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Immigrant family, national borders: mainstream and diasporic news media, audiences, and the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act

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University of Iowa

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IMMIGRANT FAMILY, NATIONAL BORDERS: MAINSTREAM AND DIASPORIC
NEWS MEDIA, AUDIENCES, AND THE OKLAHOMA TAXPAYER AND CITIZEN
PROTECTION ACT

by

MaryAnn Elizabeth Martin

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Mass Communications
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

July 2010

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Sujatha Sosale

ABSTRACT

This study examined the role mass media play in animating the relationship between globalization and the nation-state. This study interrogated this relationship using a multi-method approach that analyzed news coverage, the general “media climate” in Oklahoma, and audience responses to the media climate regarding the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, a comprehensive immigration reform bill passed into law in 2007.

The key goals of this study were to examine the ways in which news media in Oklahoma cover the issue of immigration, particularly as it relates to the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, in order to garner a deeper understanding of the ways in which the mass media participate in global processes while cementing the national imagined community. Moreover, by examining audience interpretations of news coverage from mainstream and diasporic news outlets regarding this legislation, this study provided insight into the ways messages about the immigrant family and its contingent gender roles circulate and incorporate into day-to-day culture and how, in turn, these cultural meanings are put into the service of the nation-state.

This study used a multi-method approach comprising of a textual analysis of the bill itself and news coverage of the two largest English-language newspapers in the state. I also analyzed the text of a Spanish-language paper based in Tulsa and conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with various state legislators, journalists, community members, and staff members at and clients of the Latino Community Development Agency in Oklahoma City.

In my analysis of the text of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, or, as it is commonly referred to, HB 1804, I argue that the bill established the ideological parameters of the immigration reform debate in the state. The text of the bill also reifies the nation-state, produces a subaltern immigrant community without recourse to the legal

system, and provides a template of the ideal U.S. citizen through its representation of the deviant immigrant. My textual analysis of the two largest English-language newspapers in Oklahoma posits that these news discourses criminalize the immigrant, and gender, racialize, and class the immigrant worker, family unit, and its contingent members. As a result, the news coverage can be seen to highlight the ways in which 1804 is an attempt at resistance to global intrusions in Oklahoma and to offer assurance to the citizen community that cultural turmoil will be calmed. The figures of the bill's main author and the Catholic Church also symbolize the tension between the nation-state and the global in these news discourses. Finally, I argue that the Spanish-language media and the LCDA serve to unify the Latino community in Oklahoma in the context of immigration reform discourses, regardless of legal status, providing cultural sustenance and support when 1804 would deny this to the immigrant community.

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Date

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Graduate College
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To Eric, Katie, and Zuzu

From these pages I hope at least the following will endure: my trust in the people, and my
faith in men and women, and in the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love
Paulo Freire
Pedagogy of the Oppressed

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ABSTRACT

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This study used a multi-method approach comprising of a textual analysis of the bill itself and news coverage of the two largest English-language newspapers in the state. I also analyzed the text of a Spanish-language paper based in Tulsa and conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with various state legislators, journalists, community members, and staff members at and clients of the Latino Community Development Agency in Oklahoma City.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In November 1984, my family moved from a now-defunct military base in Sacramento, CA, to Oklahoma. An air traffic controller in the Air Force, my father had been transferred to Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma City, loading our dog and cat into the sail boat hitched to the back of our white car and driving us halfway across the country. Soon we would become like the many other families we met at our church on base who seemed to take root in Oklahoma and never move again. For thirty years, my mother had moved when and wherever my father was stationed, had endured the government's regular failure to pay my father during his long-term deployment to far-off places such as Thailand during the Vietnam War, and then to Panama and Saudi Arabia in the 1990s. "The government," and by extension, the nation-state, was implicit in our existence. It was why we had moved to Oklahoma in the first place and it put the food on the table for two working adults with no college education. These elements of our life were largely unexamined. It was just how things were.

I attended college twenty miles from Tinker and like many young adults preparing to graduate college, I was ready leave my home state, which has grown increasingly conservative. After all, the state's largest newspaper, *the Oklahoman*, was named the nation's worst newspaper by the *Columbia Journalism Review*, due in no small part to its reputation for unabashed conservative reporting. Oklahoma has voted for a Republican for president in every election since 1968 and in 2004 and 2008, all 77 counties went firmly for the Republican presidential candidate. Oklahoma Democrats can only hope for a fleeting glimpse of their presidential candidate in the state on the campaign trail. As a state that lost a representative in Congress after the 2000 census, 75 percent of the population is white and 92 percent speak English-only in the home and 45 to 54 year-olds comprise the largest segment of the population. The median household income is \$42, 541 and 16 percent have income below the poverty level. The state's brand of religiosity may be one of its most compelling characteristics: 42 percent believe that the

scripture is the true word of God, and 32 percent believe there is only one true way to interpret the teachings of their religion. Moreover, 1.4 million people are adherents to an evangelical Protestant Christian denomination, of which the Southern Baptist Convention is the largest group. Despite my discomfort with this environment, after college, I married a man with deep roots in the state and rejected the possibility of working at one of the conservative local newspapers despite my aspirations to be a journalist. Instead, years later, I convinced my husband to move to Iowa so I could begin my doctoral studies.

Upon closer reflection from a scholarly perspective during my doctoral studies, my family's experiences and the community in which I was raised, particularly our unquestioned connection to the workings of the national government, suggest the major players in Oklahoma interact to work as a provocative site from which to examine the concrete implications of the relationship between globalization and the nation-state. Given its distinctive relationship with state politics, the local media's role in publicizing, legitimizing and furthering this relationship also provides valuable insight into this theoretical dialogue. As such, this dissertation will use Oklahoma and its media climate specifically as a case study in order to examine the new and interesting ways the national project intensifies in relation to global processes, becoming tangible according to the lived experiences of individuals like me through immigration reform discourses.

Why Oklahoma?

Tinker played a defining role in my family's life, but the military is also a vital player in Oklahoma, like the energy and aerospace industries, therefore "scaling" a state that appears to be a minor international and political player immediately into global circuits (Sassen, 2007). The 25 major employers in Oklahoma include a cross-section of the dominant interests driving global capital (Oklahoma Department of Commerce, 2008). Three energy companies, including Halliburton, make the list, as well as Wal-Mart and the state universities that foster proprietary research relationships, specifically in the fields of petroleum engineering, biomedicine, and the geosciences. The names of the energy companies like Devon Corporation, a Fortune 500 oil and

gas company based in Oklahoma City, and oilman T. Boone Pickens dot the universities' campuses after numerous sizable donations. Finally, the state houses five military installations saved from closure time and again by the state's representatives in Congress, each housing key logistical operations and missions, such as the B-1 Bomber and a fighter jet group, a massive logistical facility, and a combat communications group.

For a state with a population that hovers near 3.6 million, Oklahoma also boasts a rather well-placed congressional delegation. Oklahoma's current U.S. senators, James Inhofe and Dr. Tom Coburn, sit on committees related to defense and energy, namely the Standing Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs. Inhofe is noted for his adamant denial of the effects of global warming, attending the climate talks in Copenhagen in December 2009 to dispel what he calls the "hoax" of climate change. Of Oklahoma's five members of the U.S. House of Representatives, three, Tom Cole, Dan Boren, and Mary Fallin, hold seats on the Natural Resources Committee, which includes the Subcommittee on Energy and Mineral Resources. Cole, the Deputy Whip in the House and former chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, and Boren also serve on the Standing Committee on Armed Services. Congressman Frank Lucas serves on the Committee on Financial Services, which oversees both domestic and international monetary policy. Dan Boren, the sole Democrat from the state, is the son of the current president of the University of Oklahoma, who is also a conservative Democrat and former multi-term Oklahoma governor as well as the former chairman of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee. Finally, Representative John Sullivan serves on the House Energy and Commerce Committee, and according to his congressional web page, he also worked to increase the presence of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Homeland Security immigration officials in Oklahoma to "combat" undocumented workers.

Placing Oklahoma in a global context

Sullivan's legislative work to provide his constituents with federal resources to aide immigration issues may seem like an anomaly in relation to the rest of the congressional delegation's committee appointments. As Rep. Cole's web site demonstrates, these legislators link immigration with national security; the articulation of immigration control through enhanced national securitization typifies globalization and advanced capitalism (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997). In this case, the calls for immigration control and hence, increased national security entail, according to Oklahoma state representatives like Fallin, strengthened borders via military surveillance and the construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Immigration reform was not the sole concern with Oklahoma's federal delegation. While Rep. Sullivan was responsible for the increased presence of ICE officers in the state through an outpost in Tulsa, the state legislature also began hearing bills on the issue in 2006 when Randy Terrill first presented a version of what would later become the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act. His first bill was defeated, but with Republicans at the national level searching for issues to gain a foothold with the electorate before the impending Democratic Congressional victories in 2006, Terrill's second attempt to pass an immigration bill in the Oklahoma legislature resonated with local voters concerned after politicians seeking national offices and a continued grip on power repeated messages warning the country that invading immigrants streaming over the southern U.S. border were the next terrorist threat. According to U.S. Census projections, Oklahoma actually has a much smaller population of Latinos (6.9 percent in 2006), most of which come from Mexico, in comparison to the rest of the country (14.8 percent) and in comparison to states like California (35.9 percent), Arizona (29.2 percent), and Texas (35.7 percent). Moreover, according to the recent reports by the Migration Policy Institute (2010) and Immigration Policy Center (n.d.), 30.9 percent of immigrants in Oklahoma are naturalized, 85 percent of the children in immigrant families are U.S. citizens according to the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, and Latinos in the state have a purchasing power of \$5.8 billion. Nonetheless, Terrill argued that Oklahoma possessed a burgeoning, burdensome undocumented

population that required immediate legislative action. Therefore, by the spring of 2007, immigration reform had become linked to national security and Terrill was able to drive his re-vamped immigration reform bill through the Oklahoma legislature with the help of politicians uneasy to appear lax on national security, despite any apparent conflicts with their professed conservative, “pro-life” values.

Symbolically, governmental efforts to enhance national security through immigration control not only keep out those seen to transgress the nation-state’s boundaries, but also to contain the integrity of the nation’s membership. As Benedict Anderson (1991) writes, “Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (p. 6). Indeed, scholars often use this quote to demonstrate the crux of his argument about the formation of national identities, which entails processes of inclusion and exclusion in the composition of the nation; what seems more compelling, however, is that he positions print capitalism and the media as essential to the formation of these communities which comprise individuals who will never know every member yet find some bond between one another. The boundaries of the imagined community are limited but elastic, Anderson continues, although the nations of which he wrote were not conceptualized with the dynamics of globalization in mind. That is, the interplay and interconnection of people, money, technology, ideas, and media, Appadurai’s (1996) five “scapes”, that characterize globalization complicates and problematizes the relationship between the media, which Anderson posits once catalyzed national sentiment, and national boundaries.

If national borders are in play in globalization, then, as Sassen argues “[t]he body of the immigrant is the carrier of much of the border regime, its enforcement and punishment” (2006, p. 217). The national borders of the United States have been at issue following the September 11, 2001, attacks when, as evidence in the Oklahoma congressional delegation’s legislative priorities, heightened security concerns directed political attention to the migrant workers slipping between America’s seemingly porous boundaries, enabled, according to some critics of

current immigration policy, by “the federal government’s failure to police our nation’s borders” (Terrill, 2008).

Whereas opinions vary on the ways in which immigration law can be altered or overhauled to take into account the conditions of a post-9/11 world, Sassen (1998) aptly demonstrates that immigration is not an act divorced from global dynamics. Instead, she posits, immigration is a de facto transnationalized process, although the immigrant is represented as acting upon individual choice. That is, the changing dynamics of state relations and state autonomy in relation to the workings of global capital complicate immigration policy, which persists in singling “out the border and the individual as the sites for regulatory enforcement” (p. 7). Moreover, Sassen continues, “Today we need to add to this the fact that the hierarchies of power and influence within the state are being reconfigured by the furthering of economic globalization (pp. 20-21). As this study will contend, discourses of immigration, particularly as they are manifested in the news media, serve a particular purpose when considered within the context of globalization. That is, the present immigration debate in the U.S. raises provocative questions regarding the interplay of Appadurai’s (1996) five –scapes and may suggest, as Sassen (2007) asks, what makes the current phase of globalization novel.

More specifically, this study will explore the relationship and dialogue between the fluidity of globalization and the rigidity of national boundaries by using as a case study the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007. It will do so by examining manifestations of this relationship in news coverage and citizen and immigrant audience understandings of the Oklahoma law.

As the bill states:

The State of Oklahoma finds that illegal immigration is causing economic hardship and lawlessness in this state and that illegal immigration is encouraged by public agencies within this state that provide public benefits without verifying immigration status. The State of Oklahoma further finds that illegal immigrants have been harbored and sheltered in this state...and that these practices impede and obstruct the enforcement of federal immigration law, undermine the security of our borders, and impermissibly restrict the privileges and immunities of the citizens of Oklahoma (p. 2 line 16- p. 3 line 2).

The legislation establishes a number of measures codifying the procedures for law enforcement officials and employers to verify workers' identities using U.S. Homeland Security databases and, with the exception of emergency medical care, prohibits access to social services for undocumented individuals. It also makes it illegal to transport, harbor, or shelter undocumented workers and prohibits local governments from adopting sanctuary policies that restrict municipal employees, including police, from working with immigration authorities (Bazar, 2008). As a part of the legislative process and therefore a prominent component of public affairs reporting in Oklahoma, particularly given the national notoriety this bill gained, the news media can be expected to play an important role in disseminating information on the bill, as well as in circulating the cultural meanings that emanate from it.

Oklahoma's immigration bill has been applauded by proponents of reform as a timely response to the federal government's failure to enforce existing immigration law or to do anything about the so-called invasion of "illegal immigrants" (Bazar, 2008). As the bill's main author state Representative Randy Terrill has said, there was evidence that undocumented workers were leaving the state after the bill's implementation. However, given that the Oklahoma legislation responded to the perceived failure of federal lawmakers to pass comprehensive reform, namely, the defeat of H.R. 4437, or the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act can be situated within what Alexander and Mohanty (1997) term "processes of recolonization," whereby "[g]lobal realignments and fluidity of capital have simply led to further consolidation and exacerbation of capitalist relations of domination and exploitation" (p. xvii). That is, I would argue that Oklahoma's immigration legislation encapsulates what Alexander and Mohanty identify as key traits of advanced capitalist states, namely, the control of organized violence used in the name of national security and hence, the state's increased militarization. The Oklahoma legislation exhibits these characteristics by mandating the utilization of the surveillance mechanisms of U.S. Homeland Security and linking immigration reform with anti-terrorism and citizen protection.

Again, the prominence this bill maintained in local news coverage can be expected to facilitate the construction of social categories, or, conversely, their reconfiguration. As Alexander and Mohanty (1997) argue, advanced capitalist states devise mechanisms by which populations are racialized, sexualized and thereby disciplined, in order to construct social categories consisting of “a class of loyal heterosexual citizens and a subordinated class of sexualized, nonprocreative, noncitizens, disloyal to the nation, and therefore, suspect” (p. xxiii). The Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act demonstrates these attributes in three ways. First, it marks the undocumented worker as the illegal “Other” and non-citizen as well as a drain to the resources available to legal citizens. Second, it assumes the heterosexuality of the immigrant through its exemption for prenatal care and its minimum age requirement of 14 years for public services. In other words, it assumes the presence of mothers and children and by extension, families. Finally, it can be argued that this legislation disciplines citizens of Oklahoma in general by producing the Other, and therefore, the ideal citizen. From representations of the deviant, cultural Other we can glean the idealized American citizen because, as Yegenoglu (1998) writes, “...one culture’s coding of bodies becomes the template through which all bodies are conjured” (pp. 115-116). Or, as Butler (1993) argues, the abject body, in this case, the “illegal immigrant,” demarcates the national body’s “limit to intelligibility, its constitutive outside” (p. xi). In this sense, the immigrant family may be utilized as an “instrument for the government of the population” (Foucault, in Rabinow & Rose, 2003) by serving as a template against which citizens learn the proper performance and execution of the family, and therefore, citizens of the nation-state.

News media participate in the circulation of cultural meanings that will mark the immigrant as “Other;” as Hall, et al (1978) put forth, news must bring events into the realm of meaning,

...referring unusual and unexpected events to the ‘maps of meaning’ which already form the basis of our cultural knowledge, into which the social world is already ‘mapped.’ The social identification, classification and contextualiz[ation] of news events in terms of these background

frames of reference is the fundamental process by which the media make the world they report on intelligible to readers and views” (pp. 54-55).

Carey’s (1989) ritual view of communication furthers this argument when he states that we learn nothing new in communication, but instead, old ideas are affirmed, and, according to Bird (2003), “news both reflects and reinforces particular cultural anxieties and concerns” (p. 150). In terms of globalization, however, these “old ideas” cannot be presumed; the juxtaposition of mass media with migratory flows destabilizes preconceived subjectivities, opening the potential for resistance and agency (Appadurai, 1996). For the purposes of this study, discourses of immigration reform in the mainstream and diasporic media will be used to map the interaction and the disruption of existing ideologies of attaining membership in the nation-state as they are represented through the immigrant family.

Summary

Guiding this study is the relationship between the strengthening of global capital’s power and the renationalization of politics (Harris, 1995; Sassen, 1996; Pessar, 1999). In other words, this study examines the apparent coexistence of globalization and the nation-state by interrogating the ways news coverage of immigration legislation in the state of Oklahoma genders and racializes immigrant communities, particularly by the ways in which the bill addresses women and children, in order to discursively remind the U.S. citizenry of their nation’s boundaries.

Chapter II will detail the theoretical foundation for this study, outlining the relationship between global capital and migrant communities, and the ways in which globalization is a gendered phenomenon as a means of situating the immigrant and resident communities at the center of this study. The second chapter will also consider the ways in which the family functions as a key site in the regulation and control of bodies, the reliance of the nation-state on the heterosexual populace as embodied in the family, and, to further theorize the role of the media in these processes, the uses of the gendered and racialized body in the mass media representations. It will finally examine the ideological function of the news media in forming

communities, such as the nation, and participating in the construction of the audience's knowledge of the world, as well as the potentially subversive role of diaspora and diasporic media in relation to the nation-state in globalization.

Chapter III will outline the methods used to execute the study, discussing in detail the strengths and conceptual goals of interpretive methodology in media analysis, as well as the procedures of this study. This chapter will discuss the value of textual analysis in examining cultural texts such as the written version of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act and the news coverage by English and Spanish-language media on its passage and implementation. The suitability of the ethnographic methods of ethnographic and unstructured in-depth interviews for untangling the ways audiences interpret these news discourses will be outlined to understand more clearly how the mass media participate in the processes of globalization.

Chapters IV, V, and VI will consist of my analysis. In Chapter IV, I conduct an analysis of the text of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, otherwise referred to as HB 1804, as an ideological backdrop for the remainder of my study. In order to understand the dominant discourses regarding immigration reform circulating in the state's mass media, Chapter V contains my textual analysis of the two largest English-language newspapers in Oklahoma. I detail some of the ways in which the Spanish-language media and the Latino community negotiated, challenged, and resisted 1804 in Chapter VI before turning to my final discussion and reflections chapter.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Although the state of Oklahoma appears insignificant at first blush, as the previous chapter attempted to demonstrate, it serves as a cross-section of much larger forces of globalization. That is, the dynamics usually observed “out there” or which scholars tend to study in locations far away either geographically or culturally from the U.S. can also be observed in the seeming mundanity of my home state of Oklahoma. Implicit in such a statement, however, is the conflict between a world without boundaries and the self-contained nation-state. As such, a goal of this study is to use scholarly instruments to begin to remove the belief that globalization only happens elsewhere, only to other people, and that U.S. citizens, or, more specifically, white Americans, are immune from these forces and the role of the news media in these processes so that we can instead begin to see the ways that globalization’s mechanisms implicate a multiplicity of multi-leveled actors here in the U.S. Immigration issues such as the discourses surrounding the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act perhaps best provide a site to interrogate these processes.

Because this study will use the immigrant family as a portal to explore the relationship of the news media to the theoretical relationship between globalization and the nation-state, the theoretical foundation consists of four sections. First, *Theories of Globalization* will provide an overview of the overarching theories of globalization, paying particular attention to the critical perspectives driving this study. The second section, *Globalization, Gendered Migratory Flows, and Studies of Immigrants*, will theorize the relationship between global capital and migrant communities, and the ways in which globalization is a gendered phenomenon as a means of situating the immigrant and resident communities at the center of this study. The section *Nation and Family* will outline the ways in which the family functions as a key site in the regulation and control of bodies, the reliance of the nation-state on the heterosexual populace as embodied in the family, and, to further theorize the role of media in these processes, the uses of the gendered

and racialized body in mass media representations. Against the backdrop of these three sections, the final section will address the media, specifically *Mainstream and Diasporic Media*, where I will detail the ideological function of the news media in forming communities, such as the nation, and participating in the construction of the audience's knowledge of the world, as well as the potentially subversive role of diaspora and diasporic media in relation to the nation-state in globalization.

Theories of globalization

The phrase, "A Third World in Every First World, A Third World in Every Third World," coined by Trinh Minh-ha and quoted by Sreberny-Mohammadi, evokes the notion that globalization has problematized previous understandings of boundaries, place and space. That is, rather than assume the characteristics and relationships of the First and Third World only manifest in what has been conceived as those bounded locations, scholars have been grappling with the implications of complex, tangled, and multi-directional flows associated with globalization that defy and disrupt conceptualizations of the world by Western modernity. More concretely, Trinh Minh-ha's phrase also highlights the increased multi-directional and multi-scalar flow of people in migration that characterizes the interplay between Appadurai's (1996) five "scapes": ethnoscapescapes, technoscapescapes, financescapescapes, mediascapescapes, and ideoscapescapes, or, people, machines, money, media, and ideas. It is within this unsettled and fraught context of globalization that the immigrant communities at the heart of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act enter migratory circuits. Theorizing these complex processes will also help make clear the interrelationship between these communities and the mainstream and diasporic media and their audiences.

Indeed, definitions of the term "globalization" are as diverse as its manifestations, enabling in some instances scholarly work that highlights and legitimates the westernization of the world while overlooking the resulting disparity between developed and developing countries and the exploitation of national and local economies at the hands of multinational corporations

(Cvetkovich and Kellner, 1997). The overall goal of globalization theorists, regardless of intellectual orientation, is to understand the processes that typify changes in state relations and the impact of the current phase of capitalism of the past few decades in comparison to centuries of colonial trade and cultural exchange.

Lechner and Boli (2008) identify four dominant theoretical perspectives regarding globalization. First, world-system theory posits that globalization represents the global expansion of a capitalist economic system unified not by a common political structure or cultural bond but instead by the division of labor within the overarching interstate world-system (Wallerstein, 2008). Furthermore, Wallerstein emphasizes that the defining characteristic of the current world-system, as opposed to an ancient set of relations in which people engaged in wage work and produced items for sale on the market, is that the current system “gives priority to the endless accumulation of capital” (p. 55). Capitalism rewards those who act appropriately to enrich their interests, namely, by striking a precariously balanced relationship between themselves as economic producers and those in positions of political power. Therefore,

Capitalists need a large market (hence minisystems are too narrow for them) but they also need a multiplicity of states, so that they can gain the advantages of working with states but also can circumvent states hostile to their interests in favor of states friendly to their interests. Only the existence of a multiplicity of states within the overall division of labor assures this possibility (p. 56).

As such, the capitalist world-system relies upon the existence of the nation-state as the root of its livelihood, although its practices thrive on the transgression of national boundaries through trade practices that serve the interests of the economic producers in question.

The propagation of consumerist ideologies by a transnational class of elites in order to support the global market is another key tenet of the world-system analysis (Sklair, 2008). As such, these perspectives emphasize the manipulation of the power relations between states in the name of economic trade that creates or perpetuates resource differentials based on transitory market standards. The exploitation of consumer desire for a never-ending stream of goods and products typify broad scholarly and popular perspectives and usages of the term “globalization.”

Indeed, Harvey (1990) argues that capitalism's drive to perpetuate markets continually shapes and re-shapes spatial and temporal sensibilities. "If money has no meaning independent of time and space," Harvey writes, "then it is always possible to pursue profit (or other forms of advantage) by altering the ways time and space are defined and used" (p. 229). As I will argue later, capital's reliance on the expansion of markets for survival and the role of labor in this process are intimately tied to the maintenance of the imaginary boundaries of the nation-state despite their re-working by the dynamics of globalization.

Second, neorealism/neoliberal institutionalism, places in the fore the state and its pursuit of its interests, chiefly, security and power, in relation to other states seeking the same interests (Lechner and Boli, 2008). As Keohane and Nye (2008) point out, the realist argument regarding interstate relations which they reconfigure and from which they base the neoralist/neoliberal position relies upon three assumptions: first, that states are both predominant and act as coherent units; second, that the state use of force to achieve their policy goals and maintaining their power; and third, states proceed within a hierarchy of issues where "the 'high politics' of military security dominates the 'low politics' of economic and social affairs" (p. 70). Keohane and Nye propose a system of "complex interdependence" within which transnational actors outside of the state's purview participate in global politics, a range, rather than a hierarchy of political issues exist, and force is not the most effective means of achieving policy goals. That is, multiple channels, formal and informal, connect societies, not just state diplomatic missions, and these connections between societies consist of multiple issues, not just state security. Most importantly, the transcendence of state boundaries in a complexly interdependent system allows non-state actors and organizations to increasingly play a role in shaping political agendas, thus changing the patterns of political processes based on models conceived from a realist perspective.

Third, world polity theorists examine the global and perhaps homogenizing context in which states operate, specifically as it relates to the templates used in the processes of state

formation and governance. Scholars such as Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez (2008) seek to explain how

[w]orld-wide models define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and policies of nations-states, and other national and local actors in virtually all of the domains of rationalized social life—business, politics, education, medicine, science, and even the family and religion (p. 78).

As such, this approach does not assume that the nation-state is a self-made and directed entity, but rather that the nation-state utilizes “scripts” circulated and constructed within the global context. Similar to the conflict-oriented perspective from which the neorealists construct their argument, world polity theorists point to the ways actors within a larger “world-society” works in concert with one another by utilizing the scripts of nationhood in order to implement the desired policies. Meyer, et al use as an example the role non-state entities and organizations can compel and encourage countries to implement policies such as population control measures or national science policies, all in the name of national development. Finally, Meyer et al argue that world-society scripts constrain nation-states due to the linkage between the states’ identity as such and compliance to these same world models.

World-system, neorealist/neoliberal, and world polity theories contain a number of common themes, such as their efforts to theorize the ways global contact has altered intra- and inter-state relations, particularly through the introduction of multinational non-state organizations and capital. As the fourth dominant theoretical perspective, world culture theorists depart from the world polity’s position, for instance, of an overarching and binding world culture, instead positing the existence of a constellation of cultures within a global context. Indeed, world culture theorists take a bottom-up approach different from the other paradigms to locate the many ways in which globalization has also created difference and resistance to what can be the totalizing dynamics of globalization and global capital in particular through accelerated commodification and consumerism. Moreover, world culture theorists center their analyses at the individual and local levels in order to map the implications of globalization. It is this perspective that will shape the study at hand and, as Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997) argue, the critical stance that

characterizes what Lechner and Boli (2008) identify as world culture theory can articulate the local with the global and bring into sharp relief the power disparities fostered through the spread of global capital and its contingent parts that is largely, although not completely, overlooked by other theoretical approaches to the topic.

As such, a key tenet of cultural theorists of globalization is accounting for the ways in which societies grapple with the dynamics introduced as a result of new global processes, which Robertson (1990) terms, “relativization.” In short, Robertson seeks to theorize the ways in which societies and individuals, or individuals organized into movements such as religious fundamentalist groups, make order using a multi-leveled consciousness out of novel and seemingly disorderly situations introduced through the compression of the world in globalization. This can include, he argues, mechanisms employed to deny the newfound unity and compression of the world demonstrated, for instance, in the discourses comprising immigration legislation such as the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act.

Maintaining that globalization “is itself a deeply historical, uneven, and even localizing process...,” Appadurai (1996) furthers Robertson’s argument regarding the specialization of the ways in which local cultures grapple with global processes. Appadurai argues that, unlike in the past, global processes have become a crucial component in the shaping of the imagination and in turn, the imagination has become a social practice:

...the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in a sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility...the imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order (p. 31).

In other words, whereas an individual’s realm of possibility has now expanded to include choices and opportunities originating from a global-wide range because of the local introduction of global processes, the social imaginary is still delimited by those same processes which have come to emphasize a homogeneous (and Western) consumerist lifestyle. Nonetheless, these new

possibilities must still be integrated into already existing local cultures and belief systems by individuals, and therefore still generate the possibility of new subjectivities and identities.

Appadurai (1996) further points out that globalization has displaced the United States as the sole locus of images, positing instead five disjointed, transitory but historicized “-scapes” that fuel the creation of global cultural flows in relation to one another. *Technoscapes*, he argues, are the global networks of technology that transport information into territories previously unconnected to each other. *Financescapes* are the landscapes of financial transfers and capital moving with increasing speed around the globe; these two –scapes form “highly disjunctive” relationships with *ethnoscapes*, or the global movements of people, as tourists, migrants, workers, exiles or other groups of highly mobile and moving people. Most importantly, the three –scapes have heightened importance in the workings of politics and nations, which refract and interact with *mediascapes*, the media by which the scripts of the social imaginary are crafted and transmitted, and the *ideoscapes*, or the ideologies tied to modernist conceptualizations of the nation-state and its accompanying worldview.

For Appadurai (1996), the role the mass media play in globalization by establishing the outer parameters of the imaginary for migratory audiences, such as the diaspora Gabriel contends presents a threat to the nation-state, is perhaps the most new and significant aspect of this phase of advanced capitalism:

The mobile and unforeseeable relationship between mass-mediated events and migratory audiences defines the core link between globalization and the modern; neither purely good or bad, but the work of the imagination is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their practices of the modern (p. ??).

With this in mind, the following sections will theorize both the importance of migratory flows and the mass media in globalization.

Globalization, gendered migratory flows, and studies of
immigrants

The increase in migratory activity around the globe can be connected to the collapse of global imperialism, the end of which was overlapped by the spread of neoliberal economic structures. Sassen (2007) points to three specific factors compelling migration: colonial or neocolonial links between sending and receiving nations; direct labor recruitment by a receiving country in the sending country; and human trafficking. Moreover, although classic conceptualizations of the causes of immigration often cite poverty and other unfavorable socioeconomic conditions as the reasons people initially leave their homes, Sassen (1998) argues that it is the globalization of the economy that has worked to funnel immigrants into developed countries like the U.S. This specifically entails the following characteristics of neoliberal economic policies: opening countries to foreign investment and the switch to export-oriented economies; the move away from traditional production systems such as community agriculture to industrial farming techniques that increases low-wage laborers and influxes in migrants to urban centers in developing countries; the resulting hyper-development of national economies; and the “casualization” of the economy, or the growth of the service industries and the decline of manufacturing, within the U.S leading to an increase in the number low-wage and temporary jobs most often filled by immigrants.

As a result, the dominant themes surrounding calls for immigration reform, such as the country being filled to capacity and an existing scarcity of jobs, simply do not hold up to empirical examination and common measures to curb immigration fail to account for the complex economic relationships borne of globalization between sending and receiving countries (Sassen, 1998). Certainly, the United States and Mexico, the implicit target of immigration reform legislation such the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, typify all the attributes Sassen identifies. As Gonzalez and Fernandez (2003) posit, the presence of migrant Mexicans in the U.S. is part of the United States’ construction of a hegemonic empire that exerted economic domination over Mexico, or, as they argue, a “structural unity between the

effects of U.S. corporate investments in Mexico and the needs of U.S. agribusiness in the U.S. Southwest, both of which conditioned the internal and external Mexican migration...” (p. xii). As a result of heightened migration such as that which occurs between Mexico and the U.S., alternative global circuits connecting urban centers and receiving communities with migrant workers produce a new geography of globalization facilitated by the global economic systems and its component institutional support, such as free-trade agreements and the structures of the World Trade Organization, that increase the likelihood that national-level processes “scale up” to the global level (Sassen, 1999).

Furthermore, globalization and migration can be regarded as a gendered phenomenon, of which Mexican migration to the U.S. is representative. Whereas the local is often portrayed as gendered and global processes as gender neutral, Freeman (2001) argues that “the historical and structural underpinnings and contemporary forms of globalization are themselves deeply imbued with specific notions about femininity and masculinity and expectations for the roles of women and men” (p. 1011). The economic inequities that ensue through the introduction of neoliberal policies like mandatory Structural Adjustments Programs in developing countries have been borne on the back of women, who have been impacted the greatest by the tenets of neoliberalism that shrink employment opportunities for men in their native countries and devalue the work of women while compelling women into “survival economies” to support their families through migration (Sassen, 1999). The entry into migrant circuits relies upon existing migrant networks and infrastructure for support, which are mediated by conditions such as the patriarchal devaluation of women in households. Also, the industries and worker recruiting practices are inherently gendered because people are recruited for specific jobs by multinational employers based on their gender (Gonzalez and Fernandez, 2003). “Deliberate choices of single men,” Gonzalez and Fernandez write,

because of the character of the occupations (“not ladies’ work”) or because they might more likely return to Mexico; married men, because they might be more “reliable”; and families organized into preconceived divisions of labor in company towns are some of the gendered ways in

which imperial agency sought to organize migration *and* settlement (p. 102).

These patterns of labor recruitment persist; as such, so we can see how global capital exploits gender to cheaply meet labor needs as it simultaneously produces inequality according to the ideologies of neoliberalism (Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, and Hanson, 2002).

Scholars have also demonstrated the ways in which the act of immigration is itself a concretely gendered experience. In order to see the themes of the gendered immigrant experience that continue to repeat in current discourses of immigration leading the call for a need for legislative reform, a review of the literature on the subject is crucial to properly historicize the study at hand. In *Almost All Aliens*, Paul Spickard (2007) inserts a discussion of the gendered nature of immigration to the US, arguing that historical renderings of the topic, besides often promoting the “Ellis Island model,” are largely male-centered, taking the “woman as luggage” approach to experiences of immigration. In other words, women are mostly in the background as the passive wives for whom their husbands sent after a foray in the US alone. Moreover, he asserts, when they are present, immigration is presented as a liberating experience for these women, who become exposed to soft-core feminist ideals and gain the autonomy that was unavailable to them in their home countries. While this may be the case for some women, Spickard and other scholars have documented the complex ways in which immigration is a gendered experience overall. Women’s experiences have varied according to race, class, and country of origin; one commonality, however, is that women have hardly played the passive role ascribed to them by early accounts of immigration. As the works focusing on gender have shown, women demonstrate agency on multiple levels when it comes to immigration, either in its initiation or dealing with its tribulations. Another key element differentiating women’s experiences from men’s is the degree to which they function as sites of cultural contestation and struggles over meaning. Female immigrants were often treated as conduits of “betterment” to their families and husbands in the numerous Americanization efforts. As the immigration legislation that is the subject of this study also shows, Latinas have been particularly prone targets of social engineering efforts and continue to be taken up in discourses of immigration as

threats to the social fabric of the U.S. (Segura and Zavella, 2007; Chavez, 2007, 1997; Inda, 2007, 2002). Perhaps most salient, the representations of immigrants, particularly Mexican women, obfuscate the structural upheavals wrought by globalization compelling migrants into diasporic circuits.

Although, as Gabaccia (1994) argues, men and women have always participated in migration “from the other side,” be it alone or with their families, the trajectory of U.S. immigration law has influenced the gender composition of those seeking entrance to the country. Often at the heart of immigration to the US is the job market, and, immigration policy is often enacted due to the perceived threats from foreign labor. The perceived threats of foreign labor often materialize in gendered attacks; for instance, the Page Act of 1875 was passed to prevent the entrance of women of lewd or immoral behavior, giving US consulates in specific Asian countries the discretion to award visas to women from these countries (see Lee, 2007; Spickard, 2007; Daniels, 2004). This targeted Chinese women specifically due to the perception that they were prostitutes and effectively curbed the immigration of Chinese women. Because Chinese men were in locations with low numbers of (any) women to do certain jobs, like laundering, they became financially successful by fulfilling these labor requirements. As a result, portrayals of Chinese men became feminized. These men were seen as a threat to the jobs of white American men and in 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, allegedly to curb the importation of contract labor, and renewed ten years later. Chinese communities became aging bachelor communities; as Yung (1995) argues, the gender imbalance was only beginning to change by the 1990s. Other immigration legislation was gendered in nature. The Expatriation Act of 1907, for example, shifted a woman’s citizenship to the nationality of her husband, and revoked the citizenship of any woman who married an alien ineligible for citizenship.

The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 effectively whitened the country (Spickard, 2007) by disallowing immigrants from countries deemed racially unfavorable to the US, but in the 1940s and until the Hart-Cellar Act in 1965, legislation was put in place that slowly opened the door to immigrants from more diverse points of origin. As Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) shows specifically

regarding Mexican migrants, the family reunification at the heart of the Hart-Cellar Act enabled the wives and families of immigrants to join their spouses in the US, shifting the balance of gender as well as the racial composition of immigrants generally.

Fernandez and Gonzalez (2001) demonstrate how migration specifically from Mexico for labor purposes has been gendered. When the US labor force was depleted throughout the 20th Century, the authors demonstrate how businesses, usually agricultural, recruited replacement labor from Mexico specifically during the Bracero Programs in the mid 20th century (see also Tichenor, 2002, who argues that an alliance between Western Congressman and Big Business stonewalled immigration legislation throughout the middle of the 20th Century). Often going into the very regions their industries were ruining, businesses lured workers to the border, thus depleting villages of the men. According to the Bracero agreements between the US and Mexico, workers were guaranteed fair wages and working conditions; these rarely transpired. Due to the rigorous physicals and screening processes, the men who had flocked to the border were parsed for only the best and brightest, who then went on to the jobs in the US. Those turned down could not return home, having used their money to travel to the border; this created a population boom of unemployed men in the border towns. Later, particularly after the signing of NAFTA, a maquila industry, mostly employed women due to the “light labor” it required, grew around the border towns. In both cases, however, the businesses employed tactics that discouraged organizing, which was easy given the saturated labor market. Worker protections, regardless of gender, were undermined. Over time, immigrants to the US have increasingly been women, brought in for “light” and service industries, as well as in human trafficking.

As Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) demonstrates, decisions to immigrate from Mexico were often gendered as well. Rather than a well-orchestrated event, she shows how the decision was usually spontaneous. A person would receive word from a family member or friend who had migrated and had a lead on work in the US. For the person who was married, he or she may have a prolonged discussion with their spouse before leaving. Single women would leave with contacts and networks of family and friends to support them, often to escape the restrictive

oversight of their families. Wives left behind assumed the work of both spouses while waiting for remittances from their husbands. They then may or may not wait to be sent for; some wives just showed up at their husband's doors in the US. Men, on the other hand, often established second families while spending extended periods away from their wives in Mexico. Husbands did not always appreciate having to send money to their wives back home. In short, the collaboration between spouses was often unharmonious leading up to and after the decision to migrate.

Many scholars address the difference of immigration experiences between married and single women. As Glenn (1986), Gabbacia (1994), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), and Spickard (2007) point out, immigration only increased the work load for married women who worked double duty in their wage-earning jobs and at home. Despite working 12 hour days or multiple jobs, immigrant women still shoulder the majority of the domestic and reproductive work. Hondagneu-Sotelo, for example, tells of the Mexican woman cleaning up after the number of men who boarded with them, doing things like wiping the urine off the toilet seats. Some men, according to Hondagneu-Sotelo and Gabbacia, do take on more domestic work after migration. Across generations, women's labor outside the home changes; from the first to second to third generations, women progressively work outside the home the first generation and then re-enter the domestic sphere thereafter. Also, besides marital status, ethnicity, education, and social class impact whether or not a woman enters the labor force and certain types of work were segmented according to ethnicity: Diner (1983) argues that Irish women participated largely in domestic service and Spickard (2007) and Gabbacia write that Jewish women often worked in the garment industries.

Immigration presented a unique negotiation of gender roles. As George (2005) argues, most research on immigrants focuses on their adaptation to outer society; she looked at the way gender roles within the family were altered after migration. Based on her own experience as the daughter of a nurse from Kerala, India, whose father happily took on the domestic labor when his wife migrated to the U.S. first, George presents a more complex portrait of the translation of a

patriarchal culture after immigrating. She shows how cultural meanings from the sending country are transferred to the receiving country in her discussion of the Keralite nurses who, even after arriving in the U.S, still carried the stigma of being dirty because they touched and handled sick people. Because their husbands were culturally emasculated by migrating after their wives and had to regain status within their communities, their wives' occupations were seen as a reflection upon their gender performances as well.

The years preceding the annexation of what is now New Mexico, as well as the acquisition of Puerto Rico as a United States territory provide numerous examples of the gendered experiences of immigrants. The border may have crossed these territories- the residents of these populations may not have geographically moved- but the residents nonetheless were a part of nation-building efforts through the U.S.'s imperial expansion. As such, they can be included in discussions of immigration experiences as they were "new" to a location. More importantly, the efforts to "include" the residents of these territories in the U.S. body, through various assimilation programs and discursive practices, aptly demonstrate the power relations at play in imperialism; efforts that disciplined the body, literally and figuratively, particularly reveal the resistance, acquiescence, and accommodation that hinge on questions of power in imperial relations (Stoler, 2006). As a key argument of this study in relation to the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, the discourses surrounding immigration and the acceptance of the immigrant body in Oklahoma may perpetuate the disciplining discourses scholars have previously identified.

Gonzalez (2001), for example, looks at the women of Santa Fe during the years just before and after the US acquired the New Mexico territory. While women constituted the majority of the poorest and hardest working population at the time, Gonzalez argues that they also demonstrated remarkable resilience and resourcefulness, as well as exerting their legal rights. By analyzing traveler's accounts and court records, she shows not only how abused and mistreated women were, but how women demanded the recognition of their rights under the law when they were not paid for their services or were physically abused, for instance, by Anglo

employers. She also shows how the portrayal of the women in Santa Fe, such as Gertrudis Barcelo, in the popular press, worked to justify US aggression against Mexico and consequent annexation of the territories. The portrayals of Santa Fe women were then extrapolated onto the entire population. In other words, the resourcefulness of business women like Barcelo was overlooked and instead, the women were portrayed often as uncivilized Catholics in need of US intervention. That the travelers and soldiers that frequented Barcelo's successful gambling house were male is, of course, ignored.

Duetsch (1987) demonstrates the resiliency of women in New Mexico in the face of colonialism. Women established networks as part of the migration northward and separation from their spouses; through daily contact with other members of their communities, they forged ties that allowed them maintain their Hispano traditions, despite the interventions of Protestant missionaries seeking to Americanize and convert the women. Diner (1983), Glenn (1986), and Gabaccia (1994) also demonstrate how women played key roles in cultural maintenance for particular immigrant communities, transferring their cultural mores to their communities in the receiving countries. Moreover, women have been crucial members of the labor movement, especially in the Jewish and Latino communities, throughout the 20th Century (Gabbacia, 1994; Ruiz, 1999; Spickard, 2007).

Scholars have also shown how women, in the context of immigration and in contrast to men, have been used as a site upon which meanings of race, sex, domesticity, and nation have played. Women immigrants have been targeted through social and health programs and even liberatory movements such as the Chicana feminist movement; although male immigrants- or, in the case of New Mexico, Indians and African Americans- have been included in these contests over cultural meaning, overwhelmingly, women have been at the epicenter of these struggles. Most importantly, women often resist them.

Sanchez (1993), for example, discusses how White women tried to teach Mexican women the "American way" of hygiene and cooking, in the hopes that they would transfer these attributes to their husbands, who would then become better workers. Women in the 19th Century

Southwest also endured the face to face contact with proselytizing, Americanizing Protestants, although as Duetsch (1987) shows, Hispano women picked and chose which American innovations they used based on how it made their labor easier.

Finally, in the context of American imperial expansion, scholars have shown how public discourses converged on the gendered body in order to racially define the contours of the nation. Molina (2006) asserts that public health efforts have a long history of racializing immigrant communities. As Mitchell (2005) demonstrates, bodily comportment, as played out in the Indian schools and New Mexican medical journals, served to racialize the non-White populace in a region where Anglos could not assume dominance. In this way, through demonstrations of deviant attire, sexuality and physical health, Anglos discursively produced their whiteness, to the detriment of the already existing population with its already established social stratification.

Briggs (2002) and Findlay (1999) examine the use of Puerto Rican women in U.S. acculturating efforts. To Findlay, those who wanted to be white in Ponce, Puerto Rico were defined by their proper sexual behaviors and relationships. In this way, we see race articulated with gender, particularly as it pertained to the prostitute reform movement. For Briggs, public health efforts in Puerto Rico served a seemingly paradoxical purpose: to mark the country as in need of U.S. intervention, yet deviant from the national body. Mothers in Puerto Rico were depicted as a drain on social services (despite their ineligibility) and due to perception that linked poverty with perceived overpopulations, poor women were targeted for birth control campaigns and forced sterilization. In other words, Puerto Rico served as a laboratory, where “ideal” meanings of race and nation were tinkered with and manipulated through women’s bodies.

The myth of the hyperfertile Latina is the topic of Gutierrez’s (2008) book. She also examines the convergence of public discourses to examine the way knowledge about women of Mexican descent is produced. The seeming hyperfertility of Latina women, specifically those of Mexican descent, sits at the heart of calls for immigration reform, and she shows the actors, such as environmental groups like the Sierra Club and nativist organizations, who worked in concert

to construct the image of the ever-pregnant Mexican woman. These discourses manifested in the coerced sterilization of women of Mexican descent; the law suit against these doctors is the centerpiece of her analysis. In light of this, Gutierrez argues that the Chicana movement was energized, ending in positive legal reforms.

Despite social and cultural efforts that ultimately racialized and stratified Latinos and other groups from white U.S. society, as Lowe (2007) points out, the abstract needs of capital, that is, its willingness to cull its labor regardless of origin, contradict with the needs of the nation-state to maintain an abstract, unified citizenry. It is the attempts by the nation-state to resolve this contradiction through immigration law, she argues, that produce a racially and gender-stratified labor force. Moreover, the points at which the law cannot reconcile the contradictions between the needs of the nation-state and capital erupt in cultural venues, such as the mass media. These cultural negotiations of citizenship may manifest in acts of resistance and agency but also complicity in affirming the hegemonic order. As the next section will demonstrate, the family serves as one cultural site within which membership in the nation-state is discursively contested, particularly given the family's investment in producing the labor pool necessary to the propagation of capital.

Nation and family

The presence of global capital and migratory flows unsettles the existence of the nation-state, which persists nonetheless. Economies, global or otherwise, rely on the human capital produced and nurtured in the family setting for their propagation (Burggraf, 1999). Globalization also centers the family as concerns about family survival often serve as the catalyst behind immigrants' entrance, particularly women, into migratory circuits. The family also functions as a symbol of the nation and those it includes. In this way, we can see how the family becomes a

metonym of the nation at multiple levels, particularly as it is articulated in advanced capitalism. This section will discuss, first, reconfigurations and responses of the nation-state in dialogue with globalization which compel mobilizations of gendering, racializing, and sexualizing discourses such as those surrounding immigration reform; second, how the family serves as an active site of discipline and control, particularly when under the state's purview; and third, the ways representations of people of color, either individually or in groups, might work as templates for properly performing American citizenship, thereby affirming the presence of the nation-state in the context of globalization.

Key to the formation of the nation as imagined community is the work to distinguish between those to be included and excluded in its membership (Anderson, 1990). What was once thought to be contained within the context of the national, however, can now be seen to occur within a global scale: "processes only partly inhabit the immediate surroundings; its boundaries are determined by the vast resources it employs which may connect it with the local and the global (Sassen, 2007, pp. 230-231). The state has become denationalized, but remains as the chief guarantor of rights; in many ways, the power of the state has increased, even as it has relented a measure of its autonomy through the deregulation and transnational flow of capital. This suggests a change in the relationship between the state and the global, which this study seeks to examine with immigration discourses as a case study.

Even though globalization has reconfigured the role of the nation-state, "As far as nationality is concerned," Billig (1995, p. 7) argues, "one needs to look for the reasons why people in the contemporary world do not forget their nationality." In other words, citizens are continually reminded of and situated in relation to their nationality through what Billig calls the "flagging" of nationhood. One means by which this is accomplished is through the gendering,

racializing, and sexualizing of populations. The categorization of humans into racial categories, for instance, coincided in the 18th Century with the advent of European scientific inquiry and the expansion of the slave trade; racialized groups were further naturalized as governments began to enact legal definitions of different peoples (Guillaumin, 1980). Consequently, group identities have been systematically and consciously institutionalized, leading to a “possessive investment in whiteness for European Americans” as well as a continued and systemic position of disadvantage for individuals who fall outside the acceptable category of “white.” (Lipsitz, 2002, p. 62). Moreover, as Lipsitz contends, labor histories have shown that definitions of race changed as new immigrant groups, such as Polish and Irish groups, entered the U.S. workforce, many of whom can now claim status as “white,” but were simultaneously placed below whites and above “non-whites.” The category of “white” has become invisible, leading to the perception of whites being non-raced (Dyer, 1997). More importantly, the invisibility of whiteness and its ability to go unnamed and unnoticed has led to the privileging of whiteness as the standard against which all other races are measured.

As Dyer (1997) contends, the primacy and privilege of whiteness persists despite theorizations of identity’s multiplicity. The rise of the nation-state and accompanying nationalist sentiment has also fostered the proliferation of racial discourse, or as Appadurai (1996) points out, the nation-state as a cultural product articulates notions of nationality and primordial attributes like race, place and language. Western “modern” cultures, he argues, are particularly culpable in fostering these connections, despite their outward rejection of primordial societies. Moreover, the notion of singular national identities begins to unravel with the increasing deterritorialized status of national citizens. As he writes, “One major fact that accounts for strains in the union of nation and state is that the nationalist genie, never perfectly contained in the

bottle of the territorial state, is now itself diasporic...key identities and identifications now only partially revolve around the realities and images of place” (p. 160-161). The decentralization of production lines and the resulting transnational migration of labor workers from nations previously conceived as “Third World” into “First World” localities has resulted in a backlash from members of the white Western world due to the perceived threat to preconceived national, and therefore racial, affiliations (Gabriel, 2000). The social difficulty of accepting multiple subject positions through the process of cultural identities explains the complexity of compounding racial and national distinctions; as Radhakrishnan (2003) and Lowe (2003) show, when multiple national identities become conjoined and hyphenated, immigrants and ethnic groups are often compelled to subsume one cultural affiliation over the other. For the purposes of this study, the primacy of singular racial, ethnic, and national affiliations illustrates the difficulty in accepting multiple subject positions, and therefore expanding inclusive definitions of a society’s larger culture.

Due to the heightened transnational flows of labor and commerce as a part of globalizing processes, scholars have noted a redeployment of white ethnic identities, and ultimately, racist discourses to counteract the perceived intrusion of diasporic communities to “whole” national identities, of which mass media have played a variegated role (Gabriel, 2000). Whiteness remains invisible, however, as the normative core in formulating identities in Western societies (Dyer, 1997).

Connell (1987) identifies both the family and the state as two examples of gender regimes. The family in particular is not simply a building block of society, but one of its most complex products: “In no other institution are relationships so extended in time, so intensive in contact, so dense in their interweaving of economics, emotion, power and resistance” (p. 121).

Likewise, the state is also a key site where gender is institutionalized. As a “tense and tender tie” that encapsulates the relations of ruling (Stoler, 2006), the discursive regulation and disciplining of the immigrant family will enable an examination of how the public and private spheres interact to discipline bodies into acceptable gendered and racialized beings, or to serve as templates for such. That is, as Stoler maintains, in a colonial (and postcolonial) context “it was in the gendered and racialized intimacies of the everyday that women, men, children were turned into subjects of particular kinds, as domination was routinized and rerouted in intimacies that the state sought to know but could never completely master or work out” (p. 57). Alexander (2005) demonstrates the state’s investment in maintaining a specifically heterosexual populace. The raced, classed, and sexualized body that becomes the object of state intervention through either its itinerant attention to, for instance, the welfare mother, or conversely, its repudiation of any obligation to help her reveals the ideological interests at work; as Alexander writes, “It is difficult not to conclude that the state constitutes itself through these very interests” (p. 222). Finally, Connell argues that the state’s interest in managing intimate relations through, for instance, the creation of categories such as “mother” and “child,” represents “the cent[er] of a reverberating set of power relations and political processes in which patriarchy is both constructed and contested” (p. 130).

I would argue, then, that the discursive deployment of the immigrant family as a means of justifying or protesting immigration reform, for instance, can be seen as one method of disciplining not only the immigrant but also the American population at large to adhere to contested norms of citizenship, which may be unsettled as a result of globalization. As Foucault (2003) writes, “...the family becomes an instrument rather than a model- the privileged

instrument for the government of the population and not the chimerical model of good government” (p. 241). Moreover,

...the state of government, which is no longer essentially defined by its territoriality, by the surface it occupies, but by a mass: the mass of the population, with its volume, its density, with the territory it covers, to be sure, but only in the sense as one of its components. And this state of government, which is grounded in its population and which refers and has resort to the instrumentality of economic knowledge, would correspond to a society controlled by apparatuses of security (p. 245).

In other words, the state relies on the subjugation and disciplining of its population in order to perpetuate its power because it is in its population that its existence resides. With the reconfiguration of national boundaries and the unseating of the scalar primacy of the nation-state due to the relationships between global capital and state governments, popular discourses in conjunction with legal apparatuses may work to remind the populations of its borders via renditions of the immigrant family through such venues as the mass media.

In this regard, feminist scholarship is instructive in its interrogation of the ways in which the gendered body becomes a site where the meanings of culture are crystallized, inscribed, and contested (see Grosz, 1994, and Bordo, 2003); for women of color, these meanings are amplified as a means by which colonial inscriptions of power over subaltern groups are centrally located. As Yegenoglu (1998) argues, “...one culture’s coding of bodies becomes the template through which all bodies are conjured” (p. 115-116). Moreover, representations of women of color and from around the world can align with the dominant expectations of women in the U.S.: “To idealize ‘the other woman’ is to present her as like, or aspiring to be like, her American counterpart...the woman’s sameness in difference allows us to avoid the sense of threat that confrontation with difference presents...” (Lutz and Collins, 1985, p. 167).

hooks (1992) argues that even when racial and sexual difference are represented favorably and inherent to an allegedly pluralistic society such as the U.S., the historic conditions which preceded the remaining racist structures becomes subsumed and occluded. As a result, racist structures remain intact and unquestioned, explained away by the apparent mainstream

acceptance of “difference;” instead, cultural “Otherness” can become romanticized and refracted through the lens of a harmonious pluralist society, but also adamantly relegated to the realm of the primitive. Non-white women and men can contradictorily be represented as both productive, beneficial members of society *and* threats to the cultural fabric (Padin, 2005). In this way, mediated portrayals repetitively convey contradictory and impoverished representations of people of color to the public at large.

Furthermore, racist notions of people of color become projected onto fragmented depictions of their body parts, for example, attaching connotations of unruly sexuality to the bodies of the racialized woman, such as Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek, and Frida Kahlo (hooks, 1992; Guzmán and Valdivia, 2004). Representations of female celebrities of color, however, are not the only vehicles through which “woman” is defined; indeed, the news can be seen to utilize “woman” as a sign, to which it assigns and contains the attached meaning of the feminine as part of a masculinist discursive system (Rakow and Kranich, 1991). Parallel to the showcasing of fragmented female body parts as a means of sexualizing women of color, women in the news are shown as individuals standing in for whole groups (Sigal, 1987); moreover, in the news,

The meaning of the sign “woman,” bound up as it is with the assumption of whiteness, is critical to the construction of both a gender system and a race system... If whiteness must be encoded into the sign “woman” in order for it to carry meaning, then women and men from other racial and ethnic groups are outside the dominant meaning system that differentiates “real” or “typical” women and men... The assumption that all women are the same belies the foundation of whiteness upon which the system of differentiation rests, embedding a system of racism in the symbolic order (Rakow and Kranich, 1991, pp. 19-20).

Paradoxically, then, women of color in the news are presented as fragments, in order to detract from their meanings as “woman,” but then the meaning assigned to their bodies via the news is transferred to their race and culture as a whole. In this way, we see the emergence of truncated understandings of non-white cultures and issues, and the woman of color is transformed into a metonym for the nation.

As Grosz (1994), Bordo (2003), and Yegenoglu (1998) point out, it can be no coincidence that efforts to exert social control are tied to representations of the feminine body.

However, whereas women and the female body has been centered in research on its relation to culture, the possibility that men figure into the process of the construction of cultural meaning, particularly as it relates to the maintenance of the nation-state, cannot be overlooked. Shifting discussion onto the family unit and how it is deployed in immigration discourse allows me to examine the ways that culture and gender interact in general, and not just as it pertains to women. The next section will demonstrate in further detail the role mainstream and diasporic media play in this process.

Mainstream and diasporic media in globalization and migratory
flows

Popular discourses often present journalism as the objective observer of social events; critical and cultural media theorists, however, have demonstrated the ideological function of the mass media. As Hardt (1998) writes,

Journalism represents a source of societal knowledge; it is organized to assist in the production of everyday realities under specific ideological conditions; and it serves to promote the private, political, and commercial interests of its owners. Its institutional authority advances the credibility of facts that create the truths that shape the world. Journalism resides in the cultural habitat of language from which it represents the social and political discourse of society (p. xv).

As this section will outline, mass media play a crucial role in the production and maintenance of culture and the ways in which audiences know and understand their world. A key facet of this study is understanding the role mainstream and diasporic media play in constructing, confirming, resisting and perhaps subverting public knowledge in order to interrogate the relationship between the nation and globalization and the ways in which immigrant communities factor into these processes.

Rather than the simple dissemination of information, Carey (1992) conceptualizes two views of communication: transmission and ritual. According to the transmission view, communication serves the purpose of transmitting messages through space, whereas the ritual view works to maintain “an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and

container for human action” (p. 18-19). Drawing a connection between the root of the word communication and “communion,” “communal,” and “community,” Carey highlights the ways in which communication, according to either view but specifically the ritual, coheres members of a group:

This projection of community ideals and their embodiment in material form- dance, plays, architecture, news stories, strings of speech- creates an artificial though nonetheless real symbolic order that operates to provide not information but confirmation, not to alter attitudes or change minds but to represent an underlying order of things, not to perform functions but to manifest an ongoing and fragile social process (p. 19).

Hall (1982) extends this argument, writing that media play a potent role in the construction of reality by actively “*making things mean*” (p. 64, emphasis in original); furthermore, media shape “the whole ideological environment” by “representing the order of things which [endow] its limiting perspectives with that natural or divine inevitability which makes them appear universal, natural and coterminous with ‘reality’ itself” (p. 65).

This is not to say, however, that meanings are static or uncontested. As Hall (1982) makes clear, the work to assign meaning to events, to naturalize them and erase the inequivalence between culture and “nature,” requires struggle over the “prize to be won:” consent over meaning or outcome (p. 70). That is, media participate in the contest to define the ideological terrain that articulates meaning and therefore, the parameters of public discourse and understanding. For this study, public knowledge and understanding can be seen to be shaped by news coverage of immigration and immigrants. The same news coverage can also be seen to play a crucial role in setting the boundaries of discussions on immigration.

We can begin to see the parameters of the discussion of immigration reform set by news coverage that perpetuates racial myths (Campbell, 1995), systematically “Others” minorities (Teo, 2000), legitimates and naturalizes discriminatory practices (Erjavec, 2001), and is often based on the premise that the racial “Other,” and not racist ideology, is the source of social problems (Hall, 2004). Moreover, empirical studies have also demonstrated the reductionist representations of Latinos, who are more likely to appear in threatening contexts and as criminal

suspects than whites (Chiricos and Eschholz, 2002; Dixon and Linz, 2000) and are invisible as news anchors, reporters, sources or the subjects of news stories (Poindexter, Smith and Heider, 2003). News coverage also feminizes Latinos and portrays them as an underclass of peons (Vargas, 2000), and can provide contradictory messages regarding a region or community's adaptation to new immigrant groups (Padín, 2005). Padín's study suggests that Latinos are subject to "conditional whitening," whereby they become "normative mulattoes" who are positioned in relation to both white and black normative expectations, or rather, they are simultaneously portrayed as productive members of society who integrate easily, but are still criminal and cultural threats to the larger, white American society.

Significantly, Flores (2003) argues that discussions of race and nation are rhetorically inscribed in Mexican immigrant bodies, whereas these individuals have been rhetorically placed outside the nation and described as lazy, diseased and criminal. This aligns with Anderson's (1991) argument that print capitalism and the ritualistic consumption of the news specifically serve to cohere the imagined community of the nation. Additionally, as Anderson points out, the membership in a particular imagined community does not consist of all of humankind; it is exclusive, while simultaneously claiming to be open and elastic in membership.

The dynamics introduced by globalization, however, problematize the integrity of the imagined national community of which Anderson (1991) writes. Indeed, the autonomy of the nation-state is altered by the processes that characterize globalization: the interplay of people, money, technology, ideas, and mass media, (Appadurai (1996). Chief among these dynamics is the interaction of migratory audiences and mass media. Mass media stimulate possibility and foster the imagination; they introduce peoples to the possibilities that the world holds for them. In short, when migration "is juxtaposed with the rapid flow of mass-mediated images, scripts and sensations, we have a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities" (p. 4).

Indeed, the very instability that diasporic communities introduce is their allegiances to multiple locales; as Clifford (1994) argues, "The nation-state, as common territory and time, is traversed and, to varying degrees, subverted by diasporic attachments" (p. 307). More

specifically, given the interrelated and yet autonomous relationship between Appadurai's (1996) scapes- their "imbrication," in Sassen's (2006) conceptualization- I would argue that migrant populations can be seen to activate the media- and ideoscapes in ways that obfuscate the relationship between perhaps all five scapes in an effort to solidify the perception that the nation-state's boundaries/borders remain intact. For example, transnational financescapes set in motion the economic compulsions behind migration, particularly in the case of Mexican migration to the U.S. Mexican migrants have historically been recruited by U.S. businesses to enter the U.S. for work; also, the intense development that resulted from Mexico's economic restructuring and privatization in the 1980s led to the increased internal migration and the eventual migration into the U.S. Because U.S. media(scapes) are tied to government interests (ideoscapes) through the consolidation of media corporations with companies that hold government contracts, and international communication scholars (see Thussu, 2006) have demonstrated that privatized Western media can be expected to present pro-Western (U.S.) viewpoints, news coverage of migrant communities, regardless of the reasons for their migration, cannot be expected to provide in-depth analysis of the U.S.'s role in their predicament. Indeed, scholars show that news coverage of complex global issues tend to trivialize or portray Western, developed countries positively and developing countries negatively (see Sreberny-Mohammadi and Braman, 1996). This is not to underplay or deny the overtly racist and dehumanizing portrayal of migrant communities in the media.

However, diaspora, particularly through diasporic media, seek the creation of "space" within their new place of residence (Karim, 2003). Deterritorialization involves localization. It can be argued, then, that diasporic communities, by their deterritorialization, unsettle the ties any community has to "place," particularly in a settler nation like the U.S. As a result of the incursion of diasporic space into the national space, perhaps mainstream news representations, as they straddle and occupy both ideo- and media-scapes, mobilize against diasporic communities specifically to resurrect the unity and universal claims of the national to a particular space.

Otherwise, as diasporic individuals straddle the hyphen (Radhakrishnan, 1996), the use of both diasporic and mainstream media provides these communities with critical tools that allow them to negotiate their diasporic cultural identities in relation to the mainstream culture. Indeed, Gillespie's (1995) ethnography of Punjabi youth in England demonstrates the ways diasporic media, in conjunction with mainstream media, served as a cultural resource and nurtured a consciousness of difference and critical awareness of the surrounding community. Georgiou (2006) concludes that the study of diasporic media audiences provides insight into how these individuals "participate in co-existing media culture(s)- particularistic, diverse, mainstream- and, at the same time, observe how the shared, but exclusive to some, diasporic media use reconfirms symbolic boundaries and particular and distinct identities" (p. 156). However, the creation of diasporic public spheres through the media is often hindered by mainstream media (see Sreberny-Mohammadi and Braman, 1996; Karim, 2003). Even so, Dayan (1999) suggests that the successful emergence of a "particularizing" diasporic public sphere might funnel the universalization of that sphere, signaling the group's acculturation into the mainstream.

Research questions

In summary, globalization, while it unsettles national borders and the role of the nation-state in confluence with global capital, is a gendered process that produces increasing economic inequity, particularly in regards to women's roles, and compels increasing numbers of people into "survival economies" and global migratory circuits. The presence of diasporic communities disrupts the unity of the abstract nation-state, and the resolution of the conflict between the diversity of labor and the homogenous nation-state manifests in cultural venues such as the mass media. The family, as a figurative aspect of the perpetuation of global capital through its production of human capital and as a literal symbol of the national body, can reveal the contradictions between global capital and the nation-state because it is a site fraught with power relations that seek to gender and racialize the immigrant body in order to define the immigrant as "Other" but also to discipline the U.S. resident into an acceptable performance of citizenship.

Finally, because the mass media participate in global processes while cementing the national imagined community, audience interpretations of news coverage from mainstream and diasporic news outlets about the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act will provide insight into the ways messages about the immigrant family and its contingent gender roles circulate and incorporate into day-to-day culture. That is, immigrant and citizen audience interpretations of news coverage of the immigration bill will provide insight into the role mainstream and diasporic media outlets play in affirming national boundaries and disciplining citizens.

With this theoretical foundation in mind, I pose the following guiding question: How are immigrants utilized and constructed in the discourses surrounding the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, or HB 1804, in order to constitute a national imagined community during globalization? To further this query, I formulated these research questions:

RQ 1: How do representations of immigrants in the text of the 1804 animate the dialogue between the nation-state and the global?

RQ 2a: How are undocumented immigrants constructed in mainstream and diasporic news coverage of 1804? How do these representations utilize tropes of the immigrant worker or the family unit, such as mother, father, and child?

RQ 2b: How are immigrants classed, racialized, and gendered in these representations?

RQ 2c: How are these representations put in the service of the nation-state?

RQ 3: How do diasporic media and the Latino community interpret, negotiate, challenge, or resist the 1804?

The next chapter will outline the interpretive methods of textual analysis and ethnographic and semi-structured in-depth interviewing I used to answer these questions. With the progression of my research questions as a guide, my three analysis chapters will focus sequentially on the text of 1804 and then the texts of *the Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World*, the two largest English-language papers in the state. I then turn to an analysis of the work of Spanish-language news media and a prominent Oklahoma Latino community development organization.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This study will use mediated constructions of the family as a point of entry to examine the power relations involved in Oklahoma immigration reform, and to situate these discourses within the context of globalization in a way that concretizes the local impact of what otherwise may seem like processes distant or removed from the United States. The media environment surrounding the passage and implementation of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act has been chosen as a case study because the bill is regarded as an exemplar of immigration reform for like-minded states frustrated with the failures of the U.S. Congress to fix the immigration system, regarded as a key “hole” in the nation’s defense, after the September 11, 2001, attacks (Bazar, 2008). Because Oklahoma can be viewed as a cross-section of the dynamics of globalization, the efforts to “reform” immigration in the state, the mainstream and diasporic news media’s coverage of this issue, and the media’s impact on and relationship with audiences can provide valuable insight into the ways in which communities localize the global and adapt to cultural change. As this chapter will outline, interpretive methods, specifically, textual analysis and ethnographic participant-observation and semi-structured interviews, were chosen to analyze the various texts that epitomize the media environment at the center of this study.

Rationale for interpretive methodology

Interpretive methods were chosen for this study because they have a number of qualities that can optimally answer the research questions. Namely, this methodology assumes a bottom-up approach that allows researchers to penetrate deeply into a topic using multiple methods in order to triangulate the data, which, in this case, are derived from the various news audiences, workers, and stories, as well as community members and the cultural texts they generate (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Most importantly, a key goal of interpretive research is the ability to fit events into larger systems of meaning and to understand the meaning subjects attribute to the

phenomenon in question; meaning, as such, is not presumed by the researcher but is instead gathered, piecemeal and tangentially, through various modes of data collection, including, but not limited to, textual analysis and ethnographic methods like in-depth interviewing and participant-observation (Becker, 1996). As such, the interpretive researcher assumes the role of *bricoleur*, using multiple methods as needed to create a “bricolage, that is, a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices” in order to gain in-depth understanding of the issue or topic (p. 2). The texts used in the construction of my bricolage include official government legislation and records, interview transcripts and notes, print and broadcast news stories, captured pages from the Web sites of individuals involved with HB 1804, press releases, statistical information, email conversations, photographs, pamphlets, and brochures. Because this is a study of the role media play in cultural processes, chief among these texts were items from the mass media, particularly news stories.

Moreover, given the theoretical underpinnings of this study that dictate acute attention to the political nature of lived experience and academic inquiry, interpretive methods were chosen for this project because these methods are “always already political” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p.2). Interpretive methods specifically involve intensive self-reflection on behalf of the researcher and researchers are not exempt from taking a political stance in their work (Scheper-Hughes, 1995). These methods are further suited for inquiry surrounding the highly-charged and politicized processes of globalization as the complex relationship between the global and the local require critical media researchers to pay close attention to the ideological and its impact on human experience (Murphy and Kraidy, 2003).

In fact, Murphy and Kraidy (2008) also argue that interpretive methods such as those used in this study can help map the complex cultural circuits created through the increasing flows of people, money and technology in globalization by using Geertz’s (1973) concept of “thick description” as a conceptual starting point. For Geertz theorizing on the work of ethnography, the fieldworker’s chief task is in deciphering the winks from the twitches, as he famously analogized, by providing enough context and detail of a given event through the eyes

of the participants, as the ethnographer imagines their perspectives to be based on his or her experience in the field. That is, rendering ethnographic work in a way that produces “thick description” involves the researcher interpreting the daily lives and rituals of their subjects that accounts for the meaning their subjects’ attach to culture within their subjects’ broader ideological system. Murphy and Kraidy assert that the work of thickly describing cultural practices aligns with the work of global communication scholars seeking to map the refraction of global processes through the local:

...the local needs to be understood as the space where global forces become recognizable in form and practice as they are enmeshed in local human subjectivity and social agency. This entanglement is always multifaceted, part accommodation and part resistance, sometimes overt and other times latent, and therefore can only be understood through an ethnographic thick description focused on an intricate understanding of the encounter between local life and global forces (p. 339).

The practices used to render a “thick description” can be extended to all interpretive methodology and therefore, this approach to research will accomplish the main goal of this study: to understand the localization of global processes through mainstream and diasporic news media, journalists, community groups, audiences, and the people involved in the creation and passage of immigration reform measures such as the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act.

Researcher positionality as part of the process

Consciousness of the researcher’s positionality in relation to a study’s participants and critical reflexivity on this relationship are a hallmark of interpretive methodologies and for me, this entailed experiencing in a new way a place I lived for 20 years. In many ways, being a former resident of Oklahoma gave me access to people and organizations that may have been unavailable otherwise. A state legislator who is a friend from my childhood not only gave me crucial inside information to the political processes steering the passage of HB 1804, but he also helped me forge a number of the contacts I made throughout my fieldwork. I also entered the summer with prior knowledge of Oklahoma’s ideological landscape, something I had to deploy

in gaining the trust of the staff at the agency where I performed my participant-observations. In my initial meeting with the executive and program directors at the agency, I was forthright in stating my opposition to HB 1804 and, given that many of the staff at the agency are Latino, my awareness of my racial position in relation to theirs; I also positioned myself as a mother and a graduate student with training as a journalist. The director of the agency identified my training as possibly mutually beneficial and we were able to make arrangements to suit the agency's needs and my own during my fieldwork. I also feel that my honesty helped gain the trust of other staff members. After a lunch time group discussion, one worker who had remained quiet though friendly before pulled me aside in the hall to tell me about the gender dynamics between her, as a naturalized citizen, and her undocumented common law husband, as well as to tell me about her cousin who had been recently detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement and her family members throughout the U.S. working for his release. Had I positioned myself as an indifferent observer, my fieldwork may have been prolonged or prevented altogether.

Initially, I anticipated some difficulty in gaining access to an organization such as the LCDA, much less its clientele. I expected to have no problem finding white U.S. citizens to interview. The reverse was true; because of the constraints placed on my recruitment practices by the University of Iowa Human Subjects Office, I could not directly approach private individuals to participate in this study. I had to go through a public intermediary, such as my friend the state legislator or the staff at LCDA, to recruit interview participants. What I discovered, much to my surprise, was the LCDA staff were open, encouraging, and warm despite my clear outsider status to both their organization and cultural group. At my interviews with the immigrant mothers, the social workers smiled at both me and the mother, using gentle prompts to stir the mothers' memories of their prior conversations as they worked as interpreters.

As the fieldwork progressed, generating more contacts and leads, I saw a trend emerging from the people it was suggested I contact: they were overwhelmingly social workers. Indeed, the workers at LCDA with whom I talked were almost all social workers. Upon reflection, wondering what this meant, I realized that everyone I was talking to was used to conversing and

talking to total strangers in situations much more trying than a doctoral dissertation. One of the mothers I was able to interview had a son in elementary school, a weeks-old infant, and a husband who had been deported before the baby's birth. Another mother was the sole source of income for her children but could not work due to an injury she sustained after being hit by a car. Her children did not have money for lunch at school and her son did not want to go back to school out of embarrassment. It was in the middle of August in a climate that requires some form of air conditioning; she could not pay her bills and her electricity was in peril of being turned off. Time and again I heard that the people I talked to say they feared driving around town for fear of being deported after simple traffic violations. Given this cultural climate, it seemed silly for me to worry about myself.

Another means by which I gained the trust of the agency staff and, by extension, gained access to their clients, was to adopt their policy whereby no clients are asked to verify their legal status in return for services; for me this meant never asking the women I interviewed their status, although it always became clear over the course of the interview. I was told during my interviews with program directors that none of their clients were ever asked for the legal status and that this was a key tool by which they were successful in not only spreading the word about their agency over the years, but also how they maintained the trust of their constituents. Interestingly, the executive director of a health clinic serving mostly Latino women and children that also played a role in the legislative processes surrounding HB 1804 told me, too, that his clinic was so successful because they had made the decision to refuse to ask for patients' legal status as a prerequisite for care. A reporter who covered a diversity beat who I interviewed had similarly adopted this tactic to protect her sources, herself and her publication from legal prosecution. It became clear to me after many conversations that adopting this policy would be essential to gaining access to my study subjects with the side benefit of gaining the agency staff's trust which resulted in access to interview participants in the first place.¹

¹ In order to gain approval from the IRB, I also had to agree to not ask study participants their legal status as means of securing their anonymity and protecting them from legal jeopardy. Again,

In my interactions with the journalists, I saw my openness about my position on HB 1804 refract differently. With the reporters at English-language news outlets, engaging with the reporters to criticize the bill seemed to make no impact. This is not to say they did not have much to say; rather, these conversations were often my lengthiest interviews. While two expressed their disagreement with the concrete realities and the logic of HB 1804, the English-language reporters were mostly reactive to the news events surrounding HB 1804. The Spanish-language reporters, on the other hand, adopted a much more openly critical stance, stating that they knew they had to inform their audience of the facts of the bill. Talking to the news director at the Oklahoma City Telemundo affiliate was similar to talking to a journalism graduate student peer; his master's diploma was prominently displayed on the wall. The Telemundo staff with whom I talked, however, explicitly stated that their goal was not to be activists, but to empower their audience; this statement was made as a criticism of some of their "colleagues." Afterwards, it seemed that revealed many differences between the nature of English-language and Spanish-language in regards to their approaches to newsgathering.

I also had to set aside my familiarity with Oklahoma's ultra-conservatism in order to try and see as fully as possible the field at hand and understand those with whom I disagreed on their own terms. With one exception, proponents of HB 1804, the state legislators specifically, would not agree to be interviewed and this had methodological consequences in that I had to get their viewpoints through legislative press releases and news stories, which were plentiful. In asking for interviews, I was sure to leave out my position on the bill, although I would mention that I lived in Oklahoma and emphasized the important role I knew each person played in the passage of HB 1804. It didn't work. The exception to this was my request to sit down with the director of Immigration Reform for Oklahoma Now, Carol Helm, who sounded excited as she agreed to speak with me when I called her by phone. I, however, nervously prepared for the meeting,

however, it always became evident, without my asking, the women's status. This refusal to verify legal identity in this way also plays into my analysis.

hurriedly stripping my Obama/Biden and other political stickers off of my laptop as I waited for her in a Starbucks in a suburb of Tulsa for fear of alienating her and dooming the interview before it began. The one time she became confrontational, saying, “You don’t seem to have a problem with it,” referring to illegal immigration, I meekly responded that I only wanted to try and understand her view point. I interviewed Carol the same month that numerous volatile town hall meetings were occurring around the country with Congressional representatives. Her organization was affiliated with both the Tea Party groups protesting, sometimes violently, against President Barack Obama’s political agenda and the Minute Men, an anti-immigrant group. I was traveling alone five hours from home to meet her and I was seven months pregnant at the time. It was not easy to hide my anxiety during our conversation.

Ultimately, my fieldwork held a number of surprises and as it progressed, the theme that began emerging as I followed the path from contact to contact was resistance. Perhaps it was the polls that showed overwhelming support of HB 1804, but the direction of my fieldwork that led me away from proponents of the bill made Oklahoma strange. I had expected eager participation by those in favor of the bill yet even Carol Helm’s contacts would not speak with me. Time and again, I was referred to the people who had worked to challenge and undermine the bill and ultimately I had greater success talking directly with those who had worked against it. The only exception was the reporter for the Spanish-language paper in Tulsa who expressed his hesitance to speak directly with me because of negative previous experiences, instead referring me to his reporting work that I eventually included in the analysis. As the time I could spend traveling to Oklahoma from Dallas for my fieldwork wound down due to my pregnancy, I had to begin focusing my travels on the Latino Community Development Agency and stop interviews with other people. Otherwise, I might still be talking to people who resisted the bill four months later. As my analysis will show, however, the resistance I found came in positive and negative forms and the silence of the bill’s proponents are as telling as its vocal opponents.

Rather than a predetermined course of action, my fieldwork experience was circuitous as I worked to follow as many leads as possible generated over the summer as I constructed my

bricolage. As Machin (2002) writes, “More than being any prescribed set of methodological procedures, ethnography should be thought of as being defined in terms of the approach that it takes to the way that the social world is constructed” (p. 2-3); I argue that although I ultimately used multiple methods in this study, my overall approach fell under the philosophical rubric of ethnography. To elaborate further, the next section will outline my research protocol.

Research protocol

Given the complexities surrounding the cultural environment that spawned the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act rendering a priori parameters on texts to be considered for this study in adequate, the following methods were chosen: textual analyses, of the legislation and of English and Spanish-language news coverage of the bill; and ethnographic methods, specifically participant-observations at the Latino Community Development Agency in Oklahoma City and semi-structured interviews with its staff members and clients, as well as with news workers, state legislators, and other public officials involved with the bill. A textual analysis enabled me to unpack the text of the bill as public discourse (Leach, 2000), and to delve deeply into the news coverage of the bill in order to untangle their ideological underpinnings (Shah, 1994).

The information gleaned from the textual analysis provided layers and pieces of the bricolage, laying bare the cultural landscape in Oklahoma at a particular moment in time. They also informed the ethnographic methods by giving me a sense of the important players and positions surrounding the bill, providing an “ethnographic sweep” of the ideological terrain surrounding it (Stone Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater, 2007). Finally, ethnographic methods, such as the interviews and participant-observations I used, were particularly suited for studying the complicated situations of everyday life and fitting them into larger social webs of meaning because of the flexibility it allows to pursue multiple lines of thought and reasoning as they arise from the participants, rather than the researcher (Becker, 1996; Machin, 2002).

Textual analysis

In this study, I conducted textual analyses on two types of cultural text: the body of the text of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, and English and Spanish-language news stories on the bill. Hodder (1994) argues that written texts can be regarded as artifacts for their potential analytic value:

The text can “say” many different things in different contexts. But also the written text is an artifact, capable of transmission, manipulation, and alteration, used and discarded, reused and recycled—“doing” different things contextually through time. The writing down of words often allows language and meanings to be controlled more effectively, and to be linked to strategies of centralization and codification. The word, concretized or “made flesh” in the artifact, can transcend context and gather through time extended symbolic connotations (p. 394).

As such, a textual analysis of these two sets of cultural artifacts can help us map the struggle over meaning involved in the changes and adaptations globalization brings as embodied in the discourses circulating in Oklahoma’s immigration reform.

The texts that I analyzed in this study will not only reflect the dominant positions circulating in Oklahoma and provide insight to the ideological positioning of immigrants and undocumented workers, but also reveal the key actors involved, the sectors of society targeted by this legislation, and those working on this group’s behalf. Additionally, the textual analysis demonstrated what can be construed as “public knowledge” in the state of Oklahoma regarding immigration and immigrants; that is, I caught a glimpse of what is considered to be “reality,” however partial it may be, and the meanings prominent members of Oklahoma attach to undocumented workers and immigrants in general through their representation in the news texts in question. The Glasgow Media Group concluded that news outlets were the primary source of information for the majority of the public, were key to constructing public knowledge, and that news stories utilize sources already deemed authoritative to speak on particular issues (Turner, 1990; Philo, 2007). Ericson et al’s (1987) fieldwork demonstrates that the routinized nature of newswork ensures that the news is tied to official sources that have their own imperatives and interests in the information they release. Finally, Hall et al (1978) conclude that news coverage

of so-called “crises” can construct an “authoritarian consensus” in the populace and foster a disciplined society (p. viii). Therefore, textual analysis allowed me to “grasp the complexity of ‘textuality,’ to grasp the ways texts produce potential meanings, and the ways these meanings are circulated, exchanged, and incorporated into people’s lives (including that of the analyst). . . .” (Hughes, 2007, p. 250).

My textual analysis drew upon the text of the legislation as well as news stories in five different news outlets; I analyzed the legislation separate from the news stories and also consulted extra-textual sources, such as legislative press releases and Web sites of groups like Immigration Reform for Oklahoma Now. I included in the analysis of the news media the two largest English-language newspapers in the state, *the Daily Oklahoman*, and *the Tulsa World*. Historically, *the Oklahoman* and *the Tulsa World* have generated news coverage that differs widely in ideological affiliation; it is common knowledge in Oklahoma that *the Oklahoman* is a strongly conservative paper and the family that owns it has deep connections to state politics. The *Columbia Journalism Review* named *the Oklahoman* the “Worst Newspaper in America” in 1999, citing the lack of diversity in its newsroom, its well-established reputation as a bastion of conservative ideals evidenced in features such as the daily prayer printed on the front page, and its over-priced advertising rates. *The Tulsa World*, on the other hand, is widely known in Oklahoma to present differing views from *the Oklahoman*. It also runs behind *the Oklahoman* in circulation rates (Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2008). These two papers are located in different geographical regions of the state and will thus represent a broad spectrum of ideas and positions.

The textual analysis also included 40 stories from a Spanish-language newspaper, a weekly paper from Tulsa described by an editorial assistant as “more conservative,” *Hispano de Tulsa*. Conversations with this editorial assistant directed me to two specific series written by a single author; those available through online archives were included in the analysis. A fluent Spanish speaker was consulted after my translation to cross-check for accuracy. The use of other sources for translation introduces a level of mediation in the analysis that was acknowledged in

the final analysis. Nonetheless, this text was instrumental in constructing a broad portrait of this issue.

Because of the differing sizes of the English and Spanish-language news outlets, the resulting amount of coverage of the bill generated by each, and the availability of each outlet's archives, the strategy used to select news stories differed according to the new outlet language. *The Oklahoman* and *the World* had multiple reporters covering the bill from different news desks and as a result, from different news angles. A general search of both papers using the search term "HB 1804" generates almost 500 hits in the Access World News database. To narrow the sample and to get a better sense of what could be regarded as the "public knowledge" resulting from the news coverage of the bill, I found that *the Tulsa World* Web site contained a special section on the bill listing 58 stories published by the paper on 1804. These were the stories included in the final analysis due to their prominence accorded by the staff of the paper. Because *the Oklahoman* had no equivalent, I balanced the numbers of stories between each paper in the analysis by using all stories that had been found in my database search and that had been published between November 1 and December 31, 2007. This resulted in 60 stories from *the Oklahoman* for those two months alone.

As Philo (2007) argues based on his research with the Glasgow University Media Group, text-only analysis inadequately addresses a number of issues, namely, the social structures from which competing positions arise and diversity in ideological positions. For these reasons, the next section elaborates on the ethnographic interviews and participant-observations I used to more fully flesh out the details and intricacies of this complex issue.

Ethnographic interviews

As Bird (2003) argues, media today are firmly imbricated in culture, although the reception of media messages by audiences is not guaranteed but rather predicated on the audience member's position in society and their personal experiences (Jensen, 1991; Hall, 1999). Nonetheless, media remain a key player in the construction of social understanding and meaning.

Examining audiences' interpretations of immigration reform in Oklahoma in relation to the mainstream or diasporic media provided insight into the role these outlets play in establishing consensus and disciplining society.

Using unstructured, ethnographic interviews (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002) and semi-structured in-depth interviews, a greater breadth of data was collected in comparison to other types like structured interviewing (Fontana and Frey, 2000). The ethnographic interviews, or the informal conversational interview, allowed me to seize upon moments and ask questions of the participants that seemed relevant to the study without waiting for a formal interview setting. It also facilitated in creating my rapport with the participants. The semi-structured in-depth interviews worked well in gleaning information from the more "professional" participants, such as the state legislators and news workers. Overall, these interviews are also well-suited to capturing the complexities of culture without limiting, a priori categories. My interviews occurred in three settings: I interviewed participants individually, one of which took place over the phone, but otherwise they were face to face; with the help of an interpreter in the interviews that took place with the immigrant mothers in their homes; and twice in a group setting in the offices of LCDA.

Between June and September 2009, I received IRB permission and then conducted a total of 24 interviews. To begin to understand the political and legislative environment surrounding the passage of the HB 1804, I contacted my childhood friend, Rep. Scott Inman, who serves as the state house minority leader in the Oklahoma State Legislature and had signed on as a co-author of the bill. Scott and I had lost touch over the years; I received his contact information after a chance meeting in a local bookstore with a man active in the state Democratic Party who later become one of my participants. Scott recommended I talk to another legislator, Rep. Al McAffrey, who had opposed the bill; this legislator then recommended a state senator, Andrew Rice, who was instrumental in working to blunt the legislation as it worked its way through the system. Senator Rice gave me the name of his constituent, Mike Dover, who was the director of a community health clinic that served primarily mothers and children, many of whom were

immigrants, and had first brought to Rice's attention the problematic prenatal provision. I also interviewed Dover. I sought interviews with numerous legislators in favor of HB 1804, including the main author of the bill and his other co-authors, but none agreed to speak with me. In order to account for their perspectives, I considered the press releases that were available on their legislative Web sites during my analysis.

Two women were prominent figures in news stories on immigration reform in Oklahoma; both are continually consulted to represent "both" sides to the immigration debate in the state: Carol Helm, director of Immigration Reform for Oklahoma Now and who I interviewed, and Pat Fennell, executive director of Latino Community Development Agency. I contacted Fennell by email stating the topic of my dissertation research and my desire to work with her agency for my fieldwork. After she agreed, we set up a time when I could sit down with her program directors at their staff meeting.

The Latino Community Development Agency was founded in the mid-1990s to meet the needs of the growing Latino community in Oklahoma, growing over the years to become the lead agency of its kind in the state. Drawing clients through word of mouth and referrals from the court system, LCDA provides culturally-sensitive health, treatment, prevention, and early childhood programs to the Latino community throughout the state of Oklahoma. Regardless of immigration status, Latinos can come to LCDA for help with a number of issues, ranging from HIV and breast cancer testing, child abuse prevention and parenting help, and post traumatic stress and substance abuse treatment. Over time, the agency grew from just a few employees to over forty and as each director told me, many of their programs had waiting lists. At the meeting with program directors, I described my research goals and my position on immigration in Oklahoma and Fennell told them that she thought we could be useful to each other. One of the directors stated that the agency needed a statewide needs and strengths assessment of the Latino community; we decided that this would be my work with the agency that would extend beyond my immediate dissertation research. In exchange, I would have access to the agency's staff, as they were available. We agreed that a key part of my write-up for LCDA would be the human

story behind immigration in Oklahoma and so the directors would ask clients they thought would best represent the agency's work for interviews with me to tell me their experiences as immigrants. The staff also told those who were willing to speak with me that our interviews were confidential and part of my dissertation research.

Because some of my participants were potentially placing themselves in legal jeopardy if they identified themselves by signature on an informed consent document, the IRB released me from obtaining any signatures from any participants in this study. I also discarded any identifying information I received about the participants I met as an LCDA client. In this way, and by never asking a participant's legal status, the identities of the participants recruited through LCDA were kept anonymous.

I was able to conduct interviews with the help of one of the social workers serving as interpreter with four of the agency's clients. During my fieldwork, however, I noticed that the social workers from the prevention programs regularly ate lunch together in their workroom. This was the source of my group interviews.

Finally, my interviews with news workers were determined two different ways. For the English-language papers, I contacted reporters whose bylines repeatedly came up in news coverage of HB 1804. Of those I contacted for interviews, three agreed to meet with me. For the Spanish-language media, I contacted the station manager of the Oklahoma City Telemundo affiliate after the station came up in my interviews with the immigrants as a key source of their information on the bill. The station manager then put me in contact with his news director and one of the producers. I was not able to get interviews with any other journalists from Spanish-language news outlets.

My interviews were digitally recorded after receiving permission from the participant and later transcribed. I took notes during and after each contact as well as during or after pertinent events occurred. An interview protocol was designed and translated into English and Spanish. It only served as a general outline for the topics to be discussed during the interviews, which

deviated often to accommodate each participant's unique experiences and contributions to the study (See Appendix).

In my analysis, I refer to public figures by their names. I regard public figures as anyone I interviewed that holds public office or regularly appears or serves as a source in the news. All others are referred to by generic titles or by alias to protect their identity.

Protocol for analysis

Two elements impacted how I proceeded with the analysis for this study. First, multiple, theoretically-compatible methods were chosen to try to document and historically situate a complex cultural moment as fully as possible. The different forms of data required different protocols for analysis that could render a coherent narrative in the final write-up that maintained an internal logic for each method as it was applied to the unit of analysis while accurately connecting the different angles and actors between method. Second, the political orientation of interpretive methodologies requires an analysis that pinpoints the role of power in social relations, while privileging the voices of the oppressed and marginalized.

With this in mind, my analysis uses "critical theory as an interpretive style" (Denzin, 1994, p. 509), because as Fiske (1994) writes, "Cultural studies attempts to be multilevel in its methodology and in particular to explore the interface between the structuring conditions that determine our social experience and the ways of living that people devise within them" (p. 197). This strategy of analysis accommodated the use of multiple methods, particularly as it is "multivocal, collaborative, naturalistically grounded in the worlds of lived experience, and organized by a critical, interpretive theory" (p. 509). More specifically, a critical analysis allowed me to tell a story using lived experience by moving back and forth between each mode of data while still centering the primary modes of textual analysis and ethnographic methods to construct my final analysis in narrative form.

As a critical project, my analysis did not begin at the end of my fieldwork but was an ongoing process of evaluation of the texts generated and my relationship to my data and the

participants. This evaluation took place with the over-arching concepts of my theoretical framework as a guide. More specifically, while reading each news story multiple times, I paid particular attention to the presence of the following: individual women, men, and children and the attributes assigned to them by sources or the news reporter; to the family unit; to the ways in which the news story positioned the immigrant in relation to the United States. I also looked for ways in which sources or subject matter in news stories worked as symbols or metonyms of the nation-state or the global and how these symbols and metonyms connected to race and gender. This analytic protocol was augmented by adapting guiding questions for my textual analyses from Foss (2004) and Hall (2004) in order to identify the ways in which gender, race, and the family were deployed in each text. I asked, what is the problem in the text? How is it defined and constructed through the text? What logic governs its definition? Where does the logic derive from? What does the text ask the reader to believe, think, or feel? Who is included or missing from the text? Whose interests are favored, and whose are ignored?

As I entered the field and began collecting interviews, I directed my conversations with the participants towards the issues of family relations, immigration, and the mass media. I cannot say any of these topics came up organically despite the unstructured and mostly informal nature of each interview because it was known that I was a journalism doctoral student studying immigration and the media. The participants knew I would be covering those subject areas. However, in each interview, I was looking for snapshots of family relations, the role of the family in the immigration debate, and the way people used the media or what media workers saw as their role in the run up to and passage of HB 1804. I would probe further into these topics as each participant allowed and these conceptual categories were fruitful for my ongoing analysis, later directing my data collection.

As my fieldwork progressed, the categories began to include the ways in which the immigrants and the family became a site of resistance, both positive and negative. Although locating resistance is a key tenet of cultural studies, I did not necessarily anticipate it to the

extent it manifested during my fieldwork. As a result, resistance became a driving concept organizing my data collection and my analysis.

In regards to the format in which I organized my analysis, during the course of my field work, the different journalists expressed their roles in relation to covering 1804 differently from one another. The English-language paper reporters positioned themselves outside the event whereas the Spanish-language journalists responded as from within a community affected by it. For instance, the English-language reporters listed events and told me stories about what happened; those I talked to from Spanish-language outlets discussed 1804 in terms of “our people” and used terms like “activists” or referred to the necessity of taking positions. In addition to the data that emerged during my analysis, I read a conceptual connection between the Latino media workers and texts and the data I collected from LCDA. As a result, I decided that incorporating my ethnographic data from the various members of the Latino community with the Spanish-language news texts aligned conceptually with the study, particularly because the Latino community presented a more cohesive “unit” than the English-language journalists with whom I spoke. As such, the first chapter of analysis focuses on the text of the 1804 and extra-textual sources, the second chapter on the English-language news sources, and the third consists of data from Spanish-language news and ethnographic interviews. With this in mind, I will now turn to my analysis of the text of HB 1804.

CHAPTER IV
TURNING “EVERY STATE INTO A BORDER STATE”: A TEXTUAL
ANALYSIS OF THE OKLAHOMA TAXPAYER AND CITIZEN
PROTECTION ACT

As one Oklahoma state capitol bureau reporter related, Representative Randy Terrill, the main author of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, or HB 1804 as it is colloquially referred to, was a “one-man media outlet.” The very afternoon after she and I met for lunch, the reporter forwarded me a press release from Terrill that had been waiting in her email inbox after our lunch, and his legislative web site contained numerous other press releases. Terrill, as an example of states getting tough in response to federal legal failures, also became a go-to interview for CNN anchor Lou Dobbs and his fascination with immigration. Immigration as an issue had brought Terrill a measure of recognition.

During Terrill’s rise to notoriety, he penned an editorial in *USA Today* praising “federalism in action” as Oklahoma, Arizona, and Georgia all took steps to combat the “financial drain” of illegal immigration (Terrill, 2008). To be sure, Terrill’s work was complemented at the congressional level as U.S. Representative John Sullivan was simultaneously securing an Immigration and Customs Enforcement Unit in Tulsa County and the cross-federalization of state law enforcement officers with ICE officers while Terrill sought the passage of HB 1804. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, Terrill’s signature piece of legislation both dictates the parameters of immigration discourses in Oklahoma at this time, while also revealing the means by which these discourses deny the workings of globalization through the reification of the nation-state. As Terrill wrote in *USA Today*, “The federal government’s failure to police our state’s borders has functionally turned every state into a border state and indirectly imposed a tax on each and every citizen...” Although he implies a consciousness of the reconfiguration of the powers and boundaries of the nation-state, he later positions immigration reform through

legislation such as HB 1804 as a means of securing the primacy of the nation-state and a litany of contingent “values:”

The illegal immigration debate is about a whole lot more than just economics. It’s about fundamental principles and values; respect for the rule of law, upholding our state and national sovereignty, basic human dignity and the immorality of exploiting cheap illegal alien slave labor, and protecting taxpayers from waste, fraud, and abuse.

This chapter will show how this editorial merely echoes the boundaries of the nation-state established in HB 1804, as well as the ways in which it details the criteria of a specifically raced, gendered, and classed citizenry that excludes and articulates the attributes of the “illegal immigrant.” That is, after discussing the contents of the bill, this chapter will show how HB 1804 rhetorically established the boundaries of acceptable citizenship and by extension, the ideal citizen, which later becomes a means by which the parameters of news coverage are set but also where acts of resistance are staged as a result of the material effects of these designations of intelligible citizenship.

The terrain of HB 1804

Nearly 500 miles separates Thackerville, the last town in Oklahoma on Interstate 35 before crossing into Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, which sits on I-35 at the U.S. border with Mexico. Terrill’s proclamation in his *USA Today* editorial, that the problem of “illegal immigration” turned every state into a border state, collapses the hundreds of miles of space and, to be sure, the demographic discrepancies that exist between Oklahoma, Texas, and other states that actually reside on the southern border of the United States. Whereas Terrill and his other allies in the state legislature praised the successes of the legislation, critics point out its many redundancies in relation to already existing federal law, particularly due to its repeated references to federal statutes as part of HB 1804, and state practices. As such, based on news reports, press releases, and my conversations with state legislators, this chapter will begin with a discussion of HB 1804’s contents before transitioning to an overview of the negotiations leading to the passage of the final bill, and afterwards, discuss the work to override some of what 1804’s opponents

regarded as the more objectionable facets of the bill. This is necessary in order to begin to map the bill's terrain within the larger context of its passage and consequently, the boundaries the bill has set on immigration discourses in Oklahoma. The chapter will conclude with a textual analysis of HB 1804.

The Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007- HB 1804		
Sections 1 and 2	State bill name and rationale for bill	
Section 3	Makes it a felony to “transport, move, or attempt to transport” or to conceal, harbor, or “shelter from detection” an alien present in the U.S. in violation of law	
Section 4	Stipulates the entities that may issue identification cards; states that only U.S. citizens, nationals and legal permanent residents may obtain “identification documents”; states that unless authorities have reasonable suspicion, documentation not needed for driver’s license renewal	
Focuses on identification of two categories of people: alleged criminals and workers	Section 5	Mandates that local authorities verify the citizenship status of those detained for felonies and driving under the influence
	Section 6 & 7	Requires public employers and contractors verify work eligibility of their employees through federal systems of identification, particularly eVerify
	Section 8	Requires all those over age 14 applying for public benefits to have their “lawful presence” verified
	Section 9	Stipulates that contracting entities must withhold state income tax at top marginal rate if contractor fails to provide work authorization or be liable for those taxes
Section 10	Directs state Attorney General to negotiate a Memorandum of Understanding with U.S. Department of Homeland Security regarding enforcement by state law enforcement personnel of federal immigration law, detention and removal	
Section 12	Creates a Fraudulent Documents Identification Unit	
Section 11 & 13	Restricts availability of state scholarship funding and in-state tuition rates for undocumented students	
Section 14	States date of enactment, November 1, 2007	

Table 1 Summary of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007

Signed into law by Governor Brad Henry in May 2007, the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007 contains 14 sections, the first two of which name the bill and state its rationale (see Appendix B). Section 14 simply states the date of its enactment, November 1, 2007.² Section 3 makes it a felony punishable by either a \$1,000 fine and/or no less than one year in prison to “transport, move, or attempt to transport” or to conceal, harbor, or “shelter from detection” an alien present in the U.S. in violation of the law. Section 4 stipulates the entities that may issue identification cards, such as schools, businesses, and government agencies, specifically mandating that only “U.S. citizens, nationals and legal permanent resident aliens,” with specific exemptions in line with existing federal immigration law, may obtain “identification documents.” It also states that current driver’s license holders may renew their license without further documentation, unless authorities have a “reasonable suspicion” that a license holder is in the U.S. in violation of the law.

The next five sections focus on identification, particularly of two categories of people: alleged criminals and workers. Section 5 mandates that local authorities verify the citizenship status of those detained for felonies and driving under the influence, and if the detainee does not have on their person the documents needed for such verification, then queries should be directed to resources at the Department of Homeland Security. This section concludes by mandating that those who are deemed to be in the U.S. in violation of the law should automatically be assumed to be at flight risk and denied bond. The following section provides definitions for the apparatuses and entities designated in Section 7, which requires that public employers and contractors verify the work eligibility of their employees through federal systems of identification, such as e-Verify or the Social Security Number Verification Service. Further, it forbids employers from discharging legal resident or citizen workers while retaining undocumented workers for the same position. According to Section 8, without exception to race,

² This summary of the sections of HB 1804 was aided by *Interpreting HB 1804: A guide to understanding Oklahoma’s new state immigration bill*, an issue brief published by the Community Action Project.

religion, gender, ethnicity, or national origin, all those over the age of 14 applying for state or local public benefits must have their “lawful presence” verified by the agency to which they are applying. However, exceptions are made under this section for access to emergency medical care and disaster relief, immunizations and the treatment of communicable diseases, and for programs such as shelters, soup kitchens, and crisis counseling. It mandates that each state agency should issue reports to the governor and the leaders of the legislature regarding its compliance with these verification procedures. Finally, Section 9 stipulates that a contracting entity must withhold state income tax at the top marginal rate if a contractor fails to provide authorization to work in the U.S; if the contracting entity fails to withhold those taxes, it becomes liable for them.

The tenth section of the HB 1804 directs the Oklahoma Attorney General to negotiate a Memorandum of Understanding between the state and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security regarding the enforcement by Oklahoma law enforcement personnel of federal immigration law, detention and removal. It also prohibits any state entity or official from impeding the collaboration between state and federal-level law enforcement. Section 12 creates a Fraudulent Documents Identification unit through the Department of Public Safety to specialize in the investigation and distribution of fake documents, focusing specifically on fraudulent documentation for those in Oklahoma unlawfully.

The remaining two sections, 11 and 13, restrict the availability of state scholarship funding and deny in-state tuition rates for undocumented students. Undocumented students meeting certain eligibility requirements may still qualify for these scholarships and tuition rates, although in order to do so, these students must have graduated from a state high school and provide documentation of an application made within a certain time frame to legalize the student’s immigration status.

Indeed, Terrill anticipated many of these measures in HB 1804 in numerous press releases through his office in the House of Representatives when his first attempt at the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act failed in 2006. For instance, he stated in multiple releases the same figures: that 420 illegal aliens had been incarcerated in the state, costing more

than \$7 million a year; that nearly \$10 million in health care and other medical services went to illegal immigrants; that more than 60,000 students in Oklahoma were foreign born and that a substantial number of those students were most likely undocumented; and that more than 200 illegal students were receiving in-state tuition rates and scholarships at Oklahoma state colleges and universities (“Illegal immigration’s cost,” 2006; “Terrill: Senate must generate,” 2006). Moreover, Terrill claimed, “The federal government’s failure to enforce the national border is creating millions of dollars in expenses for state governments- including higher crime rates and prison expenses” (“Illegal immigration’s cost,” 2006). Clearly, we can see Terrill’s preoccupations in the text of 1804, whether or not they are backed up by fact, reflected in his public statements as he sought to pass the bill in the legislature.

Around the same time Terrill began pushing for the passage of his second immigration bill for the 2007 legislative session, House Democrat Scott Inman said the concerns of his constituents began to shift:

Me: How did you see kinda see that being picked up, though, in the district? You knowwhat I mean?

Inman: Sure, uh huh. When I started the race in '06 for the House, it was, um, basic talking points. I talked about taxes, and education, and public schools, and roads and bridges the things that everyone wanted to talk about. I started in February of '06 so that was really before a lot of the stuff on immigration heated up. That was it, really didn't talk about it much. Well then all of a sudden, the summer came, the national candidates started talking about it, the national candidates in Oklahoma started talking about it, and it just lit on fire. So now when I was going to doors, knocking on doors in Del City and South Oklahoma City, instead of asking people for their vote and talking about those normal staples...all of sudden, the thing I got on the door more than anything else, more than abortion, more than anything, where are you on immigration? What you going to do about these illegal immigrants in Oklahoma? That became the issue, so just the, the, the television push changed the way, um, the questioning occurred at the doorstep.

With his district abutting and sharing many similarities with Terrill’s white, working-class district in South Oklahoma City, Inman signed on as a co-author to HB 1804, which he partially credits to his overwhelming victory in his re-election campaign.

As a member of the Knights of Columbus and active member in his local parish, Inman remembered getting calls from the local Catholic Bishop telling him that he could not vote for this bill. Inman recounted how he reconciled, morally and politically, being a part of HB 1804:

Let me give you my justification. I had two justifications for supporting the bill. One, was when I was running for office, the vast majority of people that I talked to wanted this. Polls back then showed 80-something percent of Oklahomans supported the legislation so it's not a Democrat-Republican issue, it was Oklahoman supported, and that's it... the way I justified it was this: when I ran for office, I told folks we got 700,000 plus in Oklahoma without any health insurance, that's one out of every five folks, and I promised to do everything I could to get them health care coverage. All those folks pay their taxes, and they're here legally, and I, it was difficult for me to justify spending any money, any of their taxpayer dollars on some body who was here illegally when they themselves don't have health care coverage. And so I said, if we had enough to cover those 750,000 people, then, I could easily sit down, and say well, no, what's morally right, what's right for to state, to you know, enter into this social contract that we're all drawn into...and so I justified it in my own head and settled it with my faith and with family and going back home and putting my head on the pillow. I've got a job to do, and that's to spend their tax dollars as wisely as possible and right now their needs ought to be more pressing than those individuals who are here illegally. Now that's how I justified it and went on down the road.

Following the passage and popular success of HB 1804, Terrill and his allies pushed a “Son of 1804” and an English-only bill, both of which failed to pass. Whereas English-only goes to a vote of the people during the 2010 elections, Inman pointed out that he has not played a part of any of those subsequent bills.

As with any piece of legislation, HB 1804 did not reach final passage in its original form and there are lawsuits pending from the Oklahoma Chambers of Commerce challenging employer-based provisions of the bill. One provision eliminated before final passage allowed prenatal care for undocumented mothers and medical care for their children. According to Democratic state senator Andrew Rice, progressives and moderate Republicans in the legislature, knowing its passage was inevitable, coalesced to manipulate the bill so that “what it really does [wasn't] detrimental to the people”. Appeals were made to the pro-life members of the legislature to try and amend 1804, if not defeat it. They also attempted to convince fiscal

conservatives that investments in prenatal care, like other public health issues, would be a small investment with long-term results.

Rice said it became clear to him that it was “risky” to have the prenatal provisions in the same bill, so it was decided that it should be removed and placed in a separate bill in order to try and “defang” 1804 immediately after it passed the legislature. They eventually worked out a deal with the Republican leadership of the senate that Rice and his cohorts would vote for HB 1804 if Republicans would vote for their prenatal care bill. Unfortunately, while Senate Republicans kept their end of the deal, 1804 passed in the House while the prenatal bill died.

The work to allow a prenatal care provision for undocumented workers did not end when the House killed it, though. Mike Dover, executive director of Variety Health Clinic in downtown Oklahoma City that treats women and children who are mostly Latino, was the first to come to Rice about the medical community’s concerns about HB 1804. Self-described as a “child of the 60s,” Dover related the devastation that he and his coalition of individuals across the political spectrum felt after the prenatal bill died in the House. However, Dover said, Mike Fogarty, the chief executive officer of the Oklahoma Health Care Authority, the state’s Medicaid agency, recognized that, if OHCA could secure the governor’s signature, they could pass an emergency ruling that allowed prenatal care for undocumented women based on an “unborn child rule” set in other states and according to the federal State Children’s Health Insurance Program.

Terrill admitted that 1804 did not permit prenatal care for undocumented women, claiming OHCA could be jeopardizing federal money by extending these benefits to undocumented women, and claiming that OHCA could be “committing Medicaid fraud by billing the federal government for services provided to illegal aliens that the Legislature never authorized” (McNutt, 2008). Moreover, Terrill claimed that these benefits would only increase the number of women coming to Oklahoma to give birth to their children:

It is a tragedy that some foreign governments have so failed their citizens that pregnant women will illegally enter the United States just to have children...but even as our heart goes out to these women, we cannot allow

Oklahoma to subsidize illegal activity. If this new welfare benefit is approved, it will cause more desperate women to illegally cross our borders under dangerous circumstances that will likely jeopardize the lives of their unborn children while diverting resources that should go to Oklahoma's poor citizens (press release, 10/10/2007, footnote here)

In rebuttal, Fogarty stated that, based on policies established during the Bush administration, S-CHIP included children from conception to the age of 19 and prenatal care was included in its child health assistance. Therefore, federal monies were not at risk. Nonetheless, Terrill co-authored a measure to overturn OHCA's decision, arguing that "providing prenatal care to illegal immigrant mothers creates a dangerous legal precedent because it blurs the line between the concepts of 'personhood' and citizenship:"

It creates a category of 'soon-to-be' citizens that can receive benefits at taxpayer expense. That is a dangerous blurring of the concept of personhood and citizenship. Like most pro-life lawmakers, I believe life begins at conception and a child in the womb should be treated as a human being. However, that is not the same thing as being a legal citizen of this state or nation. All people deserve respect, but not all people qualify for taxpayer subsidies from the state of Oklahoma. A child conceived in Kansas or Texas but not yet birthed would not qualify for benefits, so why should we treat illegal aliens any differently? (press release, 10/10/2007, footnote here)

For Terrill, immigration status trumped the necessity of a woman's access to health care for herself or her children. He stated that future legislation might revoke the constitutional right of citizenship for children born in the U.S. to undocumented parents as another means of deterring the undocumented.

The Health Care Authority's emergency ruling was one agency-level decision that ultimately undermined the implementation of HB 1804 around the state. According to one capitol bureau reporter I interviewed, uncertainty surrounded whether or not the governor would actually sign the bill into law. When he did, according to the Oklahoman's capitol bureau chief, Governor Henry signed it after the legislature had recessed for the year and with directions for all state agencies to investigate the ramifications of HB 1804 on their services. Later that summer, the heads of the state agencies met to announce that according to their research, enforcing 1804 in their departments could make the state legally liable; the Public Safety commissioner, for instance, noted that all drivers and individuals would have to have their papers checked,

otherwise the state would be susceptible to a racial profiling law suit. Likewise, legal counsel for the Education Department stated that a 1984 Supreme Court ruling forbid schools from turning away undocumented students.

In this way, the federal law that permeated and served as the basis for HB 1804 also worked to undermine its effectiveness. As the next section will show, however, a rhetorical analysis will demonstrate that 1804 can nonetheless be regarded as a roadmap for the immigration discourses circulating throughout the state, despite efforts to temper its effects.

Setting the bounds of Oklahoma immigration discourses: A
rhetorical analysis of HB 1804

The previous section attempted to relate not only the contents of HB 1804, but also a sense of the larger social context surrounding its passage, including attempts to temper its effects on the immigrant community. Interestingly, the health measures stripped from the bill became a key site of negotiations for a wide range of concerned individuals in the state seeking to blunt the bill in action and to ensure continued access to crucial health services for those in need. Even if legally 1804 would not make much difference in the dissemination and availability of public services, it can be seen to represent a struggle to rhetorically define the members welcomed in the imagined community of the state of Oklahoma, and by extension, the United States. More importantly, the bill reveals the efforts to mitigate changes introduced at the local level by global forces, namely, diasporic communities. As such, three interconnected themes emerge from a rhetorical analysis of HB 1804: *Erasing the state, reifying the nation*; *A state-issued I.D., a subaltern immigrant*; and *The deviant immigrant, the ideal citizen*.

Erasing the state, reifying the nation

Although Oklahoma state legislators argue that the impetus behind HB 1804 is a frustration with the federal government and its failure to enforce already-existing immigration law, the bill simply mandates the usage at the state-level of these prior legal apparatuses for the enforcement of immigration policy within Oklahoma and by Oklahomans. Only a few areas

enact new law that does not rely in some way upon federal structures or agencies, for example, the section revoking access for undocumented students to in-state tuition rates or scholarships. On the one hand, by citing and relying upon federal statutes and agencies for substance, the bill contradicts legislators' claims that the federal government has done nothing to combat the problem at hand; the federal government has actually, in a sense, provided almost all the solutions to Oklahoma's predicament.

A closer reading of the bill, however, reveals the ways in which HB 1804 rhetorically relinquishes power to the federal government, thereby reifying the nation-state's power at the cost of the state of Oklahoma's autonomy within the United States. The bill can be read to locate the root of the problem with the Oklahoma state government instead of the federal government, and, according to 1804, successful resolution of immigration comes from acquiescing to the federal agencies that the state legislators claim to be the source of the problem. The language of HB 1804 states that the workings of the federal government are impeded by the failures of the state-level governments as a result of an alleged admittance of undocumented workers into the rights and benefits of citizenship. State-level sovereignty becomes an affront to the efficacy of federal powers and therefore, it must be dissolved under federal jurisdiction to remedy the breach in national security.

Free from legal jargon, Section 2 states this solution immediately in the bill, suggesting the people of Oklahoma are the authors of the bill:

The State of Oklahoma finds that illegal immigration is causing economic hardship and lawlessness in this state and that illegal immigration is encouraged when public agencies within this state provide public benefits without verifying immigration status. The State of Oklahoma further finds that when illegal immigrants have been harbored and sheltered in this state and encouraged to reside in this state through the issuance of identification cards that are issued without verifying immigration status, these practices impede and obstruct the enforcement of federal immigration law, undermine the security of our borders, and impermissibly restrict the privileges and immunities of the citizens of Oklahoma. Therefore, *the people of the State of Oklahoma declare that it is a compelling public interest of this state to discourage illegal immigration by requiring all agencies within this state to fully cooperate with federal immigration authorities in the enforcement of federal immigration laws.* The State of Oklahoma also finds that other measures are necessary to ensure the

integrity of various governmental programs and services (emphasis added).

In other words, this passage suggests that federal law has been obstructed and national security jeopardized because state agencies have provided a vague range of public benefits without verifying immigration status while harboring, sheltering, and issuing I.D. cards to immigrants. As a result, it is the “compelling public interest,” then, for *all* public agencies to cooperate with the federal government; all manners of the government, from education, to health and human services, are drafted in the service of enforcing federal immigration law, not just law enforcement.

Section 2 in particular oscillates regularly between reference to the people of the state of Oklahoma and the federal government or the national border. The second sentence, for example, details the practices that are at issue before stating, “...these practices impede and obstruct the enforcement of federal immigration law, undermine the security of our borders, and impermissibly restrict the privileges and immunities of the citizens of Oklahoma.” Subsection B of Section 3 also elides the distinction between the state of Oklahoma and the United States as it outlaws harboring or sheltering “aliens”:

It shall be unlawful for any person to conceal, harbor, or shelter from detection any alien in any place within the State of Oklahoma, including any building or means of transportation, knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that the alien has come to, entered, or remained in the United States in violation of law.

By switching back and forth between violating the law of Oklahoma and the law of the United States in terms of legality of presence, no distinction can be discerned between the two.

These boundaries are further blurred with the cross-federalization of the local law enforcement, in Section 10, after the creation of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Oklahoma Attorney General and the U.S. Department of Justice or Homeland Security. With this measure, state-level agents directly become endowed with the powers of the federal immigration agencies, literally increasing the powers of the nation-state through the presence of federal, militarized law enforcement capabilities. This occurs figuratively throughout HB 1804, however, as it repetitively mandates the usage by state agencies of federal statutes and Department of

Homeland Security identification databases for worker identification as a means of immigration control.

A state-issued I.D., a subaltern immigrant

While HB 1804 erases the boundaries between the state of Oklahoma and the larger powers of the nation-state, it also increases the state's policing capabilities through its mechanisms granting or restricting access to a legal identity. Although these efforts are directly aimed at the immigrant population, the vague language of the bill can be read to apply to the entire population of Oklahoma, making every resident subject to the stringent identity verification through which they are granted the contingent rights and services of citizenship. The legislation expands state power through its delineation of those eligible to give identification documents in tandem with government agencies. Most importantly, the bill also establishes a circuit of power between government and business interests that works to renders the undocumented immigrant unintelligible to the legal system.

Imprecise language in HB 1804 leaves in question exactly from whom the bill seeks to restrict public benefits. As a result, all Oklahoma residents are subject to the restrictions set forth by the bill. Section 2 states,

The State of Oklahoma finds that illegal immigration is causing economic hardship and lawlessness in this state and that illegal immigration is encouraged when public agencies within this state *provide public benefits without verifying immigration status* (emphasis added).

No particular group or community is specified here; this passage instead suggests that providing public benefits to anyone without verifying their immigration status encourages illegal immigration. Therefore, all people seeking any public service must have their immigration status verified by public officials. The same follows for the next sentence in Section 2:

...illegal immigrants have been harbored and sheltered in this state and encouraged to reside in this state through the issuance of identification cards that are issued without verifying immigration status...

Again, every person seeking identification cards must verify his or her immigration status. The consequence of the failure to do so, according to this section, is a restriction of the rights of

citizens but most importantly, a compromise of national security; therefore, every state agency must apply identity checks to all Oklahoma residents.

As a key security measure in HB 1804, the mechanisms by which the bill mandates identify verification further demonstrate the expansion of state power. According to Section 5, anyone charged with a felony or arrested for drunk driving must have their immigration status verified; anyone in the U.S. illegally is automatically assumed to be a flight risk. Sections 6 and 7 require public employers and contractors to utilize E-Verify or any of the identity databases managed by the Department of Homeland Security or the federal government. Finally, the “legal presence” of any person over 14 years-old must be verified when applying for public benefits. These measures highlight the groups of which undocumented workers are assumed to be a part, while also implicating large swaths of residents and subjecting them to expanded government scrutiny.

HB 1804 further expands the authority of the government to outside entities in Section 4, which outlines not only the requirements for gaining state-sanctioned forms of identification and by extension, government intelligibility, but also reveals the institutions endowed with the right to “create, publish or otherwise manufacture an identification document, identification card, or identification certificate.” By using the terms “create” and “manufacture,” the bill reinforces the constructed origin of legal citizenship which the bill seeks to discern. Furthermore, the entities granted the right to produce legal identities reside within a circuit between the consumer, capital, and the state agency:

Businesses, companies, corporations, service organizations and federal, state and local governmental agencies for employee identification which is designed to identify the bearer as an employee;

Businesses, companies, corporations and service organizations for customer identification which is designed to identify the bearer as a customer or member;

Federal, state and local government agencies for purposes authorized or required by law or any legitimate purpose consistent with the duties of such agency, including, but not limited to, voter identification cards, ...driver licenses, ...nondriver identification cards, passports, birth certificates and social security cards.

Any public school or state or private education institution...to identify the bearer as an administrator, faculty member, student or employee;

Any professional organization or labor union to identify the bearer as a member or the professional organization or labor union;

Businesses, companies or corporations which manufacture medical-alert identification for the wearer thereof.

The bill extends the authority of the state to each of these entities by codifying their ability to grant official identification documents to their members. However, the bill also stipulates that only U.S. citizens, nationals and legal permanent residents may be granted a legal identity by one of these entities; therefore, the bill establishes a self-perpetuating circuit that shuts off access to public services and forecloses the undocumented worker from public life.

It can be argued, then, that HB 1804 positions undocumented workers as a subaltern class, unintelligible and without recourse to the legal system. Immigrants become unknowable to the legal system by expanding the entities that can give the individual the proper documents to prove their legal place within society, but to individuals always already a member of those entities. In other words, HB 1804 establishes a system with real material effects that make it impossible for undocumented immigrants to move beyond their position or to seek recourse to the system based on their inability to get the proper identification documents. The undocumented immigrant is symbolically and materially pushed to the very margins of society, even though their presence is the reason behind the bill's creation. Nonetheless, as the next section will show, HB 1804 provides a composite sketch of dominant perspectives of the undocumented immigrant, as well as a portrait of the contrasting ideal U.S. citizen.

The deviant immigrant, the ideal citizen

Sections of HB 1804 allege that undocumented workers steal certain items from the people of the state of Oklahoma, namely, jobs and the public services paid for by taxes, which are positioned as "rights" contingent upon citizenship or legal residence in the U.S. Unpacking the emphasis placed on these two "rights" of citizenship and the alleged theft thereof reveals a significant ideological contradiction within the bill and the ways in which the individuals under

its purview become categorized and classed, raced, and gendered. From the text of HB 1804, a composite of the undocumented worker's deviancy and inadequacy for inclusion in the national body emerges. Conversely, we can glean the attributes of the idealized U.S. citizen tacitly positioned within these immigration discourses for the U.S. resident to emulate. As a result, the rhetoric of HB 1804 establishes a baseline for the discourses on undocumented workers and immigrant families in the news coverage of HB 1804 and in news audiences, particularly as these discourses serve to discipline the U.S. citizenry on proper performances of citizenship.

The emphasis on the protection of jobs in HB 1804 evokes overtly racialized and classed social codes. Protecting citizens' jobs from an influx of immigrants is historically a common narrative propelling anti-immigrant legislation, but the bill only places restrictions on state contractors. In reality, it is possible these statutes inhibit the entry of the undocumented worker into blue and white collar, state-funded positions. Rhetorically, however, the bill casts a much wider net that utilizes white residents' fears of financial insecurity through job loss due to an influx of "cheaper" laborers of different races- in this case, Latin American immigrants. This is further magnified by the fact that the bill does not mandate all employers verify their workers' legal status, thereby leaving a significant number of employers in low-paying industries free to exploit the labor of undocumented immigrants. In other words, the bill rhetorically restricts more prestigious and higher-classed jobs and professions from the intrusion of the undocumented worker, foreclosing one avenue for the immigrant to social mobility while ensuring that only the lowest paid and most insecure jobs are left open for the undocumented worker. This is accomplished materially and discursively, however, by deploying codes that circulate the notion that action is needed to curb the danger posed to all white workers, regardless of class status, by the racially "othered" immigrant.

According to the bill, the undocumented worker also taxes and jeopardizes taxpayer-supported public services. Similar to the allegation that all jobs are threatened by the undocumented immigrant, undocumented workers are typically accused of "stealing" state-funded health care services, particularly prenatal and maternity care, food stamps, and public

housing, through fraudulent identification or illegal border crossings to give birth. The services in question are used by a specific sector of society while unneeded by the upper-classes.

Nonetheless, the bill utilizes rhetoric that evokes codes which alert residents to the risk to these public services and benefits that becomes a society-wide problem in the bill, discursively positioning the upper and lower classes against one another based on cultural beliefs as to who pays for these services through hard work and taxes or, conversely, the laziness of those who require public assistance. It also plays upon white fears of the overly-fertile, poor, woman of color unwilling or unable to wean herself and her expanding family from public assistance.

The need to stem the fertility of the poor mother in an immigration bill converges with the rhetoric of the invading, thieving undocumented worker. We begin to see the trope of the family emerge in this ideological juxtaposition, as the individuals targeted in this bill and their possible relationships to one another become evident. Because the family is the central economic unit, and this bill rhetorically stipulates white citizens' economic success is threatened by the presence of a proliferating undocumented immigrant community, the immigrant family must be dismantled through the denial of health services, legal protection, and access to employment. This is when the exclusion of provisions for the health care of pregnant mothers and their children becomes most problematic, due to the material effects such a measure may have and HB 1804's proponents willingness to erase these provisions from the bill. Paired with the criminalization of the undocumented immigrant and the deportation orders within HB 1804, the separation of families through detention and deportation and the obstacles to the immigrant's good health ordered by the bill opens the possibility that the rhetoric of the bill translates easily into reality.

Embedded in HB 1804 is a portrait of the deviant, undocumented immigrant: the fraudulent, thieving person of color part of the expansive family unit living off of public assistance. These codes also illuminate the social attributes to be emulated by legal U.S. citizens, chiefly, the nuclear, middle-class family with responsible income-earners at the helm.

Summary

This chapter argued that the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act met resistance from state legislators and other community members who mobilized to temper the bill's effects over their concern specifically with the bill's prenatal care provisions for immigrant mothers. Next, I detail the ways in which the text of HB 1804 reifies the power of the nation-state and increases its policing and surveillance powers over both immigrant and resident populations. As a result of the powers granted to business interests and government entities, the immigrant community rendered subaltern and without recourse or intelligibility to the legal system. Finally, I assert that 1804 constructs a template of the ideal U.S. citizenry through its representations of a racialized, classed, gendered, and criminalized immigrant.

Through the text of 1804, we begin to see the construction of a portrait of the acceptable citizen as the bill highlights the deficiencies and crimes of the undocumented community. This template serves as one "flag" reminding the citizenry of their nationality and of their proper classed, raced, and gendered performances within the national community. Moreover, the bill fails to fully engage and challenge the labor practices that exploit undocumented workers, exposing the gap between the state's interests and global capital's. As the next chapter will show, these discourses echo in the news media, with the text of 1804 establishing a foundation upon which the discourses within the state's largest English-language newspapers constructed their coverage of immigration reform in Oklahoma.

CHAPTER V
“THEY DANGEROUSLY CONFUSE THE CONCEPT OF
PERSONHOOD AND CITIZENSHIP:”
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRINT NEWS
COVERAGE OF THE OKLAHOMA TAXPAYER AND CITIZEN
PROTECTION ACT

Driving five hours from Dallas in early August, I met with the director of Immigration Reform for Oklahoma Now Director Carol Helm in a Starbucks in a Tulsa suburb. Silver-haired, well-dressed, and wearing a necklace with a thin gold cross pendant, Helm came to our meeting with handouts from her organization’s prolific web site. I did not tell her that I had already printed out as many pages as possible from the I.R.O.N. web page, wanting to see instead what she would offer. In addition to the pages of information she proffered, she told me that illegal immigrants were currently stealing children’s social security numbers and, because I was expecting my second child, to watch out for this with my daughters.

I was nervous during this meeting. On I.R.O.N.’s site, the organization claimed affiliation with the Minute Men and the Tea Party, a rowdy libertarian political group filling the town hall meetings that month for the members of congress home for the summer recess. Although the interview never transpired, she said that she would tell the Minute Men’s local leader to contact me. I thought I was careful not to make my position on immigration too apparent so that I would not alienate her, but at one point, she pointed her finger at me and said, “You don’t seem to have a problem with it.” When I finally began asking her about news media, she asked why anyone even read the newspaper. The *Tulsa World* was biased, she said; it called immigrants “immigrants,” not “illegals,” and she wished the media would stop taking sides and just report the news instead of making her organization look “crazy.”

Despite her professed frustration with the local news coverage of immigration, Helm said she used the statistics and other information published in the *Tulsa World* in the flyers and

handouts she put together to lobby state legislators. Helm was credited by HB 1804's author Randy Terrill as essential to the bill's passage. Most importantly, as I will discuss in this chapter, a textual analysis of the state's largest English-language newspapers, *the Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World*, shows that news coverage of 1804 often echoes the positions manifested in the text of 1804 and voiced by Helm's organization and the authors of 1804.

News coverage of 1804 in *the Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World* largely fell into three categories: clarification of the bill's measures and the means by which they are implemented; the bill's impact from a business and financial standpoint; and challenges to and affirmation of the bill, such as community protests or rallies and lawsuits. From within these categories of news coverage emerge metaphorical themes that illuminate the function of 1804 as a mechanism whereby the local adapts to the global through moves to reform immigration law in the state of Oklahoma.

That is, as the remainder of this chapter will detail, the news coverage clarifying the bill's measures and implementation overlooks the redundancy of 1804 with regards to existing federal legislation, instead perpetuating the myth of immigrant criminality from repetitious narratives of illegal border crossings, and social service and identity thievery. The coverage of the business and financial impact of 1804 positions the immigrant community as men and women waiting to replace the workers in Oklahoma; it also genders immigrant men and women and brings the immigrant family unit to the fore. Finally, stories on protests and challenges to 1804 place the Catholic Church, the Latino community, and 1804 author Randy Terrill stage center; I argue that these figures operate as metaphors for the relationship between the local and the global, the nation-state and the global, or the traditional and the modern.

“The law is concerned with reason:” Clarifying the bill,
criminalizing the immigrant

One area of confusion surrounding HB 1804 was what the bill exactly defined as concealing, harboring, or sheltering an undocumented immigrant. Many stories focused on the curtailment of church and charity activities due to fear they would be implicated by the bill. In response, Terrill responded that 1804 was based on case law: “The law is concerned with reason,” Terrill said. “It is not concerned with irrational fear from people who won’t bother to read the statute and figure out what it means” (Bell, 2007b). Despite Terrill’s claim of the rationality undergirding his signature piece of legislation, the bill did not seem simple to understand to the general public because numerous stories focused on clarifying the measures of the bill and what it would mean upon enactment. More importantly, Terrill’s statement signals a presumed factuality of the social ills he argues immigrants introduce, as well as the ways in which this category of news coverage affirmed the exigency behind 1804 by repeating and reinforcing commonly-held beliefs about immigrant criminality.

Because 1804 was an ongoing event, reporting on the bill required a summary of its high points. A characteristic summary is as follows: “HB 1804, an immigration reform bill, includes ending public assistance for illegal immigrants, penalizing employers who knowingly hire and people who harbor illegal immigrants, and authorizing law enforcement officers to run additional immigration checks on people they arrest” (Plummer, 2007). Another reads, “HB 1804 aims to keep illegal immigrants from getting jobs and public benefits. It also contains a requirement that local law enforcement carry out federal immigration law and includes punishment for those who knowingly harbor or transport undocumented aliens” (Bell, 2007d).

Many stories clarifying the bill’s measures came with sidebars or bulleted passages containing highlights excerpted presumably by the editorial staff. One story contained the sidebar reading:

What makes HB 1804 stiffer?

It requires that law enforcement officers must attempt to verify immigration status of arrestees and denies bail for “foreign nationals” deemed to be flight risk.

It restricts eligibility for state driver’s licenses and identity cards to citizens and immigrants with proper documentation.

It makes it a felony to knowingly harbor, transport, conceal or shelter an illegal immigration within the state. This does not include providing certain emergency health and social services, as outlined in federal law.

It prohibits people who are not lawfully in the United States from receiving certain public benefits.

It requires public employers to verify the legal status of new employees through a federal verification system after Nov. 1. Private employers must do the same after July 1.

It allows workers who have been fired to sue their employers if they have hired an illegal immigrant to perform the same type of work (Hinton, 2007).

Another sidebar reads:

House Bill 1804

Makes it criminal to transport, hire, harbor, house or conceal illegal immigrants. It also requires local law enforcement agencies to check immigration status. The law also will effectively end state-sponsored benefits for those who cannot prove they are legally in the country (Walker, 2007a).

Although they would provide easy access for news readers to the most powerful points of the bill, the summaries and sidebars were worded in such a way to give the impression that the federal legislation was not already in place to outlaw these very things. References to the federal law were absent. Instead, the wording suggested that immigrants stealing social services and gaining fraudulent identification was an ongoing problem in the state.

Particularly in the *Tulsa World*, implementation stories came from a law enforcement angle. One story reported on a talk sponsored by the Tulsa Hispanic Chamber of Commerce:

Anyone stopped by Tulsa police for a traffic violation who can’t provide legitimate identification and proof of insurance can expect to be detained, Police Chief Ron Palmer said Wednesday.

It doesn’t matter where you were born or the color of your skin.

“If you have a broken taillight, an improper tag or are driving on the wrong side of the road, we will arrest you. It’s that simple,” Palmer said

Wednesday during a presentation to the Tulsa Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. “And we will do that in any segment of the community.”

Jorge Figueroa isn't a chamber member, but he said his concerns about a family member who will be deported to Mexico at the end of the week prompted his attendance at Palmer's speech (Blossom, 2007).

Sources are quoted as saying that racial profiling of Latino citizens will not occur, however, these stories constantly pair Mexican immigrants with the need for law enforcement. As a result, the immigrant becomes synonymous with criminal.

One story discussed efforts to educate the public about the bill as part of a pamphlet distributed by the League of United Latin American Citizens and the American Civil Liberties Union. Apparently, the pamphlet included more advice for immigrants, but the reporter chose to include this advice to immigrants:

- Get power of attorney for someone to take care of your children, your home and other business.
- Know your immigration number, if you have one.
- Keep the contact information of a lawyer familiar with immigration law.
- If law enforcement wants to enter your home, ask for a search warrant. Observe the officer while he or she is inspecting your home to verify it is only in authorized areas.
- If you are apprehended, do not lie. You do not have to say anything before speaking with an attorney.
- If you are here illegally, do not volunteer that information to law officers.
- If you are apprehended, do not sign anything or declare yourself culpable without first speaking to an attorney.
- If you are arrested, know who is arresting you. Get the law-enforcement agency and badge number of the arresting officer.
- If convicted, consult an immigration lawyer to determine if the crime will affect your presence in the United States.

Although this would be empowering information for an undocumented individual, pulled from the rest the pamphlet, it seems to position the immigration as already guilty of a crime or to speak to the immigrant in terms of their assumed criminality. The choice of this including this information could serve to reinforce the apparent culpability of an immigrant to a citizen reader.

The stories also suggest that interaction with immigrants makes the rest of the public at risk for legal action, therefore incriminating the general public by association, due to the bill's ambiguity as to what constitutes harboring and sheltering the undocumented. The Latino immigrant is named specifically and the image of the threat to white citizens in particular is portrayed in a story of church volunteers:

Lonnie Vaughan drove a long church van down empty city streets early Sunday morning to take a family to church.

He considers it a service to God but fears a new state law will make it a crime.

Sometimes the people he takes to church are illegal immigrants...

Vaughan supports immigration reform, he said, driving with a Hispanic family in the back seats. He wasn't sure whether all of them were in this country legally. (Bell, 2007b).

Throughout this story, Vaughn is portrayed as conflicted over potentially incriminating himself through service to his church. His contact with Latinos of unknown legal status already jeopardizes his compliance with the law. The reporter later posed a series of questions to 1804 author Randy Terrill; his vague answers, despite his conviction that the law is based in reason, fails to clear up any confusion as to who would be exonerated from associating with undocumented immigrants:

Will Vaughan be arrested for driving illegal immigrants to church?

Probably not, Terrill said.

That's because there are exceptions for transporting an illegal immigrant for religious, educational or humanitarian needs, he said.

The law doesn't say that, but Terrill, who is an attorney, said it's insinuated in a portion of the law that states you have to transport "in furtherance of the illegal presence of the alien in the United States."

It is based on federal law already in place...

Would a landlord who rents to an illegal immigrant be arrested for harboring? Could be, Terrill said.

A local priest asked whether he will be arrested for allowing people he knows are illegal to attend his church. Is that harboring an illegal immigrant?

Probably not, Terrill said (Bell, 2007b).

Terrill provides no certainties about the legal ramifications for knowingly interacting with or helping an undocumented immigrant. As a result, white citizens are thrown into uncertainty if their contact with immigrants threatens themselves.

“Everybody’s going to be affected:” Echoing 1804’s logic,
implicating the immigrant family

The business impact of 1804 preoccupied a substantial portion of news coverage on the bill. Concentrating on the agricultural and other blue-collar labor sectors, these stories reveal some of the narratives animating immigration reform movements, chiefly, that undocumented immigrants have a negative effect on the economy, usurp citizens’ jobs, and degrade wage standards as well as threaten U.S. national security. More importantly, these narratives provide insight into the meaning conveyed through the immigrant family and the gendering of the immigrant man and woman.

As these stories state, experts and business owners predicted a destructive effect on the worker pool in manual labor sectors through the loss of the immigrant work force from 1804 that would inevitably reverberate upwards throughout the general economy. A month after 1804 took effect, the *Oklahoman* reported that the departure of immigrants may have been one reason behind a drop in sales tax revenue state-wide. In the article, Terrill maintained that this was to be expected:

However, Oklahoma will have a net savings because less money will be given to illegal immigrants or spend expenses because of them, he said.

“There appears to be significant anecdotal evidence that illegal aliens are leaving the state of Oklahoma, particularly in the northeast part of the state in and around the Tulsa area” and the Panhandle, Terrill said.

“So certainly there is some indication that House Bill 1804 is having a contingent effect of causing illegal aliens to leave the state of Oklahoma by denying them access to jobs, as well as taxpayer-funded benefits.”

An estimated 100,000 to 250,000 illegal immigrants have been living in Oklahoma, he said (McNutt, 2007b).

In the *Tulsa World*, Terrill's counterpart in the state senate argued that economic hardship referred to in the bill's preamble was a response to the loss of jobs for citizens to undocumented workers.

Despite the claim of widespread job loss, journalists at both papers pointed out the difficulty employers in agricultural and other blue-collar sectors had in finding workers. A number of business owners and farmers reported closing shop because of the worker shortage in direct relation to the passage of 1804:

Mike Seney, senior vice president of operations at the state chamber, said skilled labor workers have been leaving the state in large numbers since mid-October.

Seney said employers across the state have reported they are having trouble filling jobs at nurseries, hotels, construction sites and restaurants, among others.

"We are in a skilled worker shortage," he said. "Anything that is done that exacerbates that doesn't help the problem."

Oklahoma's unemployment rate, 4.2 percent, means there is a very small pool of skilled workers available to fill the jobs, Seney said (Olivarez, 2007).

After nearly 40 years of running one of the largest watermelon farms in the state, Bob Ramming has planted his last seed.

Like many of the nation's farmers, Ramming, 66, has muscled through one season to the next without enough workers to harvest.

He's tried advertising, labor contractors and raising wages- all to no avail. He sent letters to legislators, advocating for change to the costly and cumbersome guest worker program- all unanswered (Walker, 2007f).

Smith employs about 40 field hands during peak planting months, then scales back to 10 during harvesting season. His workers are primarily Hispanic. Though they present authentic-looking documentation, he concedes it is difficult to know how many are working legally.

Since House Bill 1804 took effect, those workers have been harder to come by. He fears that when the second phase comes this summer- requiring him to run all new hires through the E-Verify program- there just won't be enough bodies to get his peppers out of the ground.

“I am discouraged that the Oklahoma Legislature would enact laws more stringent than the federal government without offering an alternative,” Smith said. “I think they put the cart before the horse in this case. In this case, they created the problem before creating a solution”...

Without adequate labor, many speculate a good chunk of Oklahoma fruit and vegetable operations could be at risk.

The U.S. has always had a labor source, Smith said, and it has frequently been immigrant...

“People are so removed from who does what work, they don’t really understand. But it’s not just in agriculture, it’s sod, it’s construction, it’s hotels and restaurants. Everybody’s going to be affected. It’s a major problem for us (Walker, 2007e).

Moreover, immigrants are still positioned as threatening all jobs, despite the specific economic sectors traditionally utilizing immigrant labor:

“Since we are at full employment in Oklahoma, even when you lose a small number of workers, those jobs can’t be filled. So companies are scaling back,” Coates said. “Our gross products are going to be affected, just because we do not have an adequate labor force” (Walker, 2007d).

“We all rely heavily on the Hispanic work force, and if they eliminate it, we are all going to be hurting,” said David McDaniel, franchise owner of Labor Finders, a temporary worker agency that advertises “daily work-daily pay.”

A small percentage of his employees are Hispanic, McDaniel said, but he’s worried about some of his customers who hire a lot of immigrants...

The fact is that immigrants are replenishing a workforce that’s dwindling as baby boomers retire (Bell, 2007a).

Cherokee Builders has been in Oklahoma for 12 years, but a recent “significant problem” is already hurting it and other Oklahoma companies: Work force shortages (Peterson, 2007b).

Caldwell has lived in the shadow of the National Beef Packing Plant in nearby Liberal, Kan., nearly all her life. Her husband, Joe, worked at the plant for 15 years...

“People always say illegal immigrants do work Americans won’t do. I disagree. It’s just that Americans want a decent wage,” Caldwell said.

Some argue immigration poses a real threat for many native-born blue collar workers (Walker, 2007a).

Based on this reporting, undocumented workers could be understood to pose a generic threat to the economy, ignoring the deleterious effects on the labor pool of immigration reform. Although the business owners and farmers used as sources state that there is no easy solution to reforming immigration policy, the narrative of the news coverage still makes the undocumented immigrant and the contingent social ills the source of their business problems:

Both men know there are two sides to the immigration story. For Ramming, whose daughter works at the Department of Human Services, he understands the financial impact that a small minority of illegal immigrants has had on social services. Gonzalez, too, is cognizant of the fact that U.S. citizens have every right to monitor the borders (Walker, 2007f).

Most importantly, as represented in this story, the business and financial impact of illegal immigration is extrapolated onto all of society and, by extension, becomes an issue of national security. This narrative was repeatedly furthered through the use of Randy Terrill as the primary source consulted as a proponent of the need for immigration reform:

Terrill, R-Moore, said figures compiled last year by a House study gathering information on preparing HB 1804 indicated illegal immigrants contributed about \$21 million a year in tax collections- about \$11 million on income tax and \$10 million in sales tax.

“I would compare and contrast that with the direct cost of illegal immigration that came out of the interim study that showed the direct cost was in excess of \$200 million,” he said.

The cost of illegal immigration is a drain on the state’s public schools, health care, prisons and welfare system, he said.

“That doesn’t even count the cost to private individuals who get smashed into by an uninsured illegal alien,” Terrill said. “It’s pretty clear...illegal immigration is a net financial drain to the state of Oklahoma” (McNutt, 2007b).

Whereas Terrill was not the sole source to link immigration reform to matters of national security, his political standing as a member of the legislature and concerned citizen contributed credibility to his viewpoint. Moreover, journalists rarely brought in dissenting experts or intellectuals to challenge the premise of 1804 and Terrill’s arguments that were repeated time and again in the news.

When immigrants' voices are present, their representations reinforce Terrill's claims and heighten the perception that they threaten American workers' job stability. This occurs even in stories seeking to present immigrants sympathetically due to the failure to emphasize elements of the immigrant community that do not respond to the narrative constructed through the rhetoric established in 1804 and echoed by reform proponents. The immigrant portrayed in news coverage instead centers on the expansive and interconnected Latino family unit of mixed legal status, thereby presenting immigrants as an indistinct mass; when presented individually, the Latino family consisted of the industrious immigrant man, the fertile Latina mother, and victimized Latino children.

Discussions of the Latino family could be seen to provide hope to reform proponents that the measures of 1804 would expedite the exodus of immigrants from the state. As immigrant allies made clear, the family unit was at the center of reform measures:

“We want people to know that families will be torn apart by this legislation,” said the Rev. Victor Orta II, president of the American Dream Coalition. “I am for the enforcement of our immigration laws, but there needs to be legalization for families who have been here a long time” (Barber, 2007b).

Different from the nuclear American family unit, even sympathetic news stories emphasized the Latino family's interconnectedness and mixed legal status:

“The Hispanic family unit is such that they are not going to turn away a family member. Rather than subject themselves to the problems this immigration legislation has caused, they are pulling up stakes,” Coates said. “We are seeing a mass exodus of not just illegal immigrants but those that are fully documented.”

Oklahoma is home to thousands of families where one or two members are documented while other members of that same family are not” (Walker, 2007d).

Harry Coates is a state senator who became a vocal critic of 1804 and is also in the construction business. Terrill used Coate's connection to an industry utilizing Latino labor to diffuse and redirect Coate's dissent. However, Coate's sympathetic and pro-immigrant stance does not challenge the premise of 1804, but supplements the belief of a growing mass of Latino laborers easily deracinated through the bill's measures. Moreover, reform would eradicate all Latinos, not

just the undocumented. Finally, portrayals of the family suggested that undocumented Latinos could “hide” their status and blend in to society, alluding not only to their numbers but also to their perceived duplicity:

Lora appears American: from her blue eyes to the sound of her voice, which hasn't even the hint of a Spanish accent. She and her husband own a home. They work. They pay taxes. But they are not legal...

On Friday, her extended family congregated in the living room of her south Oklahoma City home. Everyone there, with the exception of her two year-old daughter Lupe, is an illegal immigrant: her mother Maria, a housekeeper; her father, a construction worker; her aunt Bertha, a housewife; cousin Jackie, a college student; and her other cousin Lorena, a senior at the University of Oklahoma...(Walker, 2007b).

The litany of members in this family almost “pass” as American citizens; they have blue eyes, no accent, they own their home, they pay taxes, they seek betterment through higher education.

However, they do not possess the most vital characteristic for inclusion in the American national body, citizenship and proper documentation, and therefore warrant expulsion. Individual immigrants are also positioned as gendered threats to the U.S. citizenry.

Overall, Latino men were absent or they were clergy protesting the bill. When present, immigrant men are portrayed as hard workers, willing to take the jobs Americans don't want. By presenting immigrant men as ready and willing to take even the worst of jobs, it furthers the generic threat to the economy in general and to any citizen's job in particular:

Senovio Gonzalez, 68, came to this country illegally in 1971, was naturalized in 1987.

He is the father of nine. Everyone of his children has worked Ramming's fields (Walker, 2007e).

Even though Gonzalez's job security erodes with 1804, the story continues to position him and his abundant children as the reason behind his employer's misfortune.

Immigrant women embodied the deficiencies of the undocumented community, namely, their failure to learn English and assimilate culturally. Similar to the family that nearly passes as proper citizens but for their lack of the correct documentation, immigrant women just could not live up to the requirements for admittance to the national body:

Though the majority of Howard's employees are Hispanic, he believes the U.S. has done too little for too long to not take a stand.

"That girl there," Howard said, pointing to a young Hispanic woman with dark, shoulder-length hair, sweeping the dining room floor. "She's a gorgeous lady. She wants to be a waitress so bad. But she can't speak English. She can't communicate with the customers."

He then pointed to an older woman, carrying a dish bucket back to the kitchen.

"Her there. She's just the nicest lady in the world. The most Christian woman you will ever meet," Howard said. "But she can't speak 20 words of English. She's just content to sit back there and be a dishwasher" (Walker, 2007f).

Significantly, it is a presumably white male casting judgment on his female employees' fitness for inclusion as American citizens.

Most often, immigrant women were portrayed somehow in connection to their children, conjuring the image of the overly fertile Latina woman:

"What if they deport me and take away my children?"

The woman asked the question before nearly 500 people who gathered Saturday afternoon...

Carmen Meza pushed her 15 month-old son in a stroller outside the cheering auditorium. She doesn't speak English well but said through an interpreter that she is afraid.

Not for herself, because she's here legally, but for some family members who aren't (Bell, 2007c).

Each woman's deficient characteristics are pointed out, one woman's illegality, the other's inability to speak proficient English, and both act in relation to her children. These women also serve to remind readers, once again, of the extended families that are part and parcel of the Latino immigrant community.

Just as the immigrant family is positioned as an encroaching threat to the U.S. citizenry, these stories also related Randy Terrill's plans for future immigration legislation, which reporters ironically named the "Son of 1804." For Terrill, one way to strengthen 1804 was to discourage immigrant women from having their children in Oklahoma:

His idea to deal with babies born to illegal immigrants would be for Oklahoma to refuse to issue a birth certificate, he said. Instead, the state

would send an acknowledgment of birth to the U.S. embassy or consulate of the parents' nation of origin requesting a birth certificate (McNutt, 2007a).

Hoping to ignore constitutional law granting citizenship to anyone born in the United States, the undocumented mother is reprehensible enough to deem her child unworthy of inclusion in the American citizenry.

Indeed, immigration reform's impact is directly personified through stories on the victimization of the children of undocumented workers. Although some news related the ways in which parents sought out information to protect their children, undocumented workers are portrayed as passive and irresponsible caretakers fleeing from 1804:

"It is a bad law when children born in America are at home this morning from school because they're afraid." (Peterson, 2007a).

"Its creating a lot of fear and confusion," Medina said. "They don't know what to do. It's creating a lot of stress on the families.

Medina said HB 1804 has been a major topic of conversation among Tulsa Hispanics.

"They feel persecuted, not understood and not welcomed," he said. "They feel their labor here has not been valued."

Children are asking why their parents are not welcome in the United States, he said. (Sherman, 2007a).

Two billboards along Tulsa's busy stretch of Interstate 44 were unveiled Wednesday to raise awareness of the opposition to Oklahoma's sweeping illegal immigration law...

The other, sponsored by the American Dream Coalition and facing east near Sheridan Road, features a girl clutching a teddy bear with the statement, "My mommy is not a criminal. She is a hardworking Hispanic woman."

"There's a tremendous amount of fear among our students and among our parents," said Santa Fe School Principal Chris Brewster. "Kids are scared, and some are facing very tragic episodes of racism because of the color of their skin or because of their accents"...

Brewster says he has already seen a slight drop in the student body population directly due to House Bill 1804. He expects to see even fewer in the classroom following Christmas break.

He knows of children who are picking up part-time jobs because their parents are not able to work. The staff at Santa Fe has counseled children in crisis due to the immigration status of their parents or extended family members.

...the primary concern for many was summed up by the words of one of the panelists.

“Families are fearful their children will be taken away from them while they are being deported,” said Johnny Randall. “Then they will be torn between two countries” (Walker, 2007c).

Many school officials said only time will tell whether the new state law...will send more families on the run, causing more significant drops in enrollment...(Eger and Froeschle, 2007).

The ability of local groups to serve immigrant families after a federal raid is paramount to reducing trauma in children left behind...

“There are consequences for children, and most of them are U.S. citizens,” Castaneda said. “That should be part of the consideration in the U.S. immigration enforcement efforts. The children are lost in the process...”

For every two immigrants arrested, one child was left. Most of the children were 10 or younger...

Two-thirds of the children were U.S. citizens, meaning they are eligible for public benefits such as food stamps or Medicaid.

The children were without care, often stranded at schools and child-care facilities (Graham, 2007).

According to these stories, immigrant parents are removing their children from school, thereby denying them the opportunity for social mobility. Within the context of the stories on the effect of 1804 on schools, immigrant parents were not cited as sources and were only present within the stories as criminals leaving their children behind after being summarily detained or deported by immigration officials. Their absence and criminality in the stories suggested their absence and neglect as parental figures. The portrayal of the unfit immigrant parent amplifies the image of the immigrant man stealing citizen jobs and the fertile Latina mother unable to independently care

for her numerous children, which was furthered by the preoccupation with the trauma inflicted on Latino children. As a result, the immigrant family unit, the eradication of which was implied to be central to the success of 1804, is positioned as dysfunctional and unworthy of admission into the national community, due in no small part to their threat to the stability of the citizenry in general.

“They dangerously confuse the concept of personhood and citizenship:” Dignifying the immigrant, affirming the nation-state

Recurrent figures in the discourses surrounding HB 1804 were people acting on some behalf of a Christian faith, particularly the Catholic Church. Alone, the religion’s presence seemed anomalous, despite a centuries-old history of intervening on the behalf of oppressed communities. However, news coverage of dissent and challenges to 1804 positioned Randy Terrill, as a symbol of proponents of reform, in conflict with clergy speaking against his legislation. Interestingly, Terrill engaged most stringently with the challenges from the Catholic Church, despite the array of faiths leading protests against the bill. From this interaction and juxtaposition, these two figures can be seen to embody the relationship between the nation-state and the global. Through its appeals to morality and a higher order that empower migrants in the search for a better life, the Church, as a unified faith that spans the globe and that has historically come with marginalized immigrant communities to the United States as a racializing social marker, comes to symbolize the global forces against which proponents of reform react. Terrill repeatedly invokes and affirms the primacy of the nation-state, and in so doing “others” the immigrant community and their allies as he symbolically maintains national boundaries.

Challenges to 1804 came from multiple angles and, based on news accounts, were staged largely through groups affiliated with the Christian faiths. For example, the National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders spearheaded a federal lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the bill. They also sought an injunction against it, but both maneuvers were dismissed by the court. In response, Terrill is quoted as saying the allegations were “so absurd,

outlandish and preposterous and almost laughable if they weren't so despicable" (Peterson, Suit targets state, 2007).

Another coalition formed in reaction to 1804, the United Front Task Force, which established the "Say No to 1804 Legal Defense Fund" and placed provocative billboards around Tulsa. According to news accounts, the task force consisted of a diverse range of interests, all of whom represent groups historically facing discrimination in the United States, coming together to oppose the legislation:

In a news release, supporting organizations of the group's billboard were listed as the Coalition of Hispanic Organizations, Jewish Federation of Tulsa and Tulsa Interfaith Alliance.

Also cited were the Tulsa Indian Coalition Against Racism, Islamic Society of Tulsa, Tulsa Metropolitan Ministries, Pastors for Peace, YWCA Tulsa, Tulsa Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Oklahomans for Equality...

David Bernstein of the Jewish Federation of Tulsa was one of the speakers at the news conference.

"HB 1804 seems to be designed to make life miserable for thousands of immigrants and promotes mistrust toward all immigrants, including those here legally," he said. "It also fuels racism and discrimination against all Latinos" (Barber, 2007b).

The task force withheld further disclosure of its membership and donor list, but Terrill criticized the group's ability to legally engage in political activity due to some members' non-profit status. In the context of an interfaith and interracial alliance against his bill, he denied that 1804 targeted any one racial group:

State Rep. Randy Terrill, R-Moore, the author of House Bill 1804, said critics fail to understand the intent of the law.

"This isn't about whether you are for or against immigration, or for or against immigrants," he said. "It doesn't matter what your skin color is or if you speak with an accent."

"What matters is if you are in the country legally or illegally. The only people threatened by House Bill 1804 are those who choose to break the law" (Barber, 2007b).

According to this news report, Terrill appeals to the allegedly indiscriminate rule of law when engaging with the members of the United Front Task Force.

The story changes in relation to the Catholic Church, which also strongly opposed 1804. In contrast to the challenges posed by the National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders, a Protestant evangelical organization, and even the United Front Task Force, the tone of the news, particularly through the use of Terrill's responses, centers instead on the Church's affiliations with undocumented workers in order to denigrate and racialize the Church and its adherents. More specifically, we see the use of racialized codes through Terrill's deployment of accusations that the Church is affiliated with undocumented, Latino workers as a tool to undermine the credibility of the Church's objections to the bill. As one story related:

“By August, 10 percent of our families had left,” said the Rev. David Medina, pastor of the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, 2434 E. Admiral Blvd., Tulsa's largest Hispanic congregation. That figure has now grown to near 20 percent.

As director of the Hispanic Apostolate of the Diocese of Tulsa, Median oversees all ministry to Hispanic Catholics in eastern Oklahoma.

He estimated that 90 percent of the St. Francis congregation is Hispanic and of that group, 60 to 70 percent is in the United States without legal documentation (Sherman, 2007a).

Unlike other denominations engaged in challenging 1804, the news makes clear the connection between Catholicism and Latino immigrants. As a source, Terrill follows suit, making sure to distinguish the role and positions of Protestant religions from Catholicism:

Terrill said Catholic leaders oppose the law for other reasons.

“The fastest growing parishes in Catholicism are non-English speaking, and a good portion of them are illegal aliens,” he said. “I understand that they're protecting their non-English parishes, so while I think what their doing is noble, it's misguided.”

Terrill also said Catholic Charities, the major charitable arm of the Catholic Church, unlike most other religious charities, receives some taxpayer money.

“Let's call a spade a spade,” he said.

HB 1804 cuts off public assistance to illegal immigrants, and so it threatens the work of Catholic Charities.

“Some in the Catholic hierarchy confuse private charity with public charity,” Terrill said. “I'm curious what the bishop find immoral or unjust. It's neither righteous nor just to provide tax money to illegal aliens; it's

just plain wrong. The state shouldn't be in the business of subsidizing illegal aliens. If the church wants to do that, fine, but it shouldn't be using taxpayer money.”

Terrill said the Baptist Church, of which he is a member, does not receive public money for its charitable work.

He said the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma has taken a position on ministry to illegal immigrants that is consistent with the new law. (Sherman, 2007c).

The Catholic Church becomes a mechanism through which Terrill, and by extension, proponents of reform, can set aside the seeming color-blindness of 1804. Terrill sullies the Church through their affiliations with the undocumented, while simultaneously the Church becomes a foil through which reform proponents can engage in more openly racialized, “othering” discourse.

In its opposition to 1804, the Oklahoma Catholic Church invokes its universalism and global scope, citing its connections to its congregants and clergy worldwide. Tulsa's Bishop, in a position letter excerpted in the *Tulsa World*, directly makes this connection. Even though he writes that the nation does not need to “surrender its borders,” the bishop also refers to a higher order guiding the Church's treatment of undocumented workers: “It's not my teaching, it's Christ's teaching, and I'm one with him because I'm one with the pope and the college of bishops worldwide.” Interestingly, he does not reject the language deeming the undocumented worker physically illegal, writing,

We post a no-trespassing sign at the border, and spend \$30 billion (since 1993) to blockade those who would cross, but then we erect a ‘Help Wanted’ sign at the factor entrance and eagerly accept the benefits that come from the labor of these illegals” (Sherman, 2007b).

Throughout its refutation of 1804, the Church relies on its global presence as a source of authority, which sources from the Church try to balance with the boundaries and the sovereignty of the nation-state.

As the Catholic Church clergy make clear, however, their faith demands obedience to a higher order that dignifies the circumstances propelling the immigrant into global circuits in terms Terrill soundly rejects:

The debate over the morality of immigration reform law is picking up steam as its implementation date looms.

Religious leaders say immigrants have a right to migrate their quality of life, but Terrill said it is not that simple.

‘A higher law’ cited

The Rev. Anthony Taylor, pastor of Sacred Heart Catholic Church, 2706 S. Shartel, said he considers the reform law to be sinful because it proposes to take away what he considers a God-given right of human dignity.

“People have the right to immigrate where circumstances so require. They do so as their God-given right,” he said.

Obedying the law is tantamount to sin, since “there’s a higher law than civil law. We need to treat everyone with human dignity.”

The Rev. Michael Chapman, pastor of Holy Angels Catholic Church, 317 N. Blackwelder, expressed similar sentiments.

“Illegality is not as important as the dignity of that (immigrant) family—you have the right to migrate to feed your family,” he said.

Blanco said some Hispanic immigrants believe they are losing the right to move freely because of an increase in racial profiling by the police.

“They are not terrorists,” Blanco said. “This discriminates. It seems to me like it’s bringing the Ku Klux Klan again” (Hinton, 2007).

By positioning the immigrant’s unrestricted global mobility in search of a better life as a God-given right transcending the laws and boundaries of the nation-state, the Church symbolically assumes the role of globalization. The Church’s approach to resisting 1804 also differs from other groups, such as the Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders, in that they did not utilize the court systems to challenge the bill. They appealed solely to a higher power and a universal code of the sanctity and dignity of human rights that exceeds the state’s legal authority. Moreover, Blanco’s statement on racial profiling can be seen to symbolize the dialectical conflict seeking resolution between the anonymous, indiscriminate labor needs of global capital, as embodied by the immigrant worker, and the police as the efforts of the nation-state to maintain an exclusive membership within its imagined community by parsing racially inadequate individuals from the populace.

Within the news stories, the figure of Randy Terrill serves to mitigate the Church's global authority and to refer readers to the primacy and their allegiance to the nation-state. This is accomplished through Terrill's reassurances of 1804's legality and compliance with federal law:

Terrill said the law will be defended in court, if necessary.

"I'm 99.9 percent confident that this bill will withstand any legal challenge brought against it," he said.

"House Bill 1804 is not preempted by federal law. It does not exceed the scope of state authority in this area and is designed to sync perfectly with federal immigration law" (Barber, 2007b).

Finally, Terrill distills the conflict between the global and the nation into a matter of personhood versus citizenship:

Terrill said the religious leaders don't understand the law.

"They dangerously confuse the concept of personhood and citizenship," he said.

"I'm a conservative pro-life Republican. I believe you are a person at conception. While personhood comes with basic rights- the biggest is right to life- I believe that is an entirely different concept than being a U.S. citizen which occurs when you are born in the U.S. and with that citizenship, comes certain rights. There is no constitutional right for an unlawfully present foreign national to receive anything at taxpayer expense."

The "person," as represented by the immigrant, exists outside the bounds of the nation; the rights of the citizen, according to Terrill, supersede that of the person and grant the person recognition. Terrill potently affirms the primacy of the nation-state by positioning it as more righteous than the rights of the global person.

Summary

I argue in this chapter that the news discourses surrounding 1804 repeat and, more importantly, affirm the positions within the text of the bill of immigrant criminality and deviancy. The immigrant family comes to the fore in conjunction with the immigrant worker in these discourses, which works to gender, racialize and class the immigrant as a mirror opposite of the properly performing U.S. citizen. Finally, I also argue that the bill's main author and the

Catholic Church become symbols of the nation-state and the global in news coverage of dissent against 1804.

Although the representations of the immigrant family may have ramifications for English-speaking readers of these papers and their understandings of what it means to properly perform as an American citizen, immigration reform can be seen as a broader attempt by Oklahoma residents to resist the intrusion of the global- in this case, diasporic communities- in their local culture by enacting legislation that sought to expel immigrants from their borders. This was accomplished, however, while affirming the primacy of the nation-state. Moreover, the Spanish-language media and Latino community interpreted the meaning of 1804 differently. As the next chapter will demonstrate, immigration reform becomes a means by which the diverse members of the Latino community in Oklahoma gather to negotiate, challenge and resist in their own way the implications of 1804.

CHAPTER VI
“SOY INDOCUMENTADO:”
ANALYSES OF DIASPORIC MEDIA AND COMMUNITY ADAPTATIONS
TO
THE OKLAHOMA TAXPAYER AND CITIZEN PROTECTION ACT

Previous chapters have examined the discursive dynamics surrounding the passage and implementation of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, or House Bill 1804, in order to concretize the processes by which the local adapt to global forces such as migratory flows. Through analyses of the text of 1804 and English-language news coverage of the year preceding and the immediate months following its passage, it can be argued that these two texts in tandem with one another represent the dominant discourses regarding immigration reform in general and immigrants specifically. In line with the goals of this study, these discourses utilized immigration reform as a means of reasserting the primacy of the nation-state in a time characterized by its reconfiguration through the global flows of people and capital, as manifested by the growing presence of Latino immigrants in Oklahoma. As I argue, key to affirming the primacy of the nation-state is a disciplined citizenry myopic in its cognizance of national boundaries; mediated discourses, such as the English-language newspapers analyzed in the previous chapter, are particularly significant in functioning as this “reminder” of the characteristics of citizenship. Therefore, as a foil to signal to U.S. citizens their proper performances as such, representations of undocumented immigrants function as templates against which Americans learn the raced, gendered, and classed scripts of citizenship.

As I have attempted to demonstrate in the fourth chapter, 1804 was not unopposed although the legislature and public polls showed overwhelming support for the measure. Numerous individuals coalesced in resistance to the bill, particularly in response to the provisions regarding prenatal care for immigrant women. The Latino community and their allies in Oklahoma also mobilized in the months leading up to and after the bill’s implementation.

Diasporic media, such as the Oklahoma City Telemundo affiliate and a Spanish-language newspaper, *El Hispano de Tulsa*, engage the bill and its proponents on behalf of the Latino community statewide. Community groups such as the Latino Community Development Agency, the lead organization of its kind in the state, also work in response to the deleterious effects of 1804 on Latinos in Oklahoma.

As this chapter will demonstrate, the work of the diasporic media and LCDA provide insight into the ways the Latino community throughout the state responded to immigration reform. My negotiation through my translation of the Spanish-language media and interactions with LCDA staff and their clients played significant roles in my analysis. Through analyses of semi-structured and group interviews and the text of *El Hispano de Tulsa*, I argue the following: first, that 1804 forged a collectivity in the Latino community in Oklahoma, regardless of immigration status. The status of being an undocumented immigrant, or “ser indocumentado,” becomes a pivot point around which the Latino community discursively gathers in defiance of the bounds of citizenship and legal status and the lowliness assigned to the immigrant community by reform proponents, subverting these binds through appeals to a higher rule of human rights rather than the rights of the nation-state. Second, I argue that a juxtaposition of appeals to of the universality of human rights against the violence inflicted upon immigrants as depicted in *El Hispano de Tulsa*’s coverage of 1804 signals the ways in which the immigrant body becomes a site where the boundaries and restrictions of the nation-state are contested. Finally, where 1804 sought to literally and discursively deprive the undocumented community, or the immigrant “body,” of the resources necessary for survival, the diasporic media and community organizations can be seen to instead offer sustenance through their services. The most prominent forms of sustenance are the role of information from Spanish-language media and the provision of resources from LCDA that enabled immigrants to circumvent to varying degrees the restrictions of 1804 and its material effects.

Immigrant discourses, unified body

“I never want Tulsa to be known as a sanctuary city,” (City councilman) Christiansen said.

Tulsan Larry Wilson remarked that “this country is under siege by illegal aliens.”

Turning to Hispanics in the audience, he asked how many of them are in the country illegally. All raised their hands in a show of solidarity (Barber, 2007a).

In 2009, *Oklahoma* magazine named the editor of *El Hispano de Tulsa* one of the “Top 40 Under 40” in the state. I picked up this issue of the magazine on a whim, discovering the Spanish-language newspaper on accident. I contacted the paper’s offices to see if someone would grant me an interview and I was referred to the person who they had contracted to write their coverage of 1804: Juan Miret, an employee at the Tulsa Hispanic Chambers of Commerce. When I talked to him on the phone, he said that he was hesitant to speak with anyone about 1804 because they had been “betrayed” in the past by doing so. After I sent him an email with materials on my project to try to convince him I was sympathetic, he replied that he did not have the time to meet with me but his extensive coverage of 1804 was available online at the paper’s Web site.

The assistant with whom I spoke at the paper’s offices told me that they were more conservative, without clarifying what he meant by that, but I was surprised to find out later in the *Tulsa World*’s stories on 1804 that the owners of *El Hispano de Tulsa* had played key roles in the United Front Task Force that had placed billboards around town in the lead-up to 1804’s implementation. In my pile of stories from the *Tulsa World*, there is a picture of the paper’s co-owner, the one featured in the magazine, with a microphone in one hand, the other extended and pointing in emphasis, speaking to a crowd gathered to protest the bill.

After browsing the paper’s search engine to decide what stories to include in this study, I noticed that Miret had written two prolonged series on 1804. The first series was a weekly question and answer column beginning in June 2007 and running until November. In these

stories, Miret interviews an expert in different areas of concern to the immigrant community that he wrote they gathered from question boxes placed around Tulsa. The second series, which they started printing on the day the bill took effect, detailed life under the bill. Although the paper offers English-language content, I could only find these particular sets of stories in Spanish.

I began translating the stories. As I read them in chronological order, I began to notice simple factual errors in what was quoted as the experts' answers, such as the information and documentation a parent needs to bring with them to enroll their child in public schools. Other errors were more egregious, such as the claim that the children of detained parents could legally be adopted away from them. I began to notice a pattern in the rhetoric Miret used in his articles, and patterns in the experts' answers that made me question whether or not the interview, which Miret always wrote was conducted exclusively with *el Hispano de Tulsa*, had been conducted in English or Spanish and if Miret was quoting his sources verbatim or paraphrasing. There was no indication in the copies of the stories that I had that these expert answers were anything but verbatim, but I began to suspect otherwise. I contacted the paper to ask and did not receive a return response. To be sure that these inconsistencies in fact and language patterns were not simply a mistake in my translation, I asked a friend who is fluent in Spanish to translate a portion of the stories. She had a similar reading as me.

From a journalistic perspective, the stories raised a number of other questions, but factual errors aside, the representations of the Latino community and its experiences regarding immigration reform in these texts provide insight into the ways in which this diasporic media outlet served its readers. Rather than reacting to 1804, as an *Oklahoman* reporter had described her role as a reporter, the staff at *El Hispano de Tulsa* was engaging with immigration reform as members of a community targeted by it. As such, its coverage of 1804 participated in a broader discourse where members of the Latino community, regardless of legal status, coalesced in response to the bill's passage.

Considering that an English-only provision is up for a state-wide vote on the November 2010 ballot in Oklahoma as a direct legislative descendent to 1804, perhaps the most potent way

in which the Latino community coalesced and challenged immigration reform was simply through the use of Spanish. The Telemundo newscasts, the majority of business at LCDA, and the stories confronting 1804 in *El Hispano de Tulsa* were all in Spanish. Their common language already differentiated Latinos from the resident Oklahoma population; workers at LCDA told me stories of strangers confronting them over their use of Spanish in public places with family members and friends. More importantly, speaking Spanish functioned as a rhetorical “we” that signaled the collectivity between them that transcended legal status; their language was the medium through which dissent was discursively expressed.

This sense of collectivity was further demonstrated at my second house visit with an immigrant mother that took place with the same LCDA staff member working as interpreter as the first visit. The staff member, “Ada,” and I had become acquainted with one another and she began to participate in the interview more. Like many of the staff at LCDA, she was an immigrant herself. At the first interview, she smiled at the mother and me to reassure us and, speaking in Spanish, would “remind” the mother of events that she had shared with the workers at LCDA. I was interviewing these women not only for my project but also to compile a needs and strength assessment for the agency; by talking to the agency’s clients, we had agreed at my initial meeting with the executive director and program heads that perhaps we could match a human face with the facts of immigration. Therefore, the mothers had been approached to speak to me due to their particular circumstances and the staff from LCDA already had an idea of the pertinent events in their lives that would help my project and my work for the agency.

By the end of the second interview at the home of a mother who was injured and could not work, Ada began offering her own input and answers to my questions. We were talking about police pulling immigrant drivers over for no reason and the stories that were circulating through the Spanish-language media and between friends. At first, Ada answered using the mother’s voice, but at one point, she changed and spoke as if all immigrants shared the mother’s experience:

Ada (translating): Okay. They, they, they find that the police can stop you and ask you for your, eh legal, eh status in the country...it's not right...you are scared to go out...they can stop you for any reason...I'm asking her like what happens if they stop you- they can contact INS. They can call immediately INS. They ask, stop you then ask you for your legal status and they call immigration.

Me: Have you, has your family directly experienced this?

Ada: She know somebody who has experienced that (asking mother) a gentleman who was at work and was coming back...they stop him, he doesn't know why, they ask for his drivers license (mother speaking) Oh, they stop him because he was driving with the music too loud...they ask for his legal documentation...and they contact INS immediately and they...they took him in jail and now he's in Mexico

Me: Did he have his documentation? I mean, was he able to provide documentation?

Ada: No. When she talk about- no- when she talk about documentation, she's talking about they ask you if you are a legal person

Me: Okay.

Ada: So you need to have a green card or...

Me: Okay. So um, so you heard about this through word of mouth?

Ada: ...in Tulsa?...no, no, the wife of the gentleman is her, is her friend.

Me: Her friend. So, did she also hear this talked about a lot in the news? Si? So, what does she watch on television?

Ada: Oh, they come and they do the...(in frustration looking for the right word) UH! How do you call it in English? That they have the migration officers stopping everybody and asking for documentation-

Me: Oh. Checkpoints.

Ada: Yes.

Me: Checkpoints. (surprised) They announce those on television?

Ada: In the news. The local news... In Spanish. In Spanish local news. Sometimes even in English...you can see that every while they will do these sweeps.

Me: Do they, what parts of town do they have these checkpoints, do you know?

Ada: ...they say everywhere

Me: How did they describe it on the news?

Ada: ...they warn them to be careful because they are at that location

Me: And to look out for, do they give specific locations? Or just say to keep an eye out? (hearing the response) Specific locations?

Ada: (understanding the mother's response) Oh! Even sometimes people will call each other and they will call and say be careful the polices are around here. (not translating anymore) And you gotta remember for us the police and INS, everything is the same for us.

After this house visit, I conducted a group interview with her colleagues in the program at LCDA in which she worked during their lunch hour. The youngest son of the mother whose home we had just left was embarrassed at school because he could not pay for his lunch and did not want to go to school anymore. When I arrived at the program's workroom, Ada joined us late at the lunch table visibly upset. I had my finger on the record button of my voice recorder, but hesitated as I watched the moment unfold. When the program director asked what had happened, Ada said she had been on the phone with the boy's principle, explaining how the boy felt because he could not afford lunch. She resolved the situation for the family, but expressed her frustration with herself for not paying closer attention to this mother. Because the family had no food and no money to buy it, the workers discussed taking a collection to get some supplies and food to them.

Perhaps it was only empathy that Ada felt for her client, but I was granted access to this mother not only because she had agreed to it but because of her status as an undocumented immigrant with a particularly harrowing story to tell. The workers knew that. It was the standing policy at LCDA to serve all immigrants regardless of their legal status; as one program director pointed out, this was exactly how they had gained and kept the trust of the Latino community. Ada's slip during our conversation with the mother, incorporating the undocumented mother's experiences as her own, reflected a unity within the larger immigrant community. The immigrants I had contact with and the texts I analyzed did not distinguish between the documented and undocumented because the effects of 1804 had not made those distinctions, or rather, because 1804 did make those distinctions between immigrants. But, as Ada's comment shows, 1804 had forged a collective between immigrants because they were all prone to being treated as undocumented by the non-Latino community, even if they "had papers."

At the time I was interviewing the mothers, I did not listen closely to Ada's interpretations of my questions. As I listened through the recordings, I heard further indications that the experiences of undocumented Latino immigrants were adopted by Latino immigrants in general and that these interviews were not just about the undocumented community, but the Latino community in general. At one point during our conversation during the second house visit, I turned the interview back to the Spanish-language media's coverage of 1804 and immigrants, asking how the media were currently discussing the issue:

Me: How did they talk about the situation?

Ada: (translating) They say it is getting worse and worse and worse.

Me: That's how they describe it? And she means attitudes towards immigrants not the economy?

Ada: The economy.

Me: How do they talk about how this affects Latinos?

Both times she repeated my question to the mother, Ada asked how the news discussed the ways "nosotros inmigrantes," or "we immigrants," were affected. She clearly included herself in the same group as the undocumented mother while speaking to her. Then, she assumed the position as if she were a part of the interview, rather than my interpreter:

And actually, you, you should, you should see it. You should see the type of news that we're talking about. Because that's what they are doing. It is so different they're not like so impartial, eh, and T30 and Telemundo its like, is, is very well-tailored to our community...you need to see it and have somebody tell you some of the scenes...be like, "be careful," he will talk like that. "Be careful." if he says don't, don't go. He, don't go to that place, they wait and they tell you...it used to be strange even for me because I'm used to sometimes watching *Good Morning America* and it's like they do not bring their own personal opinion, but they do (with emphasis), so it's a very important place you know...they have a segment where they usually have a lawyer and people call and you see, "Ma'am you need to be careful about this," and it's like they are talking to you (with emphasis). Not in a sophisticated way, in real life Oklahoma City, what is going on. They don't want us here. It's a different news.

Ada interjected her own experience with local Spanish-language news channel and the ways in which it addressed its viewers, demonstrating the ways in which she considered herself to be of the same community as the undocumented mother.

To be sure, the news staff at Telemundo considered their entire viewing community regardless of status, who one producer, also an immigrant like the station's news director, called "our people:"

Producer: I mean we obviously started covering it because it's of the utmost importance for our viewers because they say there's something like 300,000 Hispanic people in in our viewing area. Um

Me: Uh huh

Producer: Um, unfortunately the majority of Hispanics that are here in this state are undocumented so umm 1804 applies directly...

Me: Sure.

Producer: To them...

Me: Mmhmm

Producer: So that's why we wanted to start covering it because (clears throat) that's the reason we're here, to have our people informed. It's not just to tell them about you know this guy died or this guy got run over, it's not just about the crime and that sort of thing, it's to have them, you know, to be here for them, you know, we're not activists but we're, we're, um, definitely here to make sure that our people know what's going on, you know, how things are going to affect them, how things are not going to affect them, that sort of thing. That's why we took a pretty, um, proactive stance on, on talking about 1804 and explaining every, every, you know, piece, every bit of the bill, you know, what, what it, what it does, what it doesn't do, who it applies to, what's going to happen. We tried to investigate. We've covered it A LOT.

I never received the transcripts of their newscasts on 1804 from the producer at Telemundo, but he and the news director made sure to distinguish the tone and style of their news coverage of the issue from their "colleagues" at other outlets. Nonetheless, according to the journalists and news workers at diasporic outlets that I was able to get in contact with, it was a prominent topic to which they devoted much of their time in the service of their community.

The stories in *El Hispano de Tulsa* contain the strongest representation of 1804's unifying dynamic. Through the author's use of language and address of his readers, he constructed an experience that detailed, in his words, the doubts, uncertainties, confusion and concerns of the community. Although many of these concerns related to questions surrounding

legal status, the stories addressed the Spanish-speaking Latino readership in general, pointing out that the bill had affected all immigrants regardless of status:

Caos, confusión y temor han invadido a la comunidad inmigrante en Tulsa, desde la entrada en vigencia de la severa 1804.

La abrumadora cantidad de rumores, preguntas e inquietudes revelan la incongruencia del nuevo texto legal, el cual afecta a todos sin excepción, con o sin documentos (Miret, 2007h).

Chaos, confusion, and fear have invaded the immigrant community in Tulsa, since the entry into force of the severe 1804.

The overwhelming number of rumors, questions, and concerns reveal the inconsistency of the new legal text, which affects all without exception, with or without papers.

Moreover, individuals posing questions to the paper's experts often expressed they were in a mixed-status living arrangement between family members, blurring the lines between individuals' legal status even further. There is little rhetorical distinction between documented and undocumented and 1804 is constructed as a concern and a threat to the entire community. The unity fostered by the bill is also presented as a polarizing force for whites and Latinos. The paper strengthens this point in the following passage by using it as the lead paragraph and a quote from an expert:

“La HB1804 ha creado una división racial grave, donde los blancos se les considera racistas y a los hispanos se les define como criminales, ésta ley ha creado miedo y temor en ambos lados”, así lo expresó la profesora universitaria Linda Allegro, durante una entrevista exclusiva concedida al Hispano de Tulsa (Miret, 2008).

"The HB1804 has created a serious racial division, where whites are considered racist and Hispanics are defined as criminal, this law has created fear and apprehension on both sides," they said university professor Linda Allegro, during an interview exclusivity granted to the Hispano de Tulsa.

Although the quote seems to imply that both sides are impacted equally by the misperceptions circulating about immigration reform, the story continues on to depict pro-reform legislators as childish and unreasonable that oversimplify and misrepresent the facts of immigration.

Most powerfully, many of the questions begin with the phrase, “Soy indocumentado,” as a preface to the query posed to the expert consulted in the column. Paired with the generalities of

address, and the use of personal pronouns, “Soy indocumentado” becomes the banner under which their readers fall:

- Soy indocumentado, ¿me pueden pedir papeles de inmigración cuando inscriba a los niños?

No. Solamente es necesario que una persona sea el tutor de los niños, la cual debe ser mayor de 18 años. Lo único que se le puede pedir es el nombre completo, su dirección y teléfono. Esto se hace porque es necesario tener un contacto en los archivos (Miret, 2007d).

I am undocumented. Can they ask me for my papers when I enroll my children?

No. it is only necessary that the person be the guardian of the children, which must be older than eighteen years old. They can only ask for your complete name, your address, and telephone number. This is because it is necessary to have a contact in the records.

- Soy indocumentado y quisiera dejar una carta poder autorizando a una persona el cuidado de mis hijos. ¿Es válido éste documento a pesar de que yo no tengo papeles?

- Sí es válido. La carta poder es un documento legal y es válido independientemente del estatus migratorio de la persona. Además, solamente puede ser cancelado cuando el solicitante lo anula, muere o sufre de alguna discapacidad mental...

- Soy indocumentado y compré una casa con número fiscal [ITIN], ¿qué puedo hacer para no perderla en caso de que me deporten?

- Usted puede dejar un representante de sus bienes mediante una carta poder. Además tiene que registrar el documento en la corte del condado en la cual la propiedad está localizada. La casa seguirá siendo suya siempre y cuando no deje de hacer los pagos mensuales (Miret, 2007f).

I am undocumented and want to leave a power of attorney authorizing a person to care for my children. Is the document valid if I don't have papers?

Yes, it is valid. The power of attorney is a legal document and is valid independently of the person's immigration status. Furthermore, it can only be cancelled when the applicant cancels it, dies, or suffers mental disability._

I am undocumented and bought a house with a tax number. What can I do in order to now lose it in case I am deported?

You can leave a representative of the property through a proxy. Although you have to register the document in court in the county where the property is located.

Soy indocumentado, en caso de una emergencia médica, ¿qué puedo hacer?

El servicio de primeros auxilios es un derecho que usted tiene independientemente de su estatus migratorio. Además, existen clínicas dedicadas a atender a personas sin seguro médico o de bajos recursos que no indagan acerca de la situación inmigratoria del paciente (Miret, 2007g).

I am undocumented. In case of a medical emergency, what can I do?

First aid service is a right that you have independently of your immigration status. Also, there exists clinics dedicated to seeing people without medical insurance or to low-income that do not inquire about immigration status.

The use of “I” and “you” in the exchange between reader and author personalizes the experiences of immigrants affected by 1804’s impending implementation. This is furthered by the premise that these questions were dropped off anonymously in drop boxes around town; the person asking the question could easily be anyone that the reader knows.

The introductions of many of these stories extrapolated the personalized questions contained within this series onto the whole of the immigrant community:

La nueva ley inmigratoria 1804 ha despertado muchas dudas y confusiones, por tal motivo, el Hispano de Tulsa en permanente sintonía y comunicación con la comunidad, ha iniciado una serie de preguntas y respuestas (Miret, 2007a).

The new immigration law 1804 has aroused much doubts and confusions, for this reason, el Hispano de Tulsa in-tune and communicating with its readers/community, has initiated a series of questions and answers.

La situación en el estado de Oklahoma y en el área metropolitana de Tulsa debido a la futura aplicación de la nueva ley 1804, ha generado una serie de preguntas e inquietudes acerca del futuro de los niños (Miret, 2007c).

The situation in the state of Oklahoma and the Tulsa metropolitan area due to the future application of the new law 1804, has generated a series of questions and concerns around the future of the children.

La evidente discriminación expuesta en la nueva ley migratoria 1804 ha generado dudas e incertidumbres en la comunidad; lamentablemente, muchas personas se están aprovechando de la desesperación de otros para encontrar un beneficio económico (Miret, 2007e).

The obvious dangerous discrimination in the new immigration law 1804 has generated doubts and uncertainties in the community; sadly, many people are taking advantage of the desperation of others to benefit economically.

These stories begin with the premise that they address the concerns of the community in general, thereby reinforcing the notion that documented and undocumented immigrants alike are impacted by the changes legislated through 1804. Therefore, the repetition of the questioner's legal status, particularly "Soy indocumentado," works in concert with the general address of the overall series to cohere the Spanish-speaking Latino community together.

Finally, the phrase, "Soy indocumentado," assigns to the immigrant's body their legal status; literally, the immigrant is physically undocumented ("I am undocumented"). Similar to the term "illegal alien" or "illegal immigrant," where the immigrant's body is written upon by a dominant culture as a mark of deviancy and unacceptability, the immigrant body assumes the burden of legal status in relation to the nation-state. To be undocumented, though, is to be unwritten and unknown to or by the state. As the next section will demonstrate, discourses in immigrant communities couple "soy indocumentado" with a universal, or global, standard of human and civil rights, subverting the constrictions of allegiance to one nation that distinguishes between bodies for membership through the violence of immigration enforcement.

Diasporic bodies, sites of violence

I talked with LCDA's Prevention Program Director in a basement meeting room as she gave me an overview of the services her program offered. One thing they did fairly often, she said, was help mothers get birth certificates for their newborns. Steering parents to resources was a key part of her department's work, of which helping people navigate the system so that they could get "papers" was most important. Suddenly, during our conversation, she tapped on the table and told me that I needed to tell why they didn't become citizens in my report. She said this

is one question that is constantly posed of immigrants, then gave me a handout with the list of documents needed for a citizenship application.

This program director, Patty, is an immigrant who married an American and moved to Oklahoma. Her children were born in the state. We began talking about the environment in Oklahoma around the passage of 1804, and she spoke of her young son's reaction to a commercial at the time when he realized that the bill may be targeting his mother. She said her son asked her repeatedly, "How do you know if you're undocumented?" Re-enacting her son and swiping two fingers across her forehead, she continued, "Is it a label?"

The workers at LCDA told me stories of children not knowing their legal status until their teen years when they graduated from high school or tried to get their driver's licenses; in this case, Patty's son had to confront the issue of an immigrant's legality after a television commercial. It is telling, however, that her son thought of legal status as a label written across a person's forehead; as a prominent concern of the immigrant community, identifying an undocumented immigrant suggests the ability to locate some physical marker or outward indication denoting a person's legal status. As *El Hispano de Tulsa's* coverage in particular shows, the immigrant's body indeed becomes a site where the discourses surrounding immigration reform contest the boundaries of the nation, particularly through the juxtaposition of a universal code of human rights granting a measure of respect to all people against the violence inflicted through the enforcement of immigration laws.

Next to referrals to competent immigration attorneys, a repeating answer to questions throughout the paper's first series on 1804 redirected concerned immigrants back to their rights as human beings that transcended the laws of Oklahoma:

"Cada persona tiene derechos humanos y esos derechos no tienen fronteras; por eso las leyes inmigratorias se pueden debatir, pero los derechos humanos y civiles no se discuten ni se negocian", aseveró enfáticamente Tamyra Cox, coordinadora del programa ... de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles...(Miret, 2007b).

Each person has human rights and these rights have no borders; you can debate immigration law but there is no discussion or negotiation of human

and civil rights, emphatically asserted Tamya Cox, program coordinator...of the American Civil Liberties Union...

“Los niños con documentos inmigratorios o sin ellos, tienen derechos humanos y civiles, no hay excepciones,” expreso en conversacion exclusiva con *el Hispano de Tulsa* Marcus Tarrelle, representante del Consejo de Derechos de los Niños...(Miret, 2007c).

“Children with immigration documents or without them, have human rights and civil liberties, no exceptions,” expresses Marcus Tarrelle, in an exclusive conversation with El Hispano de Tulsa...

Many times, “rights” also became “duties,” such as the duty to enroll children in school. These passages can be viewed as a way of instructing immigrants as to an American cultural system that values education as a means of social mobility. They can also be seen as a means of reinforcing the empowering message that immigrants regardless of status were worthy of respect in the eyes of the law. Rhetorically, these passages place the immigrant as a being outside of the domain of U.S. law, subject to a value system beyond the laws governing a nation-state, or, more precisely, immigrants are positioned as beings outside the domain of the cultural ramifications of U.S. law. As such, we see a dual allusion, both to the diasporic positionality of the immigrant and their physicality within the bounds of the U.S.; the immigrant’s subjectivity as a member of a diasporic community can be located outside of their corporeal placement within the United States.

The repetition of the ephemeral litany of rights to which each human is endowed contrasts sharply with the stark portrayals of immigrant life stemming from 1804, in the conversations I held with LCDA workers and their clients and in representations in the pages of *El Hispano de Tulsa*. Whereas the immigrants with whom I spoke told that nothing in the U.S. was as bad as the conditions they left behind in their home countries, the discourses of the violence against immigrants highlights the ways in which the immigrant body becomes a site of contestation over national citizenship when juxtaposed against the universality of human rights. That is, as they are discussed in the Latino community and media, the repetition of the rights accorded to the immigrant simply by virtue of being a human, as compared to the contingent

rights of citizenship, placed against a backdrop of expressions of the brutality of the enforcement of immigration laws brings into sharp relief the way in which the immigrant body is enlisted in the service of forging national borders denaturalized by the dynamics of globalization.

Most notably, the act of controlling the immigrant body through detention by law enforcement agents was a prominent theme in immigrant discourses on 1804. The threat of arrest, detention, and ultimate deportation shaped their lives as well as their ability to move freely to perform daily tasks such as taking children to school or buying groceries. Workers at LCDA reported that incidences of post-traumatic stress increased in even their youngest clients after 1804 from the strain and stress of families separated by deportation. Moreover, family members mobilized in response to a relative's detention, demonstrating the bill's far-reaching impact on networks of immigrants. In this way, we see the detention of immigrant bodies as a physical manifestation of the effort to control and expel the unwanted immigrant as well as a symbolic gesture by which law enforcement exerts control over the population through displays of authority.

On a house visit with a woman seeking the help from LCDA, the curtains were tightly drawn and a window air conditioning unit droned in the background. The mother sat on a couch next to her three week-old daughter who had been born after the father's deportation. I asked her why she had left Mexico. The mother replied softly to my question: "El hambre." A few times during our conversation, she wiped tears away. At the encouragement of the LCDA worker, the mother told me how her husband had been arrested at home, which her son had witnessed. When she went into labor and the ambulance arrived, she said her son had been home then, too, and not knowing what was happening, he had been afraid that she was being arrested as well. She said she rarely left the house, for fear of being pulled over by the police. Deportation may be inevitable, she said, and she worried about her children if she were detained. But, she said her life in Oklahoma was better than it would have been in Mexico. Here, she said, she can stay at home with her children. "There is nothing they can do to me now," she said.

Fear of leaving the house, of driving around town, of being arbitrarily pulled over and summarily detained were constants between the women with whom I talked. One mother would not let her pre-school age son play outside their house and spoke of her worry that her son, who walked around the house crunching on an apple and had a serious eye condition, would not get the medical attention he needed. Five months pregnant, she lived with the father of her unborn child, but said she considered taking the boy and moving back to Illinois by herself so her son could see the doctors he needed. Another mother, who hadn't had food to prepare for her four children for two days, sat in a darkened house with the blinds closed tight. Shifting her sitting position and wincing in pain from the back injury that kept her from working, she told us how her electricity may be cut off because she could not pay the bills as the window air conditioning unit hummed on low in the sweltering Oklahoma summer. Two of the three mothers who would speak with me sat at home alone with their children while the man they lived with was gone.

Through their preoccupation with the possibility of being detained, the police had merged with "la migra" in the minds of the immigrants, and there were numerous stories of friends who had been arrested and detained for minor infractions, like traffic violations. The LCDA staff told me they had asked one woman who had been arrested and jailed to speak with me, but she refused out of humiliation from the experience. I was quietly pulled aside in the hallway by a worker who told me of her cousin's detention and the ways their family was working from around the country to have him freed from the Immigration and Customs Enforcement unit in Tulsa. In the same conversation, she discussed her undocumented common-law husband and the parts of town they both avoided driving through to avoid being pulled over by the police.

Not surprisingly, Spanish-language media provided ample legal advice to their viewers. Telemundo aired a regular call-in segment for viewers to ask questions of a local immigration attorney and *El Hispano de Tulsa* instructed its readers on how specifically to handle being arrested without reason. In the pages of *El Hispano de Tulsa*, the police harassment and discrimination stemming from 1804 became a "hate crime" against immigrants and we see the

articulation of immigration reform measures and its enforcement with an infringement of the immigrants' broader rights to global mobility:

"Cada persona tiene derechos humanos y éstos derechos no tienen fronteras; por eso las leyes inmigratorias se pueden debatir, pero los derechos humanos y civiles no se discuten ni se negocian", aseveró enfáticamente Tamy Cox, coordinadora del programa de prevención racial de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles (ACLU por sus siglas en inglés), con sede en Oklahoma City.

En conversación exclusiva con el Hispano de Tulsa, Cox respondió a las múltiples interrogantes recopiladas en el transcurso de ésta semana, las cuales en amplia mayoría se refieren al delicado tema del odio racial.

"Los derechos humanos pertenecen a cada persona, no importa quién eres, dónde vives o cómo llegaste; las políticas y las prácticas del gobierno deben proteger los derechos humanos de todos los inmigrantes, esto incluye el derecho a la educación, atención médica, empleo justo y vivienda segura. Lamentablemente hoy en día, no se cumplen éstos derechos, y muchos de los inmigrantes son condenados a vivir y trabajar en condiciones degradantes", explicó Cox.

A continuación las respuestas a las preguntas que nos hicieron llegar nuestros lectores:

- Dicen qué los niños sin documentos no los van a poder inscribir en la escuela, ¿es cierto?

La educación es un derecho garantizado en la constitución. Es posible que se presenten problemas con la emisión de identificaciones, sin embargo, colegios públicos y privados no pueden privar éste derecho, sería una violación a las leyes del estado de Oklahoma, a la ley federal de educación y a la constitución nacional.

Añadimos que además, los padres de familia (aún los indocumentados), estarán cometiendo un delito al no llevar a sus niños a la escuela.

- Si la policía me detiene solamente por mi origen nacional, y no por haber cometido una infracción, ¿qué puedo hacer?

En primer lugar debemos recordar que en Oklahoma la discriminación racial es ilegal.

Es lamentable pero la protección frente a éstos tipos de abusos es poco o casi inexistente, esto se debe a que los casos no se documentan. Mi recomendación es no oponerse a las acciones del oficial, pero al mismo tiempo esté alerta, muy pendiente de todos los detalles como nombres, placas, hora, y lugar. Luego, puede contactarnos [ACLU Oklahoma] y nosotros le asistiremos gratuita y confidencialmente, pero recuerde para ayudarle es necesario que usted nos provea la máxima cantidad posible de información.

En la próxima edición de Hispano de Tulsa le estaremos informando como reportar este tipo de abusos al departamento de policía de Tulsa.

-¿Cómo puedo saber que he sido víctima de odio racial?

Al ser detenido usted debe ser informado acerca de la razón por la cual lo detuvieron. Si no hay delito, infracción o crimen, entonces no hay motivo para su detención.

En resumen, ningún agente policial puede detenerlo solamente por su raza u origen nacional, debe haber una causa que justifique la detención.

Es importante que la comunidad sepa que puede ser víctima de discriminación no solamente mientras maneja sino también al pasear, caminar por el aeropuerto, ir a su centro religioso, [etcétera]. De hecho, hace pocos meses hubo un caso de un niño musulmán de 8 años en el aeropuerto internacional de Tulsa, fue separado de sus padres y sometido a una brutal revisión, debido a que se acoplaba a la descripción de un supuesto terrorista; el caso ya está en la Corte Suprema.

Su caso ha sido ejemplo del profundo odio racial que se está presentando en el estado, de hecho el portal de internet de la organización Amnistía Internacional (Amnesty International), ha publicado en detalle dicha situación en la sección de historias.

-¿Cómo pueden defenderme en un caso de odio racial si no tengo documentos de inmigración?

No importa que se encuentre fuera de estatus migratorio, usted es un ser humano y por lo tanto tiene derechos. Incluso si usted cometió un crimen, todavía tiene derecho a un juicio justo con asistencia legal. Por eso siempre digo que los derechos humanos no tienen nacionalidad ni fronteras, son universales (Miret, 2007b).

Each person has human rights and these rights have no borders; you can debate immigration law but there is no discussion or negotiation of human and civil rights, Tanya Cox emphatically asserted...

Cox responded to multiple questions compiled over the course of this week, each more widening the reference to the delicate theme of racial hatred.

Human rights pertain to each person, it does not matter who they are, where they live or how they arrived; the policies and practices of the government should protect human rights of all immigrants, including the right to education, medical attention, just employment and personal security. Sadly in this day, they don't fulfill these rights and many immigrants are condemned to live and to work in degrading conditions.

Education is a right guaranteed in the constitution. It is possible that problems will occur with the issue of identification, nonetheless, public and private schools cannot deprive this right, it is a violation of the law of the state of Oklahoma, the federal education law, and the national constitution.

Additionally, parents, even those who are undocumented, are committing a crime by not taking their children to school.

It is sad by protection from these types of abuses is little or even nonexistent, so you should document these things. I recommend that you don't oppose the official, but at the same time, be alert, very aware/thoughtful of all the details like names, badges, time and place. Later, you can contact us (the ACLU of Oklahoma) and we can assist you for free and confidentially, but remember in order to help it is necessary that you provide as much information as possible.

To remind/resume, the police can never detain you solely for your race or nationality; they should have just cause for detention.

In the next edition, we will have information on how to report these types of abuse to the Tulsa police department.

If you are detained, you should be informed of the reason for each arrest. If you have no crime, infraction, or Then there is no motive for your arrest/detention.

How can I defend myself in case of a hate crime and I don't have papers?

It doesn't matter what your immigration status was, you are a human and you have rights. Even if you commit a crime, you still have a right to a fair trial with legal assistance. You can say that human rights have no nationality or border, they are universal.

The elevation of the immigrants' experiences of unlawful or arbitrary detention under 1804 as a hate crime, a special class of violence against historically marginalized groups of society, is strengthened by the rhetoric of a universal ethic of human rights. As such, the efforts by law enforcement to discipline and punish the immigrant body through detention and the contingent racial discrimination of immigration reform are highlighted and countered by claims to a higher universal, global order.

Representations of immigrant men and women's labor, both reproductive and in the workplace, also figures prominently in contesting the nation through the immigrant body. Whereas the U.S. citizenry enjoys the fruit of immigrant labor through the goods that are produced by their hands, immigrant discourses on 1804 were understandably concerned with navigating the channels to secure proper identification that would allow them to continue working to support their families. Although prenatal care for undocumented women was briefly discussed, the education and welfare of the children of immigrants, as the manifestation of their

reproductive labor, was a chief preoccupation within *El Hispano de Tulsa* and the work of LCDA.

Immigrant women's bodies became the site of violence after 1804 in two particular ways. First, according to *El Hispano de Tulsa*, instances of domestic violence were specifically going unreported in the community because the women feared being deported if they turned in their abuser to the police. In a series that rarely discusses women's issues, highlighting a particularly gendered form of violence occurring between community members as a contingent effect of 1804 rather than being inflicted from outside raises questions as to pre-existing gender dynamics. Second, there was brief mention of state legislators working after 1804 became law to ensure immigrant women had access to prenatal care.

As the manifestation of women's reproductive capabilities and, by extension, the reproduction of the Latino community, immigrant children and parents' concerns about their safety became a prominent example where claims to the rights of citizenships were contested:

-Mi esposo y yo somos inmigrantes indocumentados, nuestros hijos son ciudadanos estadounidenses; en caso ser deportados, el gobierno se quedaria con los niños?

Los padres independientemente del estatus migratorio tienen la potestad y custodia de los hijos menores de 18 años. Por lo tanto, el gobierno a través de una agencia federal o local, no puede retener a los menores si sus padres son repatriados... (Miret, 2007c)

My husband and I are undocumented immigrants, our children are U.S. citizens. In case we are deported, will the government care for our children?

The parents, independent of the immigration status have the power and custody over their children under 18 years old. As such, the government, whether a federal or local agency cannot retain the children if their parents are repatriated...

The paper dedicated an entire article to a session with the Tulsa Schools Superintendent to quell parents' fears regarding taking their children to school, another assured parents that their children would not have their citizenship revoked if their parents took them back with them to Mexico after being deported. Together, representations of immigrant women's issues, such as domestic violence and prenatal care provisions, and the concerns surrounding their children demonstrate a

community seeking the safety and security of the segments of the group that can ensure their future yet pose a threat to the U.S. citizenry that must distinguish between members and eliminate those deemed unworthy of inclusion.

In my meetings with the mothers, their focus was on their children, reflecting broader discourses throughout their community. Indeed, many of the services provided by LCDA centered on caring for children, through child care provisions, abuse and neglect prevention, and college scholarship programs that put Latino youth in touch with a larger cultural network, the National Council of La Raza. As the next section will demonstrate, the Latino community in Oklahoma, as evidenced in LCDA's programs and the Spanish-language media, worked to stabilize, secure, and empower their community members; as the community's future, the safety and security of their children was the best place to start.

Connections, affirmations, sustenance

The Chief Operating Officer at LCDA, Fred Ramos, may be the most conservative member of the organization's directors in regards to the prospects of the group's political potency. "We're not going to win any referendum," he said to me, referring to the statistically small Latino population in Oklahoma. Active in the Hispanic Chambers of Commerce and the Oklahoma Federal Reserve, Ramos related the contradictions of immigration reform in Oklahoma in terms of its financial impact on the state economy. However, like his colleagues, he said he saw the potential for social change if people were armed with the right information, and the long-term political consequences for the entire state if Latino youth were nurtured as they grew up or, conversely, overlooked and neglected in Oklahoma.

The main provisions of 1804 can be seen as attempts to drive undocumented immigrants out, to theoretically "deprive" a figurative body of immigrants of the resources necessary for survival, such as employment, health care, and the other social benefits that the bill's proponents argue attract them to Oklahoma. As Ramos' positions demonstrate, the Spanish-language media outlets and groups like LCDA may function to counter 1804's effects, offering instead valuable

cultural sustenance to enable the long-term vitality of their constituents which often entailed taking the long view and working to provide tools to strengthen the Latino community's members from birth through their senior years.

The diasporic media can perhaps be seen as the nerve system of the Oklahoma Latino community, stretching as mediated synapses between immigrants isolated from one another and forced underground, as Ada described it, by the contingent cultural impact of 1804. This was demonstrated through the Oklahoma City Telemundo channel and the radio station "Z," both of which are run by the same company and aired updates on police checkpoints throughout town, for instance, or in-depth deconstructions of 1804's finer points and its expected implications for their Spanish-speaking viewers. According to the mothers I spoke with, these news outlets provided them with information allowing them to sidestep police checkpoints or raids on grocery stores. Connections between immigrants that spanned the state augmented the media as they would call each other to spread news overheard on the television or the radio. These networks joined the documented and undocumented alike, as demonstrated by Ada's identification with the undocumented mother with whom we were speaking.

The factuality of some of the Spanish-language news coverage is questionable. The capitol bureau chief for *the Oklahoman* said that someone in Tulsa was reporting grievances against the Latino community that mainstream papers could not verify. English-language reports refuted the efficacy of 1804 other than its negative effect on the state labor pool and reported minuscule numbers of detentions or raids. The content of the diasporic media nonetheless provides insight into the cultural importance of these outlets, namely, their role in affirming the righteousness of their readers' anger at their experiences during 1804's debate and implementation and a justification of their decisions to immigrate.

For instance, *El Hispano de Tulsa* alerted its readers to the dangers stemming from 1804 and the experiences of other Tulsa immigrants through two prolonged series titled "Aclarando sus dudas" (Clarifying doubts) and "Sobreviviendo la ley" ("Surviving the law"). These stories not only rhetorically established a Spanish-speaking collectivity, they addressed their readership

from a position of shared righteousness, potentially fostering a sense of outrage in their readers to prompt political mobilization against 1804. The passage and implementation of 1804 is described as devastating, strict, and rigid and expert sources assert or explain their disagreement with the bill. Readers are urged to speak out against the hate crimes against them and to exercise their rights to send their children to school. Moreover, the passionate language reinforces the urgency of the perceived injustices against the immigrant community, affirming individual members' sense of injury at the hands of immigration enforcement and a broader American society that, allegedly, does not understand them or want them in the country. Tulsa immigrants are further reassured as to the justness of their position when the paper directly refutes the main talking points of reform proponents, namely that immigrants do not pay taxes, steal jobs from citizens, or unduly burden local hospitals. Finally, the paper addresses the perception that the police subject community members to arbitrary enforcement of 1804, reminding readers of their rights to legal counsel and to resist deportation.

Whereas Spanish-speaking media in Oklahoma fostered a network among immigrants and discursive reassurance to empower their audiences, the Latino Community Development Agency in Oklahoma perhaps presents the most potent challenge to 1804 by offering cultural sustenance to the Latino community, providing their constituents with the tools to participate more fully in the public body. Steadily growing since its beginning in 1991 in response to the increasing needs of Latinos in Oklahoma, LCDA is a United Way facility that recently achieved the highest level of accreditation from the Commission on Accreditation of Rehabilitative Facilities. Located in southwest Oklahoma City, just a few blocks from downtown and in the heart of the predominantly Latino area of the city, it provides a range of services for the newborn to the elderly and gathers clients through court referrals but mostly community members' word of mouth. As LCDA's mission states, the agency works "to enhance the life of the Latino community through education, leadership, services, and advocacy."

Approaching from the east, the Riverside Community Center that houses the agency looms from a tree-lined street in a neighborhood with early to mid-century homes in various

states of refurbishment and disrepair interspersed with vacant, overgrown lots and broad swaths of bared, red Oklahoma dirt on one-way streets pocked with potholes and black asphalt patches. It sits across from a Spanish-speaking Catholic parish, and the halls of the building echo with the sound of music and children playing in the day care center, which is nationally accredited in its own right, next to the main entrance. The walls are decorated with large, colorful murals depicting Latin American cultural iconography, award plaques, banners, public health posters in Spanish, and framed photographs of agency events over the years. Spanish-language newspaper bins, home listing booklets, and tables with informational pamphlets line the halls. The building is filled to the brim with program offices on every floor and the winding administrative offices on the second floor contain smaller rooms in nooks and crannies with armchairs and couches in which staff members conduct interviews and client therapy sessions.

The agency conducts nearly 20 regular programs and multiple events during the year, within four overarching programs individually led by directors in the areas of prevention, treatment, health, and early childhood education. Like the building in which the agency is housed, each area emphasizes cultural competence and the agency is staffed mostly by Latinos, many of whom are also immigrants. Different programs collaborate with outside organizations in order to broaden their outreach capabilities and expand the services available.

For instance, the health programs include breast and cervical cancer screenings in its Clínica de la Mujer, which are performed in conjunction with the State Health Department. Clients can also receive immunizations and dental services, with which the agency partners with the University of Oklahoma Physicians group, as well as information for tobacco cessation. The program also works to overcome cultural taboos regarding HIV and AIDS through its Breaking the Silence program, focusing specifically on the transmission of HIV through male prostitution. The treatment programs also connect with an extensive network of community members, seeking to incorporate as many people in a clients' life, including school teachers, in their "wraparound" approach to treating children with severe emotional and behavioral

disturbances. This division also conducts anger management and a batterer's intervention, or "Hombres de Paz," programs, as well as substance abuse counseling and treatment.

The holistic approach to nurturing entire families carries over into the agency's early childhood development center that provides a day care center for 40 children, bilingual teachers, and evening programs for parents. The center's goal is to provide support for the entire family under the rubric of the federal government's Early Head Start guidelines that emphasize high quality care and attention to low-income expectant mothers and their families.

Additionally, the prevention programs focus on two areas: child abuse and substance abuse. This program provides home support to young or struggling parents, teaching their clients parenting skills and screening homes for possible abuse. The substance abuse prevention outreach targets Latino youth through leadership clubs and scholarship programs with the recipients attending the National Council of La Raza conference every year with LCDA's directors.

Directors from all programs worked with organizations outside their own to increase community cultural competence when interacting with Latino clients as a means of increasing the efficacy with which immigrants in particular received medical assistance. For instance, the treatment and health directors met with members of the medical community to foster cultural competency to help Latinos seeking medical attention at local facilities in order to prevent misunderstanding and neglect, such as in the case where a man came to LCDA for help after an emergency room stitched up his gunshot wound but left the bullet in his body for lack of health insurance.

In this way, LCDA staff work as advocates for the community that proponents of 1804 would silence and eradicate from Oklahoma. As executive director Pat Fennell writes on the agency's Web site, "The LCDA has been, and will continue to be, a voice for justice and fairness for our community, to promote education, access to health care, economic self sufficiency and to provide needed services to those in need." Unwittingly, she summarizes the very resources that 1804 seeks to strip from the Latino community. Similar to *El Hispano de Tulsa's* coverage, the

agency serves their community as a collective rather than providing services based on legal status, seeking cultural recognition by their partner organizations as means of affecting social change in society at large. The agency strives to empower their constituents to be self-sufficient not only economically but also within American society while still honoring their own cultures. As such, LCDA's culturally-centered approach helps valorize Latin American cultures when proponents of immigration reform in Oklahoma would portray it as unworthy of inclusion in the national body. As a result, LCDA works in concert with Spanish-language media like Telemundo and *El Hispano de Tulsa* to forge a discursive space for the Latino community in Oklahoma where 1804 would deny one.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Through an examination of immigration discourses surrounding the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007, this study sought to interrogate the ways in these discourses animate a dialogue between the nation-state and the global through an analysis of representations of immigrants, particularly in mainstream and diasporic media coverage, and broader community interpretations and responses. A main goal was also to examine the ways in which the immigrant is put in the service of the nation-state through representations of immigrant family, men, women, and children in order to obfuscate the relationship between the nation-state and the global. The significance of such a study as this being, as theorists point out, the means by which societies grapple with the novelty introduced by globalization is specialized and therefore, we cannot assume the ways in which local communities adapt. The interactions between the local and the global enable resistance as well as increase power disparities and the mass media, such as the mainstream and diasporic news outlets analyzed in this study, facilitate these relationships. With this in mind, this chapter will summarize and synthesize my findings based on this theoretical foundation and discuss the limitations of and conclusions from this study.

In Chapter Four, I analyzed the text of the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, or, as it is commonly referred to, HB 1804. I first detailed the bill's provisions and recounted the efforts by various state legislators and community members to protect the right of immigrant women to receive prenatal care and access to medical services for their children as an example of attempts to temper 1804. In my textual analysis, I argued the following: first, that 1804 rhetorically relinquishes power to the federal government through repeated deference to federal statutes and law enforcement entities. As a result, 1804 reifies the power of the nation-state, despite proponent's proclaimed frustration with the national government's failings in immigration law enforcement. Second, I contend that the bill increases the policing abilities of the state, targeting both immigrants and resident populations by delineating those who can issue

and those who are eligible for state identification documents. Consequently, a discursive circuit between the government and business interests creates a subaltern community of undocumented immigrants unintelligible to the legal system. Finally, I assert that 1804 provides a template of the ideal U.S. citizen through an emphasis on two “rights” of citizenship: employment and public services. By positioning immigrants as thieves of these rights, a racialized, classed, and gendered image of the immigrant, and by extension, the ideal citizen, emerges.

I further argue that the discourses in the text of 1804 provide an ideological foundation for the representations in English-language news coverage of the bill’s passage and implementation, which I analyzed in the fifth chapter. Stories in the state’s two largest English-language newspapers repeated the notion of immigrant criminality by repeating the bill’s highlights, positioning the immigrant as a threat by association to the general public through murky language regarding what constituted harboring and concealing members of the undocumented community. Next, the numerous stories on the negative impact of the bill on Oklahoma businesses bring the immigrant family to the fore and gender the immigrant man and woman. More specifically, the immigrant family is depicted as an interconnected unit of mixed legal status and a widespread economic threat to the state and ultimately, to national security. The immigrant man is an industrious but indiscriminate worker seeking to usurp Americans’ jobs and the woman is overly fertile and embodies the deficiencies of her community at large. The children of immigrants become the platform from which we see the effects of their parents’ poor decisions and as a result, it can be argued immigrants in general become represented as irresponsible parents unfit for inclusion in the national community. Lastly, the figures of 1804’s main author and the Catholic Church can be seen to symbolically embody the dialogue between the nation-state and the global, through Terrill’s continual referral to the primacy of the laws of the nation-state and the Church’s dissent based on appeals to a higher order of universal human rights.

In Chapter VI, I brought together ethnographic and semi-structured in-depth interviews with members of the Latino community in Oklahoma City with a textual analysis of Spanish-

language news to argue that the refrain, “Soy indocumentado,” in the pages of *El Hispano de Tulsa* typifies the collectivity forged in the Latino community, regardless of legal status, through the discourses surrounding 1804. Similar to the work of the Catholic Church in the final section of Chapter V, appeals to a global standard of human rights juxtaposed against the brutality of enforcement of immigration law signals the ways in which the immigrant body becomes a site where national borders are contested. Finally, I discuss the ways in which the Spanish-language media and community organizations like the Latino Community Development Agency countered 1804 by providing cultural sustenance to their constituents that enabled Latinos to circumvent in various ways the bill’s provisions that sought to deprive the community of access to resources and information.

Immigration discourses as resistance

Scholars come to different conclusions as to local cultures’ relationship to globalization, but this study takes the position that the local resists the totalizing tendencies of globalization even as power disparities may grow. However, I would add to this theoretical discussion that “resistance” at the local level also comes in many forms, some of which increases power disparities at multiple levels. Proponents of immigration reform in Oklahoma viewed their work as an act of resistance itself: to the national government they felt failed to meet their needs and to the cultural changes introduced through a diasporic community. Whereas Latinos and immigrants are the most apparent communities suffering from the effects of 1804 and represent one stratum of the power differentials at work, I would argue that these discourses also embroil the authors and proponents of immigration reform.

More specifically, through the text of 1804, we see the premises of this attempt to buck the federal government, but in so doing, the state of Oklahoma became increasingly reliant upon the powers of the nation-state. The provisions of 1804, besides demoralizing the Latino community, heightened the presence of the state inside Oklahoma’s borders, increased the militarization and surveillance of the population at large through agreements with the

Department of Homeland Security, new provisions for personal identification and employment verification, and rhetorically pushed undocumented immigrants into subalternity with no recognition within the legal system. In denouncing globalization, champions of reform in Oklahoma strengthened many of its most pernicious manifestations, leaving many of its mechanisms, such as the transnational flow of capital at the expense of local industries and increased militarization, unquestioned and intact. Oklahoma is a state economically reliant upon defense and energy; as such, its fortunes and workforce are subject to the continued success of these industries and 1804 did nothing to change that or to revitalize uneven development around the state that leaves rural and minority communities languishing statewide.

Most importantly, these discourses were reflected in the English-language media included in this study. The news media theoretically nurture a healthy democracy by providing information for a marketplace of ideas that enables voters to make educated choices, but this analysis shows that it instead paralleled critical scholars' expectations that mass media offer cultural reiteration and affirmation. The *Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World* echoed the premises within the text of 1804, namely, that there was even a need for such legislation despite statistical data to the contrary. If 1804 reflects the will of the people, then the English-language news coverage of it affirms and perpetuates the dominant position within Oklahoma regarding immigration reform. As reporters that I spoke with attested, many of the stories were written in direct response to the bill's or its authors' claims, it cannot be argued that news coverage in these papers provided much meaningful challenge or dissent that could in turn more fully inform the electorate. These outlets can instead be seen to facilitate the goals and values of reform proponents such as Carol Helm, despite her protests otherwise.

Diasporic media, on the other hand, positioned themselves within the community targeted by 1804 rather than observers to these processes. The tone and tenor of their coverage differed as a result, but, in concert with organizations like the Latino Community Development Agency, the Spanish-language media provided valuable tools for their audience that enabled a different form of resistance than that staged by proponents of 1804. Addressing in Spanish the Latino

immigrant community as a collectivity rather than a group segmented by immigration status, the media and LCDA deployed a transnational rhetoric and plan of action that nurtured and affirmed the immigrant, even though the bill attempted to eradicate the diasporic community from multiple angles. As such, the diasporic media can be seen to shape the imaginary of its constituents, assisting a vulnerable community in the most potent challenges to 1804: survival and perseverance.

Immigrant family, national family

Discussions of immigration reform in the United States historically involve claims that immigration negatively affects the labor pool for citizens. Throughout the 20th Century, major changes at the federal level to immigration law have pivoted around this issue. This angle of the immigration debate addresses the issue at a macro-level and it was a recurrent topic in news coverage of 1804. However, at a micro-level, the family serves as chief site for the production of human capital, thereby scaling up its importance in regards to the labor needs of a globalized world. In addition to the state, the family is also a key regime where meanings and expectations of its members' gender are negotiated and refined. Therefore, the representations of the family within the text of 1804 and the mainstream and diasporic news coverage of it provided insight into the ways immigration discourses maintain the relationship between the nation-state and globalization. This study contributes to the theoretical work in this area by furthering understanding of the ways the family becomes a site upon which meanings of the nation and the global are contested.

More specifically, we see representations of the family unit throughout this study split it into its contingent members, from which we can glean the scripts guiding a racialized and classed gender performance. First, the immigrant family was repeatedly depicted as expansive, which immediately deviates from the trope of the nuclear family prized in middle-class American culture. The immigrant family was also represented as web-like, reaching past American borders into Mexico, with members of mixed legal status. Through this subtext of the

mixed family that reaches into a developing nation, the immigrant family becomes racially impure and Othered in comparison to the purity of American citizens protected and confined within the boundaries of a national advanced economy.

Finally, if immigrants are positioned as an economic threat to Oklahomans, and the family unit is the key producer of the human capital that poses this threat, then the success of 1804 rested upon dismantling the immigrant family. In other words, the provisions of 1804 and immigration law in general must break families apart in order to diffuse the danger posed to the “right” of employment for U.S. citizens. A preoccupation with the immigrant family also redirects public attention away from larger dynamics undergirding the dissatisfaction that motivated 1804’s creation. News coverage in English-language papers reflected the exigency of this separation through representations of the individual members of the immigrant family in terms that clearly delineated the ways in which they threaten or deviate from the norms of the U.S. national body: the men were industrious workers whose willingness to work for less degraded the standard of living for all U.S. workers; the women were cast in terms of their deficiencies and fertility; and their children were portrayed as left behind, traumatized, and subject to their parents’ irresponsible decision-making. Conversely, these discourses articulate and affirm the classed and racialized social norms that valorize the white, educated, middle-class nuclear family unit.

Study limitations and conclusions

Initially, I sought to include the responses to news coverage from white Oklahoma residents in this study in order to get a sense of how the media participate in disciplining the citizenry. My conclusions in this area are limited as a result because I was unable to conduct more interviews with this group at this time to augment my analysis. I can only speculate how these community members constructed meaning in relation to the study’s central concepts. The restrictions placed on my study recruitment protocol through Human Subjects limited my ability to generate these study participants because I could not contact private citizens myself, but had to

rely on public figures or personal contacts to serve as intermediaries in a snowball sample and then wait for potential participants to contact me. However, if the passage of 1804 and the legislative discussions surrounding it, as represented in the textual analysis of the state's two largest English-language newspapers, are an indication of the public's will, I would argue that I have included a sizable slice of the dominant discourses on this issue. As such, the views of the dominant community, white U.S. residents, have not been ignored or omitted. For future studies, I would like to include letters to the editor and editorials in addition to in-depth interviews in order to get this component of the public's perspective. Likewise, due to a finite timeline and scheduling difficulties, there are still numerous individuals involved in the passage of 1804 that I could not include.

Another angle of this study that will lend itself to future research is a deeper examination of the immigration discourses in Tulsa. It became clear throughout this study that Tulsa and Oklahoma City were different from one another in the ways 1804 was being handled by the community; time and travel restraints hindered my ability to delve deeper into the environment in Tulsa. Because Oklahoma City was more familiar and I could use my time more wisely there, I will have to follow up with community members and organizations in Tulsa for future iterations of this study.

Also, it became clear during this study that a dearth of Spanish-language media archives existed, at least in Oklahoma. Though the media content I came across utilized national and international wire services, my analysis of these outlets was hindered by the limited availability and access to back issues and transcripts of original local content. This necessitated relying on others to gain access to transcripts or copies of the Spanish-language sources, which never materialized. Because compelling data emerged during my analysis as to the possibility of stark differences between various Spanish-language news media, future studies will include a comparison between the various diasporic media. The role of diasporic media in the construction of collective memory may also lend itself to future research. Likewise, future projects may also

entail increasing immigrant access to the internet, helping local Spanish-language media store locally-produced content online to enable research and, more importantly, archive Latino culture.

This study examines a specific, localized phenomenon. The examination of immigration reform in Oklahoma has provided a concrete example of the means by which local cultures grapple with social change that may not differ too much from other states, such as Arizona and even Georgia, which are currently experiencing demographic shifts and an increasing presence of immigrants. In fact, Randy Terrill, a key actor in this study, stated on more than one occasion that he was communicating with like-minded legislators from these very states in order to coordinate their efforts regarding immigration reform. This study may help to anticipate the ways in which other locales grapple with measures similar to 1804.

In conclusion, upon reflection of my analysis of *El Hispano de Tulsa*, I realized I was bringing a different analytical framework to the Spanish-language text than I had to the English-language papers. Because I had to read the texts more times than the articles in English in order to decipher the manifest content, the characteristics of my final analysis and the ways in which these texts fit into the interviews I had conducted with LCDA emerged in layers. I noticed a particular use of language in the Tulsa paper, such as the words used to attribute quotes to sources (the source would “assert,” or “tacitly dissent”) or the use of descriptive language (the “devastation” of 1804), both of which are usually absent from English-language journalism. I began criticizing the factual content of the articles rather than their latent meanings; I had not questioned the English-language papers this way.

Although the premise of this study is that news media texts represent a site where cultural meanings are negotiated, the differences in my approaches to the mainstream versus diasporic news media may suggest something larger about the role of these media and the authority of one in relation to the other. As I talked to the *Oklahoman*'s capitol bureau chief, he mentioned that someone in Tulsa, he couldn't recall if it were a Latino group or paper, made allegations of discrimination that the English-language journalists could not verify. Although the content of the Spanish papers prompted a response in the mainstream outlets, I realized that the mainstream

news was never fact-checked in the same way as the diasporic media. This suggests the position of authority and the ability to assign meaning to an event by the mainstream media in relation to diasporic news, which can have consequences in the democratic processes of which the media are theorized to participate.

This is not to valorize the role of the Spanish-language media in the events surrounding the passage and implementation of 1804. Quite the contrary, I would argue that much of the information contained in *El Hispano de Tulsa* can be viewed as inflammatory and of little use to their readers. My interpretation of the Spanish-language news may have affected my understanding of these stories' intent. Nonetheless, the advice columns presented little substantive information other than the repetitious direction to retain the services of an immigration lawyer. Because their readers were marginalized and targeted by 1804 and its collateral cultural ramifications, it seems the diasporic media held an even heavier mandate to provide accurate, substantive information for their constituents instead of weightless, fiery rhetoric. Knowledge can be empowering, but rhetoric can be mere propaganda and enable navel-gazing. This is where a comparison between Spanish-language news would be advantageous.

What emerges from my analysis is a clearer understanding of the cultural roles of the news media in relation to weighty social issues such as immigration reform. In regards to cultural change through globalization, my findings suggest that English-language news media may reassure their readers and audiences and pacify their fears that cultural turmoil cannot be calmed. Representations of immigrants within the English-language news affirm dominant discourses of immigrant deviancy, such as those within the text of 1804. They also provide a reminder for citizens of their proper performances as such through the portrayal of immigrant deviancy and, significantly, the immigrant family.

Diasporic media, on the other hand, deviate from the representations of their community within mainstream news by valorizing the immigrant community. The terms in which they do so, such as the rights afforded to them simply by virtue of being human rather than citizens of any nation, diverge from the logic of English-language coverage of 1804 positioning immigrants as

threats or dangers to the nation's integrity. Instead, the rhetoric of Spanish-language media bundles their readers' positionality as members of a diaspora that is necessarily mobile with experiences rooted in a particular location, which subverts the claims of the nation-state to a homogeneous, stable citizenry contained within a finite territory. Groups like LCDA enact the rhetoric of the Spanish-language media through the services they provide. Whether or not the immigrant community's transition and adaptation to Oklahoma is eased as a result of these efforts remains to be seen.

APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

1. What type of news media do you regularly use?
¿Qué tipos de medios noticiosos utiliza regularmente?

(If vague answer) Can you tell me the names of the outlets you use?
¿Podría decirme que fuentes utiliza?
2. Why do you use these media outlets? What about them appeals to you?
¿Por qué utiliza estos medios? ¿Que cualidades poseen que les atrae?
3. Are there media outlets that you avoid? Why?
¿Hay algunos medios que usted evita? ¿Por qué?
4. Are there certain issues or news stories that you look for or pay closer attention to than others?
If so, which issues or stories?
*¿Existen algunos temas o historias noticiosas a las que usted le presta mayor atención?
Si es así, cuales son estos temas?*
5. **If immigration reform hasn't been brought up yet:** One issue that I am particularly interested in for this study is immigration reform. Can you tell me what you know about it and what your views are?
*Un tema de particular importancia en este estudio es la reforma de inmigración.
¿Podría usted decirme que conoce sobre esto y cuál es su punto de vista al respecto?*
6. Can you think of any places you've heard discussion of immigration reform? What do they say/what have you heard?
¿Podría pensar en qué lugares ha escuchado alguna discusión sobre la reforma de inmigración? ¿Qué se ha dicho o qué ha escuchado?
7. What do you think about any news coverage of immigration reform?
¿Qué piensa sobre la cobertura noticiosa acerca de la reforma de inmigración?
8. I'd like to talk about immigrants specifically. How do you hear them discussed by people you know or in the news, for instance, and what are your thoughts?
Me gustaría hablar sobre inmigrantes específicamente. ¿Cómo ha escuchado usted la discusión sobre ellos por gente que usted conoce o en las noticias? ¿Qué piensa usted?
 - a. **Probing questions specifically if gendered topics come up**
 - b. Why do you think immigrants come to the U.S.?
¿Por qué piensa usted que los inmigrantes vienen a los Estados Unidos?
 - c. What do you think they do once they are here?

¿Que piensa usted que hacen éstos una vez llegan aquí?

- d. Do you think they come alone or with their families?
¿Usted piensa que ellos vienen solos o con sus familias?

9. I'd like to talk specifically about the recent legislation in our state, the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act (**have copy of the text of the bill available as prompt**). Specific themes in the bill:

Me gustaría hablar específicamente sobre la reciente legislación en nuestro estado, el Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act. Temas específicos en la propuesta:

- a. Immigrants as national security threat
Inmigrantes como amenaza a la seguridad nacional
- b. Worker identity verification, penalizing businesses who don't use federal databases
Verificación de la identidad del empleado, penalizando a negocios que no utilicen bancos de datos federales
- c. Law enforcement checking legal statuses of individuals they detain
Revisando legalmente el estatus legal de individuos detenidos
- i. Who do they think will have their identities checked?
¿Quién piensan ellos que tendrán su identidad revisada?
- d. Availability of specific public services such as health care for emergencies, prenatal care, and health care for small children.
Disponibilidad de servicios públicos específicos como cuidado de salud durante emergencias, cuidado prenatal y cuidado médico para niños.
- i. Do you think these provisions should be in here? Why or why not?
*¿Piensa usted que estos estatutos deberían estar aquí?
 ¿Por qué o por qué no?*
- ii. Why do you think lawmakers made health care services available to immigrants?
¿Por qué piensa usted que los legisladores proveen servicio de cuidado médico a los inmigrantes?

10. What do you think the impact of immigrants is on the country? (**use news story as prompt here**)

¿Cuál piensa usted que es el impacto de los inmigrantes en este país?

11. Why did this issue become important to the country?

¿Por qué este tema ha cobrado importancia en este país?

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