. Although Jorge Ramos was the anchor, I found that his reporting on the topic during this time frame was very short; he mostly gave updates on the status of the policy and introduced the story that would be elaborated on later by another reporter. Unlike their counterpart, José Díaz-Balart, during this time and on this show, Jorge Ramos and María Elena Salinas did not interview DREAMers personally and instead were interviewed by correspondents usually on location in places like Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. Although this was the case, Jorge Ramos mentioned that interviews with DREAMers occurred on his Sunday morning show, *Al Punto*, which I did not include in my data sources. Most themes identified for Univision were similar to the ones I discussed for Telemundo. For example, Univision also had a regular correspondent in Washington, DC (Lourdes Meluzá) who presented segments about the DREAM Act similar to the format I described from correspondent Lori Montenegro, both networks socially constructed DREAMers in positive ways, and both shared the perspective of groups opposed to and in support of the DREAM Act. So in this section I focus on two themes that stood out about Univision: (a) how they informed viewers about the DREAM Act on key dates and (b) how they addressed the reality that awaited DREAMers due to the failure of the DREAM Act.

Keeping the public informed on the DREAM Act. Just as I shared the examples from Telemundo where reporters informed their viewers on civic engagement and the details of the policy, reporters on Univision did the same. This theme was one that very clearly positioned

[49] See http://jorgeramos.com/en/biography/

those on this network as policy actors. One example (#61) of this occurred a week before the vote in the House when Maria Elena Salinas spoke in the studio and said the following:

> El apoyo y la presión para que el "DREAM Act" sea sometido a voto finalmente en el Congreso se hace por todos los medios, con marchas, reuniones, cartas, viajes, Internet—pero lo más directo es el teléfono—llamar a oficinas de los propios congresistas responsables de la decisión.
> [The support and the pressure so that the "DREAM Act" be put to a vote finally in Congress has been done through all forms of media, with marches, meetings, letters, trips, Internet—but the most direct is the telephone—calling into offices of the congressional people themselves who are responsible for the decision.]

After she shared this, she passed the news over to Jaime Garcia who was reporting from a phone bank in Los Angeles where many people were shown making calls in support of the DREAM Act. Although the message Salinas shared with viewers did not directly tell them to call their legislators, she explained to them that this was the most effective way to get through to them. Similar to Telemundo, there was an assumption here that the issue was important to viewers and that it may even impact some of them directly. By mentioning the other forms of engagement, Salinas also gave credence to the efforts that had been contributed thus far toward the vote on the DREAM Act. Additionally, by saying "finally" Salinas also implied that this was not the first time the DREAM Act had been presented, something very different from the English-language news.

One week later (#74) on the day of the vote in the House, Jorge Ramos shared an update with viewers about the policy. In his introduction to longer coverage on the DREAM Act with correspondent Lourdes Meluzá, Ramos provided an accurate analysis and then interpreted the latest news on the policy to relay to viewers the impact of what was to come in the Senate. In essence, he explained the political process:

> Hola, que tal? muy buenas noches, ESTA ES LA NOCHE DEL SUEÑO para muchos inmigrantes indocumentados aquí en los estados unidos. La cámara de representantes, de—el congreso norteamericano ha aprobado, por 216 votos a

> favor, la llamada ley del DREAM Act que legalizaría a miles de estudiantes indocumentados. Estas es una parte muy importante, pero no es suficiente, todavía falta que mañana vote el senado, y hasta el momento, no se tienen todavía, de acuerdo con cálculos de congresistas, los 60 votos necesarios debido a que no hay todavía un solo senador republicano que este abiertamente apoyando el DREAM Act.
> [Hello, how are you? Good evening, THIS IS THE NIGHT OF THE DREAM for many undocumented immigrants here in the United States. The House of Representatives, of—the North American Congress has approved, by 216 votes in favor, the so-called law, the DREAM Act, that would legalize thousands of undocumented students. This is a very important part, but it is not enough, the Senate still needs to vote tomorrow, and up to this moment, they don't have, according to estimates from Congress, the 60 votes necessary because there is still not one Republican senator who has openly supported the DREAM Act.]

In this example, first Jorge Ramos, in a pleased tone, used a play on words to emphasize that on this night a "dream" came true in a sense. He then acknowledged the reality that this favorable outcome impacted many people living in the United States, referring to them with the more positive terms of "undocumented immigrants" and "undocumented students." Although he seemed supportive of the outcome of the vote in the House, he cautioned viewers by saying that this vote was not enough, then he explained the need to get at least 60 votes in the Senate in order for the DREAM Act to pass successfully. This type of explanation of the political process in the English-language news was largely missing. On the next day (#78), María Elena Salinas continued this same type of coverage about the DREAM Act and before explaining what was next in the voting process in the Senate, she said, "los soñadores tendran que esperar un poco más para saber su destino." [The dreamers will have to wait a little more to know their destiny.] The social construction stood out here because she used the language used by DREAMers themselves of "soñadores" and then tied this policy not to their education or to their work opportunities were the DREAM Act to pass, but to their "destiny." In this moment, Salinas and Univision spoke to the importance of the issue for many in the immigrant community. She then

explained how many were working to convince Republicans to vote for the DREAM Act and closed by saying, “Lourdes Meluzá nos explica desde Washington, que ocurrió hoy en el senado, y cual será—el próximo paso a seguir.” [Lourdes Meluzá explains it to us from Washington, what happened today in the senate, and what will be—the next step to come.] By having the presence in Washington, DC, much like Telumundo, Univision communicated to viewers that they had current and trustworthy updates about the policy. There were many moments I explained up to this point where the English-language networks not only socially constructed DREAMers in negative ways, but also provided inaccurate information about the proposed policy to the public. We see in the three examples I have just shared and in the Telemundo examples I shared before, that yes, DREAMers and immigrants were socially constructed in positive and more humanizing ways, but more importantly, the public was not misled about the policy or the political process.

Addressing the realities of DREAMers. Not only did reporters on Univision explain the political process to their viewers, but they also addressed some of the major concerns that came with the reality of being an undocumented person in this country, one of them being deportation. In the moments I share below from the day before the Senate vote (#99), it seemed that the reporters were in many ways speaking directly to DREAMers. This was an emotional time for DREAMers and their allies, and the greater impact of the DREAM Act failure was virtually missing in English-language news—only ABC interviewed a DREAMer (#103) and asked him what this meant for him the day after the vote in the Senate. In the following example (see Table 24), just like some examples I shared from Telemundo, the images on screen helped add to the words spoken by Jorge Ramos.

Table 24

Jorge Ramos Discusses Deportation on Univision on 12/17/10

Spanish	**English**	**Text or image on screen**
Jorge Ramos: El departamento de seguridad interna. . .	The Department of Homeland Security. . .	DREAMers holding a banner that read "OUR DREAMS CAN'T WAIT"
. . . dijo esta tarde que se apruebe o no se apruebe el DREAM Act, se continuara enfocando. . .	. . . said this afternoon that whether the DREAM Act is approved or not, it will continue focusing	DREAMer young man holding yellow certificate that reads DREAM Act
. . . en perseguir a indocumentados	on pursuing undocumented individuals. . .	DREAMers in graduation clothing in Los Angeles cheering
. . . que han cometido delitos o crimines. . .	. . . who have committed misdemeanors or crimes. . .	Dreamers marching in support of DREAM act in front of Capitol
. . . en los estados unidos. Y esto, lo que sugiere, es que. . .	. . . in the United States. And this, he insists, is that. . .	Senate floor shown
. . . no tienen la intención de tomar medidas extraordinarias, ni deportar a estudiantes que han revelado públicamente, que se encuentran en el país ilegalmente.	. . . they don't intend to take extraordinary measures, nor deport students that have revealed publically, that they are in this country illegally.	

The example above stood out for a number of reasons. First, as I mentioned before, Ramos addressed the fact that many DREAMers might be fearing deportation if the DREAM Act were not to pass the next day. This message might be important for those who would qualify for the DREAM Act, but especially for DREAMers who risked their anonymity and came out publicly to advocate for the passage of the policy (Nicholls, 2013). The network showed examples of such DREAMers demonstrating in public in three images. Ramos's attention to the issue sent a completely different message than the English-language news networks relayed, where it was not about the lives and futures of young people, but instead about partisan politics. Additionally, by showing images of DREAMers as students in graduation clothing when talking about

"undocumented individuals who have committed misdemeanors or crimes," Ramos put these two groups in opposition to each other. He subtly challenged the images and discourse often present in English-language news such as FOX News about "illegal immigrants" as deviants and criminals, by instead describing some "undocumented individuals" as having "committed crimes." Here, the crime did not define this group of people like it did on English-language networks, where this representation dominated. Although the message that Ramos sent was a reassuring one, in the recent past, some DREAMers have still been at risk of deportation.[50] Still, he disrupted the dominant narrative by speaking about the DREAM Act and showing DREAMers in this way.

On December 18th, 2010, the day of the DREAM Act of 2010's failure, Univision had the most extensive coverage of all eight networks (#102).[51] The anchor on this day, Enrique Teuteló, prefaced the show by saying how difficult it would be for the DREAM Act to be debated once again in the next 2 years due to the partisan make-up. Although information was given to explain the outcome of the vote, more time was dedicated to showing how this outcome would impact DREAMers, and in a symbolic image, DREAMers were shown on screen crying and upset, one of them with a red graduation cap wiped her tears and held an American flag. This imagery seemed to symbolize how DREAMers would still not be allowed to become Americans because of this loss. Although the mood was somber on this day, something that stood out was how resilient the DREAMers were, and many of them interviewed vowed to continue fighting for the policy's passage. In the following example, I highlight testimonials from DREAMers and

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[50] See http://www.illegalmovie.org/index.html for students who were close to being deported. Additionally, *Los Otros Dreamers* (http://losotrosdreamers.org/) is a network of undocumented young immigrants who have been deported from the US.

[51] I limited my scope to evening news shows, so this may not reflect coverage on this day from other news shows and networks that aired programs at different times during the day.

commentary by correspondent Jaime García. There were numerous examples in this segment alone with the reactions from DREAMers, but in Table 25, I point to a few that were representative of the tone of the full segment.

Table 25

DREAMers React to Failure of the DREAM Act of 2010 on December 18, 2010.

	Spanish	**English**	**Text or image on screen**
1	DREAMer: Yo tengo peleando, para esto, lo que le llaman el DREAM Act, verdad? Que es mas que una legislación para nosotros. Es nuestras vidas.	DREAMer: I have been fighting for this, what they call the DREAM Act, right? It is more than legislation for us. It's our lives.	Young Latina woman speaks with a group behind her, including a priest. She speaks through tears.
2	Jaime García (reporter): El sueño no se hizo realidad, y las lagrimas que brotaban de los ojos de miles de estudiantes son testimonio del duro golpe para sus vidas.	Jaime García (reporter): The dream did not become a reality, and the tears that fell from the eyes of thousands of students are testimony of the hard blow this is for their lives.	Other young men and women shown crying, wearing graduation cap.
3	Later other DREAMer interviewed: Yo estoy aquí, parada, dando un entrevista, diciendo mi nombre, enseñando mi cara, y, para decir que soy indocumentado. Eso es tener mas valor que los senadores no votar.	Later other DREAMer interviewed: I am here, standing, granting an interview, saying my name, showing my face, and, to say that I am undocumented. This is what it is to have more courage than the senators not voting.	Wearing burgundy graduation regalia.
4	Jaime commented after other DREAMers had spoken: Pero después de este trago amargo, muchos jóvenes señalaron, que este no será el final de su sueño.	Jaime commented after other DREAMers had spoken: But after this rough time, many young people signaled that this is not the end of their dream.	Rally shown where students chant, and a sign is shown that reads, "We aren't criminals, We are DREAMers!"
5	Another DREAMer said: Yo estoy muy decepcionada, pero vamos a continuar.	Another DREAMer said: I am very disappointed, but we are going to continue.	
6	Jaime García closed: Si bien, como nunca antes, hoy el DREAM Act estuvo a punto de convertirse en ley. Para esos estudiantes que tienen hasta diez años luchando por convertir su sueño en realidad, esto no significa el final del camino.	Jaime García closed: Well, like never before, today the DREAM Act was almost going to become law. For these students who have been fighting for more than 10 years to make their dream a reality, this is not the end of the road.	

Though the mood was somber and many tears were both shown and described in the excerpts above, what stood out was the strength the DREAMers demonstrated in spite of this great loss. Jaime García as the representative of Univision not only reported on the DREAM Act, but he summarized DREAMers' feelings in ways that matched what they were saying. He gave credit to the long-struggle by DREAMers that led to the vote that day and although it failed, the segment ended on a note of hope and perseverance. Additionally, through a play on words, in all three of the excerpts above where he spoke, he used the word "dream" to describe the impact of this vote. He said phrases like, "The dream did not become a reality," "This is not the end of their dream," and "Fighting more than 10 years to make their dream a reality." In this last phrase, he also reiterated that the DREAM Act was not a new policy when mentioning that DREAMers had fought for it for 10 years. I selected only a few students of the several interviewed during this segment to highlight above, but others echoed these sentiments. In these examples, DREAMers once again told their counter-story. Although emotional, they appeared fearless toward those who voted against the policy, and they shared that they were ready to continue their fight. Finally, throughout the many examples above, the DREAM Act was once again seen as more than legislation, but as something impacting the lives of thousands.

Not letting the issue be forgotten after it failed, Univision continued to highlight the DREAM Act and 2 days after the vote on December 20th (#107) sought to explain to viewers why the DREAM Act did not pass and what the impact would be on students. On this day, they told the story of DREAMer Gabriela and positioned her as a college student with hope despite the great loss she experienced through the failure of the DREAM Act. Table 26 contains the words spoken by the reporter, Gabriela, and the images shown during this story. Preceding this segment, Jorge Ramos introduced it by talking about the "reality" these young people faced now

that the DREAM Act had failed, and he poignantly asked, “Que pasó con el sueño? Que paso con el DREAM Act?” [What happened with the dream? What happened with the DREAM Act?] He said this while an image of 15 graduates with diplomas appeared over the map of the United States with the words “Y AHORA QUE?” [NOW WHAT?]. Below I share most of the segment because it demonstrated how even though this was just the story of one DREAMer, Univision used it to represent the story of many more.

Table 26

DREAMer Gabriela Interviewed by Univision on December 20, 2010

	Spanish	**English**	**Text or image on screen**
2	Luis Megid: Nunca fue fácil, pero el optimismo propio de la juventud, los ayudó a estudiar y luchar por un camino hacia la legalización.	Luis Megid: It was never easy, but the optimism of the young helped them to study and fight for a path toward legalization.	Students walking outside. “SUEÑO APLAZADO” [DREAM CRUSHED]. Then the gates of a campus on screen.
3	Megid: Este fin de semana, el senado les cerro las puertas.	Megid: This weekend, the Senate closed the gates.	Senate chamber shown.
4	Megid: Y ahora Gabriela M., como muchos otros estudiantes indocumentados, no sabe que hacer con su vida.	Megid: And now, Gabriela M., like many other undocumented students, does not know what to do with her life.	Young woman with a Cal sweatshirt walks up some stairs.
5	Gabriela: Estoy empezando a reconsiderar las cosas, y, no se, estoy en el limbo, no se si, quedarme acá y luchar un poco mas, por el, por el acta de los sueños o irme de regreso a mi país cuando ya no haya nada que hacer.	Gabriela: I am beginning to reconsider things, and, I don’t know, I am in limbo, I don’t know if, to stay here and fight a little more, for it, for the DREAM Act or go back to my country when there isn’t anything else to do.	Camera faces her in her home.
6	Megid: Son muchos los que se hacen esa pregunta. [Then megid interviews an immigration expert and White House Staff.]	Megid: There are many who ask themselves this question. [Then megid interviews an immigration expert and White House staff.]	Outside, stairs shown with two people walking, one wears a backpack. Then student shown studying.
7	Megid: Hoy en universidades como estas, no se habla de sueños, sino de realidades. Y la realidad que les a tocado a estos jóvenes, tiene un gusto amargo. Pero ninguno de ellos, al menos ninguno de los jóvenes con los que hemos hablado en los últimos días, lo ve como una derrota permanente.	Megid: Today, in universities like this one, they aren’t talking about dreams, but about realities. And the reality that has touched these young people, has a sour taste. But not one of them, at least from the young people who we have talked to in the last days, sees it as a total loss.	Luis appears on screen in front of a green college gate. The text indicates he’s in Berkeley, California.

	Spanish	English	Text or image on screen
8	Megid: Después de pensarlo un rato, Gabriela esta dispuesta a luchar.	Megid: After thinking about it a little bit, Gabriela is ready to fight.	Gabriela appears again as she carries a binder into her apartment.
9	Gabriela: Estoy segura de que hay muchos, muchos, activistas que están luchando por el DREAM Act, que, que están seguros de que se van a quedar acá y siguen con las esperanzas de que algo va a suceder.	Gabriela: I am sure that there are many, many, activists who are fighting for the DREAM Act, that, that are sure that they are going to stay here, and they continue with the hope that something is going to happen.	
10	Megid: Para ella y para otros, el sueño sigue vivo.	Luis: For her and for others, the dream is alive.	Video image of Gabriela sitting at a desk with a cup and a rose. Seems hopeful.

Throughout this segment, Megid's tone showed concern not only for Gabriela's future but for the futures of all DREAMers. This was another example where through a play on words, the words "reality" and "dream" were used to relay the message about what this loss meant and how it might play out in the day-to-day lives of DREAMers. Although most of the words spoken above were by the reporter and not the DREAMer, he used her story to relate it to others who may be struggling due to this loss. He also used images and symbolism to relay this message, such as showing the gates of the university when he mentioned that the Senate "closed the gates." This and other higher education images sent the message that this network saw the DREAM Act as something about higher education that was now blocked for DREAMers. This message stood in sharp contrast to the one portrayed on FOX News on this day where a man was shown crossing under the border fence. Here, Megid credited DREAMers' long struggles and as if speaking to DREAMers that may be losing hope, he shared that the DREAMers the network had spoken to were ready to fight and were not giving up due to this loss. In this short segment, Gabriela's mood changed from hopelessness where she talked about her life as being in limbo in this country to being hopeful at the end, thanks to the activism of others like her. This moment made me wonder about the dialogue that Gabriela and Megid might have had in between recording, it

almost seemed as though he shared with her what other DREAMers said to him. The segment ended with an image of Gabriela sitting at a desk with a blooming rose while Megid said, "The dream is alive." This type of coverage was also prevalent on Telemundo the days after the DREAM Act failed; attention was paid to the emotional well-being of DREAMers and what their futures would look like now that the policy had not passed. In many ways, they represented a more humanized coverage of DREAmers and the impact of the policy.

Discussion: The Social and Political Implications of Reporters as Policy Actors

> American journalism has an important responsibility to help safeguard the nation's democracy by providing the electorate with accurate information about the state of the nation and reliable depictions of daily events. As part of its Fourth Estate responsibilities, television news in particular should strive to depict the various U.S. Latino populations as a significant portion of the body politic. Otherwise, the electorate, which depends on television news to form its views, will not be equipped to address contentious issues that it associates with this population. (Santa Ana, 2013, p. 14)
>
> In keeping with the Society of Professional Journalists' code of ethics, they [excellent stories] cultivate a knowledgeable electorate who are better able to participate in the civil discourse necessary to sustain a strong democracy. (Santa Ana, 2013, p. 150)

In this chapter, I discussed the eight television networks I observed for my study and evaluated the main actors' positions on each of these networks' evening news shows (see Table 18) by evaluating the words, intonation, and images they used to discuss the topic. Going network by network, I presented how the coverage of the DREAM Act occurred—this coverage ranged from almost being nonexistent (CBS) to being covered for more than 200 minutes (Telemundo) over the 4-month span (see Appendix D). The difference in coverage I found by type of networks (cable/non-cable and English/Spanish) meant that the DREAM Act and DREAMers were represented in different and often contradictory ways. In this section, I close the chapter by examining the implications of reporters as policy actors.

In Chapter V, I discussed some policy implications of different ideological positions present in the DREAM Act policy itself (Anderson & Dumas, 2014). In this chapter, by examining the role that reporters played as policy actors while reporting on the DREAM Act, I continued to look at the policy implications and include here the social implications that come from the ideological positions present in news media (Santa Ana, 2013). As Santa Ana (2013) noted, the representation of Latinos in the English-language news networks were largely missing and when they were present, Latinos were stereotyped as "immigrants" or "criminals." Santa Ana argued that journalists have a responsibility to inform the public and that having a well-informed public strengthens our society as a democracy. Santa Ana also raised several points that were relevant to my analysis and the coverage I observed; one being that by not including Latinos adequately, "the electorate . . . will not be equipped to address contentious issues that it associates with this population" (p. 14) and two, that good coverage and stories of political issues allow the electorate to "participate in the civil discourse necessary to sustain a strong democracy" (p. 150). So if coverage about a group of immigrants such as DREAMers is either not present or inadequate on particular networks, the public will not be equipped to address the issues entailed in this complex policy. In my analysis, I saw a combination of both poor and excellent news stories. As I watched and analyzed these stories, I often walked away feeling cheated as a viewer. Because I knew the outcome and studied the policy in depth, I identified that some coverage I observed was not adequate or accurate. In turn, the excellent stories left me feeling as if I learned something new, and I felt challenged in my original thinking of the policy. Coming from this perspective and taking Santa Ana's points into consideration, I now reflect on how network news either helped or hindered the viewing public in participating successfully in civil discourse about an issue such as the DREAM Act.

Although FOX News had a reputation for taking an anti-immigrant stance and portraying immigrants negatively, I thought it was important to pay attention to the ways in which they represented the DREAM Act. Yes, I expected negative coverage of a policy like the DREAM Act on this network, but the strategies employed to report on this policy are still important to reveal. I found that reporters on this network's evening news show never aimed to present both sides of the story and sometimes even communicated false information about the policy. I also found the story of those most impacted by the policy was completely missing from this network's DREAM Act coverage. DREAMers were never interviewed on the shows I observed and instead the network relied on an "all star panel" to present views on the DREAM Act. Guests on such panels were positioned as policy experts; they usually spoke against the policy and reiterated negative social constructions of DREAMers. Although coverage of the failed policy was limited on this network, when it was presented it reinforced the idea of immigrants as criminals by portraying images of immigrants being arrested or illegally crossing the border. These visual metaphors of brown bodies, handcuffs, and borders likely impacted the way viewers constructed their views on the policy and this group of people (Santa Ana, 2013)—the DREAM Act on FOX became more about securing the border against "illegal immigrants" than about higher education for undocumented young people raised in the United States. It may be the case that someone who tended to take a pro-immigrant or pro-DREAM Act stance would watch this news show and immediately discredit what was on screen, but someone from the network's target audience might have thought the DREAM Act was questionable since it was portrayed as "taking away" resources from United States citizens. One key social implication is that DREAMers, like other immigrants, continue to be seen as the Other, and an important policy

implication is that the DREAM Act itself continues to be perceived as a negative policy with no benefits for "Americans" or the United States.

After I discussed what I found on FOX News, I shared findings from MSNBC where Ed Schultz took a supportive to neutral stance toward the DREAM Act. Comparing the coverage between FOX and MSNBC, coverage about the proposed policy on MSNBC was much more accurate, and Ed Schultz made no qualms that he thought the policy should be passed. Just as Bret Baier on FOX invited guests to comment on the policy, so did Schultz. But his guests were those generally in support of the DREAM Act, including sponsoring legislators—however he also included the perspective of Republican Tom Tancredo and more moderate supporters. MSNBC is generally assumed to be more liberal than FOX, and although this seemed to be the case in my findings on one occasion Ed Schultz referred to DREAMers with a negative term. He called them "illegal immigrants." Lastly, MSNBC stood out in its coverage because of the mention of race when discussing Glenn Beck's rant against the DREAM Act and how he believed it hurt White Americans. This was an example of generally covert forms of racial discourses, being communicated in an overt way (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Haney López (2006) commented that in society a duality exists between racial groups and, "Whites continue to be defined, and to define themselves, as the positive opposite to minorities, even with respect to citizenship and alienage" (p. 118). This was evident in this segment with Glenn Beck where he defined White Americans positively compared to immigrants who would benefit from the DREAM Act.

My analysis of CNN coverage demonstrated that one cannot label FOX News as the only network portraying the DREAM Act inaccurately and DREAMers in a negative way. The coverage on this network was neutral or negative depending on which reporter was covering the

story, but in general, they adopted the same language of illegality to refer to DREAMers and other immigrants. The anchor of the program, Wolf Blitzer, tended to cover the issue as one of controversy but relayed how it might impact the lives of DREAMers. Reporter Jack Cafferty's coverage of the issue on December 9th (#75) represented much of the negative coverage of the issue, and on this day, he used repetition by often referring to DREAMers as "illegal immigrants" and "illegal aliens." Although this segment was structured as a forum to communicate several viewpoints, it only succeeded in making the arguments against the DREAM Act seem more favorable. However, CNN was the only one of the three cable networks where DREAMers appeared and were given airtime to tell their counter-stories. In these stories reported by Mary Snow, CNN gave a glimpse into the real lives of these students and how the policy would impact their lives in a positive way. Although mostly positive representations appeared in these segments due to the DREAMers representing themselves, Snow's representation of the issue was inconsistent, and she used terms like "undocumented immigrants" and "illegal immigrants" interchangeably and relayed inaccurate information about the then proposed policy. Because her coverage of the issue was in the midst of the DREAM Act debate in the Senate, this inconsistency should not be taken lightly. In all, viewers of this network seemed to get a more complex perspective of the issue, and because narratives were built about who the DREAMers were, these viewers may give more consideration to the issue and perhaps even be able to contribute to the civil discourse on the issue in more balanced ways.

As far as coverage on ABC and CBS, there was really only one story on each network that stood out as more than just a brief mention. On ABC, this occurred the day after the DREAM Act failed in the Senate (#103), and on CBS (#100), this coverage was only 11 seconds long and more of a sound bite. On ABC, viewers were exposed to a DREAMer after he faced the

reality that the DREAM Act failed—this was the only English-language news network to address this point from the perspective of a DREAMer after the vote in the Senate. This stood out because it seemed that on the other English-language networks the issue was largely forgotten. This story seemed to relay to viewers that no matter where they stood on the issue, they should consider how the policy's failure was personal for students like Diego.

Although much less frequent than the coverage on the other English-language cable networks, NBC had more substantive coverage, evident especially when it presented the perspective of DREAMers and an education professor with expertise in issues of education and immigration (#72). This was the only English-language network to invite this type of expert to speak on this issue. Additionally, on this same day, the reporter used the more humanizing term "without papers" to refer to the legal status of DREAMers and when showing opponents of the policy, he mentioned the reality that DREAMers were considered "unwanted" by many. I evaluated this an "excellent story" according to Santa Ana's (2013) standards because it did not just briefly mention either side of this contentious issue, but exposed viewers to personal aspects of the policy, research about it, and views from those in opposition. Lewis also demonstrated that networks can provide information about many aspects of a policy without further marginalizing a group such as DREAMers who were already subject to marginalization in society. In essence, NBC provided a rich narrative about the issue. Although the coverage on NBC occurred on key dates, I continue to wonder why the policy was not even mentioned until December. This raises the question, what, if any, role do we want members of the news media to play as policy actors before a policy is about to be decided upon by our political leaders? If we, as public consumers and as concerned citizens want to be informed in part by the news media, then the three non-cable networks could have improved their coverage by increasing both their frequency and depth

of coverage of the issue. Indeed, it is the news media's responsibility to contribute pertinent political information to members of a democratic society, as Moses (2007) has argued.

Lastly, I witnessed a completely different form of reporting on Telemundo and Univision than that of the English-language news. Although I labeled these networks as supportive toward issues surrounding the DREAM Act, they also provided the most accurate information and aimed to show multiple sides of the issue. On English-language news, this policy was represented as much more partisan, but on Univision and Telemundo they did not seem to favor a particular party. But it seemed that they wanted to build a narrative about the issue (Santa Ana, 2013). Although I noted that they interviewed members of known anti-immigrant groups, the comments by these groups were challenged if they did not seem accurate. Both networks also provided a much more complex representation of Latinos. For example, on several occassions they interviewed conservative Latinos opposed to the DREAM Act. Both networks provided a more positive representation of the DREAMers as students and interviewed numerous DREAMers, where DREAMers themselves were able to tell their stories. After the DREAM Act failed, both networks did not focus on the loss for the politicians in support of the Act, as they did on FOX News. Instead, they focused on the real life impact on DREAMers. In all, reporters on these networks seemed to understand how important the issue was to their viewers and also assumed that some viewers might be undocumented immigrants themselves.

I found that on both Univision and Telemundo, reporters informed their viewers about the political process: they informed their public how they might contact their legislators without assuming if they might support or oppose the DREAM Act, they mentioned the different ways of garnering support for the issue, and they credited the campaign work DREAMers accomplished across the nation in the pursuit of the DREAM Act. When considering Santa Ana's (2013) point

about the need to have an electorate equipped to "participate in the civil discourse necessary to sustain a strong democracy" (p. 150), it seemed that both of these networks had this goal. I grew up watching Univision and Telemundo with my parents but spent my adult years more engaged in English-language television. Revisiting these two networks made me feel as if by watching only English-language news, I had been cheated of important information regarding critical issues in our country. I do not think this difference is solely based on the language of the news, but on the ideologies embedded in how the news stories get created (Abrajano & Singh, 2008).

Thus far, I have presented how each of the eight major networks' reporters represented the DREAM Act and DREAMers on their evening news shows. No matter how brief some of the stories I observed were, they all sought to inform their viewers' points of view, whether accurately or not. Santa Ana (2013) argued the following:

> News stories are more than journalistic lists of facts; they are social practices within social orders with which individuals engage. People learn to function in society by engaging these discourses and the image-defined characteristics that are set up in the news narratives (Santa Ana, 2013, p. 25).

The new stories I observed were designed in specific ways and once out in the public, they impacted how someone might develop their ideas not only about the DREAM Act, but also about young undocumented immigrants, all undocumented immigrants, Latinos, and the issue of immigration. When considering how the DREAM Act has failed to pass time and time again, one has to ask how reporters as policy actors, relaying information about the policy and its target population, might have influenced the outcome of the policy. What if traditional English-language mainstream television networks represented the DREAM Act in the way that Telemundo and Univision did all the time? Might this have changed the outcome of the policy deliberations? It is difficult to say exactly, but at the very least more people watching English-language news would have their "wisdom" about immigrants challenged; at best, viewers would

learn more about who the immigrants in this country are and what their contributions are to the nation.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this dissertation, I conducted a content analysis of the DREAM Act from 2009 - 2012 and a multimodal CDA of the evening news coverage of this failed policy on eight major television networks to understand how the DREAM Act was framed and how DREAMers were legally and socially constructed. In this final chapter, I first share an overview of the methods and major findings of this study, then I discuss how I view the evening news coverage of the DREAM Act and DREAMers as a racial project (Omi & Winant, 1994) and finally I share the educational significance of this study as well and plans for future research.

Summary of Methods and Findings

The following research questions guided this study:

Primary Question 1*:* How did policymakers frame the DREAM Act from 2009 to 2012?

a. What were the purpose and requirements of the DREAM Act?
    i. What were the main differences among the various versions of the DREAM Act?
    ii. Were there particular versions of the DREAM Act that stood out? Why?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed within the DREAM Act?

Primary Question 2: How was the DREAM Act of 2010 represented in evening television news?

a. What discursive practices were used by networks to frame the DREAM Act policy?
b. How were DREAMers portrayed in evening television news?
c. What were the similarities and/or differences between the discursive practices of the different networks?

Primary Question 3: What role did members of the news media play as policy actors?

I addressed each of the primary questions and their corresponding secondary questions in three different findings chapters. First, in order to evaluate what the news media covered about the policy, I first had to understand what the DREAM Act policy entailed. Therefore to answer primary question one, I analyzed and compared 10 versions of the DREAM Act that were presented in Congress from 2009 to 2012. In Chapter V, I shared that I found that the purpose statement of the proposed policy changed dramatically in late 2010 and that it transformed from a policy that very clearly was about higher education for the undocumented through the repeal of IIRIRA to one that did not include this provision. This meant that were it to pass, DREAMers who qualified for this version might have a difficult time qualifying for in-state tuition rates if states felt that they were not obligated to provide such benefit to this population (Olivas, 2004). In addition, I discussed how the requirements became more strict beginning in November 2010. Some of these changes seemed to reflect a false assumption that immigrants are criminals, and the policy also excluded DREAMers who aged out due to new age limits. I shared how these strict requirements seemed to be a result of pushback from Republicans like Senator Jeff Sessions. Finally, I examined how DREAMers were legally constructed in the policy itself, and I found that DREAMers were overwhelmingly referred to as "aliens," a legal term (Johnson, 1996), but one that has been questioned even by immigration legal scholars who argue that this is an uneccesary term and there are more humane alternatives. I closed the findings chapters by discussing what the policy implications of the ideological positions present in the DREAM Act might be (Dumas & Anderson, 2014), especially as it went through significantly different iterations.

In Chapter VI, I addressed primary question two and its subquestions. Here I aimed to understand how the DREAM Act was framed and how DREAMers were socially constructed

during the period from September to December 2010. This time frame represented the time leading up to the votes on the DREAM Act of 2010 in the House and the Senate in December 2010. Using multimodal CDA, I analyzed 120 evening news stories from two major television archives. The first step in analysis was viewing the video. Later I transcribed and created content logs for all 120 stories, and finally, I coded all content logs and delved further into a few cases that stood out. My goal in engaging in this exercise was to begin to understand the discursive practices used by various actors to frame the DREAM Act and represent DREAMers. Engaging in this type of research led me to identify major themes related to the arguments against and in support of the DREAM Act and the negative and positive social constructions of DREAMers. To discuss these themes, I first shared how frequent these themes occurred, and then I delved into key examples to understand in a more complex way how each issue was framed. For example, I found that the arguments against the policy were present in both English- and Spanish-language news, but they were shared in very different ways. On FOX News, the negative framing was employed by reporters of the network, but on networks like Telemundo and Univision, arguments against the policy were shared by guests brought on to discuss the policy and not by reporters themselves. Relatedly, positive social constructions of DREAMers sometimes appeared in my transcripts of FOX News, but once I analyzed the images of migrants crossing the border and the negative tone accompanying a term such as "children," I found that the stories reaffirmed anti-immigrant ideologies. This was one of those instances that demonstrated the importance of digging into the issues more deeply through multimodal CDA; relying only on what was said would have incorrectly characterized FOX News as portraying DREAMers in a positive way.

By and large, I found that opponents of the DREAM Act framed it as something having to do with "amnesty" that would lead to more "illegal immigration," and supporters instead

focused on the positive contributions DREAMers could make to American society if the DREAM Act passed. Arguments opposed to and in support of the policy were mentioned on both Spanish-language networks, but for the most part only arguments against the policy were present on English-language news. Another major finding was that those who socially constructed DREAMers negatively described them as "illegal immigrants" and "illegal aliens." These terms appeared overwhelmingly on English-language news; on Spanish-language news DREAMers were socially constructed in positive ways as "students" and "young people." I found that when appearing on evening news, DREAMers themselves presented their point of view as counter-stories to argue in support of the DREAM Act and to socially construct themselves in positive ways.

Finally in Chapter VII, I continued the CDA analysis to address the last primary research question where I examined the roles of reporters as policy actors. Taking into account the findings from Chapter VI, I determined whether a network and its reporters were in support, opposed to, or neutral toward the DREAM Act. Past studies have confirmed the conservative perspective that FOX News tends to take (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012), and my findings confirmed this as well. I found that on FOX News, the English-language network with the most coverage during the time, reporters very openly took an anti-immigrant, anti-DREAM Act stance. In these stories, they only aimed to show the side in opposition and they never interviewed DREAMers. MSNBC had the second most frequent coverage for English-language news, and the news show's namesake, Ed Schultz, took a mostly pro-DREAM Act stance, inviting politicians in support to speak on the issue. CNN coverage varied depending on the reporter, but oftentimes, similar to FOX News, DREAMers were framed as "illegal immigrants" and sometimes as "illegal aliens." This finding differs from prior studies that labeled CNN as more left leaning

than FOX (Groseclose & Milyo, 2005 as cited in Gil de Zuñiga et al., 2012) However, this cable network stood out because it was the only one that showed the perspective from DREAMers themselves. I found that coverage on non-cable English-language news was virtually nonexistent, but on ABC and NBC one story on each network stood out in how they invited DREAMers to tell their own stories. NBC also represented the only English-language network that invited an education researcher with expertise in this area to speak on the issue.

The last two networks I discussed were Telemundo and Univision, and they stood out not only because of their positive stance toward the DREAM Act, but because of how extensive and accurate the information on these networks was. Both networks provided rich narratives on the issue. These two networks also differed from the English-language networks in that they explicitly pointed out to their viewers how they could be civically engaged on the issue. I also found that a major difference between English-language news and Spanish-language news was that the issue was framed as partisan on English-language news, that is, as having to do with Republicans and Democrats "political agendas," and as nonpartisan and more directly about the undocumented students in the Spanish-language media. When the DREAM Act Senate loss was covered on and after December 18th, on English-language news this loss was seen as mostly impacting political leaders such as Democratic Senator Harry Reid and President Obama, but on Telemundo and Univision, the lives of undocumented students were at the forefront of the concerns with this loss.

The DREAM Act News Coverage as a Racial Project

Based on my theoretical framework, I view immigration and immigrants in this country, especially those perceived as Mexican, as highly racialized. Consider this example of a public figure who racialized Latino immigrants. Republican presidential candidate and businessman

Donald Trump's tirade against Mexican immigrants took place while I was writing this dissertation in June 2015. In his campaign announcement speech, Trump called all Mexicans who cross the border, "criminals" and "rapists."[52] This was an overt form of racist speech that directly invoked the portrayal of Mexican immigrants as criminals that Santa Ana (2013) and van Dijk (2004) have noted in their research on immigrant representations in the media, yet it has not been noted or examined in that light by many in the mainstream media. In many of the news articles and blogs that have covered this event, Trump was not directly accused of racism, but as being biased against an ethnic group and/or immigrants in general. Although bias directed towards a group of people is harmful, it is a less inflammatory term that seems to avoid the issue of racism directly. For example, in a 2014 CNN interview with Crystal Moten,[53] a professor of History at Dickinson College spoke on the killing of Michael Brown by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. She said, "The idea of calling it racial bias lessens the blow. . . . Do you want to lessen the blow or do you want to eradicate racism? I want to eradicate racism" (Blake, 2014, para. 28-29). For many, including the millions of Latinos and allies who have spoken out against Trump, this speech was interpreted as a racist attack on all Latinos. Based on the definition that Omi and Winant (1994) share regarding a racial project, that it is "*racist* if and only if it *creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race,"* (p. 71) Trump's speech was a racist one; this example further supports the idea that in this country, immigrants are a racialized group.

I opened this section with the Donald Trump example because it demonstrates that overt instances of racist discourse against immigrants are still challenged as not being about race. Yet,

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[52] See http://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-donald-trump-announces-his-presidential-candidacy/
[53] See http://www.cnn.com/2014/11/26/us/ferguson-racism-or-racial-bias/

there were consequences to the hateful words spoken by Trump, even fellow Republican presidential hopefuls such as Jeb Bush, Mike Huckabee, and Rick Perry distanced themselves from Trump's comments and corporations such as Univision, NBC Universal, Macy's and others have severed business ties with him, but it is difficult to tease out whether they severed these ties because they saw his speech as racist or as biased against immigrants, or both. The theoretical lenses of CRT, racial projects and color-blind racism point out that it is important to call bias against Latino immigrants in this country what it is, and this is racism. Additionally, CRT calls for social change (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). For example, DeCuir and Dixson mentioned that CRT, "has an activist aspect, the end goal of which is to bring change that will implement social justice" (Crenshaw, 1995 as cited in DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27). So referring back to the comments by Professor Moten above, identifying the racism prevalent in the media against Latino immigrants can be one step towards eradicating racism towards this group. Also important, and in contrast to overt discourse like Trump's, how do we address and challenge the covert racial discourses (Bonilla-Silva, 2014) aimed at immigrants, specifically Latinos, on a day-to-day basis? This question gets to one of the reasons I examined the DREAM Act and DREAMers on mainstream television news coverage. As an education scholar committed to social justice and equitable educational opportunities, I have been interested in the DREAM Act as a policy issue that would grant access to higher education to a marginalized group of students. Yet, the media coverage on this issue, especially as I witnessed on English-language news, continues to be embedded in the larger dominant discourse of "illegal immigration," which has perhaps further hindered the passage of federal policies such as Comprehensive Immigration Reform and the DREAM Act. Through multimodal CDA, I identified numerous instances of racialized discourse about DREAMers and other immigrants made apparent through images,

videos, intonation and spoken words. This type of hidden discourse does not often get the public attention and outcry that overt instances of racial discourse get, but the implications of this type of speech are very real. The news stories that I analyzed represented the racial ideologies of the networks and their reporters, and these ideologies were then relayed to those watching, people whose positions on the DREAM Act and views of DREAMers might be influenced by these representations. For example, scholars such as Zúñiga et al. (2012) demonstrated that exposure to news coverage on FOX News influenced negative perceptions that not only conservative, but also liberal viewers had of immigrants and immigration policies. Additionally, if viewers are not familiar with or interact on a daily basis with Latino immigrants, they may interpret the messages about DREAMers and immigrants on English-language news as truths about this group of people. Beyond how viewers' perceptions are shaped, DREAMers and the greater immigrant community might also be impacted by the way they are portrayed in the media. Uncovering the exact implications of this coverage on the lives of immigrants was beyond the scope of this study, but it is something that warrants further exploration.

As I quoted in Chapter III, Bonilla-Silva (2014) makes the following argument: "…the ruling ideology expresses as 'common sense' the interests of the dominant race, while oppositional ideologies attempt to challenge that common sense by providing alternative frames, ideas, and stories based on the experiences of subordinated races (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 10)." Through my analyses, I have shown how the ruling ideology was expressed in different ways, among them that DREAMers were described as "illegal aliens" and "illegal immigrants" on networks such as FOX News and CNN. However, oppositional ideologies and counter-stories were evident in the Spanish-language news and in a handful English-language news stories. For example, in those instances where a more complex picture of the DREAM Act was painted,

DREAMers were often invited to tell their stories in their own words. Telemundo and Univision provided the "alternative frames" mentioned by Bonilla-Silva, yet they also reminded viewers of the arguments in opposition to the policy and encouraged them to become civically informed. As both of these networks continue to make gains in their ratings and also cross over to providing bilingual and English-language news (e.g., Univision's partnership with Disney/ABC called Fusion Media Network or José Díaz Balart's morning news show on MSNBC), there is an important opportunity to bring more of the oppositional ideologies to wider audiences.

Educational Significance and Future Research

The motivation behind this study was my interaction with undocumented students, families, and school counselors as a college outreach counselor in Texas almost 10 years ago. When sharing information with these groups about the Texas in-state tuition bill (House Bill 1403/Senate Bill 1528), legislation that is currently in jeopardy of being eliminated in Texas, I found that there were many misconceptions around the policy even though it had been in place for 7 years at the time. In this role, I began thinking about how policy information gets disseminated, how policies are implemented, how they are discussed, and how they impact the communities they are designed to help. My goal as a counselor was to make sure that any student I encountered knew that they had the potential to attend college, and I found that when talking with undocumented students, oftentimes they did not realize this policy was in place and sometimes their educators did not know this either. On one occasion, I was invited to speak on an AM Spanish-language radio show where I shared basic information about applying for college, but where I also explained HB 1403. When I returned to my office, my voicemail was full with messages from parents of undocumented children and U.S.-born children who wanted to meet with me in person so I could walk them through the college-going process. They were

hungry for this information. The radio show provided access to important and accurate information for these families, and in this study I sought to explore what information was provided about the DREAM Act on national television news shows.

In the future, I plan to use the critical examination of the DREAM Act I conducted in this study to inform future studies where I can work along with students, families, the P-20 educational community, and policymakers to learn about their understanding of policies and the implications of this understanding. In many ways, I see the inclusion of these groups as part two of this study and a place where I can be challenged in my analysis of the policies and their representation in public discourse. I hope that some of these projects can be participatory where I can provide training for youth to conduct their own forms of critical media analysis. The UCLA NewsScape has many examples of youth engaging in media analysis, so I would like to continue my partnership with this group.

Additionally, when reflecting on the fact that the DREAM Act failed and that the coverage on some networks leading up to this vote was either inaccurate or almost nonexistent, I wonder about the implications of this lack of coverage and how I, as an education researcher, can work to improve how policies are understood by the public. As I mentioned before, education researchers were only interviewed on NBC, Telemundo, and Univision. Welner (2011) argues that education researchers need to consider how their research is taken up in spaces beyond academia. As such, he shared the following about education researchers as policy actors:

> The challenge for education researchers, then, is to bridge work that is currently presented in academic journals over to the parallel conversation taking place among think tank advocates, media and policymakers. Active participation by the mainstream researcher community in those conversations will help to infuse serious research into everyday public discourse. (p. 22)

By considering this perspective from Welner along with the fact that education research was largely missing in the 120 stories I examined, it seems there is a great need to infuse the perspective from academic research if not into this medium, into other forms of media that have the potential to influence, change, and challenge the dominant public discourse around policies such as the DREAM Act. I previously discussed that the type of coverage on Univision and Telemundo may lead to the type of civic discourse that leads to a democratic society, but what if this perspective continues to be missing from English-language media? Although I focused on the federal DREAM Act of 2010, the issue of access to in-state tuition for undocumented students is one that is still relevant today, and some states are currently weighing whether they will support such a policy. I see my role as an education researcher who can inform members of the public about current educational policies that help us achieve a more equitable society.

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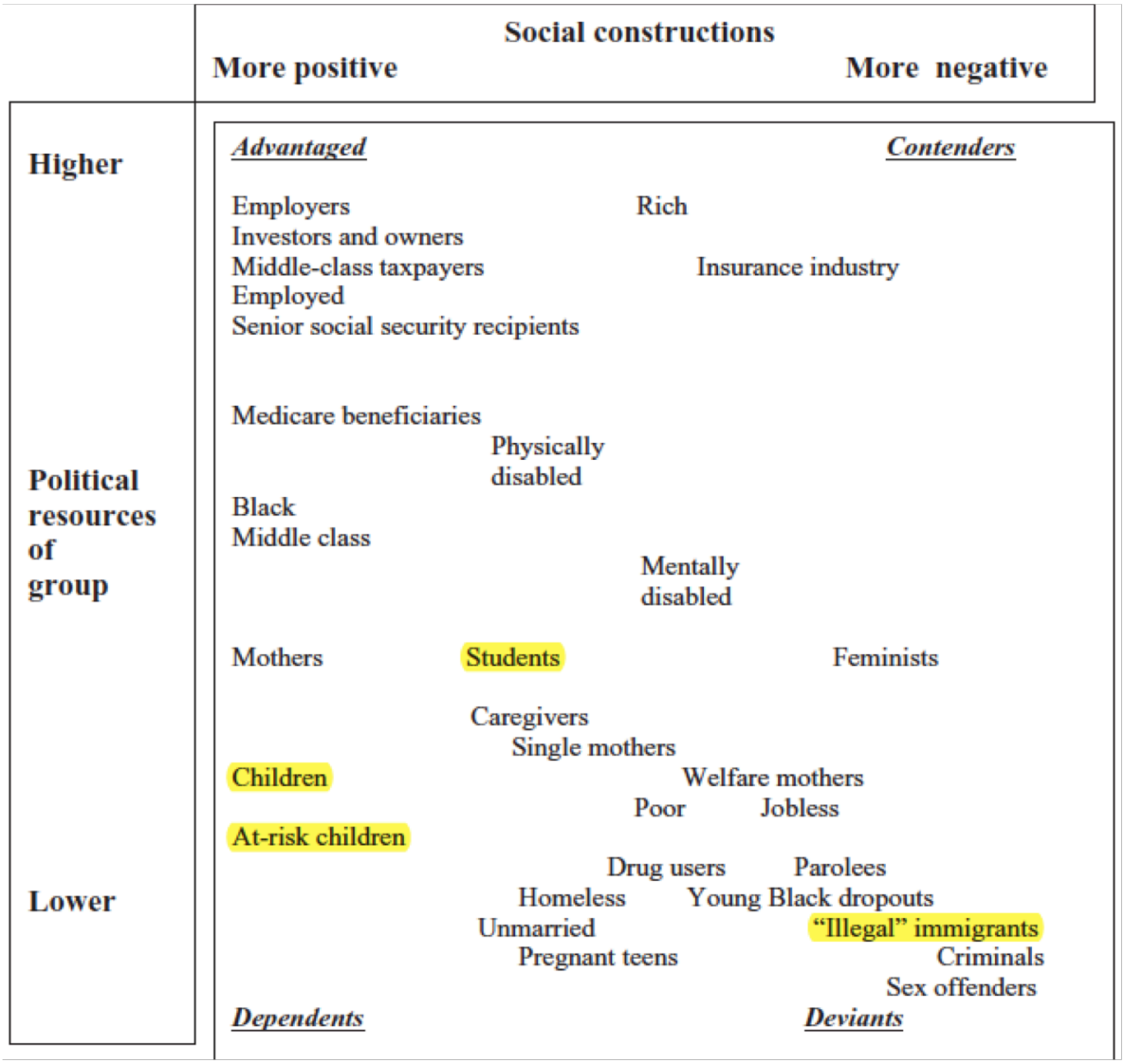
Appendix A

Power & Social Construction of Target Populations



Adapted from Shneider and Ingram (1993)

Appendix B

Policy Codes

Code	Description
Legal Construction Codes	
Alien	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "alien" or "aliens."
Alien Minors	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "alien minors."
Alien Students	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "alien students."
Applicant	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "applicant" or "applicants."
At-risk Children	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram, 1993 Political resources: Lower than "Children" Social construction: Positive Seen as: Dependents
Children	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram, 1993 Political resources: Low Social construction: Positive Seen as: Dependents Note: Appears in DREAM Act policy documents
Conditional Nonimmigrant	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "conditional nonimmigrant(s)."
Eligible Individuals	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "eligible individual(s)."
Illegal Immigrants	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram, 1993 Political resources: Low Social construction: Negative Seen as: Deviants
Illegals	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX news, referring to instances where DREAMers referred to as, "illegals."
Individual	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "individual(s)."
Long-term US Residents	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "long-term US residents."
Person	Inductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMer is referred to as a "person."
Students	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram, 1993 Political resources: Middle Social construction: Neutral

	Seen as: Neither Deviants or Dependents
Code	**Description**
Undocumented	Inductive code from literature review, term is used by those who challenge the use of "illegal."
Undocumented Children	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX news, referring to instances where DREAMers referred to "undocumented children."
Young People	Inductive code from the Deffered Action for Child Arrivals (DACA) executive order, representing when DREAMers are referred to as a "young people."
Purpose of DREAM Act	
Amend and/or repeal Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA)	Inductive code from DREAM Act proposed policy, describing instances where IIRIRA will be amended or repealed to allow states to determine resident of DREAMers for in-state tuition purposes.
Amnesty	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX News, to refer to instances where DREAM Act is described as an amnesty program.
Cancellation of removed & adjustment of status	Inductive code from DREAM Act proposed policy, referring to the stated purpose of the DREAM Act being cancellation of removal and/or adjustment of status.
Education Program	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX News, referring to the DREAM Act as an education program.
Higher Education	Inductive code from DREAM Act proposed policy, referring to instances where the purpose of the DREAM Act is for higher education.
Higher Education Benefits	Inductive code from DREAM Act proposed policy, referring to instances where the purpose of the DREAM Act is for higher education benefits.
In-state tuition	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX News, to refer to instances where DREAM Act is described as an in-state tuition program.
Legalization Citizenship	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX News, to refer to instances where DREAM Act purpose is described as being for gaining US citizenship.
Legalization Residency	Inductive code from pilot analysis of FOX News, to refer to instances where DREAM Act purpose is described as being for gaining US legal residency.
National and Economic Security	Inductive code from proposed comprehensive immigration reform document that includes DREAM Act, in this instance the DREAM Act is said to support national and economic security.
State Residency	Inductive code from DREAM Act proposed policy, referring to instances where DREAM Act purpose is described as being for state residency.
Content Codes (DREAM Act Policy Documents)	The following codes are factual and point to the content of the DREAM Act policy documents.
Adjustment of Status	Inductive code
Age Requirement	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.

Code	Description
Age Requirement (younger than 15 years at time of entry)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 16 years at time of entry)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 30 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 32 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 35 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Background Check	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Benefits of DREAM Act	Inductive code used where benefits of DREAM Act are stated
Biometric and Biographic Data	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Cancellation of Removal	Inductive code
Cancellation of Removal & Adjustment of Status	This appears as one code because some versions of DREAM Act include both cancellation or removal AND adjustment of status, others include one or the other.
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (5 year extension)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (valid 10 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (valid 5 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status Termination	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident	Inductive code, also coded “permanent resident with conditional status” as this code.
Conditional Permanent Resident (valid 6 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident Status Removal	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident Status Termination	Inductive code
Continuous Physical Presence Requirement	Inductive code
Definitions	Inductive code
DREAMer’s Family	Inductive code referring to instances where DREAMer’s family such as parents, spouse or children are mentioned.
Education Requirement	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Education Requirement (high school diploma/GED)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.

Code	Description
Education Requirement (higher education)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Employment Provision	Inductive code
Federal Taxes	Inductive code
Hardship Waiver	Inductive code
Higher Education Assistance	Inductive code
Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA)	Inductive code
Immigration Laws	Inductive code
In-State Tuition Benefits	Inductive code
Law-abiding Requirement	Inductive code
Lawful Permanent Resident Status	Inductive code
Lawful Presence Exceptions	Inductive code
Lift of Stay/Removal Proceedings	Inductive code
Medical Examination Requirement	Inductive code
Military Service	Inductive code
Moral Character Requirement	Inductive code
Naturalization	Inductive code
Nondeportable Requirement	Inductive code
Not Placed in Removal Proceedings	Inductive code
Official Title	Inductive code
Pending Application	Inductive code
Purpose	Inductive code
Quotas	Inductive code
Relief	Inductive code
Residency Requirement	Inductive code
Residency Requirement (5 years preceding enactment)	Inductive code
Selective Service	Inductive code
Sponsors	Inductive code, refers to sponsors of the DREAM Act.
Stay of Removal	Inductive code, refers to legal term in immigration law
Surcharge	Inductive code
Travel	Inductive code
Younger DREAMers Provision	Inductive code, refers to DREAMers under the age of 12 or in primary of secondary school.
Other Emergent Themes Coded	

Migration explained as…	
"Brought to this country as children"	Inductive code from DREAM Act policy documents
"Came to America/United States"	Inductive code from DREAM Act policy documents
"Entered the United States"	Inductive code from DREAM Act policy documents
"Time of Entry"	Inductive code from DREAM Act policy documents

New Content Code List: (originally appears in policy analysis memo)

Code	**Description**
General Content Codes (DREAM Act Policy Documents)	*The following codes are descriptive and point to the content of the DREAM Act policy documents.*
Adjustment of Status	Inductive code
Benefits of DREAM Act	Inductive code used where benefits of DREAM Act are stated
Cancellation of Removal	Inductive code
Cancellation of Removal & Adjustment of Status	This appears as one code because some versions of DREAM Act include both cancellation or removal AND adjustment of status, others include one or the other.
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (5 year extension)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (valid 10 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status (valid 5 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Nonimmigrant Status Termination	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident	Inductive code, also coded "permanent resident with conditional status" as this code.
Conditional Permanent Resident (valid 6 years)	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident Status Removal	Inductive code
Conditional Permanent Resident Status Termination	Inductive code
Definitions	Inductive code
DREAMer's Family	Inductive code referring to instances where DREAMer's family such as parents, spouse or children are mentioned.
Employment Provision	Inductive code
Hardship Waiver	Inductive code
Higher Education Assistance	Inductive code
Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA)	Inductive code
Immigration Laws	Inductive code

Code	**Description**
In-State Tuition Benefits	Inductive code
Lawful Permanent Resident Status	Inductive code
Lawful Presence Exceptions	Inductive code
Lift of Stay/Removal Proceedings	Inductive code
Naturalization	Inductive code
Not Placed in Removal Proceedings	Inductive code
Official Title	Inductive code
Pending Application	Inductive code
Purpose	Inductive code
Quotas	Inductive code
Relief	Inductive code
Sponsors	Inductive code, refers to sponsors of the DREAM Act.
Stay of Removal	Inductive code, refers to legal term in immigration law
~~Travel~~	Inductive code
Younger DREAMers Provision	Inductive code, refers to DREAMers under the age of 12 or in primary of secondary school.
Content - Requirement Codes	
Age Requirement	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 15 years at time of entry)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 16 years at time of entry)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 30 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 32 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Age Requirement (younger than 35 on date of enactment)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Background Check	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Biometric and Biographic Data	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Continuous Physical Presence Requirement	Inductive code
Education Requirement	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Education Requirement (high school diploma/GED)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Education Requirement (higher education)	Inductive code for a requirement of the DREAM Act.
Federal Taxes	Inductive code
Law-abiding Requirement	Inductive code
Medical Examination Requirement	Inductive code
Military Service	Inductive code

Code	Description
Moral Character Requirement	Inductive code
Nondeportable Requirement	Inductive code
Residency Requirement	Inductive code
Residency Requirement (5 years preceding enactment)	Inductive code
Selective Service	Inductive code
Surcharge	Inductive code

Appendix C

Sources of Information, Evening Television News

Search Parameters:
Search Term: "DREAM Act"
Dates Searched: September 1, 2010 through December 31, 2010
Times Searched: 6:00-7:00pm EST (in some instances 3:00pm PDT)
Networks Searched: ABC, CBC, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, NBC, Telemundo and Univision
Note: Estimated length in time reflects time I estimated in seconds of coverage of the DREAM Act.

ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, NBC and Univision episodes were accessed at the UCLA NewsScape Archive. The collection is accessible through an online search engine at http://newsscape.library.ucla.edu/. Telemundo episodes were accessed at the TV News Archive, https://archive.org/details/tv, which is part of the Internet Archive.

	Network	**Show**	**Air Date**	**Air Time**	**Language**	**Duration (seconds)**
1	Univision	Noticiero Univision	9/9/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	48
2	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/14/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	150
3	Univision	Noticiero Univision	9/14/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	165
4	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	9/15/10	3:00pm PDT	English	25
5	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/15/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	60
6	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	195
7	Univision	Noticiero Univision	9/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	374
8	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	9/17/10	3:00pm PDT	English	262
9	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	170
10	Univision	Noticiero Univision	9/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	34
11	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/20/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	280
12	Univision	Noticiero Univision	9/20/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	336
13	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	9/21/10	3:00pm PDT	English	170
14	MSNBC	The Ed Show	9/21/10	3:00pm PDT	English	204
15	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/21/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	540
16	Univision	Noticiero	9/21/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	365
17	Telemundo	Noticiero	9/22/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	249
18	Univision	Noticiero	9/22/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	150
19	Telemundo	Noticiero	10/1/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	26

	Network	Show	Air Date	Air Time	Language	Duration (seconds)
20	MSNBC	The Ed Show	10/20/10	3:00pm PDT	English	10
21	Telemundo	Noticiero	10/20/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	22
22	Univision	Noticiero	10/26/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	7
23	Univision	Noticiero	10/28/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	10
24	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/3/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	20
25	Univision	Noticiero	11/3/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	18
26	MSNBC	The Ed Show	11/5/10	3:00pm PDT	English	15
27	Univision	Noticiero	11/5/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	25
28	MSNBC	The Ed Show	11/10/10	3:00pm PDT	English	60
29	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/10/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	80
30	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/11/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	22
31	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	11/12/10	3:00pm PDT	English	240
32	Univision	Noticiero	11/12/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	10
33	MSNBC	The Ed Show	11/15/10	3:00pm PDT	English	40
34	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/15/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	100
35	Univision	Noticiero	11/15/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	60
36	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	11/16/10	3:00pm PDT	English	145
37	MSNBC	The Ed Show	11/16/10	3:00pm PDT	English	258
38	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	143
39	Univision	Noticiero	11/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	196
40	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	133
41	Univision	Noticiero	11/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	60
42	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	11/18/10	3:00pm PDT	English	73
43	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/18/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	365
44	Univision	Noticiero	11/18/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	245
45	Univision	Noticiero	11/19/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	88
46	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/23/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	300
47	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/24/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	180
48	Univision	Noticiero	11/24/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	135
49	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	11/26/10	3:00pm PDT	English	60

	Network	Show	Air Date	Air Time	Language	Duration (seconds)
50	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/26/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	180
51	Univision	Noticiero	11/26/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	147
52	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/29/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	192
53	Univision	Noticiero	11/29/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	153
54	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	11/30/10	3:00pm PDT	English	60
55	ABC	World News With Diane Sawyer	11/30/10	6:30pm PDT	English	12
56	Telemundo	Noticiero	11/30/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	142
57	Univision	Noticiero	11/30/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	49
58	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/1/10	3:00pm PDT	English	160
59	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/1/10	3:00pm PDT	English	180
60	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/1/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	205
61	Univision	Noticiero	12/1/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	326
62	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/2/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	494
63	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/3/10	3:00pm PDT	English	515
64	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/3/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	556
65	Univision	Noticiero	12/3/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	41
66	CBS	Evening News	12/5/10	5:30pm PDT	English	25
67	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/6/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	345
68	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/7/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	743
69	Univision	Noticiero	12/7/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	148
70	CNN	Situation Room	12/8/10	3:00pm PDT	English	205
71	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/8/10	3:00pm PDT	English	417
72	NBC	Nightly News	12/8/10	6:30pm PDT	English	147
73	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/8/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	1288
74	Univision	Noticiero	12/8/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	455
75	CNN	Situation Room	12/9/10	3:00pm PDT	English	218
76	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/9/10	3:00pm PDT	English	120
77	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/9/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	998
78	Univision	Noticiero	12/9/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	431

	Network	Show	Air Date	Air Time	Language	Duration (seconds)
79	CNN	Situation Room	12/10/10	3:00pm PDT	English	180
80	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/10/10	3:00pm PDT	English	336
81	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/10/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	734
82	Univision	Noticiero	12/10/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	33
83	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/13/10	3:00pm PDT	English	110
84	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/13/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	315
85	CNN	Situation Room	12/14/10	3:00pm PDT	English	56
86	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/14/10	3:00pm PDT	English	15
87	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/14/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	295
88	Univision	Noticiero	12/14/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	221
89	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/15/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	330
90	Univision	Noticiero	12/15/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	16
91	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/16/10	3:00pm PDT	English	60
92	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/16/10	3:00pm PDT	English	30
93	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	345
94	Univision	Noticiero	12/16/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	23
95	CNN	Situation Room	12/17/10	3:00pm PDT	English	40
96	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/17/10	3:00pm PDT	English	94
97	ABC	World News With Diane Sawyer	12/17/10	6:30pm PDT	English	1
98	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	940
99	Univision	Noticiero	12/17/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	242
100	CBS	Evening News	12/18/10	5:30pm PDT	English	11
101	NBC	Nightly News	12/18/10	5:30pm PDT	English	16
102	Univision	Noticiero	12/18/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	800
103	ABC	World News Sunday	12/19/10	5:30pm PDT	English	105
104	CNN	Situation Room	12/20/10	3:00pm PDT	English	38
105	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/20/10	3:00pm PDT	English	26
106	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/20/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	433

	Network	Show	Air Date	Air Time	Language	Duration (seconds)
107	Univision	Noticiero	12/20/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	137
108	CNN	Situation Room	12/21/10	3:00pm PDT	English	48
109	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/21/10	3:00pm PDT	English	70
110	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/21/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	160
111	CNN	Situation Room	12/22/10	3:00pm PDT	English	139
112	FOX	Special Report with Bret Baier	12/22/10	3:00pm PDT	English	41
113	NBC	Nightly News	12/22/10	6:30pm PDT	English	40
114	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/22/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	281
115	Univision	Noticiero	12/22/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	51
116	MSNBC	The Ed Show	12/23/10	3:00pm PDT	English	516
117	Univision	Noticiero	12/24/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	141
118	Telemundo	Noticiero	12/28/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	151
119	Univision	Noticiero	12/28/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	144
120	Univision	Noticiero	12/30/10	6:30pm PDT	Spanish	49

Appendix D

Descriptive Statistics of Evening News Stories

Network	Number of Stories	Total Duration (seconds)	Total Duration (minutes)	Average Duration (seconds)	Average Duration (minutes)	Shortest (seconds)	Longest (seconds)
Telemundo	38	12162	202.7	320	5.3	20	1288
Univision	37	5933	98.9	160	2.7	7	800
MSNBC	12	2234	37.2	186	3.1	10	516
FOX	17	1937	32.3	114	1.9	1	417
CNN	8	978	16.3	122	2.0	38	218
ABC	3	205	3.4	68	1.1	40	105
NBC	3	203	3.4	68	1.1	16	147
CBS	2	36	0.6	18	0.3	11	25
	N=120						

Search Term: “DREAM Act”
Dates Searched: September 1, 2010 through December 31, 2010
Times Searched: 6:00-7:00pm EST (in some instances 3:00pm PDT)
Networks Searched: ABC, CBC, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, NBC, Telemundo and Univision

Appendix E

Pilot Research Codes

Source: FOX News and Friends. (2009, April 2). *Interview with former Representative Tom Tancredo*. Retrieved from http://www.lexisnexis.com

Code	**Description**	**Exemplar** (Time stamp and text)
Social Construction of Target Populations (Schneider & Ingram, 1993)		
At-risk Children	Political resources: Lower than "Children" Social construction: Positive Seen as: Dependents	0:00:00.0 Reporter: Under a new piece of legislation known as the ↑Dream Act, undocumented immigrant ↑children could be granted U.S. citizenship or be eligible for in-state ↑tuition. What are the possible implications?
Children	Political resources: Low Social construction: Positive Seen as: Dependents	0:00:40.0 Tancredo: It is portrayed as something that should tug at our heartstrings about children who came here without, uh, you know, without making that choice themselves, they were brought here by parents and they, raised here, why shouldn't they now go to college here? Well [cough]…
Illegal Immigrants	Political resources: Low Social construction: Negative Seen as: Deviants	0:00:53.3 Tancredo: …we should not do any more to reward people to come in to this country ↑illegally.
Students	Political resources: Middle Social construction: Neutral Seen as: Neither Deviants or Dependents	0:01:44.5 Reporter: Congressman, let me tell you what else is in the bill and this is some of the criteria, you have to have good moral character and either attend college or enlist in the military for two years, graduate from high school or an equivalency exam and ↑come to the U.S. before you're 16.
Illegals	Emergent theme	0:01:32.5 Ticker reads: NEW "DREAM" ACT PROPOSED: DOES THIS GIVE ILLEGALS EASIER ACCESS?
Undocumented Children	Emergent theme	0:00:00 Reporter: Under a new piece of legislation known as the ↑Dream Act, undocumented immigrant ↑children

Code	**Description**	**Exemplar** (Time stamp and text)
Themes about minorities and immigrants (van Dijk, 2004)		
Behavior of the Other as deviant or criminals	Breaks Our norms and rules. They do not (want to) speak our language, they walk around in funny dress, they have strange habits, they eat strange food, they mistreat their women, and so on.	0:01:32.5 Image of immigrant crossing over the US-Mexico border
Difference of the Other	Others are portrayed as less smart, beautiful, fast, hardworking, democratic, modern, etc. than We are.	0:00:11.5 Reporter: ...And is this a slippery slope or a dream come ↑true for America? OC: Using America to refer to those who are not the undocumented immigrants
Others portrayed as a threat to US	This happens from the moment they arrive, for instance when immigration is represented as an invasion, until the new citizens have settled in "our" country, in which case they may be seen as occupying our space, running down our neighborhood, taking our jobs or houses, harassing "our" women, and so on (p. 352).	0:00:53.3 Ticker appears on screen that reads in capital letters: "NEW ACT PRESENTS BORDER ISSUES: WILL MORE ILLEGALS BE CROSSING TO U.S.? 0:01:35.2 Tancredo: So ↑one person here that you give amnesty to is worth about 200 more.
Arguments against the DREAM Act *(Barron, 2011)*		
General Opposition to Amnesty for Illegal Immigrants	"...concerns that passage of the DREAM Act would reward illegal behavior and result in a flood of illegal immigration" (Barron, 2011, p. 638)	0:00:11.5 Ticker appears on screen that reads in capital letters: "POSSIBLE FREE PASS: IS THIS NEW ACT A "DREAM" FOR ILLEGALS?" OC: The idea that this is a "free pass" stands out here 0:00:53.3 Tancredo: ...we should not do any more to reward people to come in to this country ↑illegally.
Fear that the Bill is Overbroad and Indiscrimate in its Eligibility Criteria	Insufficiently Stringent Qualification Requirements Overly Lenient Waiver and Hardship Exceptions Potential for Fraud The Ability of DREAM Act Beneficiaries to Bring Otherwise Ineligible Relatives Into US	0:01:21.3 Tancredo: When you create, when you provide amnesty to anybody in this country illegally, you also extend to them at that ↑point, at that very ↑point, the ability to...bring in ↑all of their extended family... [image on screen shows large group of Latino immigrants standing on the border]

Code	**Description**	**Exemplar** (Time stamp and text)
Fears That the DREAM Act Will Strain Budgets and Take Opportunities and Resources Away from Deserving, Legal Citizens	Higher education benefits for undocumented "would take away opportunities from equally deserving [American] children" (Barron, 2011, p. 644) Other Public Benefits (such as health insurance, Medicaid and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP))	No example found
Belief that the DREAM Act Should Be Part of a Comprehensive Immigration Reform	Should not be a stand-alone policy	No example found
Arguments in support of the DREAM Act *(Barron, 2011; Connolly, 2005; Galassi, 2003;)*		
Should not be punished for their parent's decision to migrate	"Through no fault of their own"	0:00:40.0 Tancredo: It is portrayed as something that should tug at our heartstrings about children who came here without, uh, you know, without making that choice themselves, they were brought here by parents and they, raised here, why shouldn't they now go to college here? Well [cough]…
Undocumented students are "American"	Raised and educated in the United States	Same example as above
Waste of investment	Since they have been educated here, investment has been made and would be a waste to not support their higher education	No example found

Appendix F

CDA Analysis Codebook

Code	Definition	Count
AGAINST DREAM ACT		
against: advocating for cir	Deductive. Should not be a stand-alone policy, but instead part of comprehensive immigration reform (CIR)	2
against: advocating for stand-alone	Inductive. When the DREAM Act was said to be supported only if presented as a stand-alone bill and not as part of another bill, such as the defense bill or CIR.	2
against: advocating for temporary permit	Inductive. Propose a solution that includes guest worker or temporary permit, instead of legal residency.	2
against: benefits noncitizens over citizens	Deductive. Higher education benefits for undocumented "would take away opportunities from equally deserving [American] children" (Barron, 2011, p. 644) Other Public Benefits (such as health insurance, Medicaid and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)	13
against: not as much about higher ed or military	Inductive. When the argument is made that the DREAM Act is not really about education.	1
against: opposition to amnesty	Deductive. "…concerns that passage of the DREAM Act would reward illegal behavior and result in a flood of illegal immigration" (Barron, 2011, p. 638)	47
against: preference over legal immigrants	Inductive. This code differs from "benefits noncitizens over citizens" in that other types of immigrants were mentioned instead of citizens. In a way, they try to appear sympathetic towards some immigrants.	2
against: priority should be on securing borders	Inductive. Although securing borders is a common argument from those against immigration reform, interesting that this is the reason given for not wanting to support the DREAM Act. Also related to border enforcement. Found that Barron (2011) also mentions this.	18
against: tax-payer expense	Inductive. Opponents use this argument against the DREAM Act to say that it's going to cost tax-payers.	6
against: timing (why now?)	Inductive. Created this code when those against would accuse those for the bill of political tactics and then ask the question that why now was the DREAM Act being presented when it could have been presented another time.	17
against: too broad or lenient	Deductive. Insufficiently stringent qualification requirements Overly lenient waiver and hardship exceptions Potential for fraud The ability of dream act beneficiaries to bring otherwise ineligible relatives into the United States	15

IMMIGRANT THEMES		
Code	**Definition**	**Count**
immigrant themes: behavior of the other as deviant or criminals	Deductive. Breaks Our norms and rules. They do not (want to) speak our language, they walk around in funny dress, they have strange habits, they eat strange food, they mistreat their women, and so on. (van Dijk, 2004)	
immigrant themes: difference of the other	Deductive. Others are portrayed as less smart, beautiful, fast, hardworking, democratic, modern, etc. than We are. (van Dijk, 2004)	
immigrant themes: others portrayed as a threat to us	Deductive. This happens from the moment they arrive, for instance when immigration is represented as an invasion, until the new citizens have settled in "our" country, in which case they may be seen as occupying our space, running down our neighborhood, taking our jobs or houses, harassing "our" women, and so on (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352).	
SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DREAMERS	Main Category: Social Construction of DREAMers. Refers to how DREAMers are referred to or described.	
social construction of dreamer: negative:	Sub-category: this is informed by Schneigher and Ingram, for those instances where negative descriptions of DREAMers appear.	
social construction of dreamer: negative: alien	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as “alien” or “aliens.”	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: alien minors	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as “alien minors.”	0
social construction of dreamer: negative: alien students	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as “alien students.”	0
social construction of dreamer: negative: children of illegal aliens	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as chidlren of illegal aliens	4
social construction of dreamer: negative: children of illegal immigrants	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as chidlren of illegal immigrants	5
social construction of dreamer: negative: criminal	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as criminals.	4
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegal alien students	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as illegal alien students.	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegal aliens	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as illegal aliens.	8
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegal immigrant children	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as illegal immigrant children.	1

Code	Definition	Count
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegal immigrants	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram's social construction theory. Political resources low, social construction is negative and see as deviants.	20
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegal students	Inductive code, referring to DREAMers as illegal students.	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: illegals	Deductive code from pilot analysis of FOX news, referring to instances where DREAMers referred to as, "illegals."	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: Mexican	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as Mexican (Johnson, 1996; Chavez, 2013)	4
social construction of dreamer: negative: people here illegally	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as people who are in the country illegally.	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: unlawful aliens	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as people who unlawful aliens.	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: young illegal immigrants	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as people who are young illegal immigrants.	1
social construction of dreamer: negative: young illegals	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as people who are young illegals..	2
social construction of dreamer: neutral	Sub-category: this is informed by Schneigher and Ingram, but instead of a label, capturing more of the tone of how DREAMers were discussed.	0
social construction of dreamer: neutral: applicant	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "applicant" or "applicants."	0
social construction of dreamer: neutral: conditional nonimmigrant	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "conditional nonimmigrant(s)."	0
social construction of dreamer: neutral: eligible individuals	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "eligible individual(s)."	0
social construction of dreamer: neutral: immigrants	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as immigrants.	
social construction of dreamer: neutral: individual	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "individual(s)."	
social construction of dreamer: neutral: long-term us residents	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMers are referred to as "long-term US residents."	
social construction of dreamer: neutral: person	Deductive code from the DREAM Act policy documents, representing when DREAMer is referred to as a "person."	
social construction of dreamer: neutral: personas (person)	Deductive. Same meaning as "person" code, but appears in Spanish news.	

Code	Definition	Count
social construction of dreamer: positive: students	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram's social construction theory. Political resource middle, social construction is neutral and see as neither deviants nor depenents.	7
social construction of dreamer: neutral: teenager	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called teenagers.	
social construction of dreamer: neutral: undocumented immigrants	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called undocumented immigrants, as opposed to illegal immigrants.	
social construction of dreamer: positive	Sub-category: this is informed by Schneigher and Ingram, but instead of a label, capturing more of the tone of how DREAMers were discussed. Many times they are described as exceptional, I would code that as positive.	
social construction of dreamer: positive: (positioned as) young leader	Deductive code, in those instances where DREAMers are positioned in the news story as a young leader of other DREAMers.	27
social construction of dreamer: positive: activista (activist)	Deductice code, when a DREAMer is referred to as an activist.	19
social construction of dreamer: positive: american	Inductive code. Often mentioned by supporters in the media, inductive code. "American in every sense of the word but this piece of paper."	20
social construction of dreamer: positive: at-risk children	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram's social construction theory. Political resources lower than "children," social construction is positive and see as dependents.	0
social construction of dreamer: positive: children boys girls	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram's social construction theory. Political resources low, social construction is positive and see as dependents.	16
social construction of dreamer: positive: college students	Deductice code, when DREAMers are referred to as college students.	9
social construction of dreamer: positive: dreamer	Deductice code, when DREAMers are called DREAMers in the news.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: estudiante universitario (college student)	Deductice code, same meaning as college student, but when it appears in Spanish news.	14
social construction of dreamer: positive: estudiantes (students)	Deductive code from Schneider & Ingram's social construction theory. Political resource middle, social construction is neutral and see as neither deviants nor depenents. This code used if said in Spanish.	77
social construction of dreamer: positive: estudiantes extranjeros (foreign students)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as esudiantes extranjeros, on Spanish language networks.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: estudiantes indocumentados (undocumented students)	Deductive code, when a DREAMer is called an estudiante indocumentado in the Spanish news.	54
social construction of dreamer: positive: extraordinarios jovenes (extraordinary young people)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are positioned as extraordinary individuals.	21

Code	Definition	Count
social construction of dreamer: positive: future professional	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as future professionals.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: graduada universitaria (college graduate)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called college graduates in Spanish.	5
social construction of dreamer: positive: graduados de secundaria (hs grads)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called high school graduates in Spanish news.	3
social construction of dreamer: positive: honor student	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called honors students.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: indocumentados (undocumented)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as indocumentados in Spanish news. Same as undocumented.	15
social construction of dreamer: positive: jovenes (young people)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called jovenes. Same as young people.	86
social construction of dreamer: positive: jovenes hispanos	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called jovenes Hispanos or hispanic youth.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: jovenes indocumentados (undocumented young people)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called undocumented young people in Spanish.	33
social construction of dreamer: positive: jovenes inmigrantes (young immigrants)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called jovenes inmigrantes in Spanish or young immigrants.	3
social construction of dreamer: positive: jovenes universitarios (young college students)	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called young university students in Spanish.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: kids	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called kids. I don't label this the same as Children, but it is similar.	15
social construction of dreamer: positive: military hopeful	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as military hopefuls. Interesting to think of this in contrast to the idea of them being college students.	11
social construction of dreamer: positive: ninos/ninas (children)	Deductive code, spanish version of "children" code.	4
social construction of dreamer: positive: undocumented	Deductive code from literature review, term is used by those who challenge the use of “illegal.”	4
social construction of dreamer: positive: undocumented children	Inductive referring to instances where DREAMers referred to “undocumented children.”	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: undocumented students	Deductive code, when DREAMers are referred to as undocumented children.	4
social construction of dreamer: positive: worker	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called workers.	2

Code	Definition	Count
social construction of dreamer: positive: young immigrants	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called young immigrants.	1
social construction of dreamer: positive: young people/men/women	Deductive code from the Deffered Action for Child Arrivals (DACA) executive order, representing when DREAMers are referred to as a "young people."	15
social construction of dreamer: positive: young undocumented immigrants	Deductive code, when DREAMers are called young undocumented immigrants. Although very similar to young immigrants, it's interesting that they use it with undocumented.	2
SUPPORT DREAM ACT		
support: further education	Inductive. In some cases the quotations related to this code seem to address Plyler v Doe and make the argument that DREAMers have been educated in the US and the DREAM act would address the next step in their education. Also seen as a way to get more Latinos to attend college.	
support: contribute to country	Inductive. When the argument is made that the DREAM Act should be supported because DREAMers want to or would contribute to the country.	43
support: cost of deportation high	Inductive. Argument is made that it would cost more NOT to pass the DREAM Act.	4
support: desire to belong to the US	Inductive. When the argument is made that DREAMers have a desire to belong to this country.	2
support: dreamers are american	Deductive. Raised and educated in the United States, Undocumented students are "American" (Galassi, 2003; Connolly, 2005; Barron, 2011)	31
support: economic contributions	Inductive. This is emerging and comes up with the economic contributions of DREAMers are discussed in terms of how much revenue it will bring to states, and also their earning potential. See this code as a direct response to "against: taxpayer expense." In a way I see this as different than "support: contribute to country" because this one addresses the economic contributions where the other code is more about professional and contributions as citizens.	25
support: education investment	Inductive. When DREAM Act mentioned as an educational investment.	4
support: global competition	Inductive. Argument that it will make the US more globally competitive.	2
support: have lived here a long time	Inductive. Kind of related to the idea that DREAMers are American, the argument is made that DREAMers have lived here a long time. Also used this code when DREAMers were said to arrive in this country when they were very young, indicating that they've been here a long time.	39
support: Hispanics serve in or contribute to military	Inductive. When the argument is made that Hispanics already serve the country through the military. So showing that this would only increase through the	5

	passage of DREAM Act.	
Code	**Definition**	**Count**
support: home country unknown (language, culture, customs)	Inductive. This argument seems to be used to strengthen the "they are Americans" argument.	7
support: military in support	Inductive. When supporters mention that even the military is in support of the DREAM Act.	11
support: national security	Inductive. This argument seems to be a response to opponents that say priority should be on securing the border. Proponents of the DREAM Act argue this policy would actually improve national security. Also related to DREAMers joining military that would impact national security.	7
support: not dreamers fault	Deductive. "Through no fault of their own," Should not be punished for their parent's decision to migrate (Galassi, 2003; Connolly, 2005; Barron, 2011)	18
support: professional aspirations	Inductive. When the professional aspirations of DREAMers are highlighted to show the opportunities they would have if the DREAM Act passed and also the professional contributions they would give to the country.	30
support: right or moral thing to do	Inductive."Because it's the right thing to do."	11
support: self-determination, liberty, self-actualization	Inductive. This is a code I created when I noted that DREAMers were arguing for the DREAM act as an act of self-determination. Shows the impact the DREAM Act could have and this is used as an argument to pass it.	12
support: serve country in military	Inductive. When the argument is made by those in support that DREAMers want to serve the country through the military. Supports the argument that DREAMers are working hard to become American.	41
support: stand-alone bill	Inductive. Argument made in favor of a stand-alone bill of the DREAM Act instead of within Comprehensive Immigration Reform.	3
support: to support and motivate students (fulfill meritocracy)	Inductive. Idea that the DREAM act needs to pass so that DREAMers can stay motivated and realize that if they work hard, they can acieve success. Almost a meritocracy argument.	1
support: waste of investment	Deductive. Since they have been educated here, investment has been made and would be a waste to not support their higher education (Galassi, 2003; Connolly, 2005; Barron, 2011)	5
support: workforce	Inductive. This is different from the economic contribution argument because it talks about the DREAMers almost as if they are workforce commodities.	9

Appendix G

General Overview of DREAM Act From January 2009 - January 2013

	Session	Date	Bill Title	Title	Outcome
1	111th	March 2009	S. 729	DREAM Act of 2009	Stuck in committee review
2	111th	March 2009	H.R. 1751	DREAM Act of 2009	Stuck in committee review
3	111th	June 2010	S. 3454	National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2011	Included with repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Did not pass.
4	111th	Sept 2010	S. 3827	DREAM Act of 2010	Failed to pass Senate
5	111th	Sept 2010	S. 3932	Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2010	Stuck in committee review
6	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3962	DREAM Act of 2010	Failed to pass senate
7	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3963	DREAM Act of 2010	
8	111th	Dec 2010	H.R. 6497	DREAM Act of 2010	Stuck in committee review
9	111th	Dec 2010	H.R. 5281	The Removal Clarification Act of 2010, amended by DREAM Act, Hr.R. 6497	Approved December 10, 2010, 216-198 (Olivas, 2012)
10	111th	Nov 2010	S. 3992	DREAM Act of 2010	On December 18, 2010 fell short of sixty votes required, vote was 55-41 in favor (Olivas, 2012).
11	112th	Jan 2011	S. 6	Reform America's Broken Immigration System Act	
12	112th	May 2011	H.R. 1842	Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2011	Stuck in committee review
13	112th	May 2011	S. 952	Development, Relief and Education for Minors (DREAM) Act of 2011	Senate hearing held June 28, 2011. Stuck in committee review.
14	112th	June 2011	S. 1258	Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2011	Stuck in committee review.

Sources: Library of Congress, Olivas (2012), Bruno (2010)

Appendix H

DREAM Act Purpose Summary and Changes

Session	**Date**	**Bill Title**	**Title**	**Amends IIRIRA & Higher Education Purpose**
111	March 2009	S. 729	DREAM Act of 2009	YES
111	March 2009	H.R. 1751	DREAM Act of 2009	YES
111	Sept 2010	S. 3827	DREAM Act of 2010	YES
111	Nov 2010	S. 3962	DREAM Act of 2010	NO
111	Nov 2010	S. 3963	DREAM Act of 2010	NO
111	Dec 2010	H.R. 6497	DREAM Act of 2010	NO
111	Dec 2010	H.R. 5281	The Removal Clarification Act of 2010, amended by DREAM Act, H.R. 6497	NO
111	Nov/Dec 2010	S. 3992	DREAM Act of 2010	NO
112	May 2011	H.R. 1842	Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2011	YES, but not in purpose section. Moved to end of document.
112	May 2011	S. 952	Development, Relief and Education for Minors (DREAM) Act of 2011	YES, but not in purpose section. Moved to end of document.