Spanish-language print media in the United States:
A critical multimodal social semiotic exploration
of ideological representations

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 2013

Abstract

As of 2010, there were 50.5 million people of Hispanic or Latino origin in the United States (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 2). Although substantial work has been carried out on the linguistic aspects of Spanish spoken in the United States in some cities, there is still much left to be discovered, especially with regards to the linguistic and semiotic characteristics of print Spanish. Furthermore, the analysis of discourse about Latinos as a minoritized group is typically carried out on texts produced by majority groups (cf. de Beaugrande, 2008; Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban, 2005; Martín Rojo and van Dijk, 1997). In other words, while critical discourse analysts know a great deal about the discursive construction of minoritized groups in discourse created by majority groups (e.g., how the United States mass media represent Latinos), it is not known how such groups create their own discourse (cf. Delbene, 2008; Strom, 2013). Finally, although a handful of multimodal analyses have addressed Spanish as a semiotic system (cf. Crespo Fernández and Martínez Lirola, 2012; Strom, 2013), almost nothing is known about the semiotic characteristics of Spanish-language media in this country.

The current study consists of a critical multimodal social semiotic analysis of ideological representations in Spanish-language print media in the Midwest of the United States. The goal of this study is to shed light on how ideology is expressed visually, verbally, and across the visual and verbal modes in Spanish as a minoritized language, as well as the potential for these ideologies to challenge mainstream ideologies.

The methodological framework consists of three stages of analysis. A critical discourse analysis based on Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1998, 2008) and Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach (2001) focused on the verbal

expression of ideology. The data represent 24 local news articles from two local Spanish-language newspapers, *La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota* and *La Conexión Latina*, in the Midwest of the United States. A critical multimodal analysis based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) social semiotic approach focused on the visual expression of ideology. The data comprised 15 images that accompanied the news articles used in the verbal analysis. Lastly, an analysis of intersemiotic complementarity (Royce, 2007), or the comparison of ideologies across text and image, considered the representation of ideology across the verbal and visual modes in 15 text-image combinations.

Verbally, the newspapers provide Latino immigrants an opportunity to learn necessary sociocultural information about the United States while maintaining their own epistemic community. The visual mode represents Latinos both as victims of maltreatment by the majority group and as agentive social actors who stand up to injustices committed against them. Although most text-image combinations analyzed challenge ideologies found in the mainstream English-language press, those text-image combinations with the greatest potential to lead to change are those that verbally underscore negative actions committed against Latino immigrants, but visually represent Latinos as standing up to and fighting against these injustices. These results underscore the potential for Spanish-language media to lead to positive changes for Latino immigrants in the United States.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

As of the 2010 Census, there were 50.5 million people of Hispanic or Latino[1]

origin in the United States (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 2). As a result, the

United States now constitutes one of the world's largest Spanish-speaking populations

(https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mx.html). From a

linguistic perspective, although substantial work has been carried out on Spanish spoken

in the United States in some cities, there is still much left to be discovered, especially

with regards to written Spanish. In the present scholarship, I investigate ideological

representations in Spanish-language print media in the Midwest of the United States. The

investigation provides insights in three main areas: Spanish-language media in the United

States, ideological representations created by a minoritized group, and the characteristics

of a Spanish-language semiotic system.

While the linguistic characteristics of some varieties of Spanish spoken in the

United States have been studied, many have not, as noted by Michelle Ramos-Pellicia

(2004):

> There is an evident gap in the study of language variation and change in the
>
> Spanish varieties spoken in the United States. In particular…there is an absence
>
> of research into the varieties spoken in the American Midwest where many
>
> Spanish speakers have migrated in recent decades. (p. 4)

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[1] The current scholarship adheres to the following definition of Hispanic or Latino Origin: " 'Hispanic or Latino' refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race," (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, Albert, 2011, p. 2).

The 2010 Census data corroborate Ramos-Pellicia's observation about the increase in the number of Spanish speakers in the Midwest, stating:

> The Hispanic population grew in every region between 2000 and
>
> 2010…Significant growth also occurred in the Midwest, with the Hispanic
>
> population increasing by 49 percent. This was more than twelve times the growth
>
> of the total population in the Midwest (4 percent). (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and
>
> Albert, 2001, pp. 4-5)

To be sure, some scholars have already addressed Spanish spoken in the Midwest of the United States (cf. Cashman, 2003; Cisneros and Leone, 1983; Ghosh Johnson, 2005a, b; Potowski, 2004, 2008, 2011; Ramos-Pellicia, 2004, 2007). However, almost nothing is known about the characteristics of Spanish-language media, or written Spanish, in this area. Because the current scholarship addresses Spanish-language print media from the Midwest of the United States, it constitutes a first step in understanding the written Spanish of this population.

Importantly, because English is the majority language, as well as the language of privilege, in the United States, Spanish is a minoritized language in this country. While critical discourse analyses[2] of Spanish-language texts have been carried out, scholars in this field have rarely studied Spanish as a minoritized language. For example, de Beaugrande (2008) investigates the discursive construction of the identity of the current

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[2] Within the last decade, the term "critical discourse studies" has been employed with greater frequency to denote a discipline, perspective, position or attitude within discourse studies, thus differentiating it from critical discourse analysis, which is a method, because it describes analysis, theory and application (van Dijk, 2009). The present scholarship uses discourse studies to refer to the field in contemporary terms; "critical discourse analysis" is used interchangeably, as it appears in the earlier writing of several scholars in the field.

president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, in English-language and Spanish-language texts. De Beaugrande finds that Chávez enjoys a plethora of discursive identities, ranging from tyrant and autocrat to father figure and poet. Of note is that the object of de Beaugrande's study, as well as other, similar studies in critical discourse studies (cf. Crespo Fernández and Martínez Lirola, 2012; Martín Rojo and Gómez Esteban, 2005; Martín Rojo and van Dijk, 1997) is Spanish in contexts where it is a majority language. Few critical discourse analyses consider Spanish as a minoritized language (cf. Delbene, 2008; Strom, 2013; Strom, under review).

From this, I draw two conclusions: First, while a substantial amount is known about some linguistic characteristics of Spanish in the United States (e.g., phonology, morphology, and syntax; see Lipski, 2008), almost nothing is known about its discursive characteristics, for example, ideology. Thus, the present scholarship is a necessary first step to understand the discursive characteristics of ideology in the Spanish spoken in the United States.

Second, save the three aforementioned studies (Delbene, 2008; Strom, 2013; Strom, under review), the analysis of discourse about Latinos as a minoritized group is traditionally carried out on texts produced by majority groups. In other words, while critical discourse analysts know a great deal about the discursive construction of minoritized groups in discourse created by majority groups, we do not know how such groups create their own discourse. While I do not argue that the former is unnecessary (indeed, many negative ideologies concerning minoritized groups are presented and later perpetuated through the texts of majority groups), what results is a one-sided understanding of the discursive construction of minoritized groups. For this reason, the

present study constitutes a critical discourse analysis that sheds light on how ideology is expressed in Spanish as a minoritized language, as well as the potential for these ideologies to challenge those ideologies most commonly found in the English-language mainstream media of the United States.

As the Spanish-speaking population grows in the United States, so, too, do Spanish-language media expand. Multiple authors have spoken to the prevalence of Spanish-language media in this country (cf. Lipski, 1985; Suro, 2004), as well as the potential for Spanish-language media to mitigate the loss of Spanish to English in the United States (cf. Carreira, 2002; Potowski, 2004). However, social semioticians know very little about the Spanish-language semiotic system. A possible result of the scarce studies on Spanish-language semiotic systems is a failure to account for what authors in the field (cf. Kress, 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Lemke, 2002) observe are cultural differences across semiotic systems:

> [Visual grammar] is a grammar of contemporary visual design in 'Western' cultures, and hence an inventory of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of *visual* communication…Visual language is not transparent and universally understood, but culturally specific. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 3; emphasis in original)

In order to understand these culturally specific "visual grammars", researchers need to consider other semiotic systems in order to determine the ways in which particularities of each culture manifest themselves semiotically. Thus, limited applications of the multimodal social semiotic framework on the Spanish-languages semiotic system (Crespo Fernández and Martínez Lirola, 2012; Strom, 2013; Strom, under review) means

that little is known about the Spanish-language semiotic system. Moreover, the specific cultural nuances of this semiotic system are largely unknown. This project constitutes one of few applications of the multimodal social semiotic framework to a Spanish-language semiotic system.

To summarize, there are lacunae in our knowledge in the areas of written Spanish in the United States, critical discourse studies of minoritized languages, and Spanish-language semiotic systems. Although the United States comprises a substantial Spanish-speaking population, little is known about the print media created by Spanish-speaking communities in the Midwest of the United States. Moreover, in critical discourse studies, little is known about the discursive representation of ideologies in discourse created by minoritized groups. Finally, there are limited applications of Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic framework to a minoritized language, so the present study, which considers Spanish-language semiotic texts as a minoritized semiotic system, constitutes one of few applications of this framework in the field of multimodal studies.

Statement of Purpose

The current scholarship considers ideological representations in Spanish-language media in the United States as its object of study. This choice is motivated by several factors: First, the vast Spanish-speaking population in the United States warrants the study of what constitutes a large portion of the Spanish-speaking world. Second, the gap in critical discourse studies that concern the Spanish-speaking population in the United States points to the need of scholarship in this area. Indeed, critical discourse studies grew exponentially in the last decade, but most focused on texts created by majority

groups, rather than those created by minoritized groups. Thirdly, a gap in the literature on multimodal studies considering semiotic texts created by minoritized groups points to the need for more work in this area. In this way, my work constitutes a new application of the multimodal social semiotic framework, thus contributing to developing this nascent field.

To summarize, in this investigation I study the discursive representation of ideologies in Spanish-language texts in the Midwest of the United States with the goal of understanding how they function in Spanish as a minoritized language. I also carry out a multimodal analysis as one of a limited number of applications of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) social semiotic framework on a minoritized semiotic system.

Research Questions

The data of this study include 24 news articles and their 15 accompanying images selected from a 16-month period (from March 2010 to July 2011) from the newspapers *La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota* and *La Conexión Latina* in Minnesota. News articles were selected with the criteria that they be originally written in Spanish, be written for the newspaper in question, and be related to local issues. In newspapers that target the Hispanic population of Minnesota:

1. What ideologies are represented verbally in Spanish-language media?
2. What ideologies are represented visually in Spanish-language media?
3. How do ideologies compare across the visual and verbal modes?

Positionality/Researcher Reflexivity

In the process of analyzing discourse, the researcher's position comes to light as the researcher both reads and analyzes texts through the lens of her own experiences. In essence, the researcher becomes the prism through which a text is read and, consequently, a particular analysis is achieved. For this reason, understanding the researcher's position is crucial to understanding the researcher's analysis.

I am an Anglo female. I was born in and spent my childhood and adolescence in a working-class family in a small city on the outskirts of the suburbs of the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area in Minnesota. It bears noting that I am not a member of the group whose discourse I study in the present scholarship, as my first culture is Anglo-American, my first language is English, and I currently reside in the country where I was born. Thus, my analysis will reflect this background, and the resulting project will be articulated in a fashion that is unique to me. Pennycook (2010) comments that we must take into account the relativity of linguistic analyses, while at the same time understanding that certain analyses will necessarily carry more weight, depending on the perspective from which they were articulated:

> The point in suggesting that we need to take local understandings of language seriously is not to say that anyone may have as much (or as little) to say about language as a linguist, and that therefore all local perspectives are somehow equally valid. This would be to fall into a hopeless relativism that simply tries to give credit to everyone's different views. We need far more rigour in our thinking about localism than this; and this applies, to be sure, to the broader project of localization: This cannot only be about valuing local perspectives on the world.

What we need is to understand that all views on language are located in certain

histories and articulated from certain perspectives. (p. 5)

I argue that the present analysis is indeed a local perspective of the representation of

ideologies in Spanish-language print media in the United States Midwest, and must be

understood as such. I emphasize that the perspective from which my work is articulated is

a valid one because it constitutes a broad and profound understanding of the historical,

social, economic, and linguistic positions of Spanish-language print media in the United

States. This background is given in the review of literature that follows, and is woven in

the analysis, conclusions, and discussion of this project.

Moreover, my personal experiences living and traveling in Latin America, as well

as my interactions with several Spanish-speaking communities in the United States

constitute important insights that add to the validity of my study. I started studying

Spanish in high school and earned a Bachelor's degree in Spanish. I studied abroad twice

as an undergraduate student in Ecuador and completed a Master's degree in Applied

Linguistics at the Universidad de las Américas in Puebla, Mexico. It was during my years

in Mexico that I learned about critical discourse analysis. This approach appealed to me

given that its aim was not analysis simply for analysis' sake; instead, it argued that

"hidden power structures should be revealed, inequality and discrimination…be fought,"

(Forchtner, 2010, pp. 18-19). Because I had been following the oppressive and negative

events pertaining to Latino immigrants in the United States at the time, I felt that such an

approach was especially pertinent. A critical discourse analytical approach also appealed

to me because, "[It] takes the position of those being excluded or suffering," (Forchtner,

2010, p. 18). This is important for my work because it considers the discourse produced

by an excluded group in the United States: Latino immigrants. By taking this position, critical discourse analyses empower excluded and suffering groups, rather than reify their exclusion and suffering.

My master's thesis followed Teun van Dijk's approach to critical discourse analysis to analyze the discursive function of the term "illegal alien" in United States political discourse produced from 2007-2008. Upon returning to the United States in 2008 to begin doctoral studies, my focus shifted to discourse created by Latinos, as I realized that there were few, if any, critical studies concerning Spanish as a minoritized language. Since then, I have dedicated my investigations to shedding light on the discursive construction of Latino immigrants in the United States, both in English and Spanish. My work focuses on the discursive domination of these Latinos because it is an issue that warrants address, because my work wishes to challenge this unfair position by shedding light on the discursive construction of ideologies in Spanish-language print media, and because it will constitute one of the first studies to do so. In summary, through my connections with and participation in the Latino immigrant community in the United States, I am aware of what it means to be a part of this epistemic community, as well as what kind of sociocultural knowledge members of this community hold, knowledge that is essential in carrying out this project.

Finally, for this project, I adhere to the type of reflexivity employed by many scholars[3] in the field of Cultural Studies. Allor (1988), for example, speaks about the researcher literally writing herself into her research. In this way, Allor argues that

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[3] See especially the work of Martin Allor, Lawrence Grossberg, Stuart Hall, Angela McRobbie, and Janice Radway.

"[Researchers] do not privilege their concepts as stable truths, and they attempt to move between the specificity of precise objects of inquiry…and the specificity of heterogenous theoretical problematics," (p. 230). In this way, I acknowledge the ways in which my position leads to unique analyses and conclusions that do not represent the "truth", but rather one of many analyses and conclusions.

Significance of Study

Because the current scholarship addresses the discursive representation of ideologies in Spanish-language print media in the Midwest of the United States, it has implications for several areas. The following sections address how a critical study of the discursive construction of ideologies in texts created by a minoritized group will advance knowledge about Spanish in the United States, critical discourse studies, and multimodal social semiotics.

Spanish in the United States

The study of Spanish in the United States has become a fruitful field of study in the last decade, owing especially to the growing Hispanic population in this country. However, academic studies have yet to address the characteristics of written Spanish in the Midwest of the United States. Given that the current scholarship addresses Spanish-language print media in Minnesota, it enriches the field of Hispanic Linguistics because it addresses written Spanish in a region that has not been afforded the same amount of attention as others in the United States.

Critical Discourse Studies

In previous sections, I noted that very few, if any, critical discourse analyses analyze texts created by minoritized groups. Instead, most critical discourse analyses use as their object discourses created by majority groups. Such analyses often address the discursive identity of minoritized groups in these majority discourses. Herein lies the problem: Texts created by majority groups tend to perpetuate asymmetrical power relations, where the subject of these texts is afforded the position of less power. In this way, there is no room for the discursive emancipation of minoritized groups in these analyses. In essence, critical analysts are privileging majority texts and thus playing a role in the perpetuation of negative and racist ideologies about minoritized groups.

To be sure, not all critical analyses are bad; indeed, many shed light on negative and racist ideologies concerning minoritized groups. However, the lack of analyses of texts created by minoritized groups cannot be ignored. This is significant because the goal of this field is to shed light on the workings of power and ideology in language use (Billig, 2008, p. 783). If the trajectory of critical discourse studies continues to focus on discourses created by majority groups, analysts will not be able to effectively determine how discourse created by minoritized groups plays a role in producing, reproducing and resisting social inequalities (Richardson, 2007, p. 115). For this reason, I argue that missing in critical discourse studies are analyses that consider texts created not by majority groups, but by the minoritized groups themselves. Such analyses will shed light on the discursive representation of ideologies in the texts of minoritized groups. As a result, these groups will essentially "speak for themselves" about how they either re-

appropriate the same ideologies present in the discourse of majority groups, or how they create their own, distinct ideologies.

Multimodal Social Semiotics

Similar to the aforementioned critical discourse analyses, multimodal analyses rarely, if ever, consider Spanish-language semiotic systems as their object of study. This has three repercussions. First, as I stated in the previous section, by only analyzing multimodal texts created by majority groups, critical analysts are privileging majority texts and thus playing a role in the perpetuation of the ideologies that are represented in such multimodal texts. By considering multimodal texts created by a minoritized group, Latino immigrants in the United States, the current study sheds light on the discursive representation of ideologies in the texts of a minoritized group. As a result, I determine to what extent Latino immigrants follow or stray from the mass media in their representation of ideologies in Spanish-language semiotic texts.

The second repercussion of the lack of studies considering Spanish-language semiotic systems is an incomplete understanding of Spanish-language texts in general. For example, if analysts limit themselves or prioritize verbal analyses, they risk excluding the ideological representations that are realized through other modes, such as image or layout. Scholars in any field concerned with Spanish-language texts in the United States, such as Hispanic Linguistics, Communication Studies, and Marketing, to name a few, would benefit from a more complete understanding of the function of these texts as a

result of multimodal analyses. Thus, this study constitutes an important contribution to several fields by providing a more complete understanding of Spanish-language texts.

Finally, the lack of studies in multimodality that use Spanish-language semiotic texts as their object results in limited applications of frameworks in this area of inquiry. Because the study of multimodality, and in particular from critical multimodality, is a rather new field, it would benefit from new applications of its frameworks so that they may be empirically tested and refined. As such, the current scholarship contributes to the field of multimodal studies by presenting one of the first applications of Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar to a Spanish-language semiotic system.

Organization of Remaining Chapters

The remainder of the present scholarship unfolds as follows: Chapter 2, the Literature Review, has three major sections. The first section considers traditional semiotics as a predecessor to social semiotics. The second section takes up social semiotics and describes several approaches that fall in this field: systemic functional linguistics, critical linguistics, critical discourse studies, and multimodal social semiotics. I pay particular attention to Norman Fairclough's and Teun van Dijk's approaches to critical discourse analysis, and Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's approach to multimodal discourse analysis, as they constitute the theoretical framework of the current scholarship. The third section considers scholarship about Spanish in the United States, particularly investigations that consider Spanish-language media as their object of study.

Chapter 3, Methodology, outlines the research and analytical methods used in the study. First, I describe two pilot studies that helped shape the methodological and interpretive frameworks for the current research. Second, I outline the criteria used to select the texts analyzed in this study. Third, I present the characteristics of the newspapers that I study: La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Next, I describe and justify the analytical framework for the verbal and visual analysis of Spanish-language media. Finally, I describe the analytical process, including the steps involved in the verbal and visual analysis, as well as the analysis across the verbal and visual modes, and the critical application of the findings of the study.

Chapter 4, Findings, has three major sections. The first section presents the results of a critical discourse analysis of 24 news articles that considers the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, individualization, the authors of the articles, and contextual information. The second section presents the results of a critical multimodal social semiotic analysis that considers represented participants, eye contact, size of frame, horizontal and vertical camera angle, horizontal placement of elements, center/margin, and salience. The final section presents the results of an analysis across the verbal and visual modes (intersemiotic complementarity) that focuses first on general trends in ideological representation across the modes, and concludes by focusing on the ways in which ideological representations compare and contrast across modes within individual articles.

Chapter 5, Conclusion, will consider the results of the current study with regards to theory, research, and practice. I end the chapter by making recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature that forms the foundation of the current study. I begin with the historical development of semiotics, which provides a context for the subsequent discussion of critical discourse studies. More specifically, I outline Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, as they constitute part of the methodological framework of the current study. This is followed by a discussion of multimodal analysis, with a focus on Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic approach. I then outline the existing approaches to cross-modal analysis. In the last section, I discuss the current state of research on Spanish in the United States and the studies that have been carried out on Spanish-language media in the United States.

Traditional Semiotics

Traditional semiotics receives its name from the traditional, early twentieth century approaches to the study of semiotics. I juxtapose traditional semiotics to more contemporary approaches because it is a non-social approach that does not consider the influences of society on semiotic systems. Hodge and Kress (1988) define traditional, or non-social, semiotics as follows:

> Traditional semiotics likes to assume that the relevant meanings are frozen and
> fixed in the text itself, to be extracted and decoded by the analyst by reference to a

coding system that is impersonal and neutral, and universal for users of the code.

(p. 12)

Of note is the observation that "reading off" meanings of semiotic texts was, at the time, commonplace, because analyses were less contingent upon non-linguistic, language-external factors than in contemporary approaches. This section serves as a base of comparison for what became, in the late twentieth century, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Critical Linguistics, Multimodal Discourse Analysis.

Two scholars associated with traditional semiotics are Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky. Saussure's approach was marked by binary oppositions, dichotomies, or pairs of categories that were mutually exclusive and, in this way, indicative of the structuralism that was later founded based on his ideas. The oppositions signifier-signified and internal-external linguistics have had the greatest influence on the development of (social) semiotics. The first division, signifier-signified, held that each sign had a double form: The signifier referred to the sequence of sounds that expressed a concept while the signified was the object or concept to which the sequence of signifiers referred. The relationship between the signifier and signified, for Saussure, was arbitrary. In the second dichotomy, internal-external linguistics, internal linguistics refers to sign systems and external linguistics refers to everything else, such as culture and society. Saussure (1972) did not disregard the importance of external linguistics; in fact, he observed that, "Language has an individual aspect and a social aspect. One is not conceivable without the other," (p. 9). However, he firmly established his field in internal linguistics, noting that "*The linguist must take the study of linguistic structure as his [sic] primary concern*," (p. 9, emphasis in original).

Chomsky's approach asserted that the relationship between signifier and signified was arbitrary. Second, he envisioned language as divorced from its social context, such that all study of language concerned itself only with what an "ideal speaker" would do. Again, considerations of language variation as a result of socioeconomic class, power structures or gender would be left for scholars whose contributions related to social semiotics will be discussed in the next section. Finally, Chomsky continued to privilege language by excluding other semiotic systems from his investigations.

To close this section on traditional semiotics, I cite the aforementioned antiguide from Hodge and Kress (1988), which consists of oppositions to the premises of traditional semiotics. The new, social semiotic approach incorporates the study of:

1. Culture, society and politics [which] are intrinsic to semiotics

2. Other semiotic systems alongside verbal language

3. Parole, the act of speaking, and concrete signifying practices in other codes

4. Diachrony, time, history, process and change

5. The processes of signification, the transactions between signifying systems and structures of reference

6. Structures of the signified

7. The material nature of signs. (p. 18)

This approach can be contrasted with Saussure's and Chomsky's because it levels out the dichotomies mentioned above that characterized non-social approaches to semiotics. Thus, the division between signifier-signified, internal-external, and language-other semiotic systems is notably absent in the social semiotic approach. The following section addresses the development and traits of social semiotics.

Social Semiotics

Whereas the study of semiotics in the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by a focus on language-internal factors, the study of semiotics in the second half of the century included language-external factors, leading to what is know today as social semiotics and multimodal discourse analysis. The main distinctions between traditional semiotics and social semiotics are: the motivated relationship between signifier and signified; the inclusion of other semiotic systems; and the inclusion of non-linguistic elements in a social semiotic analysis. These distinctions are now discussed in turn.

First, a number of semiotic modes are always involved in any textual production or reading (Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 269). This renders the traditional division between language and other semiotic systems obsolete for social semiotics. The second distinction between social semiotics and traditional semiotics concerns the "reading off" of meanings from a semiotic text. Kress et al. (1997) imply that this is not possible due to the motivated relationship between signifiers and signifieds: "This leads to one telling difference between social semiotics and conventional forms of semiotics. We assume that the interests of the maker of a sign lead to a motivated relation between signifier and signified, and therefore to motivated signs," (pp. 258-259). Social semiotics assumes, then, that the creator of a text makes motivated decisions as to which signifiers will represented certain signifieds (Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 269). The traditional arbitrarity between signifier and signified no longer applies.

A third premise of social semiotics is that cultural, social and contextual factors shape the "interests" of the sign-maker (Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 269). A logical extension of this premise includes the necessity of considering the cultural, social and contextual factors that influence the sign-maker to choose a close-up camera angle versus a long shot, or the placement of a new product on the left side of the text versus the right side. Again, the traditional division between internal and external linguistics no longer holds with social semiotics, where both play an equal role in analysis.

To summarize, the state of the field at the close of the 1970's consisted of a dichotomy between traditional semiotics and social semiotics that would give way to the establishment of a new field based on social semiotics.

Halliday and Systemic Functional Linguistics

At the same time that Noam Chomsky's generative approach to linguistics appeared in the early 1960's, another trajectory was moving in an opposite direction. William Labov, John Gumperz, Dell Hymes, and Michael Halliday incorporated social factors into their linguistic theories, leading to what is now called sociolinguistics, interactional sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, and systemic functional linguistics. Similarly, Michael Halliday's approach deemed the relationship between signifier and signified as motivated by social, cultural, and contextual factors. For Halliday, language was not autonomous because users act upon it as they take into

account these non-linguistic factors. However, Halliday's approach was distinct because it incorporated other semiotic systems.

Halliday drew upon John Firth's and Louis Hjelmslev's approaches to linguistics for his Systemic Functional Theory (Iedema, 2003, p. 31). One can see the role of extra-linguistic factors in Lemke's (2009) explanation of the Systemic Functional Theory:

> Halliday's approach to language regards it as a systematic resource for making meaning, a semiotic resource system. Meanings are made as part of human social activities which define their context of situation. Which meanings are made, when, how, and by whom, depend in turn on a wider context of culture. (p. 283)

Two items require comment here. First, Lemke calls this an "approach to language": Although Halliday's theory is grammatical in nature, other scholars (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) have successfully applied it to other modes, thus creating grammars of other semiotic systems. It is for this reason that Halliday is credited with establishing a flexible approach that scholars have adapted to their research needs for over fifty years (Jones and Ventola, 2008).

Second, there is an emphasis on "meaning-making", which is central to the systemic functional approach. Kress's (2001) summary of the systemic functional theory demonstrates how choices lead to meaning-making:

> In Halliday's theory (1978, 1985), grammar is a resource for meaning organized as systems of choices. The speaker/writer makes complex sets of choices which lead to the realizations of the meaning in an actual structure. The systems are grouped into three broad functions which correspond to the tasks that any communicational system is asked to perform. These functions are: saying

something about the state of events in the world, which Halliday calls the ideational function; saying something about the state of the social relations between those who are interacting by means of the communicational system, which he calls the interpersonal function; and saying something about the organization of the structure as message, which he calls the textual function. (p. 34)

For Halliday, paradigmatic choices are combined syntagmatically to form meaning, where the paradigms are called metafunctions and the syntagms are, in essence, multisemiotic texts. The cornerstone of Halliday's (1978) theory consists of metafunctions, which form an interface between social context and semiotic reality. Lemke (2009) underscores the importance of these metafunctions, as they apply to all semiotic systems across all cultures:

Halliday identified three kinds of functional meaning that every linguistic meaning-making act constructs and, by generalization, that every act of meaning constructs regardless of what cultural semiotic systems of interpretation its forms are construed in relation to (e.g., linguistically meaningful forms, gesturally meaningful forms, graphically meaningful, musically meaningful, etc). (p. 284)

Halliday (1978) relates each of the metafunctions with a linguistic function: field, tenor and mode, respectively. The ideational, or experiential, metafunction is the counterpart of field, which is realized in language as transitivity. The analog of the interpersonal metafunction is tenor, which is realized as mood in language. Finally, the textual metafunction relates to mode and is realized as cohesion.

In the following sections, I will show that multimodal social semiotic analyses examine how these functions are realized in each modality (for example, visually and verbally) (Lemke, 2009, p. 285). For the time being, I assume that the ideational/experiential, interpersonal, and textual functions are common denominators in all semiotic modalities (Lemke, 2002, p. 304; Lemke, 2009).

Critical Linguistics

Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Anthony Trew began work in 1976 at the University of East Anglia on *Language and Control* and *Language as Ideology* (Hart and Lukeš, 2006, vii), of which Critical Linguistics was the result. The scholars adhered to Halliday's systemic functional theory, thus prioritizing the social element of communication, where social aspects are instantiated by discourse (Iedema, 2003; Kress, 2001). However, Critical Linguistics diverged from previous linguistic approaches because it focused on power based on ideas from neo-Marxism and Critical Theory (Iedema, 2003). For these scholars, the social was a field of power, and the linguistic action of socially formed and positioned individuals was shaped primarily by differences in power. Because power was at play in all linguistic interactions, no linguistic action could escape its effects (Kress, 2001). Continuing with Halliday's premise that extra-linguistic elements motivate the semiotic choices creators make, the critical linguists were able to show how textual features could be systematically linked to power structures and ideologies (Kress, 2001, p. 31).

Critical Discourse Studies

Discourse analysis was emerging as a subject of linguistic research in the early 1980's (Scollon and LeVine, 2004, p. 1). Discourse analysis attempts to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices and sociocultural practices (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 16-17). The following section addresses a type of discourse analysis that is distinctive not in its object of study, but rather in its approach to and analysis of discourse.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) consisted originally of a "CDA Group" in the early 1990's, whose members were Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. ix; Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 3). From this group, a number of approaches were established: Fairclough worked with the dialectal-relational approach (cf. Fairclough, 2009), van Dijk worked with the socio-cognitive approach (cf. van Dijk, 2009), van Leeuwen worked with the social actors approach (cf. van Leeuwen, 2009), and Wodak worked with the discourse-historical approach[4] (cf. Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Of note, then, is that the conception of critical discourse analysis did not involve establishing theories or methods: "Since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework," (van Dijk, 2008b, p. 87). Hence, it is not a theoretically monolithic field, as it draws upon the ideas of Marx, Gramsci, Althusser, Foucault, Bakhtin, Vološinov and Pêcheux. Methodologically, a critical discourse analysis may focus on linguistics, social functions, cultural elements, cognitive structures, historical events, or any combination

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[4] Gunther Kress has since moved away from critical discourse analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 3), and now works in multimodal social semiotics (cf. Kress, 2010) which, notably, is also a critical approach to the study of semiotics.

thereof (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). It follows, then, that the greatest differences between scholars using this approach result from differences in their linguistic and social theories, as well as the focus of their methodological frameworks.

Critical discourse studies is not interested in analysis for the sake of analysis: It is interested in analysis for the sake of social change. Thus, studies in this field start by identifying a social problem as the object of study, rather than a particular text or discourse (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). What all approaches to critical discourse studies have in common is the "critical" in its name: "The critical objective is not only to identify and analyze the roots of social problems, but also to discern feasible ways of alleviating or resolving them," (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak, 2004, p. 1). The alleviation or resolution of problems leads to what some call the emancipatory nature of critical discourse studies (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Finally, adherents to CDA are explicit concerning their theoretical preoccupations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). In other words, critical discourse analysis is not objective, and all analyses will necessarily bear the mark of the analyst.

Wodak and Meyer (2009, pp. 18-32) outline six of the most prominent approaches in critical discourse studies. I outline two here – the dialectal-relational approach and the socio-cognitive approach – because they most closely relate to the research goals of analyzing ideology in Spanish-language print media. The following section traces the characteristics of Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach, followed by Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Each section is divided as follows: First, an overview of each scholar's approach is given; then the scholar's linguistic and social

theory is explained; finally, terms central to the scholar's approach are defined, problematized, and exemplified.

Norman Fairclough: Dialectal-Relational Approach

Norman Fairclough has been working in critical discourse studies since the 1980's. The themes that have distinguished his work in this field are technologization, commodification, democratization, globalization and neo-liberalism (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Previously, he has called his approach "critical language study", which:

> Analyzes social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements, and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 4)

However, Fairclough has more recently used the term "dialectal-relational approach". The dialectical-relational approach asks what the significance of semiosis is, as well as the dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements in social processes under investigation (2009, p. 166).

Fairclough's (1992) approach is three-dimensional, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Text: language analysis
2. Discourse: processes of text production and interpretation

3. Social Practice: institutional and organizational circumstances of a discursive

    event and how they shape discourse. (p. 4)

The linguistic and social theories of this approach are presented in the following sections.

Linguistic Theory

Fairclough bases his linguistic theory on Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional

Grammar (henceforth, SFL) (1978, 1985), which has been used widely both in critical

discourse studies and social semiotics. SFL consists of three metafunctions at the textual

level: field, tenor, and mode (see Table 1); at the social level, the corresponding

metafunctions are ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Fairclough renames the

metafunctions description, interpretation, and explanational, respectively, for his

approach to critical language studies. It is clear from Halliday (1978) and Fairclough

(2001) that the metafunctions roughly relate to differing degrees of granularity in

analysis, where the ideational level is the closest linguistic analysis and the textual level

is the one that incorporates more global elements (see the last row in Table 1).

Table 1. Terminology based on Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar

Halliday: Textual Analysis	Field	Tenor	Mode
Halliday: Social Analysis	Ideational	Interpersonal	Textual
Fairclough: Verbal Analysis	Description	Interpretation	Explanation
Granularity	Micro	Meso	Macro

The section that follows explains the social theory that serves as the counterpart to the

linguistic theory of Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach.

Social Theory

Fairclough (2001) succinctly summarizes the relationship between language and society:

1. Language is a social process

2. Language is a socially conditioned process

3. The relationship between language and society is dialectical. (pp. 18-19)

In other words, "social structures not only determine social practice, they are also a product of social practice…social structures not only determine discourse, they are also a product of discourse," (p. 31). For this reason, one can study social constructs, like ideology and power, through language.

Fairclough's social theory draws on the work of Foucault, Bakhtin, and Gramsci, among others (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), of which Foucault and Bakhtin are discussed here, and Gramsci is discussed in the following section concerning ideology.

Foucault's influence on Fairclough is extensive, as it appears that he derives most of his ideas about discourse as a function of society and power from Foucault. These ideas can be summarized in five points:

1. Discourse is constitutive of society and social subjects

2. Interdiscursivity and intertextuality are central tenets of discourse analysis

3. Power is discursive in nature

4. Discourse is political

5. Social change is discursive in nature (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 55-56).

I will limit my comments here to the first two points, as the fourth and fifth will be taken up in later sections.[5] The first two points emphasize the dialectal nature between discourse and society. Because discourse constitutes society and society constitutes discourse, this point allows the analyst to study societal elements (e.g., power and ideology) in discourse. Interdiscursivity and intertextuality also point to the essentially social nature of discourse. Fairclough uses Bakhtin's term, intertextuality,[6] dividing it into two distinct, though similar, concepts. The first is intertextuality, which is defined as utterances constituted by elements of other texts (1992, p. 102). The second, interdiscursivity, appears to function at a more global level: It describes how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of different orders of discourse (1992, p. 118). When an author constructs a text, he/she weaves together various orders of discourse and texts. What is more, this construction implies the interpellation of interpreting subjects; in other words, the discourses and texts upon which the author draws do ideological "work" as they situate an ideal reader who will be able to interpret them (1992). Consequently, interpretations that are consonant with the author's intentions lead to the perpetuation of certain ideologies. In this way, the social construction of ideology is included in an analysis of discourse through intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The next section explains the place of ideology in Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach.

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[5] While power is not considered in the present investigation, it constitutes a central object of analysis in critical discourse studies. See for example the work of Norman Fairclough, Michelle Lazar, Teun van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak.

[6] Fairclough (1992) emphasized that although Kristeva originally coined the term in the late 1960's, it flourished in later decades in the work of Bakhtin.

Ideology

Fairclough (1992) defines ideology as "Significations or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of dominance," (p. 87). From this definition, ideology is socially intertwined with power (dominance), as it produces, reproduces, or transforms power. It appears that the reverse is also true, that powerful/dominant groups produce, reproduce or transform ideologies, an idea based on the aforementioned Italian scholar, Antonio Gramsci. Fairclough (1992) notes: "Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent," (p. 92). Of note is the integral role of ideology in achieving consent; indeed, Fairclough also notes that ideology is part and parcel of hegemony (pp. 92-93). Thus, for Fairclough, discourse is connected to the social phenomena of ideology and hegemony because discursive events either contribute to preserving and reproducing ideologies and hegemony or, conversely, may contribute to the transformation of ideologies and hegemony (p. 97).

To conclude, Fairclough's social theory is based on the work of numerous scholars; more specifically, his theory of ideology draws on the work of Althusser and Gramsci.

Cognition

I discuss cognition here because it constitutes one of the differences between the two approaches to critical discourse analysis that I use for the methodological framework

in the current study. It appears that cognition does not play a large role in Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach because he follows Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. Halliday (1978) says this about the place of cognition in SFL: "Language is a part of the social system, and there is no need to interpose a *psychological level* of interpretation," (p. 39, emphasis mine). In other words, Halliday does not see a place for cognition in linguistic analysis.

One scholar in particular, Teun van Dijk, takes issue with the lack of cognition in the dialectal-relational approach. Because some elements in Fairclough's framework, most notably intertextuality and Members' Resources (MR), consist of what appear to be cognitive processes (Attia, 2007), van Dijk (2008a) argues that cognition needs to be included in any framework for critical discourse analysis. For Fairclough (1995), models of intertextuality depend on a person's world experiences, which begs the questions, Of what do these models consist, and where are they located? Van Dijk (2008a) again argues that it is impossible to speak of models of world experience without considering cognition. Similarly, Fairclough's (2001) explanation of MR emphasizes how it belongs in the realm of cognition, even though he does not mention cognition elsewhere in his approach. Thus, although several aspects of the dialectal-relational approach may be explained cognitively, Fairclough chooses not to incorporate cognition in his approach. The following section addresses another difference concerning cognition between Fairclough's and Van Dijk's approach.

Context

While both Fairclough and van Dijk include context in their approaches, they do so differently. Because I include context in the methodological framework of the current study, I discuss how each author uses context in his approach.

Fairclough (1995) advocates for both a close and wide contextual analysis of a particular discursive event. The dialectal-relational approach accounts for context with Members' Resources (MR), which describes the mechanism in each speaker that consists of unique background assumptions and expectations that, in essence, make a text coherent (Fairclough, 2001, p. 65). Fairclough says that MR are "in the interpreter" (2001, p. 65), but does not go so far as to say that they are a cognitive function. Thus, in the same line as the discussion above, Fairclough does not use cognition to explain the structure or function of the contextual element in his approach, MR.

Van Dijk (2008a) highlights a point of contention within the dialectal-relational approach that stems from Systemic Functional Linguistics. He notes that for an approach based on SFL (e.g., Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach), anything that is not grammar is context; consequently, this excludes the possibility of context influencing grammatical structures (p. 51). However, Fairclough's approach holds that context does influence grammatical structures, a point that is incommensurate with SFL's approach to context. This disparity is resolved in the current scholarship by acknowledging that context does, indeed, influence grammatical structures.

This discussion has shown that the dialectal-relational approach is three-dimensional, and is concerned with the expression of ideology at the levels of text,

discourse, and social practice. Fairclough bases his linguistic theory on Michael

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, thus indicating his concern with the

influence of discourse on society and society on discourse. His social theory allows for

this dialectal approach to discourse and society, and underscores the work of power and

ideology that discourse carries out. Fairclough draws on the work of Gramsci, Althusser,

and Foucault to establish his theory of ideology.

Teun van Dijk: Socio-Cognitive Approach

Teun van Dijk has also worked in critical discourse studies since the 1980's.

Prevalent themes in his work are racism and the representation of minoritized groups in

the media, news in the press, ideology, knowledge, and context (Wodak and Meyer,

2009). Similar to Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach, van Dijk's approach is three-

dimensional, consisting of discourse, cognition, and society. Because his focus is on the

social and cognitive effects on discourse, his approach is called the socio-cognitive

approach. Fairclough (1995) describes van Dijk's model as follows:

> [The socio-cognitive model shows] how cognitive models and schemata shape
>
> production and comprehension; shows how social relationships and processes are
>
> accomplished at the micro-level through routine practices. Analysis involves
>
> showing the relationships between texts, production processes and comprehension
>
> processes and between these and the wider social practices within which they are
>
> embedded. (pp. 28-30)

Van Dijk's approach is similar to Fairclough's in that it is concerned with the close analysis of text, the connection between text and society, and the effect of the social context in the production and comprehension of text. It is also clear that cognition is the element that sets van Dijk's approach apart from the approaches of other scholars working in critical discourse studies, including Fairclough. The following sections are dedicated to establishing the theoretical base of the socio-cognitive approach in such a way that comparisons can be made with the dialectal-relational approach. The discussion of van Dijk's three-dimensional approach begins with discourse, followed by society, and closes with cognition.

Linguistic Theory

Van Dijk (2008a) departs from many scholars' approach to critical discourse studies by rejecting Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, which he finds defective for six reasons:

1. Too much linguistics ("lexico-syntatic") sentence grammar

2. Too few autonomous discourse-theoretical notions

3. Anti-mentalism; a lack of interest in cognition

4. Limited social theory of language

5. Too much esoteric vocabulary

6. Too little theoretical dynamism, development and self-criticism. (pp. 29-30)

Here van Dijk criticizes the lack of theorizing in SFL, especially concerning the social elements of discourse. Other scholars echo this sentiment, emphasizing that discourse studies lack theoretical grounding in general (cf. Seidlhofer, 2003). Van Dijk also

disagrees with the lack of cognition in SFL (recall that Halliday (1978) wrote that cognition was not necessary for SFL). Finally, he calls SFL "esoteric" (p. 30). Other scholars (cf. Billig, 2008) agree that this is a problem, for it achieves exactly what critical discourse studies attempts to uncover and eliminate: esoteric writing that conceals the ideologies of dominant groups.

This is the extent of van Dijk's writings about the linguistic theory for the socio-cognitive approach. From the discussion above, the socio-cognitive approach consists of discourse, society, and cognition. Because these levels are not easily teased apart, if one is to speak of van Dijk's linguistic theory, he/she must also speak of society and cognition. A tentative conclusion is that discourse is best defined as a function of society and cognition. The place of society and cognition in the socio-cognitive approach are now discussed in turn.

Social Theory

This section outlines what can be ascertained about the social theory van Dijk uses in the socio-cognitive approach. Van Dijk's social theory is similar to his linguistic theory in that he does not speak extensively about its properties except to say what it does not include. While it appears that Fairclough adheres to a limited extent to a Marxist account of society, van Dijk rejects Marxism for being essentialist and reductionist. In other words, he believes that no essential reductions can be made concerning the relationship between, for example, social class and ideology (2008a, pp. 118-119). However, van Dijk does not speak to the influence of any other scholars in the establishment of his social theory. For the time being, the only conclusion that can be

made with certainty about the social theory of the socio-cognitive approach is that it is a

function of discourse and cognition:

> A social theory of discourse relating discourse structures to social situations and
>
> social structure should also feature various cognitive components…in terms of
>
> shared social cognitions…in general, and the unique mental models of social
>
> members in particular. *Only then do we have an integrated theory of discourse*
>
> *and language use in general…This is also the reason why my general approach to*
>
> *discourse is called socio-cognitive: My aim is to integrate social and cognitive*
>
> *approaches to text and talk in one coherent theoretical framework, without*
>
> *reductions, without missing links.* (van Dijk, 2008a, p. 23; emphasis mine)

There is no doubt that van Dijk emphasizes cognition in his approach. The next section

discusses the theory and structure of cognition within the socio-cognitive approach.

Cognition

For some scholars, a weakness of critical discourse studies is the lack of

theoretical grounding of many of the concepts that are central to the field (cf. Billig,

2008). Van Dijk's contributions are especially important in light of this critique: He is the

first scholar in this field to theorize cognition, context, and ideology, which are discussed

in turn in the following three sections.

Understanding cognition is inherent in critical discourse studies because it

constitutes the link between ideology and discourse. Van Dijk writes, "If controlling

discourse is a first major form of power, controlling people's minds is the other

fundamental way to reproduce dominance and hegemony," (2008b, p. 91). Indeed, van

Dijk leaves no doubt that an approach that does not include cognition cannot adequately

or accurately account for the dialectal relationship between discourse and society: "It is

obvious that a fully fledged theory of discourse would be seriously incomplete without a

mental (cognitive or emotional) component," (1997, p. 17). An important distinction

between van Dijk's and Fairclough's approaches to critical discourse studies is the

relationship between society and discourse. Both scholars agree that there is a dialectal

relationship between society and discourse. However, Fairclough (2001) holds that the

relationship is direct, while van Dijk (2008a) holds that the relationship is mediated by a

cognitive interface. This cognitive interface consists of schemata and scripts (van Dijk,

1991, 1997). Schemata, on the one hand, describe the general architecture of the mind.

They are networks or collections of propositions that can be ideal, abstract, or

prototypical; they are mental structures or representations of socially shared knowledge

that is conventional and cultural (1998, pp. 80-81). Scripts, on the other hand, consist of

knowledge that people have about stereotypical events in their culture (p. 82). Thus, a

general mental framework consists of schemata, and scripts account for specific events.

Context

While the previous section outlined the first established theory of cognition in

critical discourse studies, van Dijk argues that this will not suffice, because a "sound

theory of discourse" must include a theory of context (2005, 2008a). In fact, he has been

arguing this point for over a decade: In the twentieth century, van Dijk noted that, up to

that point in discourse studies, there was "no explicit theory of context" (1997, p. 19). In

2008, he reiterated: "So far there is not a single monograph that offers an integrated

theory of the notion of context in the humanities and the social sciences," (2008a, p. 13; see also 2008b). Thus, this section is dedicated to outlining the theory of context that is based in the "cognition" part of the socio-cognitive approach.

Context is defined as the structured collection of all properties of a social situation that are possibly pertinent to the production, structures, interpretation and functions of text and conversation (1998, p. 266). Context consists of social/communicative situations that contain information about setting, participants, their actions, intentions, purposes, goals, knowledge (2008a, p. 80). These situations (i.e., context) form mental models (i.e., cognition). Thus, at the most basic level, everyday experiences form mental structures that later constitute context models:

everyday experiences lead to→

scripts, which constitute →

context models, which are a form of →

mental models

From this diagram, context models are formed by scripts. However, context models are just one realization of mental models. Van Dijk (1998) posits five mental "models":

1. Mental model: a representation of events in personal memory and, as such, is personal and subjective (p. 108).

2. Episodic model: subjective model from episodic memory (p. 110)

3. Experience model: episodic model that represents personal participation (p. 110)

4. Event model: model that interprets events or situations to which discourse refers and forms the semantic base of discourse (pp. 110, 112)

5. Context model: communicative event or situation in which running discourse is produce and or received; requires general knowledge to understand and forms the pragmatic base of discourse (pp. 111-112)

Van Dijk writes that while the content of each model is different, all models have the same structure (2008b, p. 242). Noteworthy is the observation that context models depend on general knowledge. Van Dijk has written extensively on knowledge and its role in context and cognition for the socio-cognitive approach (cf. 1998, 2005, 2008a, b). He labels the knowledge device the K-device, which takes as input current knowledge of speaker and calculates how much of this knowledge is already shared by recipients (2008a, p. 83). More specifically, "The K-device of the context models consists of…[strategies] for the activation, expression, presupposition, reminding or repeating of shared or new knowledge," (van Dijk, 2008b, p. 244).

Van Dijk lists six types of knowledge: personal, interpersonal, group, institutional or organizational, national, and cultural. Cultural knowledge appears to override all others in most discursive interactions, as it is synonymous with "knowledge of the world" (2005, p. 80). From van Dijk's *Discourse and context* (2008a), the K-device functions as follows:

K-1: Assume that recipients know what I told them before (p. 84)

K-2: Assume that recipients do not know my personal knowledge that I have acquired since my last communication with them (p. 85)

K-3: Assume that recipients know what we told them before (p. 86)

K-4: Assume that readers have the same sociocultural knowledge as I (we) have

(p. 87)

K-5: Assume that recipients share the knowledge of all the more inclusive

epistemic communities of which they are member (p. 88)

Van Dijk (1998) asserts that context directly affects the properties of discourse (1998).

The K-device will determine which context model is most appropriate for a particular

discourse and, likewise, which discursive forms are most appropriate for a particular

context. Other mental models come to bear on other phenomena, such as ideology, which

is addressed in the next section.

Ideology

One of the most important contributions of van Dijk to the field of critical

discourse analysis is a theory of ideology, which he outlines in his book, *Ideología*

[Ideology] (1998). Van Dijk firmly establishes his theory of ideology within critical

studies in the sense that "it attempts to articulate an explicit, academically formulated

position concerning domination and social inequality," (1998, p. 24). His theory of

ideology can be distinguished from other uses of the term because it functions as an

interface between social structures and social cognition (p. 21). This point underscores

how the majority of social analyses of discourse today ignore cognition (p. 24): "A large

part of contemporary discourse analysis has a social orientation and sets aside the

essential cognitive dimension of language use and social practices," (p. 23). Thus, van

Dijk's approach to ideology is three-faceted, including cognition, society, and discourse.

His justification for such an approach is likewise three-faceted: First, ideologies are

systems of ideas and, therefore, belong to the field of cognition; second, ideologies are social in their nature and are associated with group interests and conflicts; third, many contemporary approaches to ideology associate it with language use or discourse, where legitimation and manipulation are socio-discursive practices (p. 18). What is more, while discourse is not the only practice based on ideologies, it is fundamental in the production and reproduction of ideology.[7] Hence, in order to understand the nature of ideology, one must look at its discursive manifestations (p. 19).

In the Marxist tradition, ideologies were associated with the notion of "class" and were attributed to the governing class that used ideologies to hide or legitimate its power, inequality or the status quo (van Dijk, 1998, p. 180). In the Gramscian tradition, hegemony implied not only ideological domination and consensus, but was understood especially in terms of a governing class or elite power, on the one hand, and a large dominated group of "public mass", or simply citizens, whose ideologies were persuasively inculcated by these elites (p. 180). While van Dijk does not appear to agree with the Marxist conception of ideology (similar to his social theory in general), it is not clear if he adheres to Gramsci's idea of hegemony. Gramsci asserts that because ideologies are commonsensical, more powerful groups easily reproduce them in situations of hegemony. Van Dijk agrees that the reproduction of ideologies happens without speakers being aware of it (p. 294), but also says that ideologies are not common sense (p. 138). Regardless of whether van Dijk would use the term "hegemony", he does

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[7] Note that this is nearly identical to Fairclough's thoughts on ideology: He has said that discourse is the favored vehicle of ideology (2001).

demonstrate how ideology allows for the seamless perpetuation of asymmetrical power

relations: Domination is the abuse of power, based in ideologies (p. 207).

The explication of van Dijk's linguistic and social theories above stated that

rather than being separate, easily identifiable levels of analysis, they are instead

intertwined with cognition to form what is the socio-cognitive approach. This also holds

for ideology, which is essentially a function of discourse, society, and cognition. First,

ideology is expressed and reproduced through discourse (1998, p. 17). The expression

and transmission of ideologies can happen one of two ways: 1. Directly, through general

expression of abstract social beliefs with an ideological base, or 2. Indirectly, through the

formation of specific personal beliefs in event and context models (p. 329). Thus,

ideologies are based in cognition because they are beliefs expressed discursively.

However, ideology cannot simply be reduced to discourse (à la Marx) because cognition

and society are necessary to complete an analysis of ideology (p. 329).

Second, ideologies are related to society in that they indirectly control social

practices (1998, p. 395). An ideology is a complex of social beliefs that are shared,

acquired, and used by social groups (pp. 48-49). Van Dijk emphasizes the need to

consider more elevated analyses at the universal or historical level (p. 74), in order to

determine if a belief is just a belief, or if it is, indeed, an ideology. The difference lies in

the composition of the group: If a particular belief is accepted by all within the group, it

is simply a belief because the group is homogenous and nobody opposes it. However,

when the group is heterogeneous, there is resistance to some beliefs, making them

ideological (to which some groups create ideologies of resistance) (1998). Similar to

Fairclough's (1992) idea that interpreters do not necessarily need to read texts in the way

dominant groups prescribe, van Dijk holds that ideologies function as a way to undermine the power of dominant groups. The positive social function of ideologies is to empower dominated groups, create solidarity, organize struggles, and sustain opposition (van Dijk, 1998, p. 178).

To conclude, van Dijk's approach is three-dimensional, based on discourse, society, and cognition, where cognition serves as the interface between discourse and society. The socio-cognitive approach rejects Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Marxist essentialism regarding social structures. I have discussed the most important contributions of van Dijk to critical discourse studies, and what make his approach unique: theories of cognition, context, and ideology. While theory is the strong point of the socio-cognitive approach, accessible frameworks are notably lacking. It is possible that this is the reason why very few, if any, scholars have applied the theories of cognition, context, or ideology to their work in critical discourse studies.

Critiques of Critical Discourse Studies

Recently, several critiques have been made of critical discourse analysis as an approach and of critical discourse analysts themselves. I summarize these critiques here in two forms: concerns about the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the approach, and concerns about the self-reflexivity of critical discourse analysts.

Numerous fields have taken up critical discourse analysis in a relatively short period. As a result, some scholars argue that analysts have not sufficiently grounded their critical analyses concerning philosophical and theoretical underpinnings. Hammersley (1997 in Seidlhofer, 2003) says:

It is characteristic of CDA, and of much 'critical' work in the social sciences, that

its philosophical foundations are simply taken for granted, as if they were

unproblematic. This reflects the fact that, in many ways, the term 'critical' has

become little more than a rallying cry demanding that researchers consider

'whose side they are on'…the term 'critical'…seems to function as an umbrella

for any approach that wishes to portray itself as politically radical without being

exclusive in its commitments. (p. 128)

Hammersley continues to argue that the results are superficial "critical" analyses in that

they do not adequately theorize the approach being used. In the present study, I address

this critique by following van Dijk's theorizations of cognition, context, and ideology.

These elements are central to critical discourse studies, yet they have not been theorized.

The full theoretical treatment of cognition, context, and ideology in the current study

provides a strong theoretical and philosophical foundation and, thus, avoids the

superficiality to which Hamersely refers.

For some scholars, the critical discourse analyst him/herself constitutes a

problem: For Rymes, Souto-Manning and Brown (2005, p. 196), some critical discourse

analysts assume the position of authority that no one can challenge. They argue that CDA

is paradoxical because:

The only one left to do the interpreting is the critical discourse analyst, who enters

the scene presuming to be the only one with an individual mind worthy to the task

of critically understanding how language is working with humanity's other

concerns…the power of discourse to shape the individual...potentially negates the

individual's reflective deliberations and physical presence that inform any stand-

taking (i.e., individual agency). (p. 195)

In the current study, I counter this critique in two ways: First, the only assumption I make

about my analyses and conclusions is that they are a few of many possible analyses and

conclusions about Spanish-language print media; they are not the only nor the "right"

ones. Second, I assume that individuals do have agency. It is the goal of the present

scholarship to demonstrate the agency of minoritized groups in representing their worlds

discursively vis a vis the study of ideology.

Similarly, Toolan (1997 in Seidlhofer, 2003) is irritated by the self-righteous

attitude expressed by many critical discourse analysts: "Even the sympathetic observer

tends to get the impression that CD analysts are attempting to garner kudos for

themselves for being the first to 'really see and address' the workings of power in

discourse," (pp. 127-128). Again, I address this critique by not pretending to present the

only correct analysis of the discursive construction of ideology in Spanish-language print

media. Indeed, I assume that this is only a first step toward what should become

extensive research in this area.

Multimodal Analysis

In the late 1980's, a decade after the formation of Critical Linguistics, Hodge,

Kress, and van Leeuwen began to apply Halliday's ideas to other modes, such as

intonation, sound, music, and visual images. Kress and van Leeuwen, especially,

"provided the foundations for multimodal research in the 1980's and 1990's,"

(O'Halloran, 2011, p. 3). Indicative of this new, cross-semiotic work, the journal *Social Semiotics* published its first issue in 1990 (Iedema, 2003, p. 32).

Multimodal analysis is a conglomeration of aspects from previous approaches. From Halliday, multimodal discourse analysis takes its approach to grammar and focus on social factors; from critical linguistics, a focus on power and ideology. In addition, as its name indicates, this approach extends linguistic analysis to include other semiotic resources (O'Halloran, 2011). While each mode is, in its own right, important for a multimodal analysis, the semiotic product that results from the combination of several modes holds a central place (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; O'Halloran, 2011). Iedema (2003) says that multimodality:

1. Is concerned to include in its analyses of representations and give proper recognition to semiotics other than language;

2. Focuses on the relationships between these different semiotics, and on the "division of labor" between them in particular representations;

3. Aims to understand and describe in "phylogenetic" terms the displacement of some semiotics by others (e.g., the displacement of the linguistic by the visual)

4. Links the potential of the different semiotics deployed to how they affect (enable and constrain) interaction and the formation of subjectivity. (p. 48)

Of note is the insistence that this approach is not limited to language (van Leeuwen, 2004, p. 13). This signals a recent move away from a monomodal vision of texts toward a comprehensive vision that integrates all modes involved in the creation of a semiotic text (Iedema, 2003; Jewitt, 2009a; Lemke, 2009; O'Halloran, 2011; van Leeuwen, 2004). However, multimodal texts are not new phenomena (Jewitt, 2009c): Historically, images

existed before script, performance notes accompanied music, and captions described art (Kress, 2010). Iedema (2003) gives a particularly illustrative example: A comparison of Apple owner manuals from 1992 and 1999 shows a shift from a highly verbal text to a highly visual text. There is no doubt that this pattern continues into the twenty-first century, thus underscoring the need for more work in the field of multimodal studies.

Jewitt (2009b) divides current approaches to multimodal studies into three areas: social semiotic multimodal analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, and multimodal interactional anlaysis. For Jewitt,

> The differences between these three approaches stem from the historical influences and directions that have shaped them, as well as the degree of emphasis each gives to context, the internal relations within modes or modal systems…and the agentive work of the sign-maker. (p. 29)

Because of the strong influence of context within the social semiotic multimodal approach, and because the current investigation will focus on the role of context in the creation and interpretation of multimodal texts, I limit my discussion to this approach. Following is an outline of the social theory and semiotic theory that constitute the base of this approach.

Multimodal Social Semiotics

Multimodal social semiotics (or social semiotic multimodal analysis) is an approach to multimodal discourse analysis that envisions all discourse as multimodal, and discourse production as contingent on contextual factors. This is in contrast to critical discourse analysis, for example, that recognizes the influence of context on discourse

production, but does not analyze other modes apart from language; this is also in contrast to multimodal discourse analysis, which, while incorporating other modes, does not necessarily analyze the interplay of social, cultural, and other contextual factors in discourse production. Because the current scholarship is concerned both with multimodal texts and with the ideologies present in such texts, the multimodal social semiotic approach is most appropriate. This section outlines the social theory, semiotic theory, and analytical framework that constitute multimodal social semiotics.

Social Theory

In the current scholarship, I follow Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) work in assuming a social semiotic position whose central tenet holds that semiosis is work and action (pp. 34-35), an idea reminiscent of Halliday's social semiotics. The social theory behind this approach assumes that all social action is semiotic and that all semiotic action is social (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 36). In this way, social structures such as ideology will be enacted semiotically and, similarly, any semiotic work or action will affect ideology. In other words, the multimodal social semiotics approach assumes a dialectal relationship between social and semiotic structures.

The place of social structures in multimodal social semiotics has not been addressed extensively, most likely because multimodal discourse analysis has been more concerned with establishing a firm analytical base than expanding social theories that have been treated extensively elsewhere. I use Hodge and Kress's (1988) *Social Semiotics* as the basis for my understanding of these elements within multimodal social semiotics, as theirs is the only work that explicitly addresses social theory within this

approach. The authors are neo-Marxists, basing their ideas on his materialism, and dominant and dominated groups, but reject the idea that dominated groups are "always and everywhere blinded to the operations of these structures [of domination]," (Hodge and Kress, 1988, pp. 2-3). While not all scholars working with critical approaches agree with traditional Marxism (see Stuart Hall and Lawrence Grossberg in Cultural Studies), they would agree with the agency social semiotics affords consumers of multimodal discourses. In this way, a multimodal social semiotic approach assumes that power asymmetries are inevitable, and that they are realized in discourse. At the same time, the approach allows for readings that resist the perpetuation of dominant power structures, as well as dominant ideologies.

It bears repeating what Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen (1997) say about discourse and ideology: Discursive representations are not outside ideology. Hodge and Kress (1988) seem to take Marx's ideology, where:

> False consciousness represents the world 'upside down' and in inverted form. But it also plays an image of the world as it ought to be, as seen from the vantage point of the dominant, or as it is, from the vantage point of the dominated group. (p. 3)

However, they also note that the term is used with many other senses and that while such a range of uses can be confusing, it does not warrant them avoiding the term altogether (p. 3). It bears noting, again, that scholars in related fields (e.g., Cultural Studies and some approaches to Critical Discourse Studies) would not agree with this definition. However, most scholars would concur with the following readings Hodge and Kress (1988) make of the work ideology accomplishes:

An ideological complex exists to sustain relationships of both power and solidarity, and it represents the social order as simultaneously serving the interests of both dominant and subordinate…Ideological complexes are constructed in order to constrain behavior by structuring the versions of reality on which social action is based, in particular ways. (pp. 3-4)

This definition fits with what I have noted elsewhere in this chapter that, for social semiotics, meaning making is restricted by extra-linguistic factors. For multimodal social semiotics, then, ideological complexes are realized in semiotic discourses and semiotic discourses also carry out ideological work. The study of multimodal discourses is, therefore, indicative of the ideological complexes that exist in a particular society.

While hegemony often accompanies power and ideology in the social theories of critical approaches, it does not appear to play a central role in social semiotics. Hodge and Kress's (1988) only explicit reference to hegemony is through resistance:[8]

[Semiosic] systems only constrain the behavior and beliefs of the non-dominant in so far as they have been effectively imposed and have not been effectively resisted. Attention to the detail of semiosic process reveals countless instances of contestation, where smaller-level shifts in power have significant effects, leading to modification in the structures of domination, at times tracing the success of dominated groups, at times the success of the dominant. This process is well described in Gramsci's work on hegemonic structures and their establishment.

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[8] Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen (1997, p. 270) make similar comments, but call them a semiotic account of Marx and Engel's *Communist Manifesto*.

Processes of struggle and resistance are themselves decisive aspects of social

formations, and *affect every level of semiotic systems*. (pp. 7-8, emphasis mine)

Perhaps the term hegemony is not necessary to incorporate the concept of power that is

enacted by hegemonic groups and simultaneously contested by less powerful groups.

Indeed, I demonstrated above how social semiotics allows for resistant readings of

multimodal texts, an act that is indicative of challenging a group with hegemonic power.

In no way are semiotic systems free of the effects of social struggle and resistance.

To conclude, the multimodal social semiotic approach assumes a dialectal

relationship between semiosis and extra-linguistic factors, such that the possible range of

meanings are restricted by social, cultural, and ideological factors, all of which may also

indicate power. It is clear from this discussion that discourse is an integral part of the

social theory of multimodal social semiotics that must also be theorized.

Semiotic Theory

Just as the social theory of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) social semiotic

framework is based on Michael Halliday's systemic functional grammar, so, too is their

semiotic theory. Similar to the social theory outlined in the previous section that held that

all social action is semiotic, the semiotic theory holds that all semiosis is social action and

that all discourse appears in many modes (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, pp. 34-35). The

following discussion expands and problematizes these ideas.

Halliday's approach informs Kress and van Leeuwen's semiotic theory in the way

in which these authors envision the relationship between semiosis and society. As I have

disussed in previous sections, Halliday deemed the relationship between signifier and

signified as motivated by social, cultural, and contextual factors. Kress and van Leeuwen specify this idea by assuming that *semiosis* is motivated by social, cultural, and contextual factors, thus leading to the following:

> Discourses are socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality. By "socially constructed" we mean that they have been developed in specific social contexts, and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts. (p. 4)

From this, semiosis is influenced by social action to the extent that these authors say that semiosis *is* social action. Thus, semiosis and society exist in a dialectal relationship, much in the same way that discourse and society exist in a dialectal relationship. Therefore, an analysis using this approach will not simply discuss the use of modes in isolation; instead, it will determine what contextual elements factored in the creation of the text and what social repercussions such choices will have.

Regarding the multimodal nature of all discourse, it is necessary to first define the concept of mode. Kress and van Leuwen (1996) and Scollon and LeVine (2004) note that modality originated in linguistics, referring most commonly to verbs: "might", "could", and "should", for example. However, mode is used today to refer to "any of the many ways in which a semiotic system with an internal grammaticality, such as speech, color, taste, or the design of images, may be developed" (Scollon and LeVine, 2004, p. 2). Thus, mode is a polysemous term in the study of social semiotics.

A mode can be defined as "a semiotic system of contrasts and oppositions, a grammatical system," (Scollon and LeVine, 2004, p. 2). This definition fits with previous observations about the syntactic organization of all semiotic systems; it also points to the

choices one can make within a mode that are constitutive of and constituted by non-semiotic elements, such as culture (Halliday, 1978). Modes are flexible in that they can adapt to more than one medium (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 22); hence, visuals are utilized on the television, in newspapers, and on the Internet, although they may carry out different functions across each medium. These definitions of mode are not without their complications, as scholars have recently pointed to the spurious a priori assumption of the existence of modes without actually defining them. I take up this point in the "Critiques of Multimodal Studies" section below.

While the realizations of each mode are not necessarily incommensurate, there are similarities across modes: All have smaller, basic elements that combine to form larger, new elements, just as morphemes combine to form words, which in turn combine to form sentences. In other words, non-linguistic semiotic systems can have a "grammar", and one can speak of "visual syntax" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

Whereas Kress and van Leeuwen's approach follows many aspects of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics in its semiotic theory, some terms are altered to reflect the focus on visual syntax. In Table 2 below, I reproduce a table I originally utilized in a previous section to illustrate the metafunctions in Halliday's and Fairclough's approaches, comprising the first two and third rows, respectively. I have added a fourth row to indicate the semiotic analogues of these metafunctions, resulting in the (*re)presentational, orientational*, and *organizational* levels.

Table 2. Metafunctions from Halliday, Fairclough, and Kress and van Leeuwen's approaches to textual analysis

Halliday: Textual Analysis	Field	Tenor	Mode
Halliday: Social Analysis	Ideational	Interpersonal	Textual
Fairclough: Verbal Analysis	Description	Interpretation	Explanation
Multimodal Social Semiotics: Semiotic Analysis	(Re)presentational	Orientational	Organizational
Granularity	Micro	Meso	Macro

The *(re)presentational* function "Presents a state of affairs, or enacts a meaningful, usually recognizable activity," (Lemke, 2009, p. 284). At this level, it is necessary to identify the participants involved in the text (Moya and Pinar, 2008). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) describe two types of participants: represented participants, who are the people, places, and things depicted in images, and interactive participants, who are, among other things, viewers of images (p. 179). Three kinds of relations can be studied through the visual mode: those between represented participants, those between interactive and represented participants, and those between interactive participants (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 179). Because my research focuses on the representation of ideologies in texts, it implies the ways in which audiences interpret semiotic texts. For this reason, I focus on the relationship between represented and interactive participants.

In visual representations, there are two modes that are indicative of ideology in the relationship between interactive and represented participants: gaze and size of frame. The represented participant's gaze demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with the represented participant. Direct eye contact signals a connection with the viewer that may sometimes indicate social affinity or, in the case of

advertisements, demand the viewer to purchase a product, for example. An absence of gaze at the interactive participant may indicate an offer of information, for example (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). There is no single interpretation of gaze. One can imagine a case where direct eye contact indicates familiarity and, therefore, equality between participants. However, one can just as easily imagine a "demand" as indicative of the relative power of the represented participant, who insists that the viewer carry out an action. The same can be said for the absence of gaze.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) divide the size of frame into three categories that they relate to social distance: close shots are indicative of intimate or personal distance; medium shots are indicative of public distance; and long shots are indicative of impersonal distance. The authors emphasize, however, that the interpretation of these distances may vary culturally and contextually. One can conclude that, generally, close shots indicate equality and medium and long shots indicate successively greater differences in power between the represented and interactive participants.

The *orientational* metafunction of visual semiosis "addresses some real or imagined Other, thereby constructing some kind of social-interpersonal relationship, with an attitude both toward the Other and toward the presentational content of one's own semiotic action," (Lemke, 2009, p. 285). This metafunction is realized by means of camera angle, which consists of horizontal angle and vertical angle. The represented participant can be involved with the viewer through a direct horizontal angle and, conversely, detached from the viewer through an oblique horizontal angle. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) note that the horizontal angle communicates the inclusion or exclusion of the viewer in the represented participant's world:

The frontal angle says, as it were: "what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with." The oblique angle says: "what you see here is *not* part of our world; it is *their* world, something *we* are not involved with." (p. 143, emphasis in original)

Similarly, the vertical angle communicates power hierarchies between the participants: a high angle indicates viewer power; a low angle indicates represented participant power; and an eye-level angle indicates equality between the viewer and the represented participant (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

The *organizational* function, "constructs relationships of parts to wholes and strands of continuity based on similarity within difference that tie the whole of the action or activity together and indicate which elements within it are more closely related to which others, and how," (Lemke, 2009, p. 285). The *organizational* metafunction is realized through the placement of elements, salience and framing. I will only address the placement of elements here, as it is the most indicative of power and ideology within this metafunction. The left-hand side of a text is, in Western cultures, read first, and as such is equated with "given" or "taken for granted"; conversely, the right-hand side is equated with "new". Left-right placement is ideological when it represents a state of being that is contrary to reality for the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Top-bottom placement has the same effect: what is placed at the top is presented as ideal, whereas what is placed at the bottom is presented as real (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). In this way, ideology is communicated through placement, and may not necessarily reflect the ideas of both the text's creator and the viewer.

To summarize, Kress and van Leeuwen base the semiotic theory of their multimodal social semiotic theory on Halliday's systemic function grammar by creating analogues for Halliday's three metafunctions at the *(re)presentational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* levels.

Relationship between Modes: Intersemiotic Complementarity

While the previous section gave the theoretical underpinnings of the semiotic theory of Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic approach, it is important to theorize the articulation of several modes in a single semiotic text because modes rarely occur alone in real-world articulations and, moreover, the consumer rarely interprets modes in isolation. Lemke (2002) says that "Human semiotic interpretation is both gestalt and iterative," (p. 305). Several authors (cf. Lemke, 2009; Norris, 2004a; van Leeuwen, 2004) agree with this point, and describe how the audience makes "meaningful wholes" out of semiotic texts, instead of analyzing one mode at a time. Thus, while it is important that analysts tease apart each semiotic mode in order to determine what work it is performing, they should also consider the interrelationships between modes.

While multimodal texts are not limited to image and text, I restrict my discussion here to approaches to image-text relationships because in the current investigation I study the interaction between images and text.[9] Henceforth, I refer to this interaction as "intersemiotic complementarity", following Royce's (2007) terminology to denote the

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[9] See Jewitt (2009b) for an overview of different approaches to the study of the relationship across various modes.

relationship between the verbal and visual modes to create a single coherent semiotic text (p. 63).

The difficulty in studying the relationship between modes results from the nascent nature of this type of study, as noted by Unsworth and Cléirigh (2009):

> Although a good deal of recent work addresses the ways in which images construct meanings, very little has specifically addressed the intersemiotic semantic relationship *between* images and language to show how the visual and verbal modes interact to construct the integrated meanings of multimodal texts. (p. 151; emphasis in original)

Indeed, Liu and O'Halloran (2009) add that cross-modal relationships have become the focus of study within multimodal discourse analysis only since the late 1990's (p. 367). From the section "Multimodal Analysis" above, it is clear that there are several frameworks established for the study of non-verbal modes. However, a clear consensus has not been reached in the field concerning the analysis of the relationship between modes, particularly the verbal and visual modes, which is reflected in multiple terms used to describe similar phenomena, as well as overlapping, and at times conflicting, approaches to this type of analysis. I present first an overview of the terms used to describe the outcome of intersemiotic complementarity, followed by an overview of three recently developed frameworks for the systematic study of intersemiotic complementarity.

Roland Barthes was a pioneer in the systematic study of the relationship between image and text from a non-aesthetic point of view. Regarding this relationship, Barthes (1977) rejects the traditional notion that images simply illustrate words, or that one mode

simply duplicates the other: "Sometimes…the text produces (invents) an entirely new signified which is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there…Sometimes too, the text can even contradict the image so as to produce a compensatory connotation," (p. 27). In other words, it is not sufficient to think of images as a corollary to text; rather, the two modes must be considered in concert. However, Barthes does little to elucidate the nature of the juxtaposition of modes, simply noting that they may act in "contradiction" or "compromise", seeming to imply that one mode clarifies the meaning of the other.

Other scholars assume a similar approach to that of Barthes. For example, O'Halloran (2011) regards the "contradiction" of modes as divergence, or conflict: "Indeed, there is no reason to assume a coherent semantic integration of semiotic choices in multimodal phenomena," (p. 11). Similarly, Royce (2007) acknowledges the "contradiction" outcome, using the same naming system as O'Halloran: divergence, or conflict. However, in his framework of intersemiotic complementarity, he also acknowledges redundancy across modes (similar to the "duplication" outcome Barthes had rejected), as well as the hierarchical ordering of modes. A team working with O'Halloran (K.L.E, O'Halloran, and Judd, 2011) used the term "undermining" to describe the image-text relationship in an online scientific journal, which appears to coincide with the aforementioned "contradiction" and "hierarchical ordering".

Kress and van Leeuwen's (2001) approach is similar to Royce's in that they account for the hierarchical ordering of modes, where one mode is dominant over another, such as when the action in a film is dominant over the music played during the action (p. 20). Moreover, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) echo Barthes' idea of

"compromise" across modes in arguing that one potential relationship between modes is when they reinforce each other, or "say the same thing in different ways" (p. 20). Finally, they account for a cross-modal relationship where the modes fulfill complementary roles.

Regarding frameworks for the study of intersemiotic complementarity, I underscore once again that this field of inquiry is slightly over a decade old. Thus, it is not surprising that frameworks have begun to crop up with little indication as to how they are different from others or what the range of their application is. This is a clear departure from the state of analytical frameworks in other relatively new fields I have reviewed in critical discourse studies and multimodal discourse analysis, which have indicated for what purposes or under what circumstances they are most appropriately used. Keeping this in mind, it is impractical to attempt to map out in which ways the current frameworks can be applied. Instead, I simply outline them, noting that the adoption or adaptation of any approach to the study of intersemiotic complementarity would require extensive reflection on the part of the researcher to determine if the approach reaches adequate explanatory power with the semiotic texts she is studying.

Liu and O'Halloran (2009) base their framework on the concept of intersemiotic texture, which:

> Refers to a matter of semantic relations between different modalities realized through Intersemiotic Cohesive Devices in multimodal discourse. It is the crucial attribute of multisemiotic texts that creates integration of words and pictures rather than a mere linkage between the two modes. (p. 369)

From this definition, it is important to note that these authors do not make any a priori assumptions about the relationship between modes, in this case image and text, noting

that the juxtaposition of modes can result in either a coherent multimodal message or a "mere co-occurrence of language and image" (p. 368). Similar to Royce's (2007) framework, Liu and O'Halloran (2009) divide the analysis of multimodal texts into three phases that correspond to Halliday's metafunctions. Relationships across modes, or intersemiotic texture, are addressed at each phase, or metafunction, named the logical, experiential, and textual metafunctions in this approach (analogous to Kress and van Leeuwen's *representational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* metafunctions, respectively; see Table 2 above for a summary of these and Halliday's labels of the metafunctions). The Intersemiotic Cohesive Devices are: implication sequences, correspondence, antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, collocation, polysemy, reference, theme-rheme development, given-new organization, and parallel structures. While the focus of the current investigation limits a full discussion of all Intersemiotic Cohesive Devices, of note is that many are borrowed or adapted from other approaches in multimodal analysis. For instance, the device given-new organization is also seen in Kress and van Leeuwen's approach, and collocation is also seen in Royce's approach.

In Royce's (2007) approach, modes that complement each other exist in a relationship of intersemiotic complementarity, or "visual and verbal modes co-occurring in page-based multimodal text[s]…to produce a single textual phenomenon," (p. 103). Similar to Liu and O'Halloran, Royce holds that there is no assumed existence of a coherent cross-modal message, underscoring the possibility for the co-occurrence of modes leading to "a simple relationship of conjunction – [the modes] simply co-occur and do not work in concert to project a unified, coherent text," (p. 103). Royce (2007) has adapted Halliday's metafunctions, which represent three phases of analysis across the

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verbal and visual modes: ideational, interpersonal, and compositional levels (analogous to Kress and van Leeuwen's *representational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* metafunctions, respectively; see Table 2 for a summary of these and Halliday's labels of the metafunctions). This similarity is in direct contrast to Martinec and Salway's (2005) approach that I outline in the following paragraphs, which does not divide the analysis of cross-modal relationship into phases based on Halliday's metafunctions. From the previous paragraph, it is not surprising that the some of the features at each metalevel that can indicate intersemiotic complementarity are similar to those of Liu and O'Halloran (2009): antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, and collocation, among many other intersemiotic features. Given that Liu and O'Halloran (2009) liken their intersemiotic texture to Royce's (2007) intersemiotic complementarity, and coupled with the many similarities noted between these approaches, it is not clear if there are essential differences between the two, or if they simply differ in terminology and other minor details.

Different from the previous frameworks reviewed is Martinec and Salway's (2005) approach, which begins by characterizing the relative equality of the modes (equal or unequal). Where modes are equal, they are classified as independent or complemenatary; where modes are unequal, they are classified as the image being dependent on the text, or the text being dependent on the image. The authors futher characterize the text-image relationship by the semantic linkage between the elements, identified as elaboration, extension, or enhancement. Elaboration is concerned with the level of generality each mode assumes, where both modes are either of the same level of generality (exposition) or different levels of generality (exemplification) (pp. 349-350).

Extension is "a relationship between an image and a text in which either the one or the other add new, related information," (p. 350) and enhancement occurs when one mode qualifies the other circumstantially (p. 350).

While Martinec and Salway's (2005) approach advances the study of the relationship between text and image through the systematic explanation of the potential outcomes of the text-image relationship, some scholars note that their framework may contain superfluous categories that do little to explicate "how language and image collaborate in the creatin of a unified, coherent text," (Unsworth and Cléirigh, 2009, p. 153).[10] Unsworth and Cléirigh further argue that, regarding the classification of equality used by Martinec and Salway, "What value is there in determing whether language and image are of equal or unequal status?" (p. 153). Instead, Unsworth and Cléirigh work towards a framework that allows for the distinct meaning affordances of each mode, while at the same time acknowledging the synergistic nature between modes. What results is a framework comprising three types of intermodal identifications: *intensive*, *possessive*, and *circumstantial*. Intermodal *intensive* identification occurs when "the image visualizes the qualities (shape, color, texture) of the identified participant," (p. 156). In intermodal possessive identification, "the image visualizes additional participant(s) not explicit in the language element(s). The image visualizes the (unverbalized) additional things (parts) that compose the identified participant," (p. 156). Finally, intermodal circumstiantial identification occurs when "the image visualizes

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[10] See also Liu and O'Halloran (2009) for a discussion of the limitations of Martinec and Salway's (2005) framework.

language element locations. The image visualizes the (unverbalized) locations of the things (parts) that compose the identified participant," (p. 156).

While few authors specifically address the ideology in these outcomes, some initial observations can be made. Bateman (2008), Lemke (2002), and Lim (2007) speak to what is here called divergence as a technique used in advertisements to intentionally produce mixed signals. In this way, they demand the attention of the consumer. It seems, then, that intersemiotic complementarity that is characterized by divergence might draw attention to ideology because the consumer is paying closer attention to the text. Hierarchically organized modes may also serve an emphatic function, where the ideology expressed by one mode may be more salient than another. However, this gives way to the obfuscation of ideology, as one mode is effectively bracketed at the expense of another. Similarly, intersemiotic complementarity that is characterized by convergence may also hide ideology. Because there is no dissonance between modes, the text is not as closely attended to by audiences, and thus taken at face value.

In conclusion, the approaches to the relationship between the verbal and visual modes can be simplified into two outcomes: similarity between modes and difference between modes. When modes are similar, one mode may either repeat or clarify the message communicated in the other mode; when modes are different, one mode may diverge or even be in opposition to the message communicated in the other mode. Moreover, several authors refer to the hierarchization of modes, whereby one mode assumes a dominant position over the other. Two of the frameworks developed for studying the relationship between modes (Liu and O'Halloran, 2009, and Royce, 2007) had many elements in common, while a third framework (Martinec and Salway, 2005)

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was distinctive in its approach to the image-text relationship. Finally, while only one approach explicitly addresses ideology in the text-image relationship (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), there appears to be potential to address ideology using other approaches.

The next section addresses two current difficulties in the field regarding the definition of analytical constructs and the establishment of analytical frameworks.

Critiques of Multimodal Studies

The critiques of multimodal studies appear to stem from the incipient nature of this field of investigation. In other words, because so little work has been carried out in multimodal studies, particularly regarding cross-modal relationships, it has not yet been afforded the opportunity to solidify approaches, definitions, frameworks, and theoretical underpinnings. In this section I address two of the most pressing critiques of the field at the time of writing: the establishment of analytical frameworks and of a definition for the term "mode".

Bateman (2008), Jewitt (2009a) and O'Halloran (2011) have discussed the problematic nature of analytical frameworks in multimodal analysis. First, because the theories must encompass several modes besides language, they must not be focused exclusively on language, nor be direct translations of language-based theories. Second, given the numerous combinations of media and modes, even approaches within multimodal studies can be incommensurate because each mode can have unique meaning-making potential. For example, Bateman (2008) questions the validity of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) approach to multimodal textual analysis. Concerning

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the given-new and ideal-real divisions of a text (corresponding to left-right and top-bottom alignment, respectively), he wonders why there is an assumed connection between left-alignment and the "given-ness" of information or between placing an item at the top of the page because it is "ideal". He uses a diagram of a heart on a whiteboard in a science classroom as an example:

> Just why this layout should apply rather than any other is unclear; one might have supposed that because the discourse is about the heart, the heart should occupy the central part of the diagram (rather than an "upper" part of the diagram), but apparently this is not so. (Bateman, 2008, p. 46)

He later argues that the spatial assignment of elements in a text is not self-evident and, just as often as not is a function of cultural constraints and of the media. For example, writing that takes the "new" position on the right-hand side of a text may be new, but the placement of a graphic on the left-hand side leaves the designer no other choice than to place the text on the right-hand side (p. 48). In this case, this placement is not so much ideological as it is determined by the medium. While this argument is valid, other scholars (cf. Kress, 2010; Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen, 1997; Moya and Pinar, 2008) have successfully analyzed the ideological effects of left-right/top-bottom placement. From these observations, I conclude that the analyst must consider cultural and contextual factors in order to carry out an accurate ideological analysis based on spatial assignment and, for that matter, any multimodal social semiotic analysis.

The recent "turn to the multimodal" (Jewitt, 2009c) and the consequent increase in studies in multimodality have, not surprisingly, led to an increase in the investigations of any number of modes. While any new application of any of the aforementioned

frameworks in multimodality would appear to be beneficial to the field insofar as they test the applicability of certain frameworks to new contexts, modes, and media, some scholars caution against making a priori assumptions about what constitutes a central tenet of these frameworks: mode. Bateman (2011) argues:

> It may be assumed that the modalities under investigation are unproblematic and self-evident: e.g., "language", "graphics", "music"…The assumption of particular modes holding even prior to empirical investigation is one major reason why the vast majority of multimodal "analyses" still go little beyond detailed description. (pp. 17-18)

The author continues by likening these a priori distinctions to the now obsolete distinction between "written" and "spoken" language as distinguishable "modes" of language use (p. 19). To remedy this problem, Bateman first underscores the fact that modes may be realized in any "physical substrate", or medium, so long as that medium is capable of expressing the syntagmatic organization of the mode in question. Likewise, Bateman notes that media have the capability to carry distinct semiotic modes, which he calls "The ability to construct distinct semiotic modes on the 'same' material foundation," (p. 24). For example, the medium paper may carry the mode of written language, from which one can further identify modes distinct to language, such as punctuation. From these observations, Bateman acknowledges the difficulty in teasing apart modes, suggesting that studies in multimodality first decompose semiotic modes into their material substrates and then into the possible realization of modes for the material in question.

In the present study, I take into account the critiques of the a priori assumption of the existence of certain modes by following Bateman's suggestion of considering the medium in question first, and then the possible realizations of modes within that medium, all of which are outlined in the "Data Processing/Analysis" section found in the Methodology chapter below.

Related Studies in Multimodality

In this section, I present studies related to the theme of multimodal analyses of minoritized languages. In my search for related investigations, I noted patterns that constitute gaps in the field of multimodal discourse analysis. The first is intuitive if one considers what I presented in the literature review to this point: While studies considering other modes can be traced to the mid-twentieth century (Jewitt, 2009c), multimodal discourse analysis has only recently developed as an independent field of inquiry. Searches for studies employing multimodal discourse analysis will underscore that this approach has been widely used only during the past decade, underscoring what Jewitt (2009c) calls the recent "turn to the multimodal". For this reason, it is not surprising that there are few, if any, studies dedicated to the exploration of ideology in multimodal texts. Second, as noted in the Introduction, few critical discourse analyses have addressed Spanish-language texts, a pattern that is repeated in multimodal social semiotics, given that few analyses could be found whose object was a Spanish-language semiotic text. For these reasons, in this section I outline two studies that consider Portuguese-language semiotic texts, which I deem to be similar to Spanish-language semiotic texts given Brazil's geographic proximity to the Spanish-speaking world and the inherent similarities

between Spanish and Portuguese. The rest of the studies I summarize are similar to the current scholarship in that they consider both the visual and verbal modes in their analyses.

Kress, Leite-García, and van Leeuwen (1997) present an analysis of a two-page spread in a Brazilian magazine, *Veja*. While the groups represented in the text are not minoritized groups, this investigation is useful because it focuses on how *Veja* pits the represented participants against less powerful viewers by employing dominant ideologies. Kress et al.'s analysis is distinctive in that it focuses largely on the visual mode, although one of the pages consists of an op-ed and the other page (an advertisement) consists equally of visual and verbal modes. The visual analysis is based on vertical and horizontal positioning (representing Halliday's *ideational* metafunction); vertical and horizontal camera angle, and color saturation (representing Halliday's *interpersonal* metafunction); and transitivity (representing Halliday's *textual* metafunction). Their results indicate conflicting ideologies across the two-page spread: The op-ed represents dominant ideologies that desire restricted access to technological innovations for dominated groups in Brazil, whereas the advertisement represents an opposing ideology that desires access to a cultural status symbol, a new car, for dominated groups.

Similarly, Roth, Pozzer-Ardenghi, and Han (2005) carry out a large-scale study on high school science textbooks, including a sampling of textbooks from Brazil. While the theoretical underpinning upon which these scholars based their work is distinct from multimodal social semiotics, it does consider the interplay between image and text when they consider the relationship between photographs and their captions in four Portuguese language biology textbooks from Brazil. Roth, Pozzer-Ardenghi, and Han conclude that

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the interpretation of a particular photograph is influenced by the information provided in the caption, and that the kind of information provided by the captions differed across and within textbooks. Moreover, the authors found that the photographs were at times simply "a supplement to the text", while other times added insignificant details, and in still other cases the photographs added meanings that were entirely different from those communicated in the text (p. 167).

The findings of these studies have strong implications for critical studies in social semiotics in that the ideologies are expressed differently across modes. This is not surprising, given that modes are not commensurate in their meaning-making capabilities. Thus, although the analyst may not encounter dominant ideologies in a verbal analysis, for example, the same may not hold true for a visual analysis.

Because the current investigation is concerned with the verbal and visual modes, as well as the relationship between the two, this section summarizes six studies of this type. Of note is the fact that the object of these studies is not a minoritized language, which once again speaks to the limited number of studies carried out in social semiotics whose object of study is a minoritized semiotic text. The verbal and visual modes were redundant in two studies: Moya and Pinar (2008) and Norris (2004b); the modes were divergent in two studies: Bowcher (2007) and O'Halloran (2011); finally, one mode dominated over the other(s) in two studies: Lim (2007) and Maiorani (2008).

Moya and Pinar (2008) employ Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic theory for visual analysis and Halliday's theory for linguistic analysis "to discover the intersemiotic relationship between visual and textual meaning and their realizations through various linguistic and visual modes," (p. 1602). The metafunctions analyzed for

the visual mode were representational meaning, interactive meaning, and compositional meaning; the metafunctions analyzed for the verbal mode were processes and typologies of themes and topics. The authors conclude that the simplistic visual and linguistic elements employed in the book are indicative of the young readership. As such, the visual and linguistic elements tend to agree in their function.

Norris (2004a) presents a framework for dynamic text analysis based on Scollon's mediated discourse analysis. While I do not follow Norris' multimodal interactional approach, her framework is useful because it deals with dynamic media, in this case video recordings of interactions between a participant and her family in her home. Norris argues that modes should be analyzed simultaneously, rather than in isolation. The author uses the following variables in her analysis of home video recordings: foreground-background continuum, modal density, and positioning. She concludes that communicative actions tend to overlap in order to emphasize a particular meaning or idea. For example, head movement and hand movement at the foreground function to communicate lack of attention to another interlocutor.

Bowcher (2007) carries out a study that examines the interrelationship between images and written language in an article about Rugby players published in Australia. She focuses on the ideational metafunction in order to determine if the messages produced by different semiotic systems are redundant or contradictory. This study is unique in that it does not use Kress and van Leeuwen's analytical framework for visual analysis; Bowcher uses Royce's approach to intersemiotic complementarity, instead. The only difference I can ascertain between Royce's and Kress and van Leeuwen's approach is that different terminology is used, albeit for the same analytical categories. Bowcher's

study is useful because it connects the analysis of a single text to larger social and cultural phenomena that constitute the context. She finds that while the verbal and visual elements of the article are somewhat contradictory, they both adhere to "established hegemonic masculinity in western society," (p. 239).

Similar to Norris (2004b), O'Halloran (2011) also carries out an analysis of a dynamic text. She looks at interactions between three participants in a televised multiparty debate in Australia about leaked government documents. The modes she discusses are spoken language, kinetic features (gaze, body posture, gesture) and cinematography effects (camera angle, frame size). For gaze, kinetic action, camera angle and frame size she employs Halliday's (2004) systemic functional model and Tan's (2005, 2009) systemic model. O'Halloran finds that there is not coherence between spoken language and intonation, gesture, and body posture because the former tends to indicate one direction of the event and the latter three semiotic features, together, indicate a different direction, usually centered on criticism of a represented participant. This analysis is notable, and similar to Bowcher's (2007), in that the author analyzes, albeit briefly, the context surrounding the interaction that may explain why the speakers, in essence, say one thing but do another.

Lim (2007) is concerned with how meaning is made in a multisemiotic text. More specifically, he notes that meaning making is unique in a series of visual texts or moving images, also called dynamic texts. His new analytical framework is an Integrative Multisemiotic Model (IMM), whose underlying theory is based on Halliday's metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) and whose communication planes are based on Martin (1992).

The focus of Lim's analyses is Flow, which "determines the level of reader's engagement and reasoning necessary to obtain the emergent narrative from the image sequences," (p. 202). The author notes that the presence of an Associating Element (AE) and a Visual Linking Device (VLD) will lead to stronger Flow; whereas the absence of an AE and a VLD lead to weak Flow. While it is not clear the difference between an AE and a VLD, Lim gives a couch as an example of the former and the main character of a narrative as an example of the latter. The author holds that television advertisement may intentionally have weak flow to engage the consumer, whereas flow is greater in texts created for entertainment purposes, such as comic strips (p. 207). Lim's findings suggest that some modes have precedence over others in meaning making, although all tend to work together to some degree to create meaning.

Maiorani's (2008) study singles out the experiential metafunction of language and the corresponding representational metafunction of visual content of promotional posters for the trilogy *The Matrix*. Her linguistic analysis is based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar and her visual analysis is based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) approach. Her findings suggest that whereas both linguistic and visual elements became sparser for the posters of each consecutive movie, they had a net effect of creating an entire subculture based on the movie, where internet applications, clothing and accessories based on *The Matrix* flourished. Maiorani's investigation is a good example of how researchers can still carry out successful analyses based on only one or two metafunctions from the systemic functional approach.

To close this section, I will underscore the distinctive content of Bowcher's (2007), Lim's (2007), and Maiorani's (2008) investigations. It should be no surprise that,

given the privileged nature of texts and, what is more, scientific texts in academia, that critical analyses have tended to focus on what van Leeuwen (2004) calls "informative" texts. Such analyses have been carried out at the expense of texts typically classified as "entertainment", which are no less indicative of power and ideology than informative texts. Thus, entertainment texts such as magazine articles (cf. Bowcher, 2007), comic strips (cf. Lim, 2007) and movie posters (cf. Maiorani, 2008), to name a few, must not be forgotten if analysts are to understand completely the effects of ideology in multimodal texts.

Spanish in the United States

The study of Spanish in the United States has a history dating back to the early twentieth century. Lipski (2008) notes that, in this field, the greatest amount of attention has been paid to Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Spanish, respectively (pp. 2-3). However, other varieties, such as Dominican and Salvadoran Spanish, have been addressed to a lesser extent (cf. Aaron and Hernández, 2007; Bailey, 2000, 2001; García, Evangelista, Martínez, Disla and Paulino, 1988; Hernández, 2002; Lipski, 2000, 2008; Otheguy, Zentella and Livert, 2007; Zentella, 1990).

Pertinent to the current scholarship is the continued presence of Spanish-speaking groups in the United States and their consumption of media in Spanish. Thus, I first outline the demographics of Hispanics in the United States, with the goal of underscoring the abundance of the Spanish language in this country. This is followed by studies carried out on Spanish-language media in the United States so as to emphasize their potential

role in mitigating the loss of Spanish and the need for empirical studies in this area in the future.

Hispanics in the United States

The 2010 Census data show that there are 50,477,594 people of Hispanic or Latino origin in the United States, which comprise 16.3 percent of the total United States population[11] (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 3). Of this population, the three largest groups were Mexican (31,798,258 total), Puerto Rican (4,623,716 total), and Cuban (1,785,547 total) (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 3). Other groups exceeding one million members were from the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and El Salvador (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 3).

The four states with the largest percentages of the total United States Hispanic population were California (27.8 percent), Texas (18.7 percent), Florida (8.4 percent) and New York (6.8 percent) (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 7). Two cities, New York City and Los Angeles, had the largest Hispanic populations in the country, with totals exceeding one million (2.3 and 1.8 million, respectively) (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 11).

From this data, it is not difficult to see that Spanish is ubiquitous in some areas of the United States, especially in some states in the Southwest and in Florida with upwards of 70 percent of the total population of Hispanic or Latino origin.[12] However, statistics

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[11] The total United States population was 308,745,538 (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 6); the total not Hispanic or Latino population was 258,267,944 (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 3).

[12] Over 90 percent of the total population in the following four areas is Hispanic or Latino: East Los Angeles, CA; Laredo, TX; Hialeah, FL; Brownsville, TX (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 11).

are sometimes misleading, as they are not indicative of the percentage of people of Hispanic origin who speak Spanish. The most recent data indicate that, for all Hispanics ages 18 and older, 79.8 percent speak a language other than English, presumably Spanish, at home; this number increases to 96 percent if just the foreign-born Hispanic population is considered (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009c). Thus, a large percentage of Hispanics in the United States speak Spanish, especially those who were not born in the United States. The next section addresses the themes of Spanish maintenance through the foreign-born population and Spanish-language media.

Spanish-language Media in the United States

In this section, I discuss three points: First, I underscore the overwhelming evidence of language death in the United States for all languages other than English. Next I consider the role of the arrival of new immigrants and the growing Spanish-language media in the United States and their respective roles in the mitigation of the loss of Spanish in the United States.

Rumbaut, Massey and Bean's (2006) work regarding the linguistic life expenctancy of languages other than English has shown that, "Like taxes and biological death, linguistic death seems to be a sure thing in the United States," (p. 459). Considering Latin American and Asian immigrants in the United States, these authors demonstrate that this county lives up to its fame as a "graveyard for languages" in that speakers shift almost exclusively to English by the third generation at the latest. Similarly, authors who work with Spanish in the United States have noted the same trend where this language is rarely maintained past one or two generations. Potowski (2004)

and Rumbaut, Massey and Bean (2006) argue that language shift from Spanish to English is evident as early as first-generation speakers, and inevitable by second and third generations. What is more, regardless of the generation of the speaker, there is a general decline in Spanish use related to longer periods of residence in the United States. Potowski (2011) continues: "Shift to English has been documented quite amply in Hispanic communities across the country…second-generation individuals often do not speak Spanish with each other," (p. 585). While Hidalgo (2008) and Villa and Rivera-Mills (2009) note potential new trends of Spanish maintenance through intergenerational contact and diglossic situations, Spanish spoken in most parts of the United States is almost certainly lost by the third generation.

While the linguistic life expectancy of Spanish in the United States is at most three generations from an ancestor's arrival in the United States (Rumbaut, Massey and Bean, 2006), two trends that may mitigate the drastic and rapid loss of Spanish in the United States are the arrival of new immigrants and the influence of Spanish-language media. Regarding the first point, Lipski (2004) argues that new immigrants are needed to maintain Spanish, while Potowski (2004) says that frequent travel to Spanish-speaking countries as well as contact with newly arrived monolingual speakers from Latin America mitigate the loss of Spanish. While immigration trends between 1990 and 2007 continued to increase, the newest reports indicate that immigration has started to slow for the first time in years (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). Thus, one must consider other factors that would promote the maintenance of Spanish, such as Spanish-language media.

It appears that media have the potential to mitigate the loss of Spanish. For example, Carreira (2002) argues that Spanish-language media is a tool that mitigates the

shift from Spanish to English in the United States. The author reviews the current state of

Spanish-language media (the print industry,[13] radio, and television) and concludes that

there are several functions they carry out that point to their importance in language

maintenance: 1. They provide widely available exposure to authentic language, a formal

register and to different dialects; 2. They contribute to a sense of community; 3. They

elevate the value of the Spanish language; 4. They generate professional opportunities;

and finally, 5. They provide connections to home countries, as well as other Spanish

language communities in the United States. From this author's study, Spanish-language

media play an important role in Latino communities, not the least of which includes the

mitigation of the loss of Spanish for these speakers.

Robert Suro (2004) carried out phone surveys of 1,316 Latinos to determine their

language preferences for media. His finding that consumption of Spanish-language media

declines steadily from foreign-born to United States-born immigrants and coincides with

the patterns of language shift noted above. However, Suro makes an important

observation that corroborates Carreira's (2002) observation about the potential mitigating

factor of Spanish-language media. He says that Spanish-language media are a valuable

ethnic institution, and that "The Spanish-language media play an esteemed role as

spokesmen [sic] for the Latino population and…have a significant influence in the

formation of Hispanic identities," (p. 2). This is accompanied by data that show that

"About two-thirds of the adult Hispanic population gets at least some news from Spanish-

language media," (p. 2). This is similar to what Potowski (2004) found for high school

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[13] Note, however, that according to the Pew Hispanic Center (2009a), reading skills in Spanish decrease drastically across generations: 90% of the first generation reported reading abilities in Spanish, with only 68% of the second generation and 26% of the third generation reporting reading abilities.

aged Spanish speakers in Chicago: Spanish-language media, especially music and television, may mitigate language shift to English.

While Spanish-language media may not be the single factor that inhibits language loss, their overwhelming presence in the United States cannot be ignored, nor can their potential to mitigate language shift, whether through exposure, fomenting positive attitudes toward Spanish, or even job creation. Finally, Spanish-language media promise to be a fruitful field of study for language contact in the future. Over two decades ago, Lipski (1985) studied Cuban and Puerto Rican radio broadcasting in Miami, and found a tendency for phonological leveling in the speech of announcers. Because Spanish-language media have the potential to influence and form attitudes and identities about the Spanish language, they will be necessary to consider in the fields of language maintenance and dialect contact.

More recently, Otheguy, García and Roca (2000) noted the following:

The Spanish media boom is startling. There are more Spanish media in Miami than in Los Angeles and New York City combined (Fradd and Boswell, 1996, p. 290). *The Miami Herald* started a Spanish language supplement in late 1976, but in 1987 *El Nuevo Herald*, a distinct paper with professional editors and distinguished writers, came into being. By 1990 *El Nuevo Herald*, under Cuban American publisher Roberto Suárez, had a daily circulation of over 100,000. There are ten Spanish language radio stations in South Florida, among them WQAB, *La Cubanísima* (the Cubanest); WFAB, *La Fabulosa*; and WRHC, *Cadena Azul*. There are three Spanish language television stations in South Florida: WLTV, Channel 23, an affiliate of the Spanish International Network,

later renamed Univisión; Channel 51, the Miami affiliate of the Hispanic

Broadcasting Network (now Telemundo); and Channel 40, an independent station

known as TeleMiami (García, 1996, pp. 106-108). (pp. 175-176)

Indeed, Spanish-language media continue to grow in the United States, even in places

with Hispanic populations that are nowhere near those of Miami, Los Angeles, and New

York City, a topic discussed in the next section.

Spanish-language Media in Minnesota

This section introduces Spanish-language media in Minnesota. I emphasize print

media here because the current scholarship addresses only print media. Other media are

included, however, to paint a more complete picture of the current state of Spanish-

language media in this state.

Print media

The Minneapolis/St. Paul area has certainly experienced its own Spanish media

boom in the past decade that parallels the state's current Hispanic population of 250,258.

At the time of writing, there were five Spanish-language newspapers in regular

circulation in Minnesota. Three are published only in Minnesota: La Conexión Latina,

Vida y Sabor, and La Matraca. La Prensa is published throughout the United States;

however, it contains an insert, Gente de Minnesota, which is specific to this state. Finally,

Midwest Latino News is a bilingual newspaper serving Illinois, Iowa, Michigan,

Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Radio

At the time of writing, there were three radio stations broadcasting entirely in Spanish[14] in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area which play primarily Mexican music: KBGY, *La Mera Buena;* WDGY, *Radio Rey;* and KMNV/KMNQ, *La Invasora*.

Television

Television appears to be the least-developed Spanish-language medium in Minnesota. Univisión, the national Spanish-language channel, has a local affiliate, WUMN-13: Univisión Minneapolis. Because this affiliate follows national programming schedules, it includes very few local programs. However, WUMN-13 does include occasional segments in Spanish that cover local cultural events that are usually aired on the weekends.

Twin Cities Public Television (tpt) broadcasts programs from ECHO (or Emergency and Community Health Outreach) on a weekly basis in English, Spanish, Khmer, Somali, Vietnamese, Lao, and Hmong.

Summary of Literature Reviewed

In summary, this review of literature has addressed the relevant literature in the areas of critical discourse studies, multimodal studies, and Spanish in the United States. Regarding critical discourse studies, I noted that studies about texts created by minoritized groups are missing in the field of multimodal discourse studies, leading to an unbalanced understanding of the discursive representation of minoritized groups. I also

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[14] There are stations that broadcast occasionally in Spanish, for example KBEM, *Jazz 88*, broadcasts two to four hours every Sunday in Spanish.

outlined the theoretical underpinnings of the approaches I will utilize for the present study: Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach.

Regarding multimodal studies, I traced the history of multimodal social semiotics from non-social approaches to social approaches. While the latter are similar because they include social factors in their analyses, they are not otherwise homogeneous. Some social approaches do not focus on ideology; still others focus on ideology, but do not include other semiotic resources besides language. The approach I will use, Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotics, has been discussed regarding social and semiotic theory. Finally, I considered the new field of intersemiotic complementarity, noting the lack of agreement in terminology across approaches, and also reviewed applications of the study of intersemiotic complementarity.

With regards to Spanish in the United States, it is clear that immigration from Latin America to the United States results in Spanish being widely spoken in this country. However, in the face of the ubiquitous nature of English and the recent leveling off of immigration, it is probable that Spanish is lost by the third generation at the latest. The results of these observations are that Spanish-language media have experienced exponential growth reflecting the number of first-generation Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States, and that Spanish-language media have the potential to mitigate the certain loss of Spanish to English to some degree.

In the remaining chapters, I initially consider the verbal and visual modes separately so as to determine the ways in which each mode represents ideologies. I later consider the relationship of ideologies across these modes, which I designate

intersemiotic complementarity. This type of analysis will ultimately demonstrate the ways in which local semiotic texts perpetuate and challenge ideologies found in the English-language mainstream media and, moreover, the ways in which the semiotic texts in question have the potential to incite readers to take action and stand up against negative actions committed against Latino immigrants in the United States.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Overview of Methodology/Research Questions

In the current scholarship, I analyze ideological representations in Spanish-language print media from Minnesota. I combine elements from Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach and Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach to carry out a critical discourse analysis. I follow Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic approach to carry out a multimodal discourse analysis. I analyze intersemiotic complementarity, or the relationship between the visual and verbal modes, by noting the ways in which ideologies are similar or different across modes. Three research questions guide the investigation. In newspapers that target the Hispanic population of Minnesota:

1. What ideologies are represented verbally in Spanish-language media?

2. What ideologies are represented visually in Spanish-language media?

3. How do ideologies compare across the visual and verbal modes?

This chapter consists of a summary of pilot studies, the procedure for the selection of texts, characteristics of the newspapers La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, the methodological frameworks for the visual, verbal, and intersemiotic analyses, working definitions of pertinent terminology, and an outline of the process followed to analyze the data.

Pilot Studies

In this section, I outline two studies I have carried out whose research methods were similar to, and thus influence, those that are used in the current scholarship. In the first study, "Constructing 'them' from 'their' perspective" (Strom, 2013), I analyzed texts produced by, and primarily for, the Latino community in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area in Minnesota. I carried out a critical discourse analysis of two local news articles found in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina[15] based the approaches of Fairclough (2001) and van Dijk (2008a) in order to ascertain the construction of identity, the production and interpretation of text, and the reproduction of ideology and power. This analysis was accompanied by a visual analysis of two advertisements found in the local entertainment newspaper Vida y Sabor based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) multimodal social semiotic approach that addressed ideology and power in the design of multimodal texts.

Results of the verbal analysis indicated that different surface structures perform the same ideological work of presenting Latinos as non-agentive social actors. One text (see Appendix A) presented unauthorized Latino immigrants in Minnesota as "agents"; however, their agency was undermined because they were either agents in negative situations (e.g., "prestando servicios" [loaning services] or "limpiando baños" [cleaning bathrooms]) or were, in fact, being acted upon by more powerful forces (e.g., "fueron despedidos" [they were fired] or "el miedo se apoderó de nosotros" [fear took over us]). The manner in which this text called upon readers' Members' Resources to evoke certain

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[15] Note that these are the same newspapers in which the news articles and accompanying images were found for the current investigation.

background information, together with the linguistic elements mentioned here, led this text to perpetuate a hierarchy where unauthorized Latino immigrants are less powerful than Americans.

The second text (Appendix A) described "El Día de Mexico" [Mexico Day] in Minneapolis, which highlighted the business connections between Minnesota and Mexico. In this text, the absence of unauthorized Latino immigrants served to undermine their success in the business sector. The comparison of businesses created by Latinos with a highly successful multinational corporation, Best Buy, created by Americans, demonstrated the superiority of the United States to Mexico. In this way, the second text reproduced, rather than challenged, typical ideologies and power structures.

This verbal analysis demonstrated how texts produced by the Latino community for a Latino audience presented Latinos as non-agentive social actors being acted upon by government agencies and as a group that is inferior to Americans in the international business sector.

On the other hand, the multimodal analysis pointed to the slightly more innovative nature of multimodal texts where Latinos were presented, to differing extents, as being powerful. In one image (Image 1; the least innovative advertisement) Latinos represented the "Them" group and part of the "Us" group; in a second image (Image 2; the most innovative advertisement), Latinos were the only social actors constituting what van Dijk (2008b) calls the ideological square, which is where members of the majority group, or "we/us", are portrayed in a positive light, and members of minoritized groups, or "they/them" are portrayed negatively. Thus, in Image 2, Latinos represented "Us" and "Them". One could assert that these innovative uses of the ideological square are not, in

fact, positive because they perpetuate the concept of unauthorized Latinos as the "Them", and therefore less powerful group. While this is true, it should be noted that the discursive construction of Latinos with which most readers are familiar does afford Latinos membership in the "Us" group. Since the "Us" group held the greatest amount of power in the ideological square, Latinos gained power when they were associated, even marginally, with the "Us" group. In this way, the multimodal texts analyzed in this study challenged the typical "Us/Them" dichotomy.

Image 1. Multimodal Text, Clearwater Street Chiropractic Clinic

Clearwater Street

¿Tiene Dolor?
¡Tenemos la respuesta!
Clearwater Street Chiropractic Clinic

¡7 años luchando por los Latinos de Minnesota!

LO QUE DICEN NUESTROS PACIENTES:

"Usted puede confiar en los servicios de la Clinica Clearwater Street Chiropractic, esta equipada para brindar un mejor servicio en todo tipo de Dolores y accidentes. El Doctor John Doe y su equipo estan capacitados y lo más importante siempre podemos confiar en ellos a cualquier hora y en tu propio idioma porque siempre están para ayudarnos a toda la comunidad hispana."

Dr. John Doe

y su equipo de la salud

Maribel Arellano y Rogelio Barba, Pacientes

¡Dejenos cuidar de su salud!

¡La esquina de la salud! 123-456-7891

1234 Clearwater Street 1er Piso Suite 123 City, ST 12345

Image 2. Multimodal Text, La Cruz Roja con Juanes

The results from Strom (2013) have implications for the current study because they indicated disparities in expressing power and ideologies in the verbal mode versus the visual mode.

The object of the second pilot study, "Inglés *Sin* Barreras?" (Strom, under review), was a dynamic medium: a television commercial. More specifically, I considered a Spanish-language television commercial for *Inglés Sin Barreras*, a highly popular and highly advertised English-language program. The analytical framework consisted of a multimodal social semiotic analysis based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) social semiotic analysis and Hallidayan (1978, 1985) linguistics in order to ascertain how ideology and power are expressed in verbal and visual modes of communication.

The analysis of the verbal mode focused on ideologically motivated vocabulary, agency, and pronouns (see Appendix B). Ideologically motivated vocabulary was predicated on barriers that separate Latin America from the United States, and was

realized in binary oppositions between English and Spanish, more and less advanced

social positions, and more and less economic worth. Following Kress's (2010) definition

of ideology, the commercial for "Inglés Sin Barreras" suggested through its vocabulary a

worldview where Latinos must cross barriers to become fluent in English, acquire a

higher social status, and be more financially sound. The ideologies in this commercial

concurred with those Ullman (2010) found in an *Inglés Sin Barreras* travel lesson, where

economic success and an advanced social position represented integration in the United

States, both of which could be achieved by learning English.

What is more, Ullman (2010) noted the disparate positioning of the learner who is

at once a wealthy tourist and an immigrant destined for work in hotels, restaurants, and

landscaping. This aligns with what is observed in Strom (under review): The viewer is at

times presented as socially proximate to, and at times socially distant from, the

represented participant, a pattern that recurs throughout the commercial. Based on

Kress's (2010) definition of power, then, the interactive participant's social position was

relatively inferior and equal to the represented participant in the commercial for "Inglés

Sin Barreras".

Because neither the interactive nor the represented participant was highly

agentive, it appeared that the relative social positions of the participants were

symmetrical concerning agency. This was suggestive of Fairclough's (2001) notion of

power behind a text, rather than power in a text. In this way, it was possible that power

existed in the institution behind "Inglés Sin Barreras", rather than in the represented or

interactive participants. The represented participant's use of "usted" [you (formal)] to

address the viewer contrasted with his use of an inclusive "nosotros" [us]. The inclusive

"nosotros" [us] built on the overarching ideology of barriers by demonstrating that the viewer could overcome them and integrate into the United States, just as the represented participant had. However, the use of "usted" [you (formal)] to demonstrate respect was best explained as a result of the interrelationship between the verbal and visual modes.

The analysis of the visual mode focused on gaze, size of frame, horizontal and vertical camera angles, and left/right placement (see Appendix C). Proximity between the represented and interactive participants was communicated through direct gaze, medium and close frame sizes, and frontal horizontal angles; no clear patterns emerged from the analysis of vertical camera angle. Thus, the social proximity between the represented and interactive participants in the visual mode contrasts with the social distance established by the ideologically contested vocabulary in the verbal mode.

In Strom (under review), the overall function of the multimodal text was described in terms of Royce's (2007) intersemiotic complementarity, which determines the extent to which modes relate to one another within a text (Bowcher, 2007). Modes were highly related when they converged, and less strongly related when they diverged. For example, the interpretation of "usted" [you (formal)] converged with the interpretation of left/right alignment. Because the direct gaze of the represented participant indicated solidarity, "usted" [you (formal)] likely communicated respect rather than social distance. Similarly, the overarching ideology based on barriers in the verbal mode appeared to have motivated the marked alignment of frames in the visual mode. On the other hand, the analysis also indicated that power across the verbal and visual modes in the commercial was divergent. Such was the case for the size of frame, which indicated symmetrical power relations between the representative and interactive

participants, versus the aforementioned ideologies in the verbal mode that communicated asymmetrical power relations between the same participants. Thus, the relationship between modes in this commercial was characterized by convergence and divergence.

The simultaneous convergence and divergence of modes was not surprising because the goal of the commercial "Inglés Sin Barreras" is to sell a product. Bateman (2008) and Lemke (2002) argue that opacity may be a characteristic of certain texts. For example, Lim (2007) spoke of intentionally weak Flow in advertisements that encourages engagement and provokes the thoughts of the viewer (p. 207). It is possible that the coincident convergence and divergence of modes in "Inglés Sin Barreras" functioned to incite action on the part of the viewer, where he/she would feel compelled to change the discrepancy between his/her position and that of the commercial's announcer, Rafael Sigler.[16] The commercial motivates viewers by implying that by simply purchasing the product they will overcome linguistic, social, and economic barriers. In this line, the emphasis of this commercial on the utility of *Inglés Sin Barreras* as a tool not so much to learn language, but to cross barriers, fits with what Ullman (2010) calls an often-bought but seldom-used program (p. 12).

To conclude, "Inglés Sin Barreras" is an example of a dynamic text in which the interrelationship between modes is convergent and divergent. These findings echo those of other scholars (Bowcher, 2007; Kress, 2004; Norris, 2004b) by demonstrating that multimodal analyses are necessary to adequately ascertain the meaning-making potential of a text.

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[16] Note that Rafael Sigler has appeared in at least 15 commercials for *Inglés Sin Barreras*, and thus is well-known for many viewers.

Similar to what was found in Strom (2013), Strom (under review) demonstrates the importance of carrying out critical analyses on both the verbal and visual modes of a text because, although they may function differently, they are "consumed" simultaneously by the viewer to create a single interpretation. Thus, I use these studies as a point of departure for the present scholarship, where I employ similar theoretical, methodological, and analytical frameworks, although on a larger scale.

Methods

Selection of Texts

As of the 2010 Census, Minnesota's population was approximately 5.3 million; (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas and Albert, 2011, p. 6); of this number, 250,258 were of Hispanic or Latino origin, constituting 4.7 percent of the state's population. The Latino population in Minnesota was 67 percent Mexican origin, while the remaining 33 percent was of other non-Mexican origin (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009b). These data are reflected in the focus of the Spanish-language media in Minnesota, which is largely centered on Mexico, while other countries, especially Ecuador, are represented to a lesser extent.

While reports of Hispanic or Latino origin are useful for understanding the demographics of Minnesota, two other numbers are even more useful for the current study: the percent of foreign-born immigrants and language spoken at home. Given that new immigrants have the potential to mitigate the rapid loss of language to English, large numbers of recently arrived immigrants point to the potential preservation of Spanish in the United States. In light of the observation that Spanish is lost quickly after the first generation (cf. Hidalgo, 2008; Potowski, 2004, 2001; Rumbaut, Massey and Bean, 2006;

Villa and Rivera-Mills, 2009), reports of language spoken at home may be indicative to what extent language is maintained across generations. Forty-two percent of Minnesota's Hispanic population is foreign-born; of this population, 80 percent cite speaking a language other than English, presumably Spanish, at home (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009b). Perhaps most significant is the year when foreign-born Hispanics arrived in the United States: 20 percent arrived before 1990, 34 percent arrived between 1990 and 1999, and 40 percent arrived in 2000 or later (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009b). From this data, one can conclude that although over 50 percent of Hispanics in Minnesota are native-born, those who are foreign-born are likely to have arrived within the last decade, and appear to speak mostly Spanish. Simple calculations[17] indicate that, at the time of writing, there are approximately 84,000 foreign-born Hispanics in Minnesota whose predominant language at home is Spanish. Thus, it is not surprising that Spanish-language media in Minnesota include five newspapers, three radio stations, and one television station. These data, as well as the work of other researchers (cf. Carreira, 2002; Lipski, 1985; Suro, 2004) make it clear that radio, television, and advertising will need to be investigated in the future for their role in Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. However, given the limitations of the present format, it seems reasonable to focus solely on news articles and their accompanying images in print media.

The data include 24 news articles selected from March 2010 to July 2011 (see Appendix D for the full texts). Of these articles, photographs or images accompany 15 (see Appendix D for the photographs and images). There are fewer images than articles

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[17] The calculations are as follows: 42 percent of the 250,258 total Latinos in Minnesota gives 105,108 for the total foreign-born population. 80 percent of the foreign-born population, or 84,086 Hispanics, reported speaking a language other than English at home.

because of the rather strict criteria I used to select the texts. The three criteria used to select articles from the local Spanish-language newspapers of free circulation in Minnesota, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are as follows:

1. Article must have been written in Spanish originally (no translated articles were considered)

This is important because I am concerned with the ideologies of the Spanish speaking Latino community. While the newspapers may contain translations carried out by members of this community, they were originally written by a person from a different community. Depending on the degree to which the translated text is faithful to the original, it could represent the ideologies of the original creator, rather than the translator, thus reflecting non-local ideologies.

2. Article must not have been from a wire service or other news group (e.g., Noticias México, or Notimex, was not considered)

Similar to the previous requisite, articles from wire services, although reflecting the ideologies of Spanish speakers in the United States, do not necessarily reflect local ideologies. To reiterate, then, because the goal of the present scholarship is to determine the ideologies of the local Spanish-speaking community, articles must be written by local writers.

3. The topic must reflect issues concerning the local Latino community: immigrant marches, workplace issues, and laws and ordinances affecting immigrants

In line with my wish to consider local ideologies, I limit the topics of articles to those addressing matters that affect Latinos in Minnesota. What is more, I focus on recurring

themes so that ideologies can be traced diachronically in a single newspaper, and synchronically across the two newspapers in question.

I found these newspapers in local Hispanic grocery stores, restaurants, *panaderías* [bakeries], and clothing stores. With the object of study defined, the next section gives details about the newspapers in which the 24 news articles and 15 accompanying photographs and images were published.

Characteristics of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina

The goal of this section is to establish a base from which I interpret the visual and verbal analyses of ideology in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. I identified four key figures working at the newspapers in question who could speak about the process of writing for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. In this section, I present the results of interviews with Alberto Monserrate, owner of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota; Rigoberto Castro, Editor in Chief of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota; Sergio Jara, owner of La Conexión Latina; and Wilmer Díaz, Editor in Chief of La Conexión Latina (see Appendix E for the questions to which the owners and editors of each newspaper responded).

Background

La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

La Prensa was founded in 1991 by Mario Duarte, a Salvadoran immigrant who moved to the United States in 1982 to escape the Civil War in El Salvador (Minnesota Historical Society, 2010). In 2002, Alberto Monserrate, owner of Latino Communications

Network (LCN), bought La Prensa. Since its acquisition by LCN, the newspaper has

undergone three major changes: First, La Prensa used to be bilingual, because it was

directed at the well-established Mexican community in St. Paul's West Side,[18] and

peripherally, at non-native speakers of Spanish. In the early 2000's, LCN realized that the

English portion of the newspaper was not achieving the quality that they had expected,

and that those who had read the articles in English were likely skilled enough Spanish

speakers to understand a monolingual Spanish version of the newspaper. This, coupled

with the enormous effort required to publish a weekly bilingual newspaper led

Monserrate to decide that the newspaper would omit articles in English and focus solely

on publications in Spanish.

The second change to happen to La Prensa occurred in 2005, which, according to

Monserrate, was a year that marked "major problems for the newspaper industry, and La

Prensa was no exception," (A. Monserrate, personal communication, January 28, 2012).

Previously, in 1997, Juan Carlos Alanis, a native of Monterrey Mexico, had started a

newspaper called "Nuestra Gente de Minnesota", which was originally devoted to the

new Latino immigrant community in Minnesota. The newspaper was later renamed

"Gente de Minnesota", and was soon generating three times more revenue than La Prensa

(although La Prensa had historically generated three times more revenue than Gente de

Minnesota). This may be explained by the respective audiences of La Prensa and Gente

de Minnesota: The former, as noted above, attracted a more educated audience within a

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[18] The Mexican community in the Lower West Side of St. Paul is the oldest Latino community in Minnesota (Valdés, 2000), dating back to the 1910's. This early population arose from the nearby railroad yards and increased as "the American Beet Sugar Company (later American Crystal) directed families there in the fall of 1923, after havest ended," (Valdés, 2000, p. 25). The community grew to 1,500 by the 1930's and nearly 6,000 by the 1950's (Villone, 1997). As of 2009, this population had decreased to 3,128 (City-data.com, 2012).

well-established Mexican community, whereas the latter attracted more recently arrived

Mexican immigrants. It is not surprising that the need for media directed at recently

arrived immigrants grew during this time, as Latino immigrants accounted for just nine

percent of the United States population in 1990 with a total of 22.4 million, but expanded

to 16 percent of the population by 2010 with a total of over 50 million (Pew Hispanic

Center, 2012). Similarly, as of 2011 in Minnesota, Latinos accounted for over 261,000 of

the state's 5.3 million total population, up from just over 53,000 of a total 4.3 million in

1990. Thus, faced with changes in the Latino community in Minnesota, Monserrate

acquired Gente de Minnesota and subsequently decided to combine it with La Prensa in

2005 to appeal to a broader Latino community. The newspaper then took the shape it has

today: La Prensa is the overarching publication, while Gente de Minnesota constitutes a

section of approximately four pages of the newspaper.

The final modification carried out by LCN concerned the appearance of the

newspaper: Previously, it was published as broadsheet; today, it has a tabloid format. In

other words, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota now looks, visually, like a magazine, which

is uncommon for newspapers in the Twin Cities, and is a characteristic LCN is proud of

and will keep in the future.

Today, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota is a free weekly publication that has a

circulation of 10,000, plus 3,000 to 6,000 hits per digital edition. Its total estimated

readership is 70,000 per edition (Latino Communications Network, n.d.). Of the 32-page

newspaper, four pages are dedicated to local news, which, as mentioned earlier, is the

Gente de Minnesota section (which serves as the object of study in the current

investigation). Approximately eight full pages are dedicated to advertising. The

remaining 20 pages contain sections for opinion pieces, news from Latin America, news from the United States, news from Mexico, international news, and other miscellaneous pieces including sports, entertainment, health, general interest, financial, and classifieds.

While the newspaper has made attempts to distribute at stores with high volumes of customers, like Target and the supermarket Cub Foods, it has only received permission to distribute in Latino businesses in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, such as small grocery stores, *panaderías* [bakeries], and restaurants.

La Conexión Latina

In contrast to La Prensa's 21-year history, La Conexión Latina has a comparatively short history. This newspaper began in 2004 when Sergio Jara, an Ecuadorian immigrant who had studied journalism, came to Minnesota seeking a job in journalism. When he arrived, he realized that there were various media outlets dedicated to the Mexican community, but that there were none targeted to the Ecuadorian community. He has since dedicated his career to creating media for the Ecuadorian community in Minnesota.

In the beginning, La Conexión Latina consisted of one sheet and, following Jara's original vision, was known as the "newspaper" of the Ecuadorian community. As the Ecuadorian community in the greater Twin Cities grew, so, too, did La Conexión Latina, to reach its current format of approximately 32 pages. What is more, Jara has recognized the need to appeal to a wider audience and, as such, has recently been shifting the focus of the newspaper so that approximately half of each publication appeals specifically to

the Ecuadorian community and the other half appeals to the entire Latino community in Minnesota.

La Conexión Latina is currently a free bi-weekly publication with a circulation of 5,000. Two to four pages of each 32-page publication contain local news, which constitute the object of the current investigation. Approximately nine full pages are dedicated to advertising in La Conexión Latina. The remaining 21 to 23 pages include sections for opinion pieces, immigration news, international news, news from Ecuador, sports (international, national, and local), and other miscellaneous pieces including restaurant reviews, local services, classifieds, and entertainment.

The distribution of the newspaper is focused in Northeast Minneapolis, where there is the largest concentration of Ecuadorians. The rest of the publications are disseminated throughout the Twin Cities in a distinctive fashion: Personnel from La Conexión Latina hand out copies at local churches, *fiestas*, celebrations, concerts and events for the Latino community. The newspaper has even reached agreements with local soccer clubs and their sponsors to hand out copies during soccer games and tournaments; in return, the sponsors advertise in La Conexión Latina.

Ownership

I emphasize here a concept that is often addressed in media studies, especially in the work of political economists (cf. Gitlin, 1979; Gray, 2005; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Meehan, 2005; McAllister, 1996; Schiller, 1992), but that is not always considered in critical discourse analyses: ownership of media. Van Dijk (2008b) writes, "It is indeed crucial to examine who, using what processes, controls the means or institutions of

ideological (re)production, such as the media," (p. 35). What is more, Delbene (2008) has found that discursive constructions, as well as the use of specific terms such as "illegal" and "undocumented", are contingent upon the corporations who own newspapers. Her research suggests tension between Latino authors who desire to write in a way that supports immigrants but who, at the same time, wish to align themselves with the Anglo-American owners of the newspapers.

While the focus of the current investigation does not allow for a complete analysis of the effects of ownership on the discursive representation of ideologies in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, I make some initial observations while emphasizing that this is an area that deserves further study in the future.

The parent company of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota is Latino Communications Network (LCN), whose owner is Alberto Monserrate. LCN also owns Vida y Sabor, which is currently the most successful form of Spanish-language print media in the Twin Cities metropolitan area with a circulation of 15,000, as well as the local radio station KMNV/KMNQ, *La Invasora*. La Conexión Latina is currently owned by Sergio Jara. However, La Conexión Latina works in conjunct with the eponymous company, which is heavily influenced by the advertising group Doble Click Advertising. La Conexión Latina also broadcasts a weekly radio show on Sunday afternoons on KBGY, *La Mera Buena*.

From this, the newspapers I study for the current investigation are locally owned by Latino immigrants. In this way, the tension between Anglo ownership and a Latino readership mentioned by Delbene (2008) is likely not present in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Regarding van Dijk's query about the processes through which ideologies are reproduced, my interviews have indicated that writers

appear to play a critical role in establishing both which topics are covered by the newspapers and the manner in which they are presented. In other words, writers likely control to a large degree the representation of ideologies in these newspapers. The background of contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is addressed in the following section; the influence of the background of these writers on the discursive reproduction of ideologies in these newspapers is addressed in Chapter 4, Findings.

Writers

I focus here on the process by which each newspaper determines who may or may not contribute articles to each edition. Of note is how this process seems to reflect the state of the economy during the time period from which I selected the articles and images for analysis: While the newspapers had previously experienced success, their reality at that time was marked by downsizing and reductions. The following summaries of journalists for each newspaper underscore this reality as both newspapers work with very few staff writers and often have to rely on contributions from the general public to fill the pages of their publications.

La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

There are a myriad of contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, in large part due to the economic downturn at the time of writing and the impossibility of maintaining as many full-time journalists as the newspaper would like. For example, around 2002, when Monserrate acquired La Prensa, the newspaper used to have six to seven full-time

writers, an editor, an assistant editor, and a publisher. Today, La Prensa/Gente de

Minnesota has one part-time writer, an editor, a part-time assistant editor and a publisher.

Given this drastic reduction in personnel, the newspaper must rely on other sources for

news material. These sources are:

- Wire services such as Notimex (Mexico) and Pulsar (South America)

- Local news organizations such as Twin Cities Daily Planet and Minnesota Public
  Radio

- Other local organizations such as Derechos de los Inmigrantes de Minnesota
  Comité de Acción [Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee] (MIRAc),
  the Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha [Center of Workers United in
  Struggle] (CTUL), and the Consulates of Mexico, Ecuador, El Salvador and
  Guatemala

- Local "citizen writers", or community members who attend events and then send
  in pieces about what they observed.

Two comments must be made at this point that will play a role in the critical analysis of

the 24 local news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota. The first is that, according

to Monserrate, this reduction in staff writers has led to a drastic decrease in the amount of

original content the newspaper can produce. In other words, the newspaper tends to

reproduce material originally intended for other audiences. The second observation is

also related to the decrease in personnel: Due to economic limitations, La Prensa/Gente

de Minnesota has to accept almost any contribution that is made in order to fill its pages

and, for this reason, very few limitations are placed on what will be published. In fact, the

Editor of the newspaper, Rigoberto Castro, asserted that he would accept anything to be

published so long as it pertains to the Latino community of Minnesota and does not contain any slanderous material.

My initial conclusions are two: First, it would be difficult to make any preliminary inferences about the ideologies discursively represented in the local news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota due to the heterogeneous backgrounds of the authors. As a result, the second preliminary conclusion is that it will be essential to know who the author of each article is, as well as introductory information about his/her background, in order to understand the ideologies that would unquestionably be a part of his/her writing.

La Conexión Latina

In contrast to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, there are five staff members who provide original content for La Conexión Latina. However, this content is primarily reserved for editorials and the aforementioned miscellaneous sections (e.g., restaurant reviews, entertainment). The sources for news material at La Conexión Latina are:

- Wire services such as El Tiempo (Ecuador) and El Extra (Ecuador)

- The local organization MIRAc

- International (Ecuador) individual contributors

- Staff members such as the owner, editor, and graphic designer

- Local "citizen writers"

In a comment that echoes that of the Editor of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, the Editor of La Conexión Latina, Wilmer Díaz, said that the newspaper is open to contributions from anyone, as long as the person writes about issues that interest the Latino community of Minnesota. For this reason, I repeat the preliminary conclusion I made above: It will

be essential to know introductory information about the background of each contributor in order to understand the ideologies that would unquestionably be a part of his/her writing.

Audience

La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

The primary audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota is the largest segment of Latinos in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, which consists of first-generation "blue collar" Mexican immigrants. The secondary audience is a professional "white collar" Latino audience. It bears repeating that this audience is a result of the conglomeration of Gente de Minnesota (originally directed at the blue collar audience) and La Prensa (originally directed at the white collar audience) in 2005.

Castro mentions that the changes in the readership have reflected immigration patterns. For example, when immigration was increasing in the early 2000's, so, too, did the audience. More recently, many Latinos are returning to their home countries while others are arriving to Minnesota to flee anti-immigrant laws in other states, both of which lead to the transitory nature of the audience.

La Conexión Latina

The current primary audience of La Conexión Latina is the Latino community in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Most recently, La Conexión Latina has made efforts to reflect changes in the local Latino community in the content of the newspaper. Thus, as stated above, the newspaper has changed from dedicating its entire content to the Ecuadorian community to only half, while dedicating the remaining half to the Latino

community in general. Employees at La Conexión Latina emphasized that their newspaper appeals to all generations, as it contains a variety of topics interesting to all ages.

Of note is how feedback to the editor of La Conexión Latina has underscored disparities in the educational levels of its readers. Díaz recounts how he has received negative feedback on highly technical pieces that some readers say they cannot understand; in contrast, Díaz has received feedback from readers complaining about articles that were too "simple" or contained Ecuadorian regionalisms that were distracting or that the audience did not understand. Thus, one can infer that the Latino community in Minnesota is not homogeneous, and that the audience of La Conexión Latina has, indeed, expanded to include other Spanish-speaking groups than Ecuadorians.

Goals

<u>La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota</u>

The goals of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota are to inform, educate and raise awareness for the Hispanic community. For this reason, the newspaper attempts to cover a variety of topics, from culture to news to fashion. Another interest of the newspaper is to inform its readers about immigration so that they are aware of what is happening locally and nationally concerning laws, ordinances, and amendments affecting Latino immigrants in the United States.

Monserrate acknowledges that the goals of the newspaper imply a particular "left-leaning" slant, which he proposes to maintain in the future as it has served the newspaper and its readers well in the past.

La Conexión Latina

The goals of La Conexión Latina are to inform and educate Latinos in Minnesota about issues that affect them, such as where they should go to report a crime and what rights they have as immigrants. This newspaper also looks to inform Latinos about cultural knowledge from the United States with which they might not be familiar. For example, they write pieces about baseball and basketball not to erase the Latino aspects of the community, but instead to create awareness, most especially for those members of the community who do not have access to the Internet. Finally, La Conexión Latina is dedicated to creating unique pieces about local news through investigative journalism, which, according to Díaz, is rare for Spanish-language media in Minnesota.

Themes and Topics

La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

The themes and topics covered by La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota are in line with the goals of the newspaper: Because their goal is to inform, educate and raise awareness, they publish articles that will inform the greatest number of Latinos in Minnesota. Given that the majority of the Latino population in Minnesota is from central Mexico, the majority of the articles concern the central region of Mexico; likewise, because there are substantial Ecuadorian and Salvadoran populations in Minnesota, articles concerning these countries are also included, but to a lesser extent than those concerning Mexico. Given that the newspaper is aimed at the immigrant population, the theme of immigration is always a priority for the newspaper. Finally, due to the aforementioned "left-leaning

slant" of the newspaper, it contains many articles concerning activism on behalf of the Latino community of Minnesota.

Monserrate commented that the onus to choose topics falls as much on the newspaper as it does on the community that it serves. In other words, the editors and writers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota will cover the topics the community has suggested it would like to know about, but it also covers topics that it deems important.

La Conexión Latina

Following the goals of the newspaper, La Conexión Latina includes themes and topics that inform and educate Latinos in Minnesota about issues that affect them. They focus on local themes related to religion, local politicians, sports, and education, to name a few. Whenever possible, the personnel at La Conexión Latina carry out investigative reports or interviews to contribute unique primary material to the newspaper that is tailored to the needs of the community.

La Conexión Latina relies on its readers to propose topics and themes that they would like to appear in the newspaper. What is distinctive about this newspaper is the fact that the Ecuadorian Consulate in Minnesota is one of its most important sources for determining which topics should be included in each publication. This means that, different from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, there is involvement, albeit to a limited extent, of a governmental entity in La Conexión Latina, which could ultimately influence the content of the newspaper.

Conclusion

To summarize, the histories of the two newspapers in question differ in that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota has existed for 21 years, whereas La Conexión Latina has existed for only eight. While each newspaper had historically focused on more specific communities in Minnesota (La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota focusing on the Mexican community; La Conexión Latina focusing on the Ecuadorian community), recently they have shifted to a more general Latino focus, reflecting changes in the immigrant community in Minnesota. Consequently, the goals of the newspapers are similar in that they both propose to inform the Latino community in Minnesota about issues that are important to this community. The contributors to both newspapers vary greatly from international and local professional news services to international and local individual, or "citizen", writers.

Thus, there appear to be more commonalities than differences between La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión de Latina. This seems to be especially true in the present day, as each newspaper has gradually shifted to appeal to a broader audience that increasingly overlaps across the newspapers.

From this summary of the newspapers that I study in the current investigation, the following points are most pertinent to the next stages of analysis: First, as there are very few limits on who can contribute to the newspapers, it will be important to consider the background of each writer and how this may affect the ideologies presented in his/her writing. Second, the audience for both newspapers consists of local Latino immigrants, more specifically, recently arrived blue-collar immigrants who originate primarily from Mexico and Ecuador. Finally, the topics and themes covered in each newspaper are

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driven, to a certain extent, by the needs of the audience. However, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota sometimes determines what topics and themes are important for the community and La Conexión Latina sometimes allows the Ecuadorian Consulate to determine these topics and themes.

Methodological Framework

In this section, I explain and justify the methodological framework I used to analyze ideology in Spanish-language media in Minnesota. First, I address the unique combination of approaches I use to carry out a critical discourse analysis, followed by the social semiotic approach I use to carry out a multimodal analysis.

Verbal Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, I outline the methodological framework I employ for the critical discourse analysis of 24 Spanish-language news articles. In the Review of Literature, I explained two approaches within critical discourse studies: Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. In Table 3 below I present the three dimensions of each scholar's approach. Fairclough's approach consists of text, discourse, and social practice; van Dijk's approach consists of discourse, cognition, and society. Because I will use parts of each approach for the current study, it is helpful to underscore where and how the approaches overlap, and where they diverge.

Table 3. Three-dimensional approaches of Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk

Fairclough	Van Dijk
Text ⟷	Discourse
Discourse	Cognition
Social Practice ⟷	Society

The first component of Fairclough's approach, text, is most closely related to van Dijk's "discourse" level. Similarly, the third component, social practice, is most closely related to van Dijk's "society" level. However, the second component, discourse, does not have an analogue in van Dijk's approach. I argue that this is due to a difference between the approaches of these scholars mentioned earlier: cognition. Parts of Fairclough's second component, discourse, fit with van Dijk's "discourse", while others correspond best to van Dijk's "society". Because Fairclough does not use the category "cognition" in his approach, there are two options: the first would be to disregard cognition and simply incorporate van Dijk's "discourse" and "society" into Fairclough's three dimensions. The second would be to determine in what ways the two approaches can be reconciled in order to incorporate cognition. I have chosen the latter for the current study for two reasons. First, the practical applications of Fairclough's approach provide a necessary balance to van Dijk's heavily theoretical approach. Second, given the strong arguments in favor of the use of cognition in critical discourse studies (cf. Chilton, 2005; Hart and Lukeš, 2006; Sánchez-García, 2007; van Dijk, 2008a, b), I incorporate cognition in order to determine the reality and the explanatory power of cognitive structures. In my research, I have not found a critical discourse analysis that has employed cognition in the way van Dijk outlines it in his work. Thus, there is no model to follow for incorporating cognition.

The next step, then, is to determine how to collapse Fairclough's and van Dijk's approaches into a single methodological framework. It seems reasonable to maintain van Dijk's "discourse" and "society" levels, given the similarities between these and text and social practice, respectively. The only question remaining is how cognition can fit into Fairclough's approach in light of his apparent rejection of cognition. In the review of literature, I indicated how Fairclough's intertextuality and Members' Resources appeared to allude to a cognitive interface, but were never described as functioning cognitively (Attia, 2007; van Dijk, 2008a). Of note are the similarities between van Dijk's context and Fairclough's MR: both refer to background information used by interlocutors to aid in the interpretation of a communicative event. I propose the retention of the level "cognition", to which I assign van Dijk's Knowledge Device (K-device).

To summarize, in the current study, the theoretical underpinning of the verbal analysis consists of a dialectal relationship between discourse and society that is mediated by cognition, thereby incorporating parts of Norman Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to form a single, hybrid approach to the critical analysis of discourse.

Visual Analysis: Multimodal Social Semiotic Analysis

In this section, I outline the methodological framework I employ for the critical analysis of 15 images that accompany local Spanish-language news articles. The analytical framework of multimodal social semiotics is similar to those of other fields (e.g., critical discourse studies and Cultural Studies) in that it is not pre-determined.

Frameworks are adopted, adapted, and developed as they are needed, often according to the medium or modes upon which the investigator will focus. Because this is among the first studies to analyze ideology in Spanish-language media, I follow the most useful approach within multimodal analysis for understanding ideology: Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) framework for multimodal social semiotics. By adhering to this approach, I make the following assumptions: 1. All discourse is multimodal, 2. There is a dialectal relationship between social and semiotic structures, and 3. Sign-making is a motivated process. From these assumptions, it follows that in order to study social structures, for example ideology, one must study discourse, in this case the visual mode consisting of images. Furthermore, it follows that these social structures realized in semiotic systems represent the motivations of the sign-maker, and thus discourse is indicative of the motivations of the creator, which are in turn indicative of social structures. These assumptions point to the dialectal relationship between semiosis, or sign-making, and social structures noted above in Chapter 2, Literature Review, and how the study of semiosis is indicative of the social motivations behind the creatinos of semiosis.

Within multimodal studies, the choice of which mode one studies is also not pre-determined: "A multimodal account does not a priori privilege any one semiotic over another, although the practice itself may of course foreground one particular one," (Iedema, 2003, p. 40). In Chapter 2, I summarized Bateman's (2011) critique of the a priori assumption of the existence of certain modes in many multimodal studies. I concluded that, in the present study, I would take into account Bateman's suggestion of

considering the medium in question first, and then the possible realizations of modes within that medium, and then determining which modes to study.

In the present study the medium in question is a static medium: newspapers. Before identifying modal possibilities within a particular medium, it is useful to establish a definition of mode. As I follow the multimodal social semiotic approach which holds that meaning-making is social in nature, I have selected a definition of mode that aligns with this approach: "Mode is a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication," (Kress, 2009, p. 54; Kress, 2010, p. 79). In the case of newspapers, which are static media, the overaching modes that have been attested are text (written), image, layout, and color (if printed in color). Keeping in mind Bateman's comments, it bears noting that some of the aforementioned modes may be further divided into meaning-making structures: In other words, it is possible for modes to be contained within modes. For example, within text one could consider the meaning-making potential of size or font; within image one could consider the meaning-making potential of color or placement of elements.

Having determined the potential modes available to study in print media, I now explain and justify the modes I will consider in the current study, followed by a caveat. Because this is one of the first studies to analyze a Spanish-language semiotic text using a multimodal social semiotics framework, I have chosen to analyze the most salient items in the newspapers in question, which are the articles and the photographs and images that accompany these articles. Furthermore, it seems appropriate that one of the first studies

of Spanish-language semiotic texts consider text and image because it follows Kress and van Leeuwen's framework, which addresses specifically the meaning-making potential of text and image in multimodal texts. Henceforth, I use the terms verbal and visual modes generally to refer to the specific modes text and image. I follow Fairclough's dialectal-relational and van Dijk's socio-cognitive frameworks and Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic framework to determine which meaning-making structures I analyze within the textual and visual modes, respectively (these will be outlined in greater detail in the "Data Processing/Analysis" section below).

With regards to the realization of meaning through modes in print media, there are undoubtedly many more modes I could have analyzed, including modes within the ones I have chosen, such as the size or font of the text, or the color of the images. This is, of course, a limitation of the current study that points to avenues for future research.

Analysis of Relationship Between Modes

In this section, I outline the methodological framework I utilize to compare ideologies across the verbal and visual modes. I follow the assumption that several scholars in multimodal studies make by holding that, rather than analyzing a single mode at a time, the audience tends to consume multimodal texts as a gestalt (Lemke, 2009; Norris, 2004a; van Leeuwen, 2004). For this reason, although the analysis of individual modes is necessary to be able to carry out a cross-mode analysis, it cannot stand alone in understanding the representation of ideologies in multimodal texts. Thus, it is crucial to analyze the ideologies that result from the juxtaposition of the modes that comprise the text. In order to carry out such an analysis, I do not follow a specific approach or adopt

specific terminology from any scholar because, from the review of literature, approaches and terminology overlap to a great extent, while at times contradicting each other. In light of the lack of consensus regarding terminology in the field, I simply observe whether the ideologies expressed across modes are similar or different. If they are similar, I will note in which way(s) they are similar: Do they repeat, or clarify? If they are different, I will note in which way(s) they are different: Do they offer different ideologies, or are these ideologies in conflict with each other? Finally, I will consider the hierarchical organization of modes as concerns the representation of ideology: Does one mode take precedence over the other and, consequently, is a particular ideology more salient than another?

Definitions

This section provides working definitions of terms that are central to my analysis such that there is a common basis of understanding from the outset of the analysis.

I begin by defining three terms central to the theoretical basis of the critical discourse analysis I have outlined in previous sections: discourse, society, and cognition. Discourse is a semiotic way of construing aspects of the world (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164); in this way, discourse is not limited to writing, given that image, for example, is a semiotic way of construing aspects of the world. From the theoretical framework, the current investigation assumes a dialectal relationship between discourse and society that is mediated by cognition. Society refers to social constructs that are realized and enacted in discourse; as such, society exists in a dialectal relationship with discourse. Finally,

cognition consists of mental structures and is "measured" by the K-device at the contextual level, of which I focus on K-3 and K-4 that comprise social cognition (van Dijk, 2008a). Cognition is the mediating force between discourse and society.

For the current scholarship, I assume that ideology relates to the aforementioned theoretical basis of the critical discourse analysis framework comprised of cognition, society, and discourse in the following ways: First, ideologies are systems of ideas and, therefore, belong to the field of cognition; second, ideologies are social in their nature and are associated with group interests and conflicts; third, many contemporary approaches to ideology associate it with language use or discourse, where legitimation and manipulation are socio-discursive practices (van Dijk, 1998, p. 18). What is more, while discourse is not the only practice based on ideologies, it is fundamental in the production and reproduction of ideology.[19] Hence, in order to understand the nature of ideology, I look at its discursive manifestations (van Dijk, 1998, p. 19; van Dijk, 2009, p. 79). More concretely, I define ideologies as fundamental social beliefs that organize and control the social representations of groups and their members (van Dijk, 2009, pp. 78-79).

Similar to ideology, context relates to discourse, society, and cognition. Context is defined as the structured collection of all properties of a social situation that are possibly pertinent to the production, structures, interpretation and functions of text and conversation (van Dijk, 1998, p. 266). Thus, context is a social element realized in

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[19] Note that this is nearly identical to Fairclough's thoughts on ideology: He has said that discourse is the favored vehicle of ideology (2001).

discourse and accounted for with the K-device, which is the cognitive interface between discourse and society.

Mode is a "socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication," (Kress, 2009, p. 54; Kress, 2010, p. 79). I emphasize the social in mode both because I follow the social semiotic approach to multimodal analysis and because my overall approach assumes a dialectal relationship between society and discourse/semiosis that is mediated by cognition. More specifically, I analyze the verbal and visual modes. Regarding the former, I include text from the local news articles as well as text appearing within images (in other words, text within the visual mode); regarding the latter, I include the images and photographs accompanying the news articles.

Finally, I use Royce's (2007) term "intersemiotic complementarity" to label the relationship across different ways of meaning that ultimately determine the function of a semiotic text. More specifically, I emphasize that intersemiotic complementarity works at the level of modes, for example, verbal and visual, as well as at the level of individual semiotic constructs, for example, agency and context, that combine to form a single semiotic text.

Data Processing/Analysis

In the previous section, I explained that I base the methods for the verbal analysis on Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach

because the former is useful for its practical applications whereas the latter is useful for its theory. I also explained how I follow Kress and van Leeuwen's methods for a multimodal social semiotic analysis of the visual mode. Finally, I explained how I do not follow a single approach to the analysis of intersemiotic complementarity, but rather follow general trends in the field by identifying the ways in which modes are similar or different across a single semiotic text. This section outlines the steps I follow to carry out a critical analysis of ideology in Spanish-language print media from Minnesota.

The analysis of data for the current study consists of three stages: the analysis of ideology in the verbal mode, the analysis of ideology in the visual mode, and the comparison of ideology across the verbal and visual modes. Fairclough's (2009) general framework will guide the entire analytical process:

Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.

Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

Stage 3: Consider whether the social order "needs" the social wrong.

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles. (p. 167)

This framework is conducive to a critical approach, and is flexible enough to allow the incorporation of other analytical frameworks throughout. Here I present the analysis of Stages 1 and 2; Stages 3 and 4 are addressed in Chapter 5, Conclusion.

Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.

Critical discourse studies advocates against discourse analysis for the sake of analysis; instead, it underscores analysis for the sake of social change. In this way, an analysis does not begin with the text to be analyzed; rather, it begins with a social

problem that can be addressed in its discursive form (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

Fairclough (2009) calls these problems "social wrongs":

'Social wrongs' can be understood in broad terms as aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps only through major changes in these systems, forms or orders. Examples might be poverty, forms of inequality, lack of freedom or racism. (pp. 167-168)

The "social wrong" I address in the current research is the oppression of a minoritized group: Latinos in the United States. Because I assume that ideologies are not always negative, but rather have the potential to challenge the ideologies of majority groups, the final goal of the present scholarship is to shed light on the potential of ideologies in Spanish-language print media to challenge the unjust position of Latinos in this country.

The first step to ending this unjust position is to identify what ideologies this group produces discursively and the effects these ideologies may have on the audience. In previous chapters, I have emphasized that critical discourse studies and multimodal social semiotics have rarely addressed ideology in semiotic systems created by minoritized groups. Given that discourse is the favored vehicle of ideology (Fairclough, 2001), this is problematic because the majority of ideologies with which analysts are aware are those created by majority groups. In other words, discourse analysts know that discourse created by majority groups often contains racist ideologies concerning minoritized groups (cf. van Dijk, 1988, 1991); however, analysts do not know what kind of ideologies are represented in discourse created by minoritized groups. This is important because, in order to attempt to change ideologies, they must first be identified. In the case that

discourse created by minoritized groups contains racist or negative ideologies, the implied critical action would be to help the creators of such texts become aware of their role in the perpetuation of racist ideologies. In the case that this discourse contains ideologies that do not perpetuate the unfair treatment of minoritized groups, the implied critical action would be to highlight the potential for change inherent in such discourse.

Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

For this stage, Fairclough (2009) asks: "What is it about the way in which social life is structured and organized that prevents it from being addressed?" (p. 169). In order to answer this question, the scholar must carry out a linguistic analysis, as well as an analysis that relates the discursive characteristics of the texts to a wider social context.

For this stage, I carried out a critical discourse analysis of 24 local news articles, as well as a multimodal social semiotic analysis of 15 images that accompanied these articles, followed by an analysis of the relationship between the verbal and visual modes. The next sections outline the procedures I followed to carry out the verbal and visual analyses, as well as the analysis of intersemiotic complementarity, respectively.

Verbal Analysis

After selecting the 24 articles I would analyze, I scanned them from their original newspaper format and then transcribed them into a word document for ease of analysis. I read through the articles to determine how they could be organized and three different categories arose: marches and protests, workplace issues, and laws and ordinances affecting immigrants. Initially, I organized the articles as a function of these themes.

Within the themes I organized the articles by newspaper, and then I organized them chronologically, beginning with the oldest articles. Finally, I labed the articles with a capital letter to simplify their identification during the analysis process. This was especially helpful considering the fact that many articles had the same or nearly the same title. Table 4 below gives the title and label assigned to each article, as well as the date of the publication in which it was published, the newspaper in which it was published, and the theme I assigned to it.

Table 4. Titles and labels for 24 articles used as object of critical discourse analysis

Label	Title	Date	Newspaper	Theme/Topic
A	Marchan Trabajadores de limpieza [Janitors march]	November 19, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
B	La campaña No Más Deportaciones lanza mensaje [The No More Deportations campaign launches message]	December 17, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
C	Protesta. Trabajadores Latinos protestaron el miércoles sus despedidos de Chipotle Mexican Grills [Latino workers protested Wednesday their firing from Chipotle Mexican Grills]	December 17, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
D	Los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan afuera de una de las tiendas en Edina [Chipotle ex-employees protest outside of an Edina store]	January 21, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
E	Alto a las represiones FBI [Stop FBI Repressions]	June 1, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
F	Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre indefinida [Janitors and allies launch unlimited hunger strike]	June 3, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
G	Minnesota protesta contra SB 1070 [Minnesota protests against SB 1070]	August 6-12, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
H	Trabajadores de limpieza de tiendas realizan marcha [Janitors carry out march]	November 19-25, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
I	Ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan en una sucursal de Edina [Ex Chipotle employees protest in an Edina restaurant]	January 21-27, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
J	Preparan marcha de inmigrantes para primero de mayo [They prepare march for immigrant for May 1st]	February 4-10, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
K	Trabajadores de limpieza iniciarán huelga de hambre [Janitors will begin a hunger strike]	May 20-26, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
L	Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre sin límite	May 27- June 2, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests

	[Janitors and allies launch unlimited hunger strike]			
M	La huelga de hambre llegó a su fin [Hunger strike reaches its end]	June 3-9, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
N	Solidaridad en protesta con el activista pro inmigrante Carlos Montes [Solidarity in protest with pro-immigrant activist Carlos Montes]	June 24-30, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
O	"La unión hace la fuerza" ["Union creates strength"]	March 5, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Workplace issues
P	Trabajadores exigen que Cub Foods pare las represalias, violencia y abusos de derechos humanos [Workers demand that Cub Foods stop repressions, violence and human rights abuses]	March 25, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Workplace issues
Q	Tribunal aprueba acuerdo de acción colectiva de trabajadores de la construcción [Court approves agreement for collective action lawsuit for Latino construction workers]	June 3-10, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Workplace issues
R	Trabajadores y ex-trabajadores de Chipotle organizándose para exigir major trato [Employees and ex-employees of Chipotle organizing to demand better treatment]	January 7-13, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Workplace issues
S	Trabajadores de limpieza despedidos reciben ayuda [Fired janitors receive help]	March 4-10, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Workplace issues
T	Identificación para todos [Identification for all]	March 10, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
U	English only ordinance in Lino Lakes, MN	August 6, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
V	Defensor local de inmigrantes se enfrenta a la deportación [Local defender of immigrants faces deportation]	March 11, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
W	Emmer: Ley anti-inmigrante SB 1070 en Arizona es "maravillosa"	May 14-20, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants

	[Emmer: Anti-immigrant law is "marvelous"]			
X	USCIS anuncia el rediseño de la "Green Card" [USCIS announces redesign of "*Green Card*"]	May 14-20, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants

Regarding the critical analysis of these articles, I followed Fairclough's (2001) three step approach because it best addresses the dialectal relationship between discourse and society to which I adhere in this investigation:

1. *Description* of text,

2. *interpretation* of the relationship between text and interaction,

3. and *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and social context. (p. 91)

At the *description* level, the analyst may consider any number of linguistic constructs that shed light on ideologies at the micro level of analysis. In order to determine which grammatical features I would analyze, I made a first pass through the articles to look for patterns, from which four linguistic constructs emerged: the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, and individualization.

After identifying the elements I would analyze at the *description* level, I color-coded each linguistic construct within the articles so they would be more visually salient. Then I tabulated the results of this first pass in an Excel spreadsheet, for example the number of passive constructions in each article, or whether the article contained *nosotros*. Next, I carried out a more detailed analysis of each occurrence of each linguistic construct. Following is an explanation of how I analzed the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, and individualization, respectively

The analysis of the first person plural pronoun included identifying the pronoun and its various manifestations: the pronoun itself, *nosotros*; first person plural verb conjugations (and the accompanying reflexive pronouns in the case of reflexive verbs); and the possessive adjective *nuestro/a* [our]. Determining to whom the first person plural constructions referred followed this step.

With regards to agency, I identified any transitive (including diransitive) constructions, as well as the subject of the verb and the object of the verb. I then determined how many times Latinos were the subject and object of transitive verbs, and how many times other social actors were the subject and object of transitive verbs.

For passive constructions, I first identified them, and then determined whether the construction obfuscated the positive actions of Latino groups or the negative actions of groups opposing Latinos.

Finally, for individualization, I identified all specific social actors (an individual rather than a group of people) to whom each article referred. I then determined the extent to which he/she was individualized, ranging from simply a given name to a full name plus a title.

At the *interpretation* level, I addressed the role of context in the representation of ideology, which required understanding not only the knowledge of the readers of the articles, but also that of the creators of the discourse. With regards to the creators of the articles, I first compiled a list of the names of authors from the bylines of the 24 articles, taking note of which articles appeared without an author. I then compiled basic background information about each author by carrying out Google searches. I analyzed the knowledge of the readers of the articles by following van Dijk's K-device.

The K-device, which takes as input current knowledge of speaker and calculates how much of this knowledge is already shared by recipients, consists of personal, interpersonal, group, institutional or organizational, national, and cultural knowledge (van Dijk, 2008, p. 83). As outlined in Chapter 2, Literature Review, the K-device functions at five levels. Given that the communication in question occurred not between

two individuals, but rather between an individual (writer) and several people (audience), I

analyze social knowledge, rather than personal knowledge, which is represented by K-3

and K-4. Following are definitions of the constitutive elements of social knowledge, K-3

and K-4:

> K-3: Assume that recipients know what we told them before…This means that the
>
> journalist needs to search for a previous context model in which she (or another
>
> journalist of the same newspaper) told readers about a particular concrete event; if
>
> such a context model can be found, then any information that was communicated
>
> before need not be given again. (van Dijk, 2008a, p. 86).
>
> K-4: Assume that readers have the same sociocultural knowledge as I (we)
>
> have…This depends on culture, community, education, level of expertise (for the
>
> "quality press" it is greater than the "popular press"). (van Dijk, 2008a, p. 87)

Of note is that there is a fifth element, or K-5, that I did not address because, according to

van Dijk (2008a), it is redundant vis a vis K-4, and in this way would not yield different

results.

To analyze K-3, I identified all concrete events to which the article referred, such

as the firing of more than 100 workers from Chipotle in early December, 2010, which

was mentioned in articles in both La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina.

I then determined the extent to which each event was described for each reference, which

ranged from simply mentioning the event or the results of the event, to a full description

of when and where the event happened and who was involved in or affected by the event.

Finally, I noted whether previous articles had mentioned this event.

The analysis of K-4 was different from the analysis of K-3 in that it required identifying references to sociocultural information. As I mentioned in the introduction chapter, I am not a member of the community for which these articles were written. Thus, my sociocultural knowledge will necessarily be different from that of the typical reader because my experiences have been different. However, given my experiences living in Latin America and working closely with the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota, I have extensive knowledge of this community and their experiences in their home countries and in the United States that allows for an effective analysis of sociocultural contextual information in local Spanish-language news stories.

To analyze K-4, I referred to Fairclough's (2001) definition of Members' Resources, which I have likened to the cognitive element of van Dijk's K-Device: the unique background assumptions and expectations that interlocutors use to aid in the interpretation of a communicative event. Put simply, I identified the sociocultural and epistemic knowledge that the Latino immigrant community would use to "fill in the gaps" to make a text coherent. As an example of how I analyzed K-4, I use the following passage from La Conexión Latina:

> El 19 de Diciembre [sic] activistas de **la campaña No Más Deportaciones** llevaron un mensaje al **New York Plaza**, un mercado que se ubica en **calle Lake** [On December 19 activists from the campaign No More Deportations brought their message to New York Plaza, a market that is located on Lake Street] (La campaña no más deportaciones lanza mensaje, 2010; emphasis mine)

I noted three items in bold that require the reader to call upon information unique to a Latino immigrant epistemic community in order to make sense of the passage (and the complete article): "la campaña No Más Deportaciones" [the campaign No More Deportations], "New York Plaza" and "calle Lake" [Lake Street]. Because the article

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does not explain this campaign and these places, it is assumed that they are part of the reader's K-4, or his/her sociocultural knowledge. Given that the reader likely knows where New York Plaza and Lake Street are located, and the importance of these places for the local Latino immigrant community, the author does not need to expand these points. Thus, the extent to which items such as those noted in this example were glossed or explained indicates to what extent they are assumed as part of the reader's sociocultural knowledge, or K-4.

It bears noting that it is at this point that my analysis of context addresses the cognitive interface between discourse and society. Although this appears to be a departure from Fairclough's (2001) framework, as I argued above, van Dijk's K-device is closely related to Fairclough's Members' Resources and, as such, is easily incorporated into the three-step framework upon which I based my analysis.

At the *explanation* level, I answered the question: Does the discourse contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them? (Fairclough, 2001, p. 138). This required the compilation of results from the *description* and *interpretation* levels and analyzing them first as a function of linguistic construct and then as a function of specific articles.

Visual Analysis

To begin the visual analysis, I first scanned the images and pasted them into a Word document. I then labeled each image based on the article it accompanied. For example, the image that accompanied Article B was labeled Image Bb (see Table 5 below). I also included the same identifying information given to the articles I analyzed:

the date of publication, the newspaper in which the article appeared, and the theme or

topic of the article + image combination.

Table 5. Titles and labels for 15 images used as object of critical multimodal social semiotic analysis

Label/Article	Image	Date	Newspaper	Theme/Topic
Bb/B		December 17, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
Cc/C		December 17, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
Dd/D		January 21, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests
Ee/E		June 1, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Marches and protests

Gg/G		August 6-12, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
Ii/I		January 21-27, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
Ll/L		May 27-June 2, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
Mm/M		June 3-9, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
Nn/N		Jun 24-30, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Marches and protests
Oo/O		March 5, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Workplace issues

Ss/S		January 7-13, 2011	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Workplace issues
Tt/T		March 10, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
Uu/U		August 6, 2010	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
Vv/V		March 11, 2011	La Conexión Latina	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants
Ww/W		May 14-20, 2010	La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota	Laws/ordinances affecting immigrants

Regarding the critical analysis of these images, I followed Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) three step approach because it best addresses the representation of ideology through the dialectal relationship between discourse and society to which I adhere in this investigation. The three steps are represented by the following levels of analysis:

1. *(Re)presentational*

2. *Orientational*

3. *Organizational*

As with the verbal analysis, it is important to note that I analyzed each image as a whole in order to understand how ideology functions across each level within a single image. An analysis of ideologies within each semiotic construct is included in the conclusion of the visual analysis.

At all levels of a visual analysis, the researcher may consider any number of semiotic constructs that shed light on ideologies. Thus, in order to determine which semiotic features I would analysis, I made a first pass through the images to see what patterns would arise. At the *(re)presentational* level, the semiotic constructs I analyzed were participants (including represented and interactive participants), the interaction between the participants indicated by gaze and size of frame. The analysis of represented participants consisted of analyzing the people, places, and things represented in each image. In order to analyze the people in each image, I recorded the perceived age, gender, and ethnicity of each person in the Word document where I had pasted the image. Next, I recorded the place where the event in question took place, which I ascertained by using my own knowledge of local places and also by reading the accompanying articles that

often referenced the place of the event. Finally, I recorded the things represented in each image, making note of any patterns across images.

The analysis of interactive participants consisted of analyzing the producers and consumers of the 15 images. I began by compiling a list of the authors from the bylines of the articles accompanying the images, then used the information I had found for the verbal analysis to establish the background of the producers of images for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Next, I determined the extent to which the background of these authors appeared to overlap with that of the typical reader in order to establish to what extent writer and reader shared similar sociocultural knowledge.

The analysis of the interaction between participants included gaze and size of frame. Regarding gaze, I simply determined and recorded whether the human represented participants were looking straight at the audience (direct eye contact) or looking away from the audience (no eye contact). For those represented participants who maintained direct eye contact with the audience, I recorded his/her facial expressions in order to determine the nature of the relationship forged by means of direct eye contact.

Kress and van Leeuwen divide the analysis of size of frame into those images containing human represented participants and those not containing human represented participants. In the case of the former, I identified the size of each frame by following this framework:

- Close shots
    - o Close shot: head and shoulders
    - o Extreme close-up: less than head and shoulders

- Medium shots

    o Medium close: cuts off at waist

    o Medium shot: cuts off at knees

- Long shots

    o Medium long shot: shows full figure

    o Long shot: human figure = half of frame

    o Very long shot: anything wider than long shot (human figure is less than half of frame) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996)

In the case of the latter (for images not containing human represented participants), I followed this framework:

- Close distance: the object is shown as if the viewer is engaged with it; it is so close it is shown only in part

- Middle distance: object is shown in full, but without much space around it (advertisements, etc.)

- Long distance: object is shown for contemplation and is out of reach, as if in a museum (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996)

I then collapsed these frame sizes with those used for human represented participants to yield three categories: close, medium, and long. I then tabulated the size of frame for each image in an Excel spreadsheet.

At the *orientational* level, I analyzed the horizontal and vertical camera angle. I did not consider the two images that did not contain human represented participants (Image Tt and Uu) for the analysis of these angles because I was unable to discern the angles at which they were presented. For the horizontal angle, I recorded whether the

human represented participants were directly facing the audience (a frontal, or direct, angle) or turned away from the audience (an oblique angle). I analyzed the vertical angle from the perspective of the viewer: a high vertical angle was assigned to those images I was looking down upon; conversely, a low vertical angle was assigned to those images I was looking up at; finally, an eye-level angle was assigned to those images I was looking straight at.

At the *organizational* level, I analyzed horizontal placement of elements, central placements of elements, and salience. Regarding the horizontal placement of elements, I disregarded any photographs or images that were not arranged about the horizontal axis. For the remaining images, I noted which element(s) appeared on the left-hand side and which element(s) appeared on the right-hand side. I also noted whether any patterns appeared regarding elements that repeatedly appeared on a particular side of the images. With respect to the central placement of elements, I noted which element appeared at the center of the image (if any[20]), and which appeared on the margins.

Finally, to analyze salience, I followed Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) by considering size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast, color contrasts, placement in the visual field, perspective, and specific cultural factors (i.e., the appearance of a human figure) (p. 212). I recorded which element was most salient, and noted if any patterns arose across images.

In order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the visual analysis and to be able to compare the results of this analysis to those of the analysis of the visual mode

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[20] If an image is arranged about the center, but no element is present at the center, it is called an image arranged about the center with no real center (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

more easily, I concluded the analysis at the *organizational* level by answering the same

question I asked at the *explanation* level for the verbal analysis: Does the [semiotic

structure] contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them? (Fairclough, 2001, p.

138). This required the compilation of results from the (*re*)*presentational*, *orientational*,

and *organizational* levels and analyzing them first as a function of semiotic construct and

then as a function of specific images.

Verbal Analysis Within Images

As I discussed in previous section with regards to the definition of mode, the

realizations of modes within a given medium are numerous, and there is the potential for

modes to exist within modes, such as color within an image. By following the established

definition of mode as a "socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for

making meaning," (Kress, 2009, p. 54), I analyzed the text appearing within images as a

mode because it communicates socially and culturally shaped meaning independently

from the visual mode.

The text within the images was printed on the signs and banners used in protest.

As such, the text was typically very brief, and rarely constituted full phrases. For this

reason, a critical discourse analysis as outlined in the previous section was not warranted.

An important observation that determined the nature of this analysis was the fact that the

image is the first element of the multimodal text consumed by the audience. From the

analysis of the visual mode, it became clear that the text within the images had the ability

to "set the tone", so to speak, for the verbal mode. Thus, I analyzed this text for its tone

and semantic content rather than for its syntactic structures. I did this by noting the

language in which the text was written, whether the tone was positive or negative, and by carrying out an analysis of contextual references through K-3 and K-4, just as I had done for the verbal analysis of the 24 articles.

Analysis of Relationship Between Modes

The analysis of the relationship between the verbal and visual modes was the last step I carried out for the current study. From the literature, this relationship is characterized, in the simplest sense, by either similarity or difference across modes. Thus, for this part of the analysis, I compared the ideologies across modes to determine if they were similar or different.

I first compared the results of the visual and verbal analysis in the most general sense in order to determine the global function of multimodal texts in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. I categorized these ideologies as similar or different, making note if the similarity was best explained as repetition or clarification, and if the difference was best explained as divergence or conflict. Second, I carried out a similar comparison across the corresponding metalevels: the *description* versus the *(re)presentation* level; the *interpretation* versus the *orientational* level; and the *explanation* versus the *organizational* level. Finally, I compared ideologies at the micro level by considering individual semiotic texts. Thus, I compared the ideologies represented in each combination of article and image to determine if they were similar or different.

The following chapter, Findings, presents the results of the analysis of the representation of ideology in the verbal and visual modes, as well as the interrelationship of these modes in single semiotic texts.

Chapter 4

Findings

Introduction

Having set forth the rationale, review of literature, and methodology of the current study, I now turn to the analysis of the data and findings. This chapter has three major components. First, I present the results of the critical discourse analysis of 24 local news articles at the *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* levels (Fairclough, 2001). Second, I present the results of the multimodal social semiotic analysis of 15 images at the *(re)presentational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* levels (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001). Finally, I analyze intersemiotic complementarity by noting the similarities and differences in the representation of ideology across the verbal and visual modes. The following section presents the results of the critical discourse analysis of 24 local news articles published in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina.

Verbal Analysis

In this section, I critically analyze the verbal representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language print media in order to shed light on how ideologies are expressed in Spanish as a minoritized language, as well as the potential for these ideologies to challenge those found in the English-language mass media. Here I address the first research question, which asks:

1. What ideologies are represented verbally in Spanish-language media?

To answer this question, I carried out a critical discourse analysis of 24 local news articles, 13 of which were published in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, and 11 of which

were published in La Conexión Latina, based on the methodological framework presented in Chapter 3. Results indicate that the linguistic structures in these articles both perpetuate and challenge the stereotypical and negative ideologies about Latino immigrants in the mainstream English-language media. This section explores and complicates the ways in which authors utilize certain linguistic structures in the verbal mode to represent ideologies of Latinos as either powerless and backgrounded social actors or as powerful social actors who stand up to unfair treatment from majority groups.

I present the results following Fairclough's (2001) three metafunctions, beginning with a close analysis at the *description* level; I follow with a contextual analysis at the *interpretation* level; I conclude with a holistic analysis at the *explanation* level.

Description **Level**

At the *description* level, I analyzed four linguistic constructions in order to identify the ideologies represented in verbal texts. An initial pass through local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina indicated that ideologies patterned around the idea of inclusion versus exclusion of certain individuals who I label here as social actors. Therefore, I base the following analysis on the concept of inclusion versus exclusion as a function of the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, and individualization, respectively. From this analysis, while all linguistic constructs point to ideologies that challenge those found in the English-language mainstream media, the extent to which each construct does so varies widely. The results from the analysis at the *description* level are indicative of the potential for micro linguistic structures to create a space for a minoritized group, Latino

immigrants in Minnesota, from which they may challenge the negative ideologies discursively represented in the media of majority groups.

First person plural pronoun nosotros

Fairclough (2001) notes that the first person plural pronoun ("we") is either inclusive or exclusive, and communicates unity and solidarity, or division and distance, respectively. I analyze the use of the Spanish first person pronoun, *nosotros*, to determine which social actors are included and excluded in local Spanish-language news. This, in turn, will be an indicator of ideologies as it communicates ideas of belonging that are later linked to the analysis of agency and individualization, as well as the analysis of context at the *interpretation* level.

The first person pronoun *nosotros* appeared in seven of the 13 articles I analyzed from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota; similarly, *nosotros* appeared in seven of the 11 articles I analyzed from La Conexión Latina. Thus, for both newspapers, the pattern tends towards the use of the first person pronoun. In order to determine what ideologies are being represented, it is necessary to establish if *nosotros* is inclusive or exclusive, as well as what kind of reader the writer is inscribing through the use of the first person plural pronoun.

I argue that all uses of *nosotros* in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are both inclusive and exclusive in that they are used to communicate solidarity with certain groups of people and distance from other groups. What is indicative of ideology, then, is which social actors are included and which are excluded from the first person plural pronoun, which I now explain in turn.

Across both newspapers, those social actors included in the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* vary widely, and may refer to unauthorized Latinos, authorized Latinos, all immigrants, or even other ethnic groups fighting on behalf of Latinos. I now provide five examples to illustrate these cases.

In the first example below, the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* includes, and thus denotes solidarity with, unauthorized Latino immigrants. Example (1) is taken from the article "Trabajadores y ex-trabajadores de Chipotle organizándose para exigir mejor trato" [Employees and ex-employees of Chipotle organizing to demand better treatment] (Dávila, 2011b), which recounts the steps taken by Latinos who were fired from Chipotle to demand justice following several violations committed by Chipotle executives. While not noted explicitly, the articles imply that the workers were fired for not having the necessary documentation to work in the United States. This is corroborated by the fact that all the workers in "Trabajadores y ex-trabajadores" are identified only by first name, a tactic that Monserrate explains many newspapers use to protect unauthorized Latino immigrants from being identified and later deported. The voice that speaks in the following example is identified as "El trabajador José" [José the worker]:

> (1) **Nos mantendremos** firmes en **nuestras** convicciones, estrictos con **nuestras** demandas y **lograremos** respeto
> [**we** will maintain united and firm in **our** convictions, strict with **our** demands and **we** will earn respect] (Dávila, 2011b; emphasis mine)

In this example, unauthorized Latinos are the only social actors included in the first person plural pronoun. Compared to the ideologies represented in the United States mass media, example (1) is distinct in that it includes social actors who are generally excluded: unauthorized Latino immigrants. Thus, this is one example of how local Spanish-

language newspapers discursively represent ideologies that are different from, and in some ways opposite to, those found in the mainstream media. Moreover, this example illustrates how discursive representations of ideologies can inscribe a particular audience. In this case, the discourse inscribes unauthorized Latino workers, an audience that is rarely, if ever, inscribed in the United States mass media.

A variation on the use of *nosotros* to denote unauthorized Latino immigrants is the use of the first person plural pronoun to denote both authorized and unauthorized Latino immigrants. In example (2), the speaker is Verónica Méndez, who works with CTUL, "una organización basada en las Twin Cities adonde [sic] trabajadores construyen poder para dirigir la lucha por sueldos y condiciones justas, respeto básico y una voz en el trabajo," [an organization based in the Twin Cities where workers construct power to direct the fight for fair salaries and conditions, basic respect, and a voice in the workplace] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2010). I assume that, since her full name is given, Méndez is a documented immigrant. Thus, she uses *nosotros* to refer to herself, a documented immigrant, as well as other social actors:

> (2) Hoy, **nos levantamos** juntos para exigir que Supervalu tome el paso de establecer un código de conducta justo para **trabajadores de limpieza** en sus tiendas
> [Today, **we** rise up together to demand that Supervalu take the steps to establish a fair conduct code for **janitors** in their stores] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2010; emphasis mine)

The other social actors included in *nosotros* are those janitors who were fired from Supervalu. While the reader is not told explicitly the migratory status of the janitors, this can be determined by following this story in later editions of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Mario Colloly, another janitor cited in the article,

was later arrested and deported for entering the United States without documentation. Thus, at least one of the janitors in question was unauthorized. Because *nosotros* refers to the janitors who worked at Supervalu, one can infer that the first person plural pronoun includes both authorized and unauthorized Latinos immigrants. It bears noting that this pattern of inclusion, similar to that noted in example (1) above, is not typical of the mass media in the United States, which normally excludes social actors who are immigrants. In this way, the ideologies discursively represented in local Spanish-language news articles inscribe a reader different than that of the mainstream media and, consequently, constitute ideologies that challenge those found in the mainstream media.

The first person plural pronoun is also used to denote all immigrants, regardless of their country of origin, as in the following passage:

> (3) Los Republicanos continúan con su hostilidad en contra de **nuestra** gente inmigrante
> [the Republicans continue their hostility against **our** immigrant people] (Villaruel, 2011; emphasis mine)

Because this passage was not attributed to anyone in the article, it appears that the author, Cristian Villaruel, wrote these words to refer to himself. The first person (possessive) plural pronoun, in this case, refers at least to Latino immigrants, as Villaruel is a Latino immigrant. The content of the article points to the inclusion of other social actors through the use of *nosotros* by referring to massive layoffs from 2009 by International Business Machines (IBM), a group that manufactures and sells computer hardware and software, which affected several different immigrant groups. The same article later uses *nosotros* in a way that is equally inclusive of all immigrant groups:

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(4) **Seguimos** avanzando y confiando en la fuerza de **nuestra** gente trabajadora para exigir los cambios a este actual sistema que tanto **nos** oprime
[**We** continue to advance and confide in the force of **our** hard-working people to demand changes in the current system that oppresses **us** so much] (Villaruel, 2011; emphasis mine)

In have shown in examples (1-4) above that local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina use *nosotros* to include social actors who are not typically included in the mass media in the United States. In some cases, the first person plural pronoun includes only unauthorized Latino immigrants; in others, it includes all Latino immigrants; in yet others, it includes immigrants from all countries of origin. In this way, many of the articles inscribe readers who are immigrants, which nearly exactly correspond with the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, who are Latino immigrants. However, there are also cases where the first person plural pronoun includes and inscribes social actors who do not align with the typical audience of the newspapers in question.

One example of *nosotros* including and inscribing immigrants and other non-immigrant social actors concerns Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 26, which is "Minnesota's Property Services Union, uniting more than 4,200 janitors, 1,000 security officers, and window cleaners in the Twin Cities metropolitan area," (Morataya, 2012). This article applauds the ability of the aforementioned union to win several requests for the workers it represents, including the ability to work the day shift, better health care, and support for using only environmentally sound, or "green", products:

(5) "**Hemos** sido capaces de ganar un aumento de sueldo, así como un plan de salud mucho más fuerte en un momento de problemas económicos. Estoy muy

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orgullosa de estar de pie con mis hermanas y hermanos en nuestra victoria de hoy," dijo Rosalina Gómez, una trabajadora de limpieza

["We have been able to win a salary increase, as well as a much stronger health plan in a time of economic problems. I am proud to be standing here with my brothers and sisters in our victory today," said Rosalinda Gómez, a janitor] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; emphasis mine)

Following the same reasoning given above, Rosalina Gómez is a documented Latina immigrant. However, her use of the first person plural pronoun also includes members of SEIU Local 26. If one assumes that the board of directors of SEIU is indicative of the makeup of its members, then it follows that SEIU is a heterogeneous group comprising a large range of ages and several ethnicities. Examples (1-4) above are similar to example (5) in that they included immigrant social actors and, therefore, inscribed readers who are immigrants. However, in contrast to examples (1-4) that inscribed *only* immigrant social actors, the use of *nosotros* in example (5) also includes and inscribes non-immigrant social actors, or the members of SEIU. Hence, the first person plural pronoun includes immigrants of many nationalities, as well as non-immigrants of several different ethnicities. In this way, some articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina represent both atypical and typical ideologies vis a vis the United States mass media, where the inclusion of immigrants is unusual and the inclusion of non-immigrants, especially Anglos, is more typical.

Another example of the first personal plural pronoun including non-immigrant groups comes from the article "Tribunal aprueba acuerdo de acción colectiva de trabajadores latinos de la construcción" [Court approves agreement for collective action for Latino construction workers] (Shore, 2010). The article addresses the case of eight Latino commercial drywall workers who sued, under the representation of the law office

of Miller O'Brien Cummins, their employers for unpaid or not fully paid wages. After 16

months of litigation, an agreement was reached in which between $2.5 and $6 million

dollars would be paid to the workers. What is more, the settlement enacted changes that

would ensure fair payment and treatment of all construction workers. The person who

spoke the following passage was either Brendan or Justin Cummins, both of whom were

attorneys with Miller O'Brien Cummins, in response to the outcome of the trial:

> (6) **"Nosotros creemos** que la resolución de este caso va a servir como un aviso
> justo que los empleadores deben tener presente los derechos de los trabajadores
> latinos y otros inmigrantes," dijo Cummins.
> ["**We** believe that the resolution in this case will serve as a fair warning that
> employers should keep in mind the rights of Latino and other immigrant
> workers," said Cummins.] (Shore, 2010; emphasis mine)

Here Cummins uses the first person plural pronoun to include only the attorneys with

Miller O'Brien Cummins. Because this law firm has since changed names, it is unclear

who the attorneys were that represented this firm at the time of this case in 2010. From

the information available online, the attorneys for whom the firm was previously named

(Richard Miller, M. William O'Brian, and Bredan and Justin Cummins) are all non-

immigrant Anglo males. The use of *nosotros* in example (6) is different from those

analyzed above, then, because it represents ideologies most common in the United States

mass media, where non-immigrant Anglos are most often included in the use of "we",

and are most often inscribed as readers. Of note is the fact that this example does not

align with the typical readers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina;

in other words, there is a misalignment between the social actors included in and

inscribed by *nosotros* and the typical readers.

To summarize, the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* communicates inclusion and solidarity, thereby inscribing several different social actors. From examples (1-6), I have shown that the social actors included by *nosotros* can be unauthorized Latino immigrants, all Latino immigrants, all immigrants (regardless of nationality), immigrant and non-immigrant members of a local union, and non-immigrants. There are several possible explanations for the heterogeneous nature of the social actors included in and inscribed by La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. The first is that the readership is not homogeneous, and the newspaper seeks to include disparate groups through its use of *nosotros* both to include and inscribe various social actors. However, it is unlikely that this is the case given what is known about the primary audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, which is certainly heterogeneous, but does not include non-Latino immigrants or non-immigrants. The second possible explanation is that the use of *nosotros* to inscribe a heterogeneous audience is likely a reflection of the equally heterogeneous group of writers who contribute to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. While this requires the unlikely stipulation that journalists only write about themes and topics of the groups of which they are members, it is plausible that a heterogeneous group of writers will be familiar with a wider array of themes and topics. Given that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina accept most any article they receive (as long as it pertains to the Latino community), one may assume that the ideologies represented in the writing of each contributor will be just as varied as his/her background and experiences. The final possible explanation is that the heterogeneous nature of social actors inscribed in these local news articles is simply a function of the newspaper genre: Because news stories

often involve various social actors, it follows that newspapers will include and inscribe such an array of social actors. However, one may counter this reasoning by arguing that the newspaper chooses which themes and topics to cover, and, as such, limits those social actors who it will include and inscribe.

The previous analysis of the inclusive nature of the first person plural pronoun in Spanish-language news articles is also indicative of who is excluded. For example, in the case of *nosotros* referring to unauthorized Latino immigrants in example (1), those who are excluded are all non-immigrants, but even more notably, all documented Latino immigrants, as well. In the case of examples (2), (3), and (4), all non-immigrants were excluded. Example (5) seems to use *nosotros* in the most inclusive fashion; therefore, no groups appear to be excluded. Opposite of (2) and (3) is (6), which excluded all immigrants and non-Anglos.

At this point, it is useful to consider van Leeuwen's (2008) observation regarding the exclusion, or suppression, of social actors: "It is often difficult to know whether suppressed social actors are or are not supposed to be retrievable by the reader or, indeed, the writer," (p. 30). I argue that in the cases when the author has used *nosotros* in the body of the text, he/she has both retrieved the suppressed, or excluded social actors, and is asking the reader to do the same. In the cases when a person is quoted using *nosotros*, I argue that he/she is likely aware of whom he/she is including and, as an extension, excluding, by using the first person plural pronoun. However, as these statements are often given to the very groups included by *nosotros* (during protests, for example), it is unclear whether the author assumes that a chronologically and geographically displaced

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audience (the readers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina) will be able to retrieve those who are excluded.

At any rate, the effect of the inscription of a highly heterogenous group of social actors through the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* is the challenge and perpetuation of ideologies. This linguistic construct challenges ideologies by inscribing social actors – Latino immigrants – who would not traditionally be included in the English-language mainstream media; likewise, this linguistic construct challenges ideology by excluding social actors – Anglo Americans – who are most often included in the mass media. At the same time, however, the first person plural pronoun perpetuates ideologies in the examples where it inscribes only Anglo Americans and excludes Latino immigrants, an ideological representation typical of the English-language mass media.

Taking into consideration the inclusive and exclusive nature of *nosotros* in the articles I analyzed, I postulate that the first person plural pronoun discursively reenacts differences that are reinforced through other linguistic structures to form hierarchies. One such structure is agency, which I analyze in the following section.

Agency

In a critical discourse analysis, agency can be measured in many ways, for example through participant roles, transitivity structures, and behavioral processes (Halliday, 1985). Here I analyze agency first by identifying transitive verbs and then by identifying the "activator" of these verbs.

Transitivity is a property of verbs that distinguishes the objects the verb can take. In Spanish, there are three different types of transitivity: Intransitive verbs such as *llorar*

[to cry] do not take any objects; transitive verbs such as *comer* [to eat] take a direct

object; ditransitive verbs such as *dar* [to give] take a direct and an indirect object. For this

reason, transitivity is often thought of in terms of "transfer": "Transitivity is traditionally

understood as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried-over'

or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient. Transitivity in the traditional view thus

necessarily involves at least two participants," (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 251).

However, cases arise where transitive verbs do not indicate strong "transfer" from the

subject of the verb to the object of the verb, for example in verbs of cognition like *pensar*

[to think]. Thus, for the present analysis, I follow Hopper and Thompson (1980) in

assuming that transitivity is best understood on a continuum (e.g., from low transitivity to

high transitivity) rather than as discrete categories (e.g., transitive or not transitive). As an

example, one can consider the verbs *imaginar* [to imagine] and *comer* [to eat], both of

which, following binary definitions, are transitive verbs. However, when considered on a

continuum, these verbs have subtle, yet important, differences. *Imaginar* is a verb of

cognition and, as such, does not express action carried out on another participant; on the

other hand, *comer* does represent an action carried out on an object. Thus, *imaginar* is a

verb of low transitivity and *comer* is a verb of high transivity.

In every verbal construction there are roles, or semantic cases, that indicate

who/what carries out an action ("agent") or who/what receives an action ("patient"),

among others. For the current analysis I focus on the role of agent as an indicator of

ideologies. Similar to transitivity, I follow Comrie (1981), in assuming that semantic

cases are best understood on a continuum (e.g., from low agency to high agency) rather

than as discrete categories (e.g., agentive or not agentive). For example, because

imaginar is a verb of low transitivity, the subject of the verb will have low agency. Likewise, because *comer* is a verb of high transitivity, the subject of the verb will have high agency.

Following Fairclough (2001), the expression or obfuscation of agency is indicative of ideology, where participants who are agents in transitive constructions[21] are afforded more power than participants who are agents of intransitive constructions, or of participants who are recipients of the actions of a transitive verb. Thus, determining the agents and recipients of transitive constructions is indicative of ideology.

In eight of the 13 La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota articles analyzed, Latinos were agents of a greater number of transitive verbs than any other group; this was the same outcome for six of the 11 La Conexión Latina articles I analyzed. From this, Latinos are agents of a greater number of transitive verbs than any other social actors in more than half of the articles I analyzed. A cognitive linguistic approach to agency holds that "The grammatical and semantic prominence of Transitivity is shown to derive from its characteristic discourse function: High Transitivity is correlated with foregrounding, and low Transitivity with backgrounding," (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 251). Following this line of thought, because they are often agents of transitive verbs, Latinos are frequently foregrounded in local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina.

However, these numbers are indicative of agency as discrete categories, rather than agency on a continuum, which yields an incomplete understanding of how agency functions in local Spanish-language news articles. Thus, although I might initially

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[21] This is Fairclough's definition of transitivity; however, I continue to analyze transitivity on a continuum.

conclude that Latinos as agents of transitive verbs indicate unique ideologies, I must also

consider the types of transitive verbs and how they point to disparities in agency.

In dividing the transitive verbs found in 24 local news articles from La

Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, two categories resulted: high

transitivity and low transitivity. Those verbs categorized as belonging to the high

transitivity category demonstrated the prototypical characteristics of transitivity, where

some sort of "transfer" occurred from the subject of the verb – or the agent – to the object

of the verb – or the patient:

> (7) trabajadores de limpieza en tiendas de CTUL **mandaron** una carta
> [janitors in CTUL stores **sent** a card] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; La
> Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2010; emphasis mine)

> (8) El equipo SWAT **rompió** la puerta de entrada de la casa
> [the SWAT Team **broke** down the front door of the house] (Arévalo, 2011;
> emphasis mine)

Example (7) contains the ditransitive verb *mandaron*[22] (inf. *mandar*) [sent (inf. to send)].

This verb is highly transitive because there is a transfer of action to a direct and an

indirect object. Thus, the subject of the verb, "trabajadores de limpieza" [janitors] are

highly agentive in (7). In the same way, the SWAT team is agentive in (8) because it is

the subject of the highly transitive verb *rompió* (inf. *romper*) [broke (inf. to break)]

whose action transfers to a direct object. Of a total of 102 highly transitive verbs

analyzed, Latinos were agents of 57, indicating that not only were they agentive in a

majority of the texts I analyzed for the current investigation, but that they were also the

most highly agentive social actors in the majority of highly transitive verbs. Following

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[22] *Mandar* has several meanings, including "to order (someone to do something)" and "to prescribe". In this particular context, the meaning is "to send".

Hopper and Thompson's (1980) conception of transitivity, Latinos are thus the social actors who are most foregrounded because they are most often the agents of highly transitive verbs.

These results stand in contrast to verbs of low transitivity, in which the "transfer" from the subject of the verb to the patient of the verb is not as strong. Similar to the example of *imaginar* above, following are two examples of verbs of low agency, whose subjects would thus be said to be agentive, although with low agency:

> (9) un grupo de nueve trabajadores y aliados, unidos por la organización de derechos laborales, CTUL, **anunciaron** una huelga de hambre sin límite
> [a group of nine workers and allies, united by the organization of labor rights, CTUL, **announced** an unlimited hunger strike] (Méndez, 2011b, c; emphasis mine)

> (10) Chipotle **dijo** el miércoles que los representantes de la cadena de tiendas de 1000 se reunirían con los trabajadores en enero
> [Chipotle **said** on Wednesday that representatives of the chain of 1000 stores would meet with the workers in January] (SBJ, 2010; emphasis mine)

In example (9), Latinos are the subject of the verb *anunciaron* (inf. *anunciar*) [they announced (inf. to announce)] which has relatively low transitivity compared to *comer* [to eat], for example, because the former does not necessarily indicate the "transfer" of an action, whereas the latter does. Thus, the subject of this verb, "un grupo de nueve trabajadores y aliados" [a group of nine workers and allies], has low agency in this construction. Similarly, (10) gives the case of the verb of low transitivity, *dijo* (inf. *decir*) [said (inf. to say)] whose subject, Chipotle, has low agency.

Verbs of low transitivity were the most numerous in the 24 articles I analyzed. Of the 120 verbs of low transitivity, Latinos were agents of 65. Thus, Latinos were again the social actor with the greatest number of agentive constructions in verbs of low

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transitivity. Curiously, from a cognitive approach, this indicates that Latinos were most often backgrounded (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), directly contrasting the idea set forth in the analysis of high transitivity where Latinos were the most foregrounded social actors. This may be explained by the fact that Latinos constituted the majority by only a few occurrences, meaning that other social actors had nearly as many high and low agentive constructions as did Latinos. From this, I draw a critical conclusion: Because Latinos are typically backgrounded in the United States mass media, their backgrounding as a result of being agents of verbs of low transitivity is not as surprising as the nearly equal backgrounding of other social actors who are typically foregrounded in the aforementioned media. What is more, Latinos as the most frequent highly agentive social actors in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina serves as a stark contrast to the mainstream English-language media where the foregrounded position of Latino immigrants would be rare. In other words, agency serves to present Latinos as social actors whose potential for appearing at the foreground of discourse is the same as those social actors who most often appear in this position in the mass media.

To conclude, Latinos were the most agentive social actors in the majority of articles in both La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Moreover, Latinos constituted the greatest number of instances of verbs of high and low agency, thus leading to the conclusion that agency challenges ideologies found in the English-language mass media, where Anglo Americans would traditionally be the social actors allotted the greatest number of instances of high and low agency. The following analysis demonstrates a discursively opposite function of agency.

Passive constructions

Closely related to agency are passive constructions, which are achieved by maintaining the transitive verb and deleting the agent phrase. There are two possible passive constructions in Spanish that use the copulative verb "ser" [to be]. In the first, the copulative verb "ser" is conjugated to match the patient ("fue"), or direct object, followed by the transitive verb in the past participle form ("comida"), as in (11b). Notice that, for this passive construction, the agent may be included as a prepositional phrase at the end: "por Mariana". However, the inclusion of the agent is not necessary and may be deleted, as in "La manzana fue comida".

> (11a) Mariana comió la manzana
> [Mariana ate the apple]

> (11b) La manzana fue comida por Mariana
> [The apple was eaten by Mariana]

The second passive construction in Spanish completely eliminates the possibility of expressing an agent. In this construction, the reflexive pronoun "se" is followed by the transitive verb conjugated to match the patient, as in (11c).

> (11c) Se comió la manzana
> [The apple was eaten]

From the analysis above, I have shown that agency has the ability to disguise processes; so, too, do passive constructions. This will be especially true for examples like (11c) where the agent of the transitive verb must be deleted for the sentence to be grammatically correct. In the analysis that follows, I underscore the ability of this linguistic construction to obfuscate the positive processes of Latinos and the negative processes of groups who do not support Latinos.

There were an average of two passive constructions per article in both La

Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión (although it bear noting that some articles

in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota contained no passive constructions). Considering both

newspapers, in four articles a greater number of passive constructions hid the positive

actions of Latinos; in thirteen articles a greater number of passive constructions hid the

negative actions that groups carried out against Latinos. Finally, in seven articles there

were either no passive constructions or the passive constructions equally hid the positive

actions of Latinos and the negative actions that groups carried out against Latinos. I now

provide examples of passive constructions that hide the positive actions of Latinos and

the negative actions of groups opposed to Latinos, in turn.

Examples (12a) and (13a) demonstrate how the process of creating passive

constructions has the ability to hide Latino agency. In (12a), the process of carrying out a

protest hides the fact that Latinos were the social agents who carried out the protest.

Similarly, in (13a), the process of organizing the protest takes precedent over the Latino

and Latino-supporting members of the groups that organized the protest. These may be

contrasted with (12b) and (13b), the active alternates to (12a) and (13a), respectively,

which do not hide the agency of Latinos and Latino-supporting groups.

> (12a) **se llevó a cabo** una manifestación en el Capitolio de Minnesota en Saint
> Paul
> [a protest **was carried out** at Minnesota's capitol in St. Paul](Rodríguez
> González, 2010; emphasis mine)

> (12b) **llevaron a cabo** una manifestación en el Capitolio de Minnesota en Saint
> Paul
> [**they carried out** a protest at Minnesota's capitol in St. Paul]

> (13a) La protesta **fue organizada** por el Derechos de los Inmigrantes de
> Minnesota Comité de Acción (MIRAc) y el Boicot Arizona Minnesota (BAM)

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[The protest **was organized** by the Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee (MIRAc) and the Boycott Arizona Minnesota group (BAM)] (Rodríguez González, 2010; emphasis mine)

(13b) El Derechos de los Inmigrantes de Minnesota Comité de Acción (MIRAc) **organizaron** [sic] la protesta
[Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee (MIRAc) and the Boycott Arizona Minnesota group **organized** the protest]

Passive constructions carry out the same function regarding negative actions. In the case of the 24 articles I analyzed for the current investigation, passive constructions often work to hide the negative actions of groups opposed to Latinos. In (14a), (15a), and (16a) below, passive constructions hide the negative actions of groups opposed to Latinos. In this way, the author does not emphasize the fact that Lunds (14), Chipotle (15), and Cub Foods (16) fired Latino workers and, in the case of Cub Foods Security (16), physically assaulted the allies, but rather focuses on the process of firing and assaulting. In fact, unlike (12) and (13) above, the constructions in (14-16) do not give the agent of the verb. Thus, although the agents in (14-16) can be retrieved from context, the function of these passive constructions is to facilitate the forgetting of the agent and shift the focus of the reader to the process.

(14a) Como resultado, trabajadores quienes antes limpiaban sus tiendas **fueron despedidos**
[As a result, workers who had previously cleaned the stores **were fired**] (Méndez, 2011a; emphasis mine)

(14b) Como resultado, [Lunds] **despidió** a trabajadores quienes antes limpiaban sus tiendas
[As a result [Lunds] **fired** workers who had previously cleaned the stores]

(15a) estos trabajadores quienes **fueron despedidos** a finales del 2010
[these workers who **were fired** at the end of 2010] (Dávila, 2011a; emphasis mine)

(15b) [Chipotle] despidió a estos trabajadores a finales del 2010
[[Chipotle] fired these workers at the end of 2010]

(16a) un trabajador líder de la campaña **es despedido** y aliados **son asaltados** físicamente
[a worker and leader of the campaign **is fired** and allies **are physically assaulted**]
(La Conexión Latina, 2011; emphasis mine)

(16b) [Cub Foods] despidió a un trabajador líder de la campaña y [la seguridad de Cub Foods] asaltaron [sic] físicamente a los aliados
[[Cub Foods] fired a leader of the campaign and [Cub Foods security] physically assaulted the allies]

To summarize, in passive constructions, the agent phrase is deleted (in most cases) and the transitive verb is conjugated to match the patient role. In a critical discourse analysis, the creation of passive constructions points to particular ideologies in that it hides the agent of transitive verbs. La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina tend to use passive constructions to hide the agency of Latinos and their supporters, while also hiding the negative actions of those who do not support Latinos. These findings are suggestive of those ideologies present in the mass media of the United States and other European countries (cf. KhosraviNik, 2009; van Dijk, 1988; van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman, and Troutman, 1997) that are controlled by majority groups and therefore perpetuate ideologies that underscore their positive actions and hide their negative actions. Conversely, the same media attempt to hide the positive actions and emphasize the negative actions of minoritized groups.

To close this section, I refer back to the concept of inclusion and exclusion that established a base for an emerging hierarchy that becomes clear in the analysis of passive constructions. I demonstrated how local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

and La Conexión Latina use the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* to include and exclude social actors ranging from unauthorized Latino immigrants to non-immigrant Anglos. I also observed the inclusion of Latinos in the foreground as agents of transitive verbs. It appears that passive constructions serve to include Latino immigrants primarily as recipients of negative actions, while also serving to include non-Latinos as social actors free of wrongdoing. The following section presents a final discursive structure that further underscores the differing levels of inclusion and exclusion experienced by social actors in local Spanish-language news articles.

Individualization

While in previous sections I have analyzed ideology in grammatical functions, here I consider ideology as a function of semantics. According to van Leeuwen (2008), an analysis of both linguistic *and* sociosemantic categories is necessary to arrive at a comprehensive critical analysis of, for example, ideology (p. 24). For this reason, I consider the role of individualization, a term I have adapted from van Leeuwen (2008) that encompasses his notions of specification, determination, nomination, and functionalization, all of which center about the concept of inclusion through the use of titles, credentials, or institutional affiliations, for example. Because van Leeuwen (2008) remarks that certain groups, such as immigrants, are subject to backgrounding in the mass media, it is necessary to determine how the media of minoritized groups either includes or excludes minoritized social actors by means of individualization.

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To begin, several authors note differences in individualization vis a vis social class. Richardson (2007) remarks that the newspapers of the middle class are especially prone to individualizing social actors through titles:

> For middle-class broadsheet audiences, a statement is newsworthy not merely for its manifest content or truth value, but also because of the social standing of the speaker. The professional middle classes worship social status above all things, and hence when reporting an accusation, pronouncement or other speech event, broadsheets identify the utterer in the headline, often through reference to his/her job description or by using other markers of social class. (p. 205)

Similarly, van Leeuwen (2008) notes that "In middle-class-oriented newspapers, government agents and experts tend to be referred to specifically, and 'ordinary people' generically," (p. 35). Thus, for the middle class, one would expect the most individualization for people who have attained high social status. What one would expect from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina regarding individualization is noted by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 35): "In working-class-oriented newspapers, on the other hand, 'ordinary people' are frequently referred to specifically." From the interviews with the owner of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, Alberto Monserrate, and of La Conexión Latina, Sergio Jara, it is clear that both newspapers, although appealing to the broadest audience possible, are targeted to working-class Latino immigrants. Thus, one would expect that "ordinary people" would be referred to specifically in the newspapers I analyzed. The question is, then, to what extent, or in what manner are "ordinary people" specified in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina?

To reiterate, I define individualization as the use of terms of reference to denote unique identities that place social actors in the foreground. These terms include: given name, given name and surname, or a name plus a title. I accept as a title any referring word that denotes honorifics or affiliation, such as Doctor, or Professor at University X, respectively. Finally, I accept what Bell (1985, p. 98 in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 41) calls "pseudo titles", for example "controversial cancer therapist Milan Brych".

In general terms, four of the 13 articles I analyzed from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota did not afford any individualization to Latinos. In the remaining nine articles, two afforded Latinos a full name, but no title, while seven afforded Latinos a full name and a title. From La Conexión Latina: Four of the 11 articles I analyzed had no individualization for Latinos, although, notably, three of those four articles had no individualization for anyone. Of the seven articles that afforded Latinos individualization, all included the given and surname, as well as a title.

I present the types of individualization found in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina from least individualizing to most. This presentation indicates, in turn, which social actors are afforded most importance through foregrounding.

Examples (17-19) below are instances of low individualization where the social actor is afforded only a given name (17), or a given name and a "pseudo title" (18-19):

(17) Juan dijo
[Juan said] (Dávila, 2011b)

(18) La ex-trabajadora María
[the ex-employee María] (Dávila, 2011b)

(19) El trabajador José
[the worker José] (Dávila, 2011b)

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There are two items to note here. The first is that, short of not mentioning these social actors at all, this type of individualization does little to foreground them. Initially, then, I conclude that the author employs low individualization to maintain Juan, María, and José in the background. The second observation recalls what Monserrate remarked about the inclusion of full names for Latino social actors: Full names are included only in the case that the person is a documented immigrant so as not to jeopardize the safety of unauthorized immigrants. Thus, instead of purposefully backgrounding Latinos in his stories, Dávila may simply be protecting them by providing only their given names.

At any rate, it is worthwhile to compare and contrast these findings with van Leeuwen's (2008) observations regarding individualization. It appears that individualization in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina functions in line with van Leeuwen's (2008) idea of working-class newspapers referring specifically to "ordinary people", in this case, unauthorized Latino (ex)workers. However, these findings contrast with van Leeuwen's (2008) observation that newspapers tend to background minoritized groups like immigrants most often. Examples (20-22) below show constructions that afford Latinos full individualization, consisting of full names and titles (both "pseudo titles" in the case of (20-21), and "real titles" in the case of (22)):

(20) Mario Colloly Torres, ex-trabajador de limpieza
[Mario Colloly Torres, ex-janitor] (Méndez, 2011a)

(21) Silvia García Roque, trabajadora de limpieza
[Silvia García Roque, janitor] (Méndez, 2011b, c)

(22) Senadora estatal, Patricia Torres Ray
[State Senator, Patricia Torres Ray] (Méndez, 2011b, c)

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I emphasize that this individualization contrasts with van Leeuwen's (2008) observation that minoritized groups are rarely afforded any individualization. Thus, I initially conclude that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina present ideologies different from those found in the English-language mainstream media by representing Latinos as social actors at the fore of the social arena, rather than in the background.

Latinos are not the only social actors afforded individualization in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. In fact, every mention of a non-Latino was accompanied by full individualization (a full name and a title), save one case where the title was omitted, which was easily identified from the context. Examples (23-24) below illustrate full individualization for non-Latino social actors:

> (23) Pastor Grant Stevenson, Pastor de Spirit of Truth Lutheran Church
> [Pastor Grant Stevenson, Pastor of Spirit of Truth Lutheran Church] (Méndez, 2011b)

> (24) el candidato Republicano [sic] para el gobernador Tom Emmer
> [the Republican candidate for Governor, Tom Emmer] (Sigal, 2010)

A point that arises from the analysis of individualization is that the inclusion and exclusion of certain social actors appears to create a social hierarchy where those who are afforded more individualization are at the forefront of society and those who have less individualization are backgrounded in society. For example, although many Latinos are afforded individualization (indeed, more than may have been expected, given van Leeuwen's (2008) observations), these Latinos are, more often than not, documented Latinos. What is more, as I stated above, non-Latinos are always afforded full individualization, except in one case. What results is the continuum in Table 6 where the left-hand side represents the least individualization a social actor may receive (e.g., a

given name), and the right-hand side represents the most individualization a social actor

may receive (e.g., a full name and a title).

Table 6. Individualization of social actors as a continuum

- individualization   + individualization
Background of society   Forefront of society

```
|---Unauthorized Latinos ----------------------------------|
                                          |----Documented Latinos-----|
                                          |--------------Non-Latinos---|
```
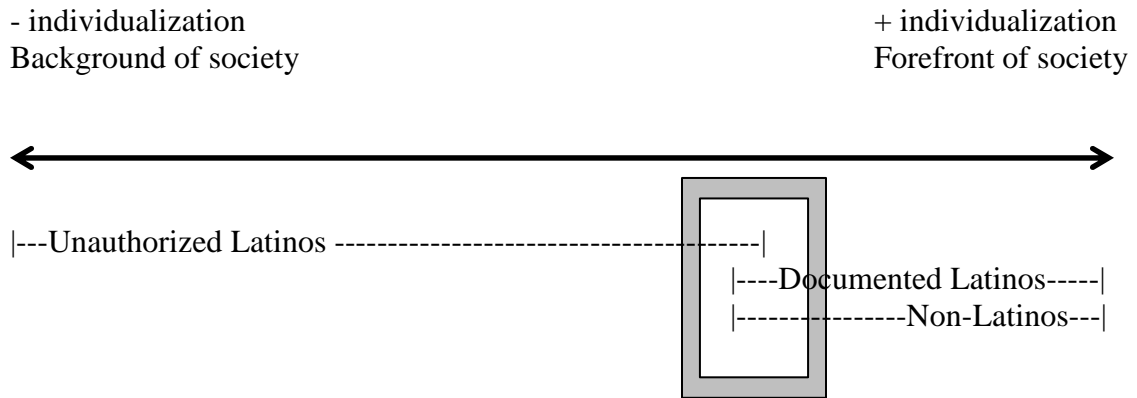
Of note is the point at which the dotted lines for each social actor overlap: This means

that in some cases unauthorized Latinos were afforded the same amount of

individualization as documented Latinos and non-Latinos. It is at this point that the social

hierarchy collapses because there are no differences between the individualization of

social actors. Consequently, this situation represents an ideology of equality between

unauthorized Latino immigrants, documented Latino immigrants, and non-Latinos that

the English-language mass media in the United States rarely present.

Conclusion to Description *Level*

The analysis of the *description* level does not point clearly to a single conclusive

statement (see Table 7 below for a summary of the findings). However, it appears that the

ideology discursively represented at this level is a hierarchy based on inclusion and

exclusion. The social actors included in this hierarchy are several, and are represented

through the use of the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*. The social position of these

social actors is established through agency, passive constructions, and individualization. This hierarchy fluctuates in that it is not same across all articles or across the two newspapers in question. For example, I presented examples where Latino immigrants are included in the same group of social actors as non-immigrants through the use of *nosotros*. Moreover, in other examples, Latinos are agents of both verbs of high and low transitivity, indicating that they have high and low agency. To be sure, some passive constructions hid the positive actions of non-Latino groups. Finally, only some unauthorized Latino immigrants were afforded full names and titles indicating full individualization; however, it is important to remember that this was likely a result of the author's wishes to protect the identity of these social actors, rather than discursively background them. Therefore, I repeat here that ideologies at the *description* level are not uniform: at times they reenact stereotypical ideologies found in the United States mass media. Other times, however, they present new ideologies where Latinos are active members of the local community who are at the forefront of creating change through protests and marches.

Table 7. General trends from *description* level as a function of newspaper

	La Prensa	*La Conexión Latina*
First person plural pronoun ("nosotros")	7 of 13 use *nosotros*	7 of 11 use *nosotros*
Agency	8 of 13 Latinos most agentive	6 of 11 Latinos most agentive
Passive constructions	Average 2.2 passive constructions/article; range 0 to 6	Average 2.1 passive constructions/article; range 1 to 4
Individualization	7 of 13 Latinos afforded full name + title	7 of 11 Latinos afforded full name + title

Of course, the fact that Latino immigrants tend to be social actors in news stories about their misfortunes is indicative of the ideologies typically represented in the English-language mass media. This concept is discussed at the *interpretation* level of analysis in the following section.

Interpretation Level

Fairclough's (2001) method for carrying out a critical discourse analysis involves three dimensions, or stages, of which I have already analyzed 24 local Spanish-language news articles at the *description* level. The next level is *interpretation*, or the relationship between text and interaction, where text is considered the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. At the *interpretation* level, I focus on how contextual factors create coherence in a text. Results from the analysis of contextual factors indicate that the verbal mode inscribes a hybrid epistemic community composed of American and Latin American sociocultural knowledge, perhaps better termed a United States Latino immigrant epistemic community. The ideologies that the contextual knowledge in the local news articles I analyzed call upon are similar to those found at the *description* level: they are at once perpetuating and challenging of those ideologies found in the English-language mainstream media.

I present an analysis of the authors of the articles in question, followed by an analysis of specific events and epistemic community knowledge to complete this section.

Writer

According to van Dijk (2008a), the creation of all discourse begins with an assessment of knowledge held by the producer and the receiver of the discourse:

> In order to be able to speak or write appropriately, language users need to have beliefs or knowledge about the knowledge of the recipients…they not only need to model the social properties of themselves and other participants, but also what the others already know…[communication] would be impossible or pointless if we had no idea about what our recipients knew already. (p. 83)

Thus, essential to the analysis of context is understanding not only the knowledge of the recipient, but that of the creator of the discourse. In the present section, I analyze the background of the eight authors of articles I analyzed for the present investigation. This is followed by a discussion of the omission of authors and its implications for analysis at the *interpretation* level. This will serve as one aspect of the assessment of knowledge to which van Dijk (2008a) refers; in later sections I address another aspect: the recipient's knowledge.

There are disparities between newspapers regarding the inclusion of an author's name for written pieces: La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota included an author's name in nine of 13 articles, whereas La Conexión Latina included an author's name in only three of 11 articles. The authors who wrote for the newspapers in question were Niger Arévalo, Marco Dávila, Verónica Méndez, Laura Cecilia Rodrígez González, Gail Shore, Brad Sigal, Cristian Villaruel, and someone identified as SBJ. I now address the most pertinent information about each author that will provide a base for the analysis of contextual elements, including, when possible, the author's connection to the Latino community.

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Niger Arévalo (2011) is the author of one article that appeared in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota: "Solidaridad en protesta con el activista pro inmigrante Carlos Montes" [Solidarity in protest with pro-immigrant activist Carlos Montes]. However, a nearly complete version of this same story appeared in La Conexión Latina (2011) with no author and a different title: "Alto a las represiones FBI" [Stop FBI repressions]. It is possible that Arévalo sent out a type of press release and the two newspapers chose to present them with different titles because they both appeared in chronologically simultaneous publications.

The only background information I could find about Arévalo is that he is a member of MIRAc, the group that fights on behalf of immigrants in Minnesota for equal rights and fair treatment. While it is not clear what other connections he might have with the Latino community of Minnesota, it is not surprising that Arévalo writes about protests supporting Latino immigrants given his involvement with MIRAc.

Marco Dávila is the author of three articles, two of which appeared in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, and one of which appeared in La Conexión Latina. Dávila's (2011a, c) articles also appeared simultaneously in both newspapers in question, albeit under slightly different titles: in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota it appeared as "Ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan en una sucursal de Edina" [Former Chipotle employees protest at an Edina store] and it appeared as "Los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan afuera de una de las tiendas en Edina" [Former Chipotle employees protest outside of one of the stores in Edina] in La Conexión Latina. Given that Dávila's other article concerns Chipotle (ex)employees, one could say that his beat includes labor issues affecting the Latino immigrant community.

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According to Wilmer Díaz, Editor of La Conexión Latina, Dávila currently has

his own column in the Opinion section of the aforementioned newspaper. Dávila's

background is as follows:

> Marco Dávila was born in Mexico City, and came to the U.S at age 16. After
>
> graduating high school, Marco became involved with the Minnesota Immigrant
>
> Rights Action Committee (MIRAc) and organized for a fair immigration policy.
>
> As a student at Minneapolis Community and Technical College, Marco was active
>
> in Chicanos/Latinos Unidos [Chicanos/Latinos United] and mentored young
>
> Latino students.
>
> Currently, Marco actively organizes in the local committee for Frente Farabundo
>
> Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) [Farabundo Martí Front for National
>
> Liberation (FMLN)], a progressive Salvadorian political party. Marco is
>
> committed to mobilizing Salvadorans and other immigrant groups to impact
>
> elections and change public policy. (Dávila, n.d.)

From this, one can see that Dávila came to the United States during adolescence and is

studying at the post-secondary level in the United States (and, presumably, finished

secondary school in the United States, as well). Dávila's position is dissimilar from that

of the traditional reader of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota for two reasons. First, he is a

member of the Latino immigrant community and, as such, it is reasonable to consider that

he is a member of the community for which he writes. However, Dávila is also different

from the traditional readership regarding his education: Few of the traditional readers will

have completed any education in the United States. What is more, even fewer will have

enrolled in post-secondary institutions. Thus, the educational background of Dávila distances him to a certain degree from the traditional reader for whom he writes.

Verónica Méndez (2011a, b, c) is the author of three articles, two of which appeared in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, and one of which appeared in La Conexión Latina. Similar to the case of Arévalo and Dávila, two of Méndez's articles appear simultaneously in both newspapers under the title, "Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre sin límite" [Janitors and allies launch an unlimited hunger strike] in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and "Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre indefinida" [Janitors and allies launch an undefined hunger strike] in La Conexión Latina. Méndez's other article concerns fired janitors, so I conclude that her beat covers Latino janitors and their rights.

While I could not find information regarding Méndez's background, it appears that she is involved with several groups that support workers' rights. She is a member and organizer of the Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha (CTUL) [Center of Workers United in Struggle], which was formerly known as the Interfaith Center for Worker Justice. What is more, as a member and leader of CTUL, she represents this group on the Take Action Minnesota board of directors (TakeAction Minnesota, n.d.). Thus, Méndez's involvement in the Latino community of Minnesota is through groups dedicated to the rights of workers.

Laura Cecilia Rodríguez González (2010) wrote one article for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota: "Minnesota protesta contra SB 1070" [Minnesota protests against SB 1070]. Because Rodríguez did not write any other articles I analyzed for this investigation, it is difficult to determine what her beat is. What is more, given that I could

not find any biographical information about Rodríguez, I cannot determine what her connection with the local Latino community is.

Gail Shore (2010) is the author of "Tribunal aprueba acuerdo de acción colectiva de trabajadores latinos de la construcción" [Court approves agreement for collective action suit for Latino construction workers]. Shore is currently Executive Director at Cultural Jambalaya and President at Shore to Shore Communications, Inc. Cultural Jambalaya is a Twin Cities-based nonprofit that uses international cultural photography to promote understanding and respect for all people (Shore, n.d.). From this, Shore's connection to the Latino community is different from that of Arévalo, Dávila, or Méndez, in that she does not carry out protests or marches that will lead to change for the Latino immigrant community. Moreover, Shore is different than the community for which she writes because she is not Latina.

Brad Sigal (2011) is the author of one article for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota: "Emmer: Ley anti-inmigrante es 'maravillosa'" [Emmer: Anti-immigrant law is "marvelous"]. According to Rigoberto Castro (Editor for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota), Sigal is a frequent contributor to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota. Castro noted that Sigal is well connected with the community, and is a good informant for local Spanish-language newspapers because he is abreast of the issues that affect the community. Of note is that, similar to Shore, Sigal is not Latino, and is therefore a member of a different epistemic community than that of his audience.

Cristian Villaruel (2011) is the author of one article that appeared in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota: "Preparan marcha de inmigrantes para primero de mayo" [They prepare immigrant march for May 1st]. It appears that Villaruel is member of

MIRAc, Academia Comunitaria, and Occupy May 1st (Minnehaha Free Space, 2012). In other words, Villaruel is an activist for the immigrant community and perhaps other communities, which is reflected in his choice of topic for his article.

Finally, SBJ (2010) is the author of "Trabajadores latinos protestaron el miércoles sus despedidos de Chipotle Mexican Grills" [Latino workers protested Wednesday their firing from Chipotle Mexican Grills] that appeared in La Conexión Latina. There are two possibilities for who the author of this article is: First, it is possible that Sergio B. Jara, owner of La Conexión Latina, was the author. It is also possible that the author is an unauthorized immigrant and is thus protecting his/her identity by providing only initials.

In summary, several observations can be made regarding the authors who wrote the articles I analyze in this project. To begin, it appears that all but two of the authors (Gail Shore and Brad Sigal) are Latinos, and thus, were born into the epistemic community that constitutes the majority of the readership of the newspapers: Latino immigrants living in Minnesota. In this way, one would expect that the sociocultural knowledge held by these Latino authors would be very similar to the sociocultural knowledge held by the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Regarding the non-Latino writers, it appears that they are involved in and dedicated to the Latino immigrant community: Shore promotes understanding across cultural communities and Sigal attends and leads many protests about issues that affect the Latino immigrant community. For these reasons, although Shore and Sigal do not share the same epistemic knowledge of the readership, they are likely aware of the differences in knowledge from their work with the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota.

Finally, from the limited information I found about the authors, it appears that their writing is very closely related, if not overlapping, with their personal lives. For example, not only is Dávila a member of MIRAc, but he also writes articles covering events that MIRAc planned, or where MIRAc was present. Similarly, not only is Méndez is a member of CTUL, but she also covers events that CTUL planned. Remembering that nearly anything citizen reporters send in to the newspapers will be published, it is no surprise, then, that the topics covered in these newspapers have, according to Monserrate, a left-leaning slant, given what is known about the authors. Of note, though, is that those people involved in activist groups such as MIRAc and CTUL are those most likely to speak out and write articles for newspapers as part of their activism. It is possible that other issues are not given equal – or any – coverage because those who witness or experience them are not members of groups where speaking out is expected. What this means is that the left-leaning slant to which Monserrate referred may be traced back to the economic situation both newspapers are currently confronting: Without adequate funding to hire full-time writers to carry out investigative reporting, they rely on any input they receive from citizen writers. Because activist groups like MIRAc and CTUL are predisposed to speaking out for certain causes, theirs will be the voices most likely heard in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, regardless of whether the issues about which they write are predominant in the Latino immigrant community.

Another item of note that will come to bear in the contextual analysis is the fact that the sociocultural knowledge and realities held by members of activist groups are not likely shared by those who are not members of activist groups. Therefore, although I commented above that many writers whose articles I analyzed for the current project are

members of the same epistemic community as the readership, their membership in activist groups sets them apart by affording them knowledge that the outside community may not hold. In this way, while many writers are closely aligned to the readers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, they are also different, and this knowledge may manifest itself in their writing as being unfamiliar or unknown to the reader.

While the inclusion of authors' names is helpful in determining ideologies, the exclusion of authors' complicates the task of analyzing the ideologies represented in local Spanish-language news articles. It bears repeating that 12[23] articles appeared without author in the newspapers I analyzed: La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota published five of these. I interviewed Alberto Monserrate, owner of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and Rigoberto Castro, Editor in Chief of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, who gave the following reasons for the exclusion of authors in local news articles in their newspaper:

- It was originally written in English and then translated to Spanish (and then distributed to the respective newspapers without the name of the original author)
- It was originally a press release and then converted into an article
- It was originally written by a different entity, such as other local news sources or community writers, and then published in La Conexión and La Prensa
- The author requested anonymity

If any of these are the case for the five articles published without authors, it is necessary to keep in mind that they may represent a range of knowledge wider than what I

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[23] This number could be 11 if "Alto a las represiones FBI" were counted as written by Arévalo. However, because the article appeared without an author, I count it as such for the analysis.

identified for the eight authors above. The first reason – articles written in English and then translated to Spanish – is especially indicative of sociocultural knowledge that may contrast greatly with that of the audience of these newspapers because it was originally written for a different audience. Given the probable sources of articles without authors, it will be possible, then, to encounter sociocultural knowledge represented in local Spanish-language news articles that does not align with that of the audience.

According to Wilmer Díaz, Jefe de Edición [Editor in Chief] with La Conexión Latina, and Andrea Batista, who works on Graphic Design and Public Relations, the seven cases of articles published without authors are errors. The newspaper did not intentionally omit the author; instead, it was lost in the process of assembling the edition. The source of the articles without authors could be any of those listed above as contributors to La Conexión Latina: Wire services; the local organization MIRAc; international (Ecuador) individual contributors; staff members such as the owner, editor, and graphic designer; and local "citizen writers". While some of the unnamed contributors appear to have similar sociocultural knowledge to that of the audience (e.g., staff members), it is again possible that other contributors belong to epistemic communities distinct from that of the audience.

To summarize, the contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina constitute a wide range of sociocultural knowledge. Whatever their background, the contributors have the greatest potential to shape the direction and slant of the newspapers in question, given that the newspapers do not have enough funding to employ full-time writers. What results are newspapers whose local news content reflects those voices most likely to speak up. Because those voices most likely to speak up

originate from groups dedicated to protest and resistance, the result is a left-leaning slant that favors stories of protest and resistance. While these stories may affect the readership, the average reader's recollection of concrete events and his/her sociocultural knowledge may not match those assumed by the writer. In this way, it is possible that there is a lacuna between what the author assumes the reader knows and what the reader actually knows.

The impact of this potential disconnect may manifest itself in two ways. The newspapers may discourage readers and cause them to feel more disconnected from what is supposedly their own community. On the other hand, readers may learn from the newspapers and take up the sense of commitment and action that the newspapers communicate. I now look specifically at the events and knowledge the writers assume the readers possess to ascertain what kind of reader the discourse inscribes and to what extent this ideal reader overlaps with the traditional readers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina.

Context

In this section, I consider the role of contextual knowledge vis a vis the discursive representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language news articles. For van Dijk (2008a), "Shared sociocultural knowledge is a crucial condition for the production and understanding of discourse," (p. 83). The analysis of contextual features has as its purpose the identification of discursive structures that are indicative of what the creator assumes the recipient knows. These, in turn, point to ideologies at the contextual level. From this analysis, authors of local Spanish-language news articles assume that readers

are familiar with events and sociocultural knowledge that point to ideologies that both

perpetuate and challenge those ideologies found in the English-language mass media. Of

note, then, is that these results are similar to what I found for all linguistic constructs at

the *description* level. Additionally, the existence of transformative ideologies at the

interpretation level further indicates the possibility for local Spanish-language

newspapers to create a space from which Latino immigrants may challenge the

oppressive practices committed out against them.

I carry out the analysis of context at two different levels: the level of particular

events and the level of epistemic, or community, knowledge. The first level of contextual

analysis follows van Dijk's (2008a) K-3, which, for the sake of clarity, I repeat here:

K-3: Assume that recipients know what we (e.g., the newspaper) told them before.

This means that the journalist needs to search for a previous context model in

which she (or another journalist of the same newspaper) told readers about **a**

particular concrete event; if such a context model can be found, then any

information that was communicated before need not be given again. (p. 86;

emphasis mine)

Therefore, this section presents the results of the analysis for the particular concrete

events that authors assume readers know. This knowledge is, in turn, indicative of

ideology through the events with which it assumes the readers are familiar.

In general, the concrete events with which the authors assume the readers are

familiar center around three topics: janitors, Chipotle, and government-related events,

which I address in turn.

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Articles concerning janitors were the most numerous, with a total of nine articles

dedicated to retelling recent events about this group. What is more, the references to

events told in older articles within more recent articles were the most numerous, with

more than 15 references to previous articles. The trajectory of janitors fighting back

against the stores for which they worked is told in eight of these articles, which I

reproduce in Table 8 below, spanning approximately seven months, along with references

to particular concrete events told in past articles.

Table 8. References to particular concrete events about janitors

Date	Title	References
November 19-25, 2010	Trabajadores de limpieza de tiendas realizan marcha [Janitors carry out march]	Notification of unfair working conditions sent to Target, Supervalu, Lunds & Byerly's on April 25, 2010
December 3, 2010	Marchan trabajadores de limpieza [Janitors march]	March to protest unfair working conditions on November 6, 2010
March 4-10, 2011	Trabajadores de limpieza despedidos reciben ayuda [Fired janitors receive help]	Janitors have organized to stop unfair working conditions
March 25, 2011	Trabajadores exigen que Cub Foods pare las represalias, violencia y abusos de derechos humanos [Workers demand that Cub Foods stop reprisals, violence and abuses of human rights]	Janitors have attempted to speak with Cub Foods
May 20-26, 2011	Trabajadores de limpieza iniciarán huelga de hambre [Janitors will begin a hunger strike]	If Cub Foods does not speak with janitors, hunger strike is planned for May 20, 2011
May 27-June 2, 2011	Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre sin límite [Janitors and allies launch an unlimited hunger strike]	Mario Colloly was fired from Cub Foods
June 3, 2011	Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre indefinida [Janitors and allies launch an undefined hunger strike]	
June 3-9, 2011	La huelga de hambre llegó a su fin [Hunger strike reaches its end]	Janitors and allies carried out hunger strike to insist that Cub Foods speak about unfair firing

From Table 8, one can see that all of the articles from this eight-month period refer back to concrete events reported in previous articles, thereby corroborating van Dijk's (2008a) explanation of K-3: "Assume that recipients know what we…told them before" (p. 86). In this way, writers do not need to explain each event in great detail. Instead they assume the audience has read previous issues of the newspaper where the event was explained and that a simple reference to the event will active the reader's knowledge.

Knowledge of events concerning janitors is indicative of two overarching ideologies. The first stems from assumed knowledge of large local corporations (Cub Foods, Lunds & Byerly's, Supervalu, and Target) carrying out unfair practices that have had devastating repercussions on the janitors who clean their stores over an extended period of time, as exemplified by the following references to concrete events reported in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina:

- Mario Colloly Torres being fired from Cub Foods after starting his protests

- Violence against protesters at Cub Foods event

- Injustices committed by Cub Foods, Lunds & Byerly's, Supervalu, and Target against janitors

- Decreasing salary from $10-11 to minimum wage with double workload

- Violation of civil rights by cleaning companies resulting in multi-million dollar court cases

- 1500 IBM workers fired without warning

The second stems from assumed knowledge of Latinos organizing, protesting, marching, and striking to fight back against the aforementioned unfair practices. The resulting ideologies work in opposition: The first portrays Latinos as victims of large corporations, whereas the second portrays Latinos as public and vociferous defenders of their civil and human rights. While the first ideology is not uncommon in the mainstream media of the United States, the second is rarely portrayed, and as such constitutes a unique representation of Latino immigrants in Minnesota.

The repeated references to concrete events in local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina over time and across texts appear to lend credence to the idea of intertextuality. This term was originally coined by Kristeva in the late 1960's, but flourished in the work of Bakhtin (Fairclough, 1992) and has since taken on nuanced meanings depending on the scholar who employs the term. Two authors who study the discursive expression of ideology have interpreted intertextuality in a way that is in line with the data presented in this study. Stuart Hall (1997, p. 232), for example, defines intertextuality as the "Accumulation of meanings across different texts." According to this interpretation, intertextuality results from what was originally reported as a single event, the firing of janitors from a local grocery store, [24] and its synchronic repetition across newspapers and its diachronic repetition that led to an intertext that contains all of the aforementioned bulleted points. It is likely that this intertext has also interwoven elements of sociocultural knowledge, or K-4 (which is addressed in the following section), to lead to an even more complex intertext. It is through references to

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[24] Note that the original report of the firing of janitors from local stores was not published within the span of newspapers considered for the current project.

the reader's K-3 that authors writing local news articles for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are able to call upon an enormous network of shared meaning that lead to a single text that has other texts interwoven throughout it.

Another scholar who uses intertextuality to explicity address ideology is Norman Fairclough (1992), who reappropriates Bakhtin's term and divides it into two distinct, though similar, concepts. The first is intertextuality, defined as utterances constituted by elements of other texts (p. 102). The second, interdiscursivity, appears to function at a more global level: It describes how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of different orders of discourse (p. 118). When an author constructs a text, he/she weaves together various orders of discourse and texts. This part of the definition is quite similar to Hall's definition outlined above. However, Fairclough continues to add that the resulting construction implies the interpellation of interpreting subjects; in other words, the discourses and texts upon which the author draws do ideological "work" as they situate an ideal reader who will be able to interpret them (p. 118). From this, it appears that Fairclough's term interdiscursivity better describes what is occurring in local Spanish-language news articles than his term intertextuality. Importantly, Fairclough notes the exchange between writer and audience vis a vis ideology, where the act of writing is likened to carrying out ideological work by inscribing a particular audience that will be capable of interpreting the particular juxtaposition of texts and ideas in a single text. This idea will come to bear in this section in that the interweaving of references to K-3 and K-4 in single texts lead to interdiscursivity, and consequently do ideological work by inscribing an epistemic community whose sociocultural knowledge spans two distinct communities: a Latin American and an United States.

Four articles were dedicated to events pertaining to Chipotle Mexican Grills, a fast food chain with headquarters in Denver, Colorado, spanning a short period of time. The catalyst for the events covered in the articles was the firing of more than 100 workers from Chipotle in early December, 2010. These articles covered a great amount of detail in just over a one-month period by calling upon reader's knowledge of particular concrete events that were communicated in previous articles.

Table 9. References to concrete events about Chipotle

Date	Title	References
December 17, 2010	Trabajadores latinos protestaron el miércoles sus despedidos de Chipotle Mexican Grills [Latino workers protested on Wednesday their firing from Chipotle Mexican Grills]	More than 100 workers were fired from Chipotle in early December, 2010
January 7-13, 2011	Trabajadores y ex-trabajadores de Chipotle organizándose para exigir mejor trato [Employees and ex-employees of Chipotle organizing to demand better treatment]	Employees and ex-employees carried out protest against Chipotle Chipotle representative will meet with (ex)employees in January, 2011
January 21, 2011	Los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan afuera de una de las tiendas en Edina [Ex-employees of Chipotle protest outside of an Edina store]	Protesters were fighting back against injustices committed by Chipotle
January 21-27, 2011	Ex-trabajadores protestan en una sucursal de Edina [Ex-workers protest in an Edina store]	Chipotle fired more than 100 workers in early December, 2010

Knowledge of the particular events referenced in Table 9 is indicative of ideologies similar to those surrounding the janitor events above. First, the injustices committed by Chipotle against Latino employees are indicative of an overarching ideology where Latinos are victims of a large, national corporation. Second, the protests that occurred as a result of these injustices are indicative of an overarching ideology where Latinos resist and protest poor treatment by a majority group. Although such ideologies work in opposition in these articles, they are not typically presented in such a fashion in the mainstream United States media. For example, it is common for majority groups to be portrayed in the mass media as powerful; their positive actions are emphasized and their negative actions are de-emphasized (cf. van Dijk, 1988; van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman, and Troutman, 1997). While the articles in Table 9 do draw upon ideologies where Chipotle is powerful, they also draw upon ideologies where the negative actions of a powerful majority are emphasized. Similarly, the mass media rarely portray minoritized groups as organizing to create powerful groups who speak out and exact change from majority groups. In this way, the particular concrete events that are referenced in Table 8 and Table 9, while reenacting some ideologies common in the United States mass media, also represent ideologies that challenge those ideologies represented by the mass media.

Finally, contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina assumed that the audience was familiar with particular concrete events related to the government. These events appear to be chronologically far-removed from their date of publication of the articles, implying that the contributors either assume the readers remember when the event was first covered in the same newspaper, or have since

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refreshed their knowledge of these events through other media (van Dijk, 2008a).

Following are the events with which the reader must be familiar in order to make sense of

articles in the newspapers in question:

- Recent attacks by the FBI on Latino immigrants

- Attacks by the Obama administration on Latino immigrants

- Democrats' unfulfilled promises for Latino immigrants

- Tom Emmer promoted other anti-immigrant measures in Minnesota

- The passing and enacting of SB1070 in Arizona

- The actions of Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio against those who appear Latin

  American

- Injustices against Latinos across the United States

- Acts of repression against unauthorized Latino workers in the United States

Some of these references apply to events at the local governmental level, while others

apply to events at the national governmental level. They all require the reader to have

knowledge of these events and, what is more, understand ideologies typically found in

the mainstream United States media in order to make sense of the article. For example,

the reference to Democrats' unfulfilled promises to Latinos requires readers to know

what the promises were, something that may have been reported earlier in local Spanish-

language newspapers, or in other media. Of especial note here is that even though the

ideologies enacted by these references are negative towards Latinos, they are more often

found in Spanish-language media. The mainstream English-language media in the United

States likely would not report most of the events listed above with great frequency

because they emphasize the negative actions of majority groups. Thus, the kind of media

that would cover such events is likely the kind that seeks to uncover negative actions against Latinos, such as Spanish-language media. In this way, the Spanish-language media represents social actors from majority groups in a negative light, while simultaneously reproducing ideologies that portray Latinos as powerless social actors who are the target of negative actions.

To summarize, by referencing particular concrete social events, the articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina establish ideologies typical and atypical of the mass media in the United States. Regarding the former, some ideologies present majority groups as powerful social actors and Latinos as the powerless recipients of the negative actions of majority groups. Regarding the latter, some ideologies present Latino immigrants as vociferous activists against the wrongdoings they have suffered who are fighting to change the status quo. Finally, all references to particular concrete events in the articles I analyzed gave way to what Hall (1997) calls intertextuality and what Fairclough (1992) calls interdiscursivity. Notably, the act of weaving together ideas and fragments of other texts in a single text can lead to the interpellation of interpreting subjects, an idea addressed in the analysis of K-4 that follows.

The second level of contextual analysis follows van Dijk's (2008) K-4: "Assume that readers have the same sociocultural knowledge as I (we) have," (p. 87). Here I emphasize that sociocultural knowledge inscribes epistemic communities and, hence, an analysis at this level of context will indicate what ideologies are enacted. The elements of sociocultural knowledge most enacted in the local news sections of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are related to groups and entities and activism.

One pattern I observed in the articles I analyzed is an assumed sociocultural knowledge of groups and entities, many of which are involved in social change through protest and community involvement. Authors referred to these groups and entities with differing levels of detail, from full disclosure including explanations of acronyms and background information to no disclosure besides the use of an acronym. The group to which authors referred the most was the Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha [Center of Workers United in Struggle] (CTUL), which was afforded different levels of disclosure, from simply giving the acronym (25-26), to explaining the acronym (27-28), to providing background information about what the group is and its goals (29-31):

> (25) En esta protesta fueron apoyados por cuatro diferentes sectores, trabajadores de limpieza, **CTUL**, SEIU y MIRAc
> [In this protest they were supported by four different sectors, janitors, **CTUL**, SEIU and MIRAc] (Dávila, 2011a, c; emphasis mine)

> (26) **CTUL** anuncia planes para una huelga de hambre
> [**CTUL** announces plans for a hunger strike] (La Conexión Latina, 2011b; emphasis mine)

> (27) **CTUL** (**Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha**)
> [**CTUL** (**Center for Workers United in the Fight**)] (Méndez, 2011a; emphasis mine)

> (28) **Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha** (**CTUL**)
> [**Center for Workers United in the Fight** (**CTUL**)] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2010; emphasis mine)

> (29) Alrededor de 25 trabajadores y extrabajadores de Chipotle se reunieron en las oficinas de **CTUL, ubicada en la Calle Franklin y Avenida 25**
> [Around 25 employees and former employees of Chipotle met in **CTUL offices, located on Franklin and 25th Avenu**e] (La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2011; emphasis mine)

> (30) un grupo de nueve trabajadores y aliados, unidos por **la organización de derechos laborales, CTUL**
> [a group of nine workers and allies, united by **the organization for workers' rights, CTUL**] (Méndez, 2011b; emphasis mine)

(31) **el Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha (CTUL) – la organización que organizo [sic] la marcha el sábado…CTUL es una organización basada en las Twin Cities adonde [sic] trabajadores construyen poder para dirigir la lucha por sueldos y condiciones justas, respeto básico y una voz en el trabajo**
[the Center of Workers United in Struggle (CTUL) – the organization that organized Saturday's march…CTUL is an organization based in the Twin Cities where workers construct power to direct their fight for fair salaries and working conditions, basic respect and a voice at the workplace] (La Conexión Latina, 2010; La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, 2010**;** emphasis mine)

Examples (25-31) inscribe a range of epistemic communities through their references to CTUL. In (25-26), the author assumes shared sociocultural knowledge; in (27-28) the author assumes some overlap in sociocultural knowledge, but provides further explanation where he/she assumes a gap in audience's knowledge; finally, in (29-31), the author assumes no shared knowledge with the audience by providing the most detailed explanation of CTUL. While this explanation points to the audience as the source of variation in K-4, it seems more plausible that the writers are the source of this variation. In the previous section, I concluded that the contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are members of both the same epistemic community as their audience and epistemic communities of which the audience is likely not a member. In this way, K-4 is indicative of varying assumptions by contributors as to the sociocultural knowledge held by the audience. Consequently, local news articles may inscribe a reader that is very close to the actual audience; however, they may also inscribe a reader distinct from the actual audience. This may, as I mentioned above, discourage readers by causing them to feel that "their" newspaper speaks to another audience (in other words, inscribes a different reader), or it may encourage readers to become

involved and mirror in their own lives the protesting and activism they see in the newspapers. If the latter is the result, it points to a weak version of opinion of thought in the field of communication studies termed "the spiral of silence", whereby the media privilege certain ideas which in turn are perceived by the audience as being the prevailing opinion. As a consequence, the ideas presented in the media are strengthened and gain more followers, whereas other ideas weaken and lose assenters (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). In this case, by assuming shared knowledge of certain groups and entities, readers may believe that these groups and entities are more prevalent than they actually are, and may take up their cause so as not to fall in disaccord with the rest of the community, whom they believe to already be familiar with the aforementioned groups and entities.

Two other groups the authors frequently referenced were Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee (MIRAc) and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) - Local Union 26. Again, I emphasize that references to activist groups such as these that support rights for immigrants are not surprising given the background of the authors who write for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Similar to the case of CTUL, the extent to which the authors explained each reference ranged from simply providing an acronym to explaining the background and goals of the group.

The remaining groups and entities that authors mentioned in their articles were: Alto a las Represiones FBI [Stop FBI Repressions], Campaña No Más Deportaciones [No More Deportations Campaign], Comité de Acción de Derechos de los Inmigrantes [Action Committee for Immigrant Rights], Comunidades Seguras [Secure Communities], ICE (Inmigración y Control de Aduanas) [Immigration and Customs Enforcement], La Comisión para la Igualdad de Oportunidades en el Empleo [Equal Employment

Opportunities Commission], Libertad de los Inmigrantes de Minnesota [Freedom for Minnesota Immigrants], MPR (Minnesota Public Radio), Programa de Criminales Extranjeros [Criminal Alien Program (CAP)], SWAT team, USCIS (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services), and the Waite House. Although some of these groups are self-explanatory due do their names, some are not, and in nearly every case, no explanation was given as to the identity or makeup of the group. One may assume that while some of these terms are part of the knowledge of the epistemic community to which these newspapers are directed, many are likely not. Importantly, then, in the absence of explanatory material, I reiterate the two possible outcomes for the reader: The absence of contextual information motivates the reader to look up the information and potentially acquire knowledge held by a different epistemic community. The second outcome is that the absence of contextual material alienates the reader by causing him/her to feel as if he/she is not actually part of the epistemic community that the newspaper inscribes.

Another pattern I observed in the articles I analyzed is an assumed sociocultural knowledge of protesting and the many details that make up this activity, for example: how to plan a protest, who may protest, what are the implications and consequences for those who protest, where protests may be carried out, what is done during a protest, and what the outcomes of a protest may be. While it may seem rather simplified to argue that any reference to protest inscribes a particular epistemic community, I consider whether the typical reader of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota or La Conexión Latina would read such references and feel that they fit with their lifestyle. In the case they did, then these references are likely part of the reader's sociocultural knowledge. In the case that they

did not, this would indicate that protesting is not a part of the reader's sociocultural

knowledge. Another way of saying this is that the article would be inscribing a different

reader than the typical reader. Thus, referencing protests in itself is simple, but the web of

knowledge it implies is complicated, and as such points to the necessity to consider what

kind of reader it inscribes. Yet again, it is fitting to mention that the emphasis on protest

may be a function of the personal involvement of contributors in activism. As with other

variations in K-4, I argue that if this assumed knowledge of activism is not part of the

reader's sociocultural knowledge, he/she may be motivated to learn about activism or,

conversely, may be discouraged from reading a newspaper apparently directed at a

different audience.

To close this section of the analysis of context, I provide a final example that

serves to illustrate several of the elements I discussed above regarding the inscription of a

particular reader through references to concrete events and sociocultural knowledge:

> La protesta de Saint Paul sirvió para enviar un fuerte mensaje a los legisladores de
> Minnesota contra proyecto de ley SB1070 que se pretende imitar en Minnesota
> con la HF3830. La protesta fue organizada por el Derechos de los Inmigrantes de
> Minnesota Comité de Acción (MIRAc) y el Boicot Arizona Minnesota (BAM) y
> en ella participaron oradores como Javier Morrillo, Pham Anh, Marco Dávila y
> Ana Vázquez. Los oradores al hacer uso de la palabra hablaron sobre el racismo y
> la opresión nacional en contra de los chicanos y mexicanos, especialmente en
> Arizona, estado que se ha caracterizado por el racismo extremo, ya que en la
> década de los 80's [sic] fue el último estado en la nación en firmar para honrar la
> memoria de Martin Luther King con un día feriado.
> [The protest in St. Paul served as a strong message to Minnesota legislators
> against the project that SB-1070 hopes to imitate in Minnesota with HF3830. The
> protest was organized by the Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee
> (MIRAc) and the Boycott Arizona Minnesota (BAM) group. Also, speakers like
> Javier Morillo, Pham Anh, Marco Dávila and Ana Vázquez participated. They
> spoke about racism and oppression against Chicanos and Mexicans, especially in
> Arizona, a state which has been characterized by extreme racism, given that in the
> 1980's it was the last state in the nation to sign a bill to honor the memory of

> Martin Luther King [sic] and make the day a national holiday] (Rodríguez González, 2010)

The particular concrete events Rodríguez (2010) refers to in this paragraph are the passing of SB1070 in Arizona and the proposal of HF3830 in Minnesota. Because no other explanation is given of these events, Rodríguez assumes her readers have read about these laws in previous issues of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota or through other media. As I argued above, because English-language mass media in the United States does not often cover events that emphasize the negative actions of majority groups such as the enactment of these laws, they are most likely covered by Spanish-language media in the United States. Thus, the author assumes that the reader is familiar with events that affect the Latino immigrant community in the United States, regardless of where these events are reported.

Most notable in this example is the sociocultural knowledge the reader must possess to make sense of it. To begin, the title of the article is "Minnesota protesta contra SB 1070" [Minnesota protests against SB 1070], which immediately signals that the reader will need knowledge of protests and United States politics to understand the content. Indeed, as I mentioned earlier, this paragraph speaks about groups who organize protests, in this case, MIRAc and BAM. These, in turn, evoke sociocultural knowledge about groups and entities because no other explanatory information accompanies these acronyms. The article also addresses what happens at a protest. In this case, there were four speakers whose mention once again evokes sociocultural knowledge about protest, specifically local entities who support immigrants: Javier Morrillo, Pham Anh, Marco Dávila and Ana Vázquez. Finally, this paragraph draws upon sociocultural knowledge of

political processes and United States history. Rodríguez does not explain either law, SB1070 or HF3830, in the article, which means she assumes the readers are familiar with what they are and what effect they would have on the Latino immigrant community in the United States. She also assumes readers understand historical entities such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and patterns such as racism experienced by Chicanos and Mexicans in Arizona.

However, many contextual references are likely part of the sociocultural knowledge of the audience, such as "La crisis económica" [the economic crisis] and "the green card". Following is an example of this type of contextual reference:

> Somos muchos y además somos fuerza de trabajo que realmente aporta a la economía de este país. El movimiento inmigrante continúa porque las injusticias en contra de nuestra gente no ha cesado
> [There are many of us, and, what is more, that we are a workforce that truly contributes to the economy of this country. The immigrant movement continues because the injustices against our people have not stopped] (Villaruel, 2011)

This statement evokes sociocultural knowledge that a large Latino immigrant community gives to the economy of the United States while continually suffering injustices (in the workplace, at home, in schools, etc.). This kind of knowledge is likely closely aligned to that of the readership of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina because it constitutes reality for many. While references such as these feel more inclusive to the audience they also reenact ideologies typical of the United States mass media where Latino immigrants are not agents, but rather are recipients of negative actions by majority groups.

Conclusion to Interpretation *Level*

I end this section by arguing that it appears that Fairclough's interdiscursivity explains the ways in which local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina inscribe a unique, hybrid community by evoking sociocultural knowledge of elements from both the United States and the Latino immigrant community in the United States. In other words, contextual references to K-3 and K-4 simultaneously inscribe a United States epistemic community (e.g., through references to Martin Luther King, Jr.) and a Latino immigrant epistemic community (e.g., through references to the injustices suffered by Latino workers). While I have stated elsewhere that some of the information the articles reference may not be part of the reader's sociocultural knowledge, one explanation for the inscription of a hybrid community is that the information achieves the goals of both newspapers in providing the local Latino immigrant community with the knowledge they need to be successful. Thus, while it may seem that the contributors have not taken into account the sociocultural knowledge of the audience, they may simply be following the wishes of the newspapers by providing the readers information with which they may not yet be familiar.

A second, and more plausible, explanation connects the inscription of a hybrid epistemic community to the previous section dedicated to the writers of the local news articles for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina and Fairclough's idea that writers infuse their own sociocultural knowledge into their writing which serves to inscribe a particular community whose ideologies align with those of the writer. In the present study, I have noted that many of the authors belong to the same epistemic

community as that of the readers, thus accounting for the inscription of sociocultural

knowledge from the Latino immigrant community in the United States. However, I also

noted that some of the authors did not belong to the same epistemic community as that of

the readers, which accounts for the inscription of sociocultural knowledge from the

United States community.

Explanation Level

At the *explanation* level, I seek to answer the question: Does the discourse

contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them? (Fairclough, 2001). In order to

answer this question, I must operationalize the concepts of sustaining and transforming

ideologies.

The overarching goal of this investigation is to determine the potential for print

media, and more specifically, the verbal and visual modes within print media, to

challenge ideologies. I seek to ascertain to what degree local Spanish-language

newspapers challenge those ideologies present in the United States mass media, which I

define as those to which Dávila (2001) argues all minoritized groups in the United States

are subjected, including representing minoritized groups as "low-income, unskilled,

uneducated, crime-ridden, unemployed," (p. 217). Thus, I define sustaining as any

ideology that perpetuates the aforementioned representations of Latinos in the

mainstream media of the United States, and transformative ideologies as any ideology

that challenges the aforementioned representations of Latinos in the mainstream media.

Using this as the basis for sustaining and transforming ideologies, I may now determine

the role of local Spanish-language newspapers in perpetuating or challenging the negative

ideologies towards Latino immigrants commonly found in the United States mainstream media.

The most illustrative analysis of the discursive potential to sustain or transform ideologies is approaching each article as a potentially sustaining or transforming unit. Because many elements contribute to the discursive representation of ideology, it is helpful to consider what ideologies are represented at each level and how they are juxtaposed to create a single unit, or article. Table 10 below is a summary of the verbal analysis. I indicate that a discursive construction transforms ideologies with a plus sign; conversely, I indicate that a discursive construction does not transform ideologies (in other words, sustains ideologies) with a minus sign. Cells with both a plus and minus sign indicate that the discursive construction pointed to equally transformative and sustaining ideologies. Finally, cells with a double dashed line (--) indicate that the discursive construction in question did not appear in the particular article. In the section that ensues, I discuss the transformative of sustaining nature of ideologies as a function of linguistic construction and article, respectively.

Table 10. Results of analysis at *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* levels that answer, "Does the [discursive structure] contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them?" (Fairclough, 2001)

Article	Description Level				Interpretation Level		Explanation Level	
	Nosotros	Agency	Passive Constructions	Individualization	K-3	K-4	Transformative?	Total
A	+	+	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	2.5
B	+	+	-	-	+/-	+/-	Neutral	0
C	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	+/-	No	-1.5
D	--	+	+/-	-	+	+	Yes	1.5
E	--	-	-	+	+/-	-	No	-1.5
F	+	+	-	+	+/-	+/-	Yes	1
G	--	-	-	+	+/-	+/-	Neutral	0
H	--	+	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	1.5
I	--	+	+/-	-	+	+	Yes	1.5
J	+	+	-	-	-	+/-	No	-0.5
K	--	+	+/-	+	+/-	+	Yes	2
L	+	+	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	2.5
M	+	+	+/-	+	+	+	Yes	4.5
N	--	-	-	+	+/-	-	No	-1.5
O	+/-	+	-	+	+	+	Yes	2.5
P	+	+	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	2.5
Q	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	No	-4.5
R	+	-	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	0.5
S	+	+	-	+	+/-	+	Yes	2.5
T	--	-	-	+	--	+/-	No	-0.5
U	--	-	-	-	-	-	No	-5
V	+	-	-	+	--	-	No	-1
W	+	+	+/-	+	-	+/-	Yes	1
X	--	-	+/-	-	-	-	No	-3.5
Total	11+; 2+/-; 10--; 1-	14+; 1+/-; 9-	0+; 5+/-; 17-	16+; 8-	4+; 12+/-; 6-; 2--	11+; 7+/- ; 6-	13 Yes; 9 No; 2 Neutral	0.27 (Mean)

At the *description* level, I analyzed the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, and individualization. Regarding *nosotros*, a plus sign indicates that the first person plural pronoun referred only to Latino social actors, a minus sign indicates that this term referred only to non-Latino social actors, and a plus/minus sign indicates that this term referred to both Latino and non-Latino social actors. Eleven total articles used *nosotros* in a way that transformed the stereotypical ideologies found in the United States mass media by referring only to Latinos. Strikingly, only one article utilized the first person plural pronoun in a way that perpetuated ideologies, while just two were indicative of neutral ideologies. Thus, the inclusive nature of *nosotros* vis a vis Latinos serves as strong evidence for the potential for local Spanish-language news articles to challenge stereotypical ideologies by excluding those social actors who are usually at the forefront, that is, Anglo Americans.

Regarding agency in Table 10, any article with a plus sign indicates an article in which the majority of agents of transitive constructions were Latinos; a minus sign indicates an article in which the majority of agents of transitive constructions were non-Latinos; I allotted a plus/minus sign to the article in which Latinos and non-Latinos were agents of an equal number of transitive constructions. In a total of 14 articles Latinos were agents in the majority of transitive constructions, pointing to the overall transformative nature of ideologies at this level. More specifically, because Latinos are, more often than not, presented as non-agentive social actors in the mainstream media, the portrayal of Latinos as agents of the majority of transitive constructions across both newpapers points to the potential for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina to challenge negative stereotypes against Latinos. However, of note is the fact that

there were nine articles in which non-Latinos were agents of the majority of transitive constructions. Thus, transformative and sustaining ideologies are more equally present in the linguistic construction of agency than the first plural pronoun, for example, where ideologies were nearly completely transformative.

All instances of passive constructions in the local news articles I analyzed hid either the negative actions of groups opposed to Latinos or hid the positive actions of Latino groups. For this reason, I did not identify any passive constructions as transformative. However, I characterized those instances when passive constructions hid the positive actions of Latinos as plus/minus because although these constructions hid the agency of Latinos, they still presented Latinos as social actors, something that the mass media rarely do. This type of passive construction was most common in only five of the articles I analyzed. Thus, the 17 articles identified with minus signs were those in which the majority of passive constructions hid the negative actions of groups opposed to Latinos. In other words, the tendency for articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is to perpetuate the negative ideologicalies towards Latin immigrants through passive constructinos. Of note is that this is the linguistic construction that most frequently reifies ideologies that favor Anglo Americans as powerful and blameless social actors in the verbal mode.

Finally, those articles in which Latinos were afforded a full name and title were marked with a plus sign; conversely, those articles in which Latinos were afforded only a first name or no individualization were marked with a minus sign. I did not assign a plus/minus sign to any articles for this linguistic construction. The trend in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is to challenge ideologies by placing

Latinos at the forefront of discourse by affording them full individualization in twice as many articles as those in which they were identified with only a first name or not at all. This linguistic construction serves as a stark contrast to passive constructions given that, in the verbal mode, individualization most frequently challenged and transformed ideologies that favor Anglo Americans as powerful and blameless social actors.

To summarize, linguistic constructions at the *description* level simultaneously challenge and perpetuate stereotypically negative ideologies towards Latino immigrants in the United States. Overall, three constructions – the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, and individualization – were transformative of ideologies, and only one – passive constructions – perpetuated ideologies. As I have shown, the degree to which each construction challenges or perpetuates ideologies is different, with individualization most frequently challenging ideologies and passive constructions most frequently perpetuating ideologies. However, it bears noting that even the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, and individualization, which overall challenged ideologies, also contained several stereotypical ideologies found in the United States mainstream media.

Analysis at the *interpretation* level involved studying the contextual knowledge necessary for readers to possess in order to understand the local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. The analysis of K-3 involved identifying concrete events with which the reader must be familiar to understand the article in question. In this way, I identified with a plus those articles that referred to concrete events that challenged stereotypical ideological representations of Latinos as wek and powerless social actors, such as protests, marches, and actions to denounce the

unfair treatment of Latino immigrants, among others. On the other hand, I labeled articles that referred to events that perpetuated these stereotypical ideologies, for example the firing of Latino employees, with a minus sign. Articles that referred to both types of aforementioned events received a plus/minus sign. Ideologies represented through K-3 were overall neutral, with 12 total articles receiving a plus/minus sign. Only four articles referred to concrete events that indicated transformative ideologies, while six referred to concrete events that indicated the perpetuation of ideologies. Thus, while the particular events to which the local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina referred did contain some transformative ideologies, the overall message they communicated to the reader was not transformative. A possible explanation for this finding stems from the topics of the articles, which were often focused on protests and represented transformative ideologies, and also the reasons for the protests, such as the firing of Latino workers from Chipotle, which represented sustaining ideologies.

The analysis of K-4 required the identification of sociocultural knowledge the reader must possess to understand the article in question. Articles that required the reader to call upon sociocultural knowledge that challenged the stereotypical negative ideologies against Latino immigrants in the United States, such as the notion that Latinos provide important cultural and economic opportunities, received a plus sign. Conversely, articles that required the reader to call upon sociocultural knowledge that perpetuated these stereotypical negative ideologies, such as the anti-immigrant laws in Arizona, received a minus sign. Those articles that required sociocultural knowledge that both challenged and perpetuated ideologies received a plus/minus sign. The sociocultural knowledge the reader must possess challenged negative stereotypes in a total of 11 articles, whereas it

perpetuated stereotypical ideologies in six articles. Seven articles referred to sociocultural knowledge that was both transformative and perpetuating of ideologies.

In total, contextual knowledge required to understand local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina simultaneously challenged and perpetuated negative ideologies against Latino immigrants in the United States. Concrete events and sociocultural knowledge equally indicated stereotypical ideologies; however, K-4 was slightly more transformative than K-3. Of note is the preponderance of neutral ideologies at the *interpretation* level, which were more numerous than those at the *description* level. As I noted earlier, this could be explained by the topics addressed by the articles I analyzed, which covered the transformative actions carried out by Latino immigrants, but also made reference to negative actions and sociocultural knowledge.

The final column indicates the total transformative power of an article. I calculated this column by starting at zero and adding one point for a plus sign or subtracting one point for a minus sign. Because the plus/minus sign indicates a neutral ideology, it works to bring the total closer to zero in half-point increments. As an example, if the points initially add up to +2 and there is one remaining plus/minus sign, the total should move one half-point closer to zero, yielding a total of 1.5. Similarly, if the points initially add up to -1 and there is one remaining plus/minus sign, the total should move one half-point closer to zero, yielding a total of -0.5. In the case that the total is zero after accounting for all plus and minus signs, any remaining plus/minus signs do not affect the total, which remains at zero.

From Table 10 above one can observe that 13 out of 24 articles presented overall transformative ideologies, nine did not present transformative ideologies, and two

presented an equal amount of transformative and sustaining ideologies. In other words, in 13 of the articles I analyzed, more than half of the discursive constructions were transformative. More importantly, every article save one (Article U) had at least one discursive construction that transformed typical ideologies. Thus, while I conclude that local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina present ideologies that challenge stereotypically negative ideologies towards Latinos, each article does so to a differing degree. However, considering these results on a continuum allows for a more complete understanding of the transformative potential of the data.

Table 11. Continuum of transformation for visual mode

	- transformative +perpetuating									+transformative -perpetuating	
Frequency	-4.5 - -5.0	-3.5 - -4.0	-2.5 - -3.0	-1.5 - -2.0	-0.5 - -1.0	0	0.5- 1.0	1.5- 2.0	2.5- 3.0	3.5- 4.0	4.5- 5.0
5									X		
4								X	X		
3				X	X		X	X	X		
2	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		
1	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X

Degree of transformation or perpetuation of ideologies

Table 11 above is a frequency table indicating where each semiotic text falls on the continuum of transformation whose poles are constituted by most perpetuating and least transformative at one end, and most transformative and least perpetuating at the other end. From this table, the mean transformative score of the 24 articles I analyzed was +0.27, indicating that there is an overall slight preference for transformative ideologies in the verbal mode. Likewise, the most frequent outcome, or mode, falls near the transformative end of the continuum, with five total articles receiving a "transformative score" of +2.5 to +3.0; the second most frequent outcome, four total

articles, also falls on the perpetuating end, albeit with a slightly lower transformative score of +1.5 to +2.0.

The nine articles in Table 10 that were labeled as "sustaining" can also be understood as low on the continuum of transformation in Table 11. In other words, although they contained at least one transformative ideology, they were overall highly sustaining of typical ideologies. Of note are three articles that had very low transformative scores: two of which had transformative scores of -4.5 to -5.0, and one of which had a transformative score of -3.5 to -4.0. Thus, while articles that overall sustained those ideologies found in the English-language mass media were not as common as those that transformed such ideologies, three articles did present highly perpetuating ideologies, indicating that the verbal mode has the potential to both sustain and transform ideologies.

Finally, two articles (B and G) are best categorized in the middle of the continuum of transformation by receiving a transformative score of 0, where approximately half of their discursive structures transformed ideologies, while the other half sustained ideologies. This outcome serves as a stark contrast to the images discussed later in this chapter, where the most frequent outcome was a transformative score of 0, indicating that the visual mode tends to pattern around neutral ideologies more than the verbal mode. The tendency for the verbal mode to have a strong transformative or perpetuating outcome will come to bear in the analysis of intersemiotic complementarity at the close of the chapter, as it will set the stage for cross-modal contrasts that lead the audience to take action against the aggressive practices against Latino immigrants in the United States.

Conclusion to Verbal Analysis

In summary, this section gave the results of a critical discourse analysis of the representation of ideologies in the verbal mode. I analyzed 24 local news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina to determine whether the ideologies represented in these texts perpetuated or challenged the negative stereotypes towards Latinos represented in the English-language mass media. These results point to the overarching goal of determining the extent to which local Spanish-language media provides a discursive space from which Latino immigrants in the United States may challenge the oppressive practices carried out against them.

At the *description* level, the ideology discursively represented is a hierarchy based on inclusion and exclusion that, consequently, inscribed a particular reader. This hierarchy fluctuates in that it is not same across all articles or across the two newspapers in question. In this way, ideologies at the *description* level are not uniform: at times they perpetuate stereotypical ideologies found in the United States mass media, while other times they present new ideologies where Latinos are active members of the local community who are at the forefront of creating change through protests and marches.

At the *interpretation* level, an analysis of the contributors to La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina demonstrated that while some of the contributors appear to have similar sociocultural knowledge to that of the audience, others belong to epistemic communities distinct from that of the audience. This led to the conclusion that, at times, the contextual information the writers assumed the audience possessed did not

overlap with that which the audience actually possessed, leaving the audience to learn this information or feel alienated from the newspaper.

At the *explanation* level, the ideologies discursively represented in local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are best understood on a continuum of transformation. While every article I analyzed contained at least some transformative elements, nine articles were best categorized as highly sustaining typical ideologies from the United States mass media, while 13 others were best categorized as highly transforming typical ideologies from the United States mass media and the remaining two contained an equal number of sustaining and transformative linguistic structures.

In the following section, I present the results of a multimodal social semiotic analysis of 15 images found in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina in order to achieve a more complete understanding of the representation of ideologies within this medium.

Visual Analysis

In this section, I critically analyze the visual representations of ideologies in local Spanish-language print media in order to shed light on how they are expressed in Spanish as a minoritized language, as well as the potential for these ideologies to challenge those found in the English-language mass media. Here I address the second research question, which asks:

2. What ideologies are represented visually in Spanish-language media?

To answer this question, I have carried out a Multimodal Social Semiotic Analysis of 15 images that accompanied the 24 news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina that were the object of analysis in the previous section. Seven of these images were from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, and eight of the images were from La Conexión Latina. Similar to the results of the verbal analysis, this section will demonstrate how the ideologies represented in the visual mode both perpetuate and challenge the stereotypical ideologies present in the English-language mass media. However, one notable difference between the modes is that there are fewer images whose overall message perpetuates stereotypical ideologies; put another way, a greater number of articles contained an overall message of perpetuating stereotypical ideologies. The differences in the representation of ideologies across the verbal and visual modes, as well as the effect of these differences, will come to bear in the analysis of intersemiotic complementarity below.

I present the results of the visual analysis by following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) three metafunctions at the *(re)presentational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* levels, respectively. However, I open the visual analysis by establishing a basic understanding of the people and processes involved in taking and publishing photographs and images for La Prensa/Gente de Minneosta and La Conexión Latina.

General Information/Analysis

Just as it was imperative to understand the process of writing local news articles, so is it necessary to understand the process of graphic design and photography used in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Jorge Amérigo, Graphic Designer

with La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, spoke about his experiences with La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, as well as the current state of graphic design for Spanish-language newspapers in Minnesota.

The processes described above for procuring articles for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are not altogether different from those used to procure images or photographs to accompany news articles. The four sources of images and photographs are: wire services, the Internet, staff, and "citizen photographers" (analogous to "citizen writers"). Hence, in the case that the source of the photograph accompanying local news is not given, there are several possibilities. Amérigo states that, more often than not, the pictures are from "citizen photographers". In rare cases – large or influential events – staff photographers will be on location to take pictures. Finally, there are very few cases of local news articles accompanied by images found on the Internet.

There are several implications from understanding that citizen photographers provide most of the photography included in the local news section (which is the object of the current investigation). To illustrate the effect of the these implications, it is useful to imagine the process whereby photographs are taken and later appear on the pages of a newspaper: "The press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chose, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms," (Barthes, p. 19). While this is a simplified account of such a process, it implies several steps during which several choices are made by more often than not several people. Put another way, the process by which a photograph arrives on the page of the newspaper is traditionally complicated and implicates several people.

If one compares, then, this process with the one used by the photographers for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, several comments must be made. The first is that such photographers likely have no experience with professional photography, and thus do not know the best angle or distance from which a photograph should be taken, nor do they have professional equipment with which to take the picture. In fact, Amérigo notes that as smart phones become more popular and accessible, the number of pictures he receives taken by smart phones increases. Because little to no retouching or reconstruction is applied to the photographs before they reach the press, the quality of the pictures remains quite low. As long as the photograph was taken at the event, and in some way reflects the content of the article it accompanies, it can and will be used in the publication. The second comment is that the selection of who or what will appear in the images is at the discretion of the photographer, and this in itself may be dictated by how much access the photographer has to the event, or how close he/she can get to what is taking place. Thus, when compared to the process to which Barthes (1977) speaks, taking and publishing photographs for the local news section of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is highly simplified because it requires fewer steps, choices, and people. What this implies for the analysis of photographs in the current investigation is a shift of focus from the *intent* of the producers of the photographs (which, as I have shown, appears to have less of an impact on the production of photographs than traditional newspapers) to the ideological *effect* of the photographs. Thus, the presentation of results is as follows: Because this is one of the first investigations to study ideology in Spanish-language texts utilizing Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) multimodal social semiotic framework, I follow this framework

wherever possible. In the cases when the analysis of ideologies through the *intent* of the

producers of the photographs is not fruitful, I instead consider the ideological *effects* of

the photographs.

Keeping these observations in mind, I follow with an analysis of participants that

addresses the role of the photographer in the representation of social actors in local

Spanish-language news images, as well as the ideological effect of the representation of

these social actors.

(Re)presentational Level

At the *(re)presentational* level, I analyzed three visual constructions in order to

identify the ideologies presented in visual texts: participants, eye contact, and size of

frame.

Participants

The two kinds of participants I consider are represented participants and

interactive participants, which are defined as follows:

The represented participants are all the elements or entities that are actually

present in the visual, whether animate or inanimate, elements which represent the

situation shown…The interactive participants are the participants who are

interacting with each other in the act of reading a visual. (Royce, 2007, pp. 66-

67*)*.

Here I begin by analyzing first the represented participants (divided into the people, places, and things represented in images), followed by an analysis of the interactive participants, and conclude by analyzing the interaction between participants.

In general terms, 12 of the 15 images I analyzed contained people; in other words, at least one human being was depicted in the image. Thus, there is a tendency for images accompanying local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina to contain human beings. The inclusion of human represented participants in the majority of images that accompanied the local news articles may be a function of the themes of the articles. In Table 12 below, one observes that 15 of the 24 articles I analyzed for the current investigation contained images. Taken as a function of topic, nine of the 14 articles concerning marches and protests were accompanied by an image; four of the five articles concerning laws and ordinances affecting immigrants were accompanied by an image; and two of the five articles concerning workplace issues were accompanied by an image. The greatest number of images accompanied articles addressing marches and protests. Furthermore, the greatest number of images containing human represented participants accompanied articles addressing marches and protests. While this can be attributed to the greater number of articles about marches and protests, it is not surprising that images about activities carried out by humans are those most likely to contain represented participants.

Table 12. Images and represented participants as a function of news topic

Topic	Contains image/Total topic	Images containing people/Total images
Marches and protests	9/14	8/9
Laws and ordinances affecting immigrants	4/5	2/4
Workplace issues	2/5	2/2
Total	**15/24**	**12/15**

Next, it is essential to identify the human represented participants, to the extent possible, because their presence in images is similar to the concept of inclusion analyzed in the *description* level of the verbal analysis. In other words, represented participants are afforded visibility in images and, as such, appear to be at the forefront of whatever is occurring. Of the 78 total represented participants whose facial features I could discern, gender was nearly equal, with 39 males, 38 females, and one represented participant whose gender was unclear. Represented participants who appeared to be Latino were the most numerous, with 40 out of 78 total. Finally, middle-aged represented participants (who appeared between 30 and 60 years old) were most numerous, comprising 46 out of 78 total. Image 3 and Image 4 below illustrate the types of represented participants found in the images I analyzed.

Image 3. Semiotic text Mm, represented participants: male, female; Latino, non-Latino

Image 4. Semiotic text Mm, represented participants: male, female; Latino, non-Latino

Initially, then, of note is that approximately half (40 out of 78) of the represented participants appear to be Latino. While this is certainly more than would be represented in the United States mass media, for newspapers whose primary audience is Latino, there appears to be a disparity between who is represented in the images and who consumes them. There are two possible explanations for this disparity. To begin, I have commented above that the nature of image production for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is primarily one of chance. In the case of represented participants, then, it may have happened by chance that photographers took pictures wherever more non-

Latino participants were. In this way, the disparity between those who appear in photographs and the consumer of the images is a function of chance at the time of taking the photograph, rather than of motivation to represent some participants rather than others. The second possible explanation involves the event itself. The images may be accurate reflections of the makeup of social actors present during the activities they recount, implying that Latinos comprise just half, whereas other social actors, especially Anglo Americans, comprise the other half.

The question that follows, then, is even if the intentions of the photographer did not include taking pictures of more Anglo Americans than Latino immigrants, what is the effect of representing social actors who are not part of the primary audience of the newspapers in question and, more critically, constitute the majority group (Anglo Americans) responsible for presenting negative ideologies against Latinos in the mainstream media? One implication is a disconnect between the newspaper and the audience, where the audience is alienated by seeing represented participants different than themselves in images. To reiterate, I made this same argument regarding several discursive structures in the verbal analysis, which suggests that this may constitute a cross-modal pattern in this medium, whereby Latino and non-Latino social actors are represented in a medium aimed only at Latinos. However, if it is the case that Latinos do comprise only half of those who attend events concerning Latinos, the implication is that non-Latino social actors are playing an equally important role in exacting change and justice for Latino immigrants. This would point to challenging ideologies because the ideologies presented in the mainstream media do not typically represent Anglo Americans as supporters of the causes documented in the images I analyzed, such as

marches and protests against the unfair treatment of Latino immigrants. Thus, while at first blush the large number of Anglo represented participants in the visual mode may appear to communicate negative ideologies, instead it may communicate a transformative ideology where Anglo Americans support Latino immigrants in their search for justice.

The places represented in the 15 images I analyzed, especially those in Minnesota, are overall indicative of the strategery of protest groups to target the places and populations that most need to hear their messages. In four images, I could not discern a place either because it was not mentioned in the accompanying text, or, in the case of one image (Uu), a generic road sign was shown, and thus did not refer to a specific place.

Table 13. Places represented in images

Place	Number of images occurring in place
Chipotle	3
Lake Street (Minneapolis)	3
State Capitol in St. Paul	2
Twin Cities	2
Los Angeles	1
Total	**11**

As Table 13 indicates, in the remaining 11 images where a place could be discerned, the restaurant Chipotle and Lake Street in Minneapolis were the places where the greatest number of photographs were taken. With regards to the images taken at Chipotle, of note is the tactic of choosing to include photographs at this location, versus any other image that could have accompanied the articles. First, it brings to the attention of the readers the kind of restaurant where immigrant raids happen. Latino immigrants work in numerous food service establishments throughout the Twin Cities. However, compared to small local restaurants or a fine dining establishment, Chipotle is a fast-food chain that is well known in Minnesota by most. It is very visible to the public because it

is affordable and accessible given its multiple locations. The choice by photographers to show protesters in front of and inside Chipotle restaurants communicates to readers the kind of place where large-scale immigrant raids take place. The visibility of this restaurant also serves to tell the reader that protests at any Chipotle location will likely reach numerous people, and, for this reason, are fulfilling their purpose of telling the general public that Chipotle has committed injustices against Latino employees.

Image Cc was taken inside the restaurant, and because the article did not specify which store the photograph was taken at, the exact location is not clear. However, Images Dd and Ii were taken at a Chipotle store in Edina, which is a noteworthy place to carry out the protest given that Edina is one of the most affluent suburbs of the Twin Cities. Instead of carrying out the protests at one of the several locations in the heart of the Twin Cities, where there is sure to be more people, these images emphasize the strategery of choosing this location. Protesting in a Chipotle restaurant in Edina sends the message to the people residing in Edina or passing through: "We [Latinos] know what is happening in Chipotle, but we want to bring it to your attention". The use of this image with this story seems to say; "We [Latinos] are not afraid to bring our message to those who are least aware of our story". What is more, the location in which this photograph was taken "speaks" to the reader of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina by telling him/her "We [Latinos] can stand up against the powerful majorty, even on their own turf." Thus, choosing Chipotle, and specifically its Edina location, and then representing the event from the perspective of Latino agency, seems to tell the reader that Latinos are taking action to better their situation, and that the reader, too, can do the

same. In other words, these images serve as a "call to arms" for the reader, as well as a

reassurance that the reader *can* challenge the action of the majority group.

Three images were taken on Lake Street, a west-east street connecting 14

neighborhoods in South Minneapolis (see Image 5 below).

Image 5. Neighborhoods surrounding Lake Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota (Lake Street Council, n.d.a)
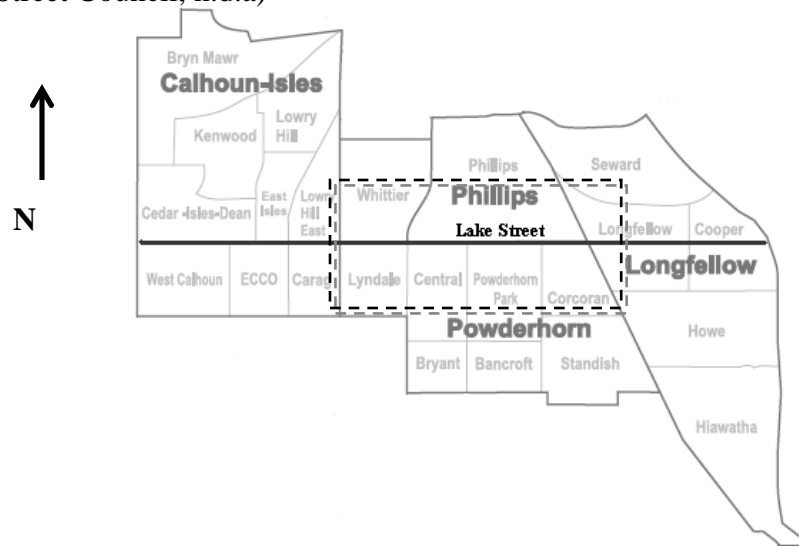
Lake Street is significant because it is currently the most concentrated center of

activity for Latinos in the Twin Cities, just as it has been for other groups in the past:

> For over a century, Lake Street has been a great area for new immigrants and
>
> other first-time business owners to set up shop…The Mercado Central at
>
> Bloomington & Lake spurred Hispanic development in the area, and now many
>
> Mexican and other Central and South American businesses can be found in Lake
>
> Street's Midtown area. (Lake Street Council, n.d.b)

The area in question is outlined in Image 5 above. In general, protests concerning issues

affecting Latinos would likely reach a great number of Latinos when they are held on

Lake Street. This serves as a contrast to the aforementioned protest in Edina, which brought attention to the abuses committed against Latinos to a community where Latinos are less visible. One could assume that the publication of photographs at Lake Street in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina would emphasize solidarity with the Latino community, given that it is a symbolic place for this community.

Image Bb was taken inside New York Plaza, which is a market located at the heart of Lake Street at the intersection of the Phillips and Powderhorn neighborhoods. It is a small version of a shopping mall with several fast-food restaurants, shops, and panaderías, all of which can be accessed from inside. I have already mentioned that protesting on Lake Street is strategic in communicating solidarity with the Latino community. Publishing images of protests in this place reifies for the reader the symbolic importance of Lake Street, as well as the accessibility of protests. In other words, it places protests in the average reader's world, instead of in an unknown or inaccessible place. If readers see in the images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina that the same place where they buy their vegetables and bread is the same place where they can see and participate in protests that have positive impacts on Latino immigrants, they might be more inclined to support and/or join in the protests. In other words, carrying out and then publishing images of protests in a place familiar to readers could have the effect of making protests more accessible for readers and, as such, serve as a call to arms to the audience.

Images Ll and Mm were taken in the parking lot of Cub Foods on Lake Street, which is also located at the confluence of the Phillips and Powderhorn neighborhoods. The effect of these images is a combination of the effect I explained for the images at

Chipotle and the images at New York Plaza on Lake Street. Similar to Chipotle, Cub

Foods is part of a large chain supermarkets whose prices are accessible to many people

residing in the Twin Cities, and for this reason is very visible to the public. Thus, the first

effect of this image is to tell readers that protesters are informing a wide section of the

Minnesota public about the injustices committed against Latinos. The second effect of

this image derives from its taking place on Lake Street. The familiarity of this location

and its symbolic importance as the center of activity for Latinos in Minneapolis lead the

photographs of protests taking place here to serve as a call to arms to the reader. What is

more, images of protests at a large chain store such as Cub Foods reiterates the message

communicated from the Chipotle protest: "We [Latinos] can stand up against the

powerful majorty, even on their own turf."

Image 6. Semiotic text Gg, photograph taken at the Minnesota State Capitol

Two photographs were taken near the capitol building in St. Paul, Minnesota (see,

for example, Image 6). The appearance of this location in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota

and La Conexión Latina is significant for two reasons. The first, and most obvious,

reason is because this is the legislative center of the state. Thus, photographs of protests

held at the location where laws are established and enacted communicate to the reader

that the discontent concerning what is deemed anti-Latino legislation is reaching those who are in charge of establishing and enacting such laws. The second reason the appearance of the state capitol in images is significant is tied to the contextual knowledge of the reader. From the verbal analysis, the creator of a semiotic text calls upon the reader's knowledge of particular concrete events, or K-3, to fill in the gaps and make sense of the text. In the case of the photographs taken at the state capitol, such as Image 6 above, in order to fully comprehend what this image is communicating, the reader would have to recall his/her knowledge of past marches at the capitol in support of Latino immigrants. For example, on May first, a march is traditionally held in St. Paul that ends at the Capitol building to celebrate International Workers Day. In 2006, this march had an unprecedented turnout of approximately 30,000 protesters in support of immigrant rights and in response to recent proposals of legislation for immigration reform (Rosenblum, 2006). Subsequent images of protests at the capitol call upon previous marches, especially the 2006 march that was heavily focused on immigrants and laws affecting immigrants.

Similar to the images taken at Chipotle, the images of protest at the state capitol also call upon the reader's sociocultural knowledge, or K-4, of the significance of protesting against anti-Latino legislation at the state capitol, versus any other place. Protesting at the state capitol is again indicative of the strategery of protest groups to target the places and populations that most need to hear their messages in that this is the place where legislation effecting Latino immigrants in Minnesota is carried out.

Overall, the images taken at the Minnesota State Capitol serve to show the reader that Latino immigrants can stand up to lawmakers about anti-Latino legislation and, ultimately, could lead to changes for the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota.

Finally, two images were taken somewhere in the Twin Cities and one was taken in Los Angeles. Regarding the Twin Cities locations, they are familiar to readers in that these are the cities where the La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are distributed and home to the largest concentration of Latinos in the state of Minnesota. In the face of an overwhelming presence of Spanish-language news dedicated to areas of larger Latino populations nationally (such as the Southwest, New York City, and Miami), publishing photographs of local events underscores the fact that the local Latino community has distinctive characteristics, problems, and ways of addressing these problems. It goes without saying that such photographs serve to teach the local Latino community about events and problems that are of significance and, more importantly, how readers can get involved to resolve, or impact the outcome of, such problems.

As I have just mentioned, the majority of news that reaches the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota occurs where there are large populations of Latinos in the United States and in Latin America. Thus, it is not surprising that one of the photographs published in the local news section was taken in Los Angeles. Such a photograph calls upon the sociocultural knowledge of Latino immigrants in the United States that Los Angeles is home to the largest Latino community in the United States with 4.6 million Latinos and a historically strong Mexican presence (although is home to Latinos from

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other countries, as well). This information is corroborated by the accompanying article that speaks to the historical presence of the Chicano movement in this city.

In summary, the places represented in the images I analyzed were indicative of the strategery of protest groups to target the places and populations that most need to hear their messages. The choice to protest at a Chipotle restaurant in an upscale suburb of the Twin Cities metropolitan area or at a Cub Foods located in the heart of the largest Latino population in the state, for example, communicates to the reader that protesters supporting Latino immigrants calculated the impact of their protests on particular communities, with the goal of bringing to light the injustices committed against Latino immigrants.

Regarding the things represented in the 15 images I analyzed, one pattern that arose was the overwhelming presence of banners or signs used for protesting, which appeared in 11 of the images. Hall (1997, p. 232) argues that while "each image carries its own, specific meaning", they also "accumula[te] meaning across different texts, where one image refers to another," an observation akin to the type of analysis I carried out on context for the verbal mode. While each banner and sign has a specific meaning,[25] as Hall notes, their meanings accumulate across the images, similar to what I observed in the verbal analysis. While a more complete analysis of the content of these banners and signs is given later, it suffices to say that the ideological work they carry out is similar to the ideological work carried out by the places represented in the images: They represent Latinos as agentive social actors who are taking action to improve their situation.

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[25] The analysis of the content of the banners and signs is given in the section "Verbal Analysis Within Images" below.

Consequently, the banners and signs serve as a "call to arms" for the reader, as well as a reassurance that the reader can challenge the action of the majority group.

The remaining four images contained other things: a driver's license, a broken down door, and a stop sign, while one image did not contain any discernible "things". Only cursory observations about these images can be made at this point in the analysis, as their meaning is contingent on a cross-modal analysis; in other words, their meaning is contextually articulated. Thus, I will demonstrate in the section "Intersemiotic Complementarity" how although the image of Latino holding a driver's license is not highly significant in itself, when accompanied by an article speaking to efforts to allow all residents to have a driver's license, this image takes on a message of equality for all in the state of Minnesota. While the image of a broken down door could have any number of meanings, the accompanying article situates this image in an ideology of negativity towards Latinos in the United States, as well as attempts to control efforts to rectify injustices committed against Latinos. Finally, the image of a stop sign printed in Spanish, when interpreted in conjunct with the article, indicates that Latinos should "stop" because speaking Spanish is not allowed in a particular city in Minnesota. Thus, while the ideology communicated by the things contained in some images is self-evident, the ideologies communicated in other images are contingent upon other modes, in this case the verbal mode.

To summarize, the analysis of represented participants included the people, places, and things present in the 15 images I analyzed from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Approximately half of the people represented in the

images were Latinos (40 out of 78), while most of the other represented participants were Anglo Americans. The places represented in the images were nearly all in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area, including Chipotle restaurants and several locations on Lake Street. Finally, the majority of things represented in the images were signs or banners used in protest. The total effect of the represented participants in local Spanish-language newspapers is to communicate to the reader that it is possible for Latinos to gather to fight for their rights and that others can also join in this cause that promotes justice for this community.

While the represented participants appear in images, the interactive participants produce and consume these images:

The people who communicate with each other *through* images, the producers and viewers of images…Interactive participants are therefore real people who produce and make sense of images in the context of social institutions which, to different degrees and in different ways, regulate what may be "said" with images, and how it should be said, and how images should be interpreted. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 119; emphasis in original)

Thus, an analysis of interactive participants requires the identification of the producers and consumers of the 15 images. Based on the information given by Amérigo, I assume that the authors of the images are the same as the authors of the articles. Seven of the images did not have authors. The authors of the remaining eight images were: Verónica Méndez (two different images), Marco Dávila (two images, repeated across newspapers), Laura Cecilia Rodríguez González, Niger Arévalo, Brad Sigal, and SBJ. Thus, nearly all of the authors whose names were given in their articles provided an image to accompany

their article, save Gail Shore and Cristian Villaruel. The readers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina constitute the consumers of these images. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the primary audience of the newspapers is working class Latino immigrants.

From the analysis above, I concluded that many of the authors were members of the same epistemic community as the audience; however, the authors were also members of the epistemic community constituted by activists and protesters, a community to which most readers do not belong. This conclusion holds for the images that appear in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. Thus, at this level, the images communicate a message similar to that presented in the written text: The information with which readers are familiar serves to reinforce the epistemic community to which they belong, and the information with which the readers are not familiar should be learned because it is beneficial in that it can improve the lot of the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota. Of course, as stated in previous sections, the "new" information presented in the images could also serve to alienate those readers who are not compelled to learn about this information.

The following section addresses the relationships between the human represented participants and the interactive participants.

Eye Contact

In visual representations, eye contact is one indicator of ideology in the relationship between interactive and represented participants. Of the 12 images containing represented participants (human beings), just three had represented

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participants who maintained direct eye contact with the interactive participants,[26] of

which Image 7 below is an example. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), the

represented participant's gaze demands that the viewer enter into an imaginary

relationship with the represented participant. Direct eye contact signals a connection with

the viewer that may indicate social affinity (pp. 122-124). The kind of relationship forged

between represented and interactive participants through direct eye contact can be

determined by the facial expressions of the represented participants (Kress and van

Leeuwen, 1996, p. 122). Let us consider the three interactive participants in Image 7 who

maintain direct eye contact with the interactive participants. The first is the woman on the

center-left holding a sign that says "empleadores sin integridad [employers without

integrity]". She is looking directly at the viewer and has what could be considered a

neutral facial expression, with no smile or frown. Because she has no explicit positive or

negative facial expression, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that she wants the

viewer to relate to her. In this case, one could argue that she is asking the viewer to relate

to her by considering the message on her sign.

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[26] For the analysis of eye contact, I consider only the audience as the interactive participants, excluding the producer(s) of the image.

Image 7. Semiotic texts Dd and Ii, direct eye contact

The second woman who maintains eye contact with the interactive participants in Image 7 is standing in the center holding a sign that says "food with hypocrisy". She is smiling, and seems like she was photographed while she was laughing. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), this facial expression means that she wants the viewer to enter into a relation of social affinity with her (pp. 122-123). One might say that she is asking the viewer to take her side and become an ally in the protest against Chipotle.

Immediately to the right in Image 7 is the third woman who maintains eye contact with the audience. Similar to the first woman I discussed, her facial expression is neutral because she is neither smiling nor frowning, thereby asking the viewer to relate to her. She is not holding a sign, so she is asking the viewer to simply relate to her position as an activist supporting those Latino immigrants who were recently fired from Chipotle.

Thus, it seems that, in the cases where there is direct eye contact, the represented participant is asking the interactive participant(s) to pay attention to the message he/she is presenting, usually on a sign or banner, or to his/her current situation. The remaining

represented participants who maintain eye contact with the audience corroborate this point, as they are holding signs whose messages they want the audience to consider.

Image 8. Semiotic text Gg, no eye contact

In the remaining nine images, the represented participants did not have direct eye contact with the interactive participants, such as in Image 8. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), this means that "the viewer is not object, but subject of the look, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made. The viewer's role is that of an invisible onlooker," (p. 124). Thus, for most of the images in these newspapers, the viewer is not afforded the opportunity to become involved in the image through eye contact with the represented participants. I compare this with the analysis of inclusion and exclusion discussed earlier in Chapter 4: Both verbally and with the visual representation of participants, the audience is at times included and at other times it is excluded. The observations regarding eye contact are indicative of an ideology of exclusion, whereby excluding the audience from appearing in the verbal and visual discourse consequently excludes them from inclusion in the epistemic community inscribed by the discourse. In this way, the discourse tends toward

one of the conclusions I have offered above: It alienates the audience that it is supposed to serve. In other words, although the audience sees itself in the images, it is offered so few opportunities to participate in the activities (through lack of direct eye contact) that a sense of hierarchy arises. This hierarchy places those Latinos who participate in activism on behalf of the Latino community in the most privileged position and the rest of the Latino community in a less privileged position because they may only observe, and not participate in, the activities taking place.

In summary, while there are three cases of images where represented participants maintain eye contact with the audience, the tendency for the represented participants in the images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is no eye contact with the interactive participants, implying a lack of connection between the two groups. The next section considers the distance from which the represented participants are presented to the interactive participants.

Size of Frame

The final element to consider at the *(re)presentational* level is the size of frame. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) divide the size of frame into three categories that are indicative of social distance: close shots are indicative of intimate or personal distance; medium shots are indicative of public distance; and long shots are indicative of impersonal distance. Medium frame size was the most common in the images from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, with 12 of 15 images presented at this distance. Two of the images were presented at close distance, while just one was presented at the long distance.

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Image 9. Semiotic text Ww, close shot

Image 10. Semiotic text Bb, medium shot

Image 11. Semiotic text Gg, long shot
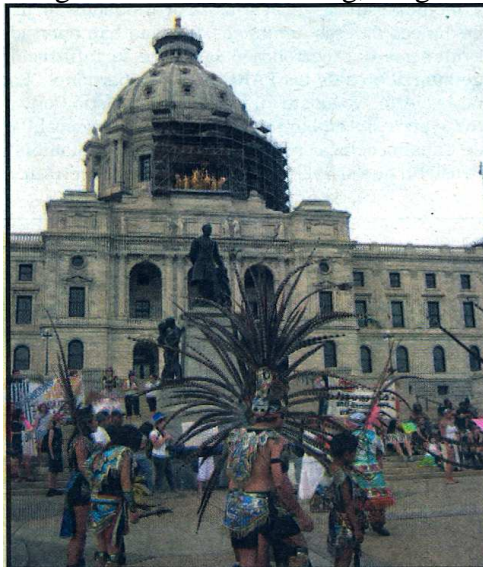
Image 9, Image 10, and Image 11 illustrate the close, medium, and long shot, respectively. The close shot represents the greatest expression of equality between the represented participant(s) and the interactive participant(s). As the size of the frame increases, there is increasing distance between the represented participant(s) and the interactive participant(s). In the long shot, there is almost no affinity between the represented and interactive participants. Thus, the tendency for images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is public distance: neither intimate nor impersonal. It is difficult to conclude whether public distance is most indicative of inclusion or exclusion. At any rate, the preference for a medium size of frame echoes the previous findings at the *(re)presentational* level: The audience is neither completely included, nor completely excluded. For example, just as there were three cases of images with direct eye contact between the represented and interactive participants, so, too, are there two cases of images that indicate, through a close shot, an intimate distance between these participants. Moreover, while over half of the represented participants were Latinos, the audience was not included in this group because of the lack of eye contact. This finding is corroborated by the size of frame: The most common size of frame, medium, only partially includes the audience.

In conclusion, at the *(re)presentational* level, the most common represented participant was a middle-aged Latino, although closely following the number of represented Latinos were non-Latinos. The presence of Latinos in the images indicates a connection with the audience, who is primarily Latino, while the presence of non-Latinos in the images indicates a disconnect with the audience. This disconnect is maintained through minimal eye contact and the size of frame indicating public distance. What

results is a pattern of potential inclusion for the audience that is simultaneously presented with exclusion. Put another way, the audience is sent mixed messages through the visual mode, where it may feel at once included and excluded from what it sees in the images. I further consider this connection between the represented and interactive participants in the following section.

Orientational **Level**

The *orientational* metafunction of visual semiosis "addresses some real or imagined Other, thereby constructing some kind of social-interpersonal relationship, with an attitude both toward the Other and toward the presentational content of one's own semiotic action," (Lemke, 2009, p. 285). Thus, the focus of this metafunction is the positioning of the represented participants vis a vis the interactive participants. This is realized by camera angle, which is divided into the horizontal and vertical angles. From this analysis, I will underscore similarities to the analysis of the verbal mode, as well as analysis at the *(re)presentational* level presented above: The semiotic constructs at the *orientational* level represent both transformative and perpetuating ideologies, albeit slightly more transformative than those found at the *(re)presentational* level and in the verbal mode.

Horizontal Camera Angle

I base my analysis of the horizontal camera angle on a theme observed in the verbal analysis, as well as at the *(re)presentational* level of the visual analysis. More specifically, I consider the relationship between the represented participant(s) and the

interactive participants (the audience) by means of either a direct horizontal angle or, conversely, an oblique horizontal angle. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) note that the horizontal angle communicates the inclusion or exclusion of the viewer in the represented participant's world:

> The frontal angle says, as it were: "what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with." The oblique angle says: "what you see here is *not* part of our world; it is *their* world, something *we* are not involved with." (p. 143; emphasis in original)

Only one of the 13 images containing humans placed the represented participants at only a frontal, or direct, horizontal camera angle; four of the 13 images contained represented participants only at an oblique angle (see, for example, Image 12 below). Most prevalent, however, were images where some represented participants were directly facing the viewer while others were not, which occurred in eight of the 13 images. Image 13 illustrates the mixed angles of represented participants, where the female represented participant on the far left is standing at a direct angle, while the other female represented participant is standing at an oblique angle (the represented participant on the far right of the image cannot be discerned behind the sign he/she is holding).

Image 12. Semiotic text Oo, oblique camera angle

Image 13. Semiotic text Ww, direct and oblique camera angles

Following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) framework, in Image 13, the audience is part of the world represented by the female on the left-hand side of the image. In contrast, in Image 12, the audience is not part of the world represented in the image. The tendency for oblique horizontal camera angle is similar to what I have discussed at other levels of the visual analysis: La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina simultaneously include and exclude the audience from being part of the world represented in the text and images. To be sure, there are represented participants who directly face the audience, communicating "you are a part of this world", but there are more cases of represented participants who are turned away from the audience, communicating "you are not a part of this world".

However, it is imperative to keep in mind Jorge Amérigo's observations concerning the process by which the photographs are taken: It appears to be a process of opportunity and luck, rather than planning and precision. Thus, it is likely incorrect to assume that the photographer took pictures at an oblique angle, rather than a frontal angle, to communicate to the viewer that he/she is not part of the world portrayed in the picture. On the contrary, the angle at which the photographer took the picture appears to be a function of his/her access to the event.

At any rate, regardless of the reason for which the photographs were taken at a particular horizontal angle, the audience receives a mixed message similar to that which was seen at the *(re)presentational* level where viewers are at once included and excluded from what is occurring in the images.

Vertical Camera Angle

The vertical camera angle is indicative of power structures, where a high vertical angle indicates viewer power, a low vertical angle indicates represented participant power, and an eye level vertical angle indicates equality between the viewer and the represented participant (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Thus, the vertical angle is indicative of the same ideological conception of inclusion and exclusion that I have addressed previously, where the eye level angle is indicative of inclusion of the audience, and the other angles indicate separation between the represented and interactive participants.

Of the 13 images containing represented participants, six were presented at a high vertical angle; four were presented at an eye level angle; and one was presented at a low angle. Since two images were published as a series of images, there are two cases in which images within a single series were taken from different angles: in one series, the images were taken at low and eye level angles; in the other series, the images were taken at the low, eye level, and high angles.

Image 14. Semiotic text Oo, high vertical camera angle

Image 15. Semiotic text Ww, eye-level vertical camera angle

Image 16. Semiotic text Gg, low vertical camera angle

Image 14, Image 15, and Image 16 exemplify the high, eye level, and low vertical angles, respectively. In Image 14, the audience has the most power. As the angle moves down, the audience has progressively less power: in Image 15, the audience and the represented participants have equal amounts of power, and by Image 16, the power has

shifted and the represented participants, especially the speaker, who is standing at the highest point, have power over the audience.

Given that the greatest number of vertical camera angles indicated viewer power, I conclude that this semiotic construct communicates a distinctive ideology when compared to the mainstream media in the United States that typically does not afford Latinos power. However, the high angle also indicates separation between the represented and interactive participants. This may be contrasted with the sense of inclusion communicated by the four instances of eye-level vertical angles. In this way, these results suggest the pattern of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion I have noted earlier in the verbal and visual analyses. However, it bears noting that it is unlikely that the photographers had the vertical camera angle in mind at the event in question; rather, they were likely concerned about capturing whatever image they could of the event. Thus, while the images communicate inclusion and exclusion, this could simply be a product of opportunity and luck, rather than planning and precision.

While the intent behind taking these photographs at a particular vertical angle may not be ideologically motivated, there is still an ideological effect on the audience of images represented at a high, eye-level, or low vertical angle. Thus, because the most common outcome for vertical camera angle allots the viewer greater power than the represented participants, the overall effect on the audience of this semiotic construct is to communicate a transformative ideology, given that Latino consumers of the mainstream media are rarely afforded a position of power compared to those represented participants traditionally found in the mainstream media (Anglo Americans).

The final level of analysis, the *organizational* level, will determine if this pattern of representing both transformative and perpetuating ideologies is repeated by other semiotic constructs, as well as the overall representation of ideology in the visual mode.

Organizational **Level**

The *organizational* function "constructs relationships of parts to wholes and strands of continuity based on similarity within difference that tie the whole of the action or activity together and indicate which elements within it are more closely related to which others, and how," (Lemke, 2009, p. 285). The placement of elements is indicative of power and ideology within this metafunction. In this section, I consider the horizontal placement of elements, the arrangement of elements about the center, and salience. While no patterns appeared in the first two semiotic constructs with regards to Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic framework, an analysis of salience indicated that because this semiotic construct points to the agency of Latino immigrants in the United States, it represents the most transformative semiotic construct in the visual mode.

Horizontal Placement of Elements

Horizontal placement of elements is related to the way in which one reads a text. The left-hand side of a text is, in Western cultures, read first, and as such is equated with something that is "given" or "taken for granted"; conversely, the right-hand side is equated with something that is "new". Left/right placement is ideological when it represents a state of being that is contrary to reality for the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). This section undersores two points: The first is that while the

circumstances under which the photographs were taken for La Prensa/Gente de

Minnesota and La Conexión Latina indicate a lack of intentional arrangement about the

horizontal axis, it is still possible to examine the ideological effect of such an

arrangement. However, attempting to explain the ideological effect of this semiotic

construct is not possible without the aid of other modes; as such, I conclude this section

by deferring any explanations to the section that presents the results of intersemiotic

complementarity, where I show that the ideological effect of horizontal placement of

elements is contingent upon the ideologies represented in the verbal mode.

An initial analysis showed that six of the 15 images are not arranged about the

horizontal axis, and for this reason I do not include them in the analysis of the horizontal

placement of elements.

Image 17. Semiotic text Ss, image arranged about the horizontal axis

Image 17 exemplifies a visual layout that appears to follow the given/new layout.

Two represented participants, one male and one female, both middle-aged Latinos, stand

at the left-hand side of the image. It appears that the male represented participant is

speaking to the audience, who constitutes the right-hand side of the image. The audience

includes both Latino and non-Latino social actors. Because this image is arranged about

the horizontal axis, it may be analyzed according to the given/new parameters set forth by

Kress and van Leeuwen. The two Latino represented participants at the left-hand side of

the frame are given, while the audience is new. It is difficult to explain this finding because the speakers are not identified, so one cannot say that they are known in the community and therefore constitute the "given" part of the image. What is more, it is difficult to explain why the audience is new, given that audiences are usually expected at rallies and protests. Thus, it is unclear if Kress and van Leeuwen's conception of left/right alignment fully explains the horizontal placement of elements in Image 17 because there does not appear to be a reason for the audience to be new and the speakers to be given.

Image 18 and Image 19 may help explain what I observed in Image 17. In Image 17 and Image 18, the speaker is standing on the left-hand side of the frame. Initially, it may appear that the pattern in these newspapers is to place speakers in the "given" position, regardless of whether he/she is known to the audience. However, herein lays the difficulty of determining the meaning of the horizontal placement of elements in images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina: Image 18 and Image 19 are mirror images of each other. In Image 18, the represented participant is situated on the left-hand side of the frame facing the right. In Image 19, the represented participant is situated on the right-hand side of the frame facing the left. These images are identical, apart from containing different represented participants, meaning the argument no longer holds that speakers are placed on the left-hand side of the frame in the newspapers in question. What is more, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) assert that, when faced with images that are horizontally situated against what the viewer is accustomed, he/she will reject the image as having no meaning (p. 197). The difficulty here is that the two images are identical in every respect save that they are reflections of each other: It seems

unlikely that the viewer would reject the meaning of one of these images over the other based on which side of the frame the represented participant appears. To be sure, one image might be easier to "read" than the other, but the issue at hand is whether the viewer would reject any, or both, of the images based on the placement of the represented participant. Jorge Amérigo argues that this is not likely given that there is a trajectory that readers can follow from the protesters to the speaker in Image 19, and therefore the audience would accept both images.

Image 18. Semiotic text Vv, image arranged about the horizontal axis

Image 19. Semiotic text Ee, image arranged about the horizontal axis

The remaining images that are arranged about the horizontal axis display the same patterns I have already noted in that they are mirror images of each other. I conclude that the intent of the horizontal arrangement of images is the result of citizen photographers who capture the most accessible images at the events they attend. However, the effect of the horizontal arrangement of images appears to be contingent on other modes. For this reason, I take up the analysis and explanation of the ideological effect of the horizontal placement of elements in the section dedicated to intersemiotic complementarity below.

It bears noting that Kress and van Leeuwen also suggest analyzing the vertical arrangement of elements, where those elements placed on the top are "ideal", and those placed on the bottom are "real". Because the images in question were not arranged about the vertical axis, I excluded this semiotic construct from the analysis.

Center/Margin

Some images are not arranged about the horizontal or vertical axis; instead, they may be arranged about the center of the image. An alternative to the horizontal and vertical placement of elements, then, is a visual composition based on the center and margin. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), such a composition structure is uncommon: "The relative infrequency of centred compositions in contemporary Western representation perhaps signifies that in the words of the poet, 'the centre does not hold' any longer in many sectors of contemporary society," (p. 207). However, because there are three images in the current investigation that follow this layout, I will consider centered compositions in order to more completely explain the data.

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Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain the center/margin visual composition as follows:

> If a visual composition makes significant use of the centre, placing one element in the middle, and the other elements around it, we will refer to the central element as Centre and to the elements around it as Margins. For something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient. The Margins are these ancillary, dependent elements. In many cases the Margins are identical or at least very similar to each other, so that *there is no sense of a division between Given and New and/or Ideal and Real elements among them*. (p. 206; emphasis mine)

The three types of centered compositions used in the 15 images I analyzed for the current investigation are: those arranged about the center, those arranged about the center with no real center, and triptychs.

Image 20. Semiotic text Tt, image arranged about the center

Image 20 is an example of a visual layout arranged about the center. The Minnesota driver's license constitutes the Center, or the nucleus of the information, while the two hands holding on to the license constitute the margins, or the ancillary elements.

From the explanation above, no part of Image 20 is given/new or ideal/real; thus, the hands reaching from the top and bottom of the image serve the same function of holding up the license, but do not take precedence over the license, which is the central figure. This centrality of the driver's license in this image is analogous to the centrality of the driver's license in the life of many Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities. This image calls upon the reader's sociocultural knowledge, or K-4, of the infrastructure of Minnesota and the place of a driver's license in this infrastructure. The Twin Cities metropolitan area (St. Paul and Minneapolis) has approximately 3.2 million residents, and is thus not comparable to other major metropolitan areas such as New York City or Los Angeles in its population. While the Twin Cities certainly have a public transportation system, it is rather limited in comparison with other large metropolitan areas. As such, the fact that many Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities often work two jobs that may be located far from one another, coupled with the fact that these cities span a large geographical area, owning a car is a necessity. Consequently, concerns about a driver's license are a reality for this community, as many deportations occur not as a result of not having a driver's license during what would otherwise be routine traffic stops. In this way, the placement of the driver's license in the center of the image communicates the message that the driver's license constitutes a central concern for Latino immigrants in Minnesota.

Image 21. Semiotic text Ww, image arranged about the center with no real center

Figure 1. The dimensions of visual space
(Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 208)

Margin Ideal Given	Margin Ideal New
Center	
Margin Real Given	Margin Real New
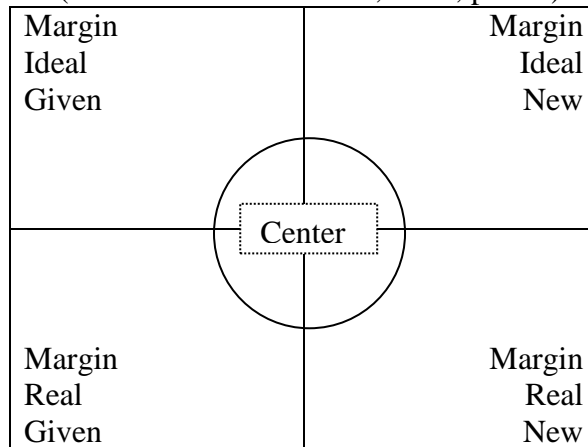
Image 21 is an example of a visual composition arranged about the center, but

which has no real center. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that even if there is no

real center, as in Image 21, "it continues to exist in absentia" because it is the point about

which the rest of the visual composition revolves (p. 207). Following Figure 1, it is clear

that all of the frames in Image 21 are considered the margin. However, Kress and van

Leeuwen (1996) attribute characteristics to each region of the margins. Based on Figure

1, the top left frame of Image 21 constitutes what is Ideal and Given, whereas the top

right frame constitutes what is Ideal and New. Similarly, the bottom left frame is Given

and Real, while the bottom right from is Given and New. Thus, an initial difference between frames is based on a concept I have introduced above: The left-hand side is Given and the right-hand side is New. From this division, one would expect the contents of the top and bottom left frames to be "given" or "taken for granted" and the content of the top and bottom right frames to be "new". However, it is difficult to identify anything that appears in the left-hand side frames that is distinct from what appears on the right-hand side. Jorge Amérigo admitted that there was likely no motivation for presenting the images in such a way, other than wanting to publish as much visual documentation of the event as possible. Initially, it appears that the given/new distinction of horizontal placement of elements does not hold for those visual compositions arranged about the center, a conclusion similar to what I observed in the previous analysis of the horizontal placement of elements.

However, it is also necessary to consider the ideological effect of this semiotic construct, regarless of the intent of the photographer. To do so, I have envisioned Image 21 as Kress and van Leeuwen's concept of centered images, where the object in the center is "new" and the surrounding elements are "given". From this, nothing would be "new" in Image 21, and the surrounding frames would be "given". What is taking place in all of the frames that are considered "given" and "taken for granted" in Image 21 is a protest against local politician Tom Emmer who was the Republican nominee for governor of the State of Minnesota in 2010. Of note is that these images of protest contain both Latino and non-Latino represented participants. What is more, there are a great number of represented participants protesting against Emmer and his candidacy for governor. The ideological effect of presenting the protest against politicians who oppose

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immigrants could be considered transformative in that it shows that social actors are already standing up to negativity against immigrants in the United States, and that this is in fact "given". Moreover, as I have addressed earlier, the fact that the presence of non-Latinos at pro-immigrant protests is "taken for granted" challenges the ideologies in which non-Latinos do not traditionally support pro-immigrant causes. In this way, although the semiotic construct arrangement about the center with no real center does not initially appear to follow what Kress and van Leeuwen's framework would suggest, the image does follow the ideological implications of the image arranged about the center with a center.

I now continue by addressing the vertical aspect of the center/margin layout. From Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), the vertical placement of elements indicates the following:

> What has been placed on the top is presented as the ideal…for something to be Ideal means that it is presented as the idealized or generalized essence of the information, hence also as its, ostensibly, most salient part. What has been placed at the bottom [is] the Real…The Real is then opposed to [the ideal] in that it presents more specific information (e.g., details), more 'down-to-earth' information (e.g., photographs as documentary evidence, or maps or charts), or more practical information (e.g., practical consequences, directions for action).
> (pp. 193-194)

I commented that the analysis of the vertical placement of elements for the 15 images considered in this investigation carried no explanatory power. However, this distinction may hold true for images arranged about the center.

Again, in following Figure 1, there is a difference between the frames in Image 21 where the top left and top right constitute what is Ideal, while the bottom left and bottom right are Real. I did not analyze the vertical placement of elements for the remaining images because they did not exhibit arrangement about the vertical axis. It appears that this observation also holds for visual compositions arranged about the center, given that is no discernible difference between the images on the top versus those on the bottom. In light of these findings and Américo's comments, it appears that the seemingly ideologically motivated layout of center/margin does not apply to Image 21.

Image 22. Semiotic text Gg, image arranged about the center: horizontal triptych

The final example of alignment about the center in the current investigation is called a horizontal triptych, which is illustrated in Image 22. This type of triptych makes use of the given/new arrangement of elements that I have demonstrated above, along with a central element: "The triptychs in modern magazines and newspaper layouts are generally polarized, with a 'Given' left, a 'New' right, and a centre which bridges the two, and acts as a 'Mediator'," (Kress and van Leeuwen, p. 208). The given element here are the Aztec dancers who appear in the left frame; the new element is the protest by the general public in the right frame; the central, mediator element is the speaker on the steps

of the capitol. This could mean to say that the celebrations at the capitol, or the given element, gave way to speeches at the capitol, where the joining force, or the mediator, is the image of the capitol. Likewise, the speeches at the capitol gave way to protests by other people, where the joining force, or mediator, is the signage held by the people/protesters. Here, the protesters would constitute the new element. In total, this image points to an ideology where gathering for a celebration also constitutes an ideal time to gather to protest. In other words, it places something familiar for the reader in the "given" position and shows the progression to how the reader can become involved in something "new". Notably, this theme of coupling given information referring to the current state of Latino immigrants in Minnesota with new information referring to the ways in which Latino immigrants can demand better treatment is repeated across the visual and verbal modes, as well.

In light of the inability of left/right, top/bottom, or center/margin to explain ideologies in the images in La Presna/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, it is perhaps this image that most closely approximates the ideological function of the arrangement of elements. However, a sample size of one is too small to warrant any conclusions. Thus, the only conclusion I can make is that Image 22 seems to reenact ideologies that are closest to the reality of the audience of the newspapers in question and, in fact, most clearly represent how one can become involved in activism.

Salience

The final factor I analyzed at the *organizational* level was salience which, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), "results from a complex interplay between a

number of…factors," (p. 212). These factors include size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast, color contrasts, placement in the visual field, perspective, and cultural factors, such as the appearance of a human figure (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 213). The results from the analysis of salience corroborate those from the analysis of represented participants, where people protesting and items related to protesting were the most frequently represented: In this case, these items were the most salient in the images published in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. What is more, because images are more easily consumed than text, one must keep in mind that the most salient element of an image is likely the audience's first introduction to the content of the text-image combination. In other words, the most salient item has the ability to establish the topic and set the tone of the multisemiotic text.

Table 14. Frequency of salience of elements in images

Salient Item	Number of Images Most Salient
Human being	6
Sign/banner	5
Other	3
Nothing	1
Total	**15**

From Table 14, in six of a total of 15 images a human was the most salient item, while in five images a sign or banner was the most salient item. Thus, humans are central in these images, as are the signs present during protests and the messages they contain. Regarding the images in which humans were most salient, in four images, they are speakers addressing a crowd (see, for example, Image 17, Image 18, and Image 19 above), while in two other images, they constitute a crowd of people. Of the salient

speakers addressing crowds, four are male and one is female; all are middle-aged; three are Latino and the ethnicity of two male speakers is unclear. In one photograph, the crowd of salient people are all Latinos of middle age; in the other photograph, they are of several different ethnicities and ages.

In summary, the people who constitute the most salient elements in the images I analyzed are characteristic of the represented participants I analyzed earlier at the *description* level, with the exception that more males are salient than females. The salience of these social actors underscores a point I have made earlier: Latinos and non-Latinos play an equally important role in exacting change and justice for Latino immigrants by appearing in the spotlight of photographs highlighting protests supporting Latino immigrants in Minnesota. The salience of these social actors and the protests they are carrying out communicate to the reader a message that is atypical in the United States mass media because minoritized groups are rarely placed in the spotlight for standing up against the majority group. What is more, the mainstream media rarely portray members of the majority group as supporters of the causes for which minoritized groups are fighting. Thus, the salience of Latino and non-Latino social actors in images of protest call to the attention of the reader the fact that there are alternatives to the ideologies typically represented in the mass media. Moreover, these alternative ideologies communicate to the audience that standing up against injustices committed against them is not only possible, but is also common and visible in the community.

In five images, a sign or banner was the most salient item. This finding corroborates the finding at the *(re)presentational* level of the presence of several signs in

11 of the 15 images I analyzed. The signs/banners that constituted the most salient

element of images read as follows:

- "Food with Hypocrisy"

- "Chipotle not a good place to work"

- "Chipotle Anti-Mexican Grill"

- "Stop Hate"

- "Huelga de Hambre, Llevando a la luz las Injusticias que Enfrentamos Todos los Días Limpiando Cub Foods" [Hunger strike, bringing to light to injustices that we face every day cleaning Cub Foods]

Because I analyze the content of these signs in the "Verbal Analysis Within Images"

section below, I will limit my comments to the effect of the salience of these five signs in

particular.

Overall, the signs served to present readers with the topic and tone of the image

and accompanying text. The first three signs listed above concern Chipotle, the chain of

restaurants that fired hundreds of Latino workers at the end of 2010, and were displayed

by protesters at Chipotle restaurants in Minnesota. Because these parts of the images are

often the reader's first introduction to the topic at hand, the effect of several images

against Chipotle is to introduce consumers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La

Conexión Latina to the viewpoint being expressed, both in the images and in the articles

that accompany them. In this case, the salience of these signs communicates to the reader

that the image and the accompanying article will provide a negative viewpoint of

Chipotle. The salience of the negative visual representation of Chipotle challenges the

ideologies typically seen in the mainstream English-language media because it reverses

van Dijk's (2008b) ideological square, where members of the majority group, or "we/us", are portrayed in a positive light, and members of minoritized groups, or "they/them" are portrayed negatively. Regarding these three salient signs, they portray members of the majority group, or Chipotle, in a negative light, while portraying members of the minoritized group, or the Latino protesters, in a positive light.

The fourth sign, "Stop Hate", is held by a protester at the Minnesota State Capitol and refers to the Arizona Law SB 1070. Similar to the signs targeting Chipotle, this sign serves to introduce consumers to the tone that the text and image will assume: In this case, the text and image take the position that Latino immigrants in the United States have been maltreated and that this maltreatment must stop. As with the previous examples, the salience of the "Stop Hate" sign communicates to the reader that the text and image will be based on a reversed ideological square, where members of the majority group (legislators and law enforcement officials) will be portrayed negatively, and members of a minoritized group (Latino immigrants in the United States) will be portrayed positively.

In three images, some other item was most salient: a driver's license, a stop sign, and a broken door. I have mentioned earlier that the salience of the driver's license in the image is analogous to its salience and centrality in the life of a Latino immigrant in the Twin Cities. In contrast, the salience of the stop sign and the broken door cannot be assigned meaning in isolation; instead, similar to the banners and signs that were salient in other images, stop sign an broken door serve to set the overall negative tone of the multimodal text, as they indicate the controlling of one's actions by authorities (stopping) and violence.

Finally, in one image, nothing was salient. Of note is that this was the image arranged about the center with no actual center. It is possible that the arrangement of these images lends itself to not emphasizing any frame in particular and for this reason no element is most salient.

In summary, the most common salient elements in the images I analyzed from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina were human beings, and signs and banners used in protest. Their function as one of the first items noticed by consumers of these newspapers is to establish the topic and the tone of the multimodal text. Given the nature of the social actors, and signs and banners, the semiotic construct salience challenges typical ideologies by presenting Latinos as agentive social actors and thereby reversing the ideological square.

To conclude the visual analysis, I will answer the same question from the verbal analysis so as to be able to make comparisons across the two modes: Does the [semiotic text] contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them? (Fairclough, 2001). I maintain the same operational definitions of sustaining and transforming ideologies, where the former is any ideology that perpetuates the representations of Latinos in the mainstream media of the United States, and the latter is any ideology that challenges the representations of Latinos in the mainstream media. Using this as the basis for sustaining and transforming ideologies, I now determine the role of images in local Spanish-language newspapers in perpetuating or challenging stereotypical ideologies represented by the English-language mass media.

A summary of the findings is presented in Table 15, where a plus sign indicates a transformative ideology for the particular visual construct, a minus sign indicates a

sustaining ideology, and plus/minus sign indicates equally transformative and sustaining ideologies. Cells with a double dashed line (--) indicate that the semiotic construction in question did not exist.

Table 15. Results of visual analysis at *(re)presentational, orientational,* and *organizational* levels that answer, "Does the [semiotic structure] contribute to sustaining ideologies or transforming them?" (Fairclough, 2001)

Image	(Re)presentational Level				Orientational Level		Organizational Level		Total
	Represented People	*Represented Things*	*Eye Contact*	*Size of Frame*	*Horizontal Camera Angle*	*Vertical Camera Angle*	*Salience*	*Transformative?*	*Total*
Bb	+	+	-	+/-	-	+	+	Yes	1.5
Cc	+	+	-	+/-	-	+	+	Yes	1.5
Dd	+/-	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+	Yes	2.5
Ee	-	+	-	+/-	+/-	-	+	Neutral	0
Gg	+/-	+	-	-	+/-	-	+	Neutral	0
Ii	+/-	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+	Yes	2.5
Ll	+/-	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	Neutral	0
Mm	+/-	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	Neutral	0
Nn	--	-	--	+/-	+	+/-	-	Neutral	0
Oo	+/-	+	-	+	-	+	+	Yes	1.5
Ss	+	+	-	+/-	+/-	+	+	Yes	2
Tt	--	+	--	+/-	--	--	+	Yes	1.5
Uu	--	-	--	+/-	--	--	-	No	-1.5
Vv	+	+/-	-	+/-	-	-	+	Neutral	0
Ww	+/-	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	--	Yes	1.5
Total	4+; 7+/-; 1-; 3--	12+; 1+/-; 2-	3+; 9-; 3--	2+; 12+/-; 1-	1+; 8+/-; 4-; 2--	6+; 4+/-; 3-; 2--	12+; 1+/-; 2-	8 Yes; 6 Neutral; 1 No	0.87 (mean)

At the *(re)presentational* level, I analyzed represented participants, eye contact, and size of frame. The analysis of represented participants included the people, places, and things included in the images. For the people represented in the images, a plus sign indicates that only Latino social actors were in the image, a minus sign indicates that only non-Latino social actors were in the image, and a plus/minus sign indicates that both Latino and non-Latino social actors were in the image. Only four of the 12 images containing represented participants were transformative; in other words, in four images, only Latinos were represented. This challenges stereotypical ideologies because it implies that Latinos are more numerous and more present during activities that challenge the status quo, something uncommon in the English-language mainstream media. However, the majority of images (seven out of 12) contained both Latino and non-Latino social actors. Although the inclusion of Latinos is indicative of transformative ideologies, because they are accompanied in these images by non-Latinos, and are at times outnumbered by them, these ideologies are only partly transformative. Thus, this echoes the analysis above that although there were numerous Latino represented participants, there was almost an equal number of non-Latino represented participants in the 12 images containing represented participants.

An alternative to this explanation is one I observed in the visual analysis above: While at first it may seem that the presence of non-Latinos, and especially Anglo Americans, in many images is indicative of ideologies similar to those found in the mainstream media, non-Latinos may be present in these images because they are supporting the causes of Latino immigrants. Because this option is one not typically associated with the English-language media, it would constitute a transformative

ideology. If this were the case, the column of "Represented People" would instead yield 11 transformative images and only one image that perpetuates the stereotypical ideologies found in the English-language mass media.

The represented participants in images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina indicate both transformative and sustaining ideologies in either case. In other words, whether the presence of non-Latino represented participants is considered something that backgrounds Latinos (and thus perpetuates stereotypical ideologies), or if it is considered transformative because it presents non-Latinos as supporters of Latino causes, the presence of Latino social actors in several images indicates at least some degree of transformation in the visual mode.

I assigned a plus sign to those images containing things that challenge the stereotypical ideologies where Latino social actors are backgrounded and are powerless to fight back against the injustices committed against them. The overwhelming majority of the images that I analyzed, 12 of 15, received a plus sign because the things they contained were banners and signs used to protest the unfair treatment of Latino immigrants by non-Latino social actor. Importantly, such banners and signs containing information that challenges the unfair practices of Anglo Americans are not typically represented in the English-language mainstream media, and as such are indicative of transformative ideologies in the visual mode. Only two images of 14 received a minus sign because they contained "things" that perpetuated the stereotypical ideologies present in the mass media: one was a broken-down door in semiotic text Nn and the other was a stop sign printed in Spanish in semiotic text Uu. These images communicate the aggression of law enforcement against a presumed innocent Latino activist and the ways

in which the government controls the linguistic expression of Latino immigrants in the United States, respectively, and as such perpetuate stereotypical ideologies.

Finally, I assigned a plus/minus sign to the image in semiotic text Vv because it is not clear what function the papers held by the speaker carry out. On the one hand, they could potentially contain transformative ideologies similar to the ones seen in the banners and signs that appear in several other images; on the other hand, especially given the content of the accompanying article, it is possible that the represented participant holding these papers, Mariano Pérez Espinoza, is speaking to the crowd because the papers he holds communicate ideologies that perpetuate those negative ideologies toward Latino immigrant typically found in the mainstream media. Importantly, the represented images were the most transformative semiotic construct in the visual mode along with salience. As I will discuss below, salience is equally as transformative because the most salient elements are the represented things discussed in this section.

As a final note regarding represented participants, I have not included in Table 15 the places represented in the images because their function more closely approximates contextual information that gives meaning to other aspects of the analysis. Thus, I keep in mind throughout the analysis that the places represented in the images I analyzed were indicative of the strategery of protest groups to target the places and populations that most need to hear their messages.

Concerning eye contact, I assigned plus and minus signs by following Kress and van Leeuwen's comments about the connection between eye contact and social affinity. According to these authors, direct eye contact signals a connection with the viewer

characterized by social affinity. Thus, in three images the relationship between the represented and interactive participants is one of social affinity. In light of ideologies in the English-language mainstream media that are not inclusive of Latino immigrants, I have assigned a plus sign to the three images that are inclusive of Latino immigrants through direct eye contact. Likewise, I have assigned a minus sign to the nine images in which Latino immigrants in the audience were excluded through lack of eye contact. Kress and van Leeuwen assert that lack of eye contact renders the viewer invisible, similar to what ideologies in the English-language media communicate. Finally, three images did not contain human represented participants and as such these images were not assigned plus or minus signs. Eye contact overwhelmingly pointed to sustaining ideologies given that only three of 12 invited the interactive participant (the audience) into a relationship by means of eye contact with the represented participant(s). In fact, eye contact was the semiotic construct that most perpetuated negative ideologies by communicating the exclusion of Latinos from the activities occurring in the images.

The last semiotic construct I considered at the *(re)presentational* level was size of frame, which I divided into close, medium, and long shots, each of which communicates a different ideology with respect to the relationship between the represented and interactive participants. More specifically, the smaller the size of frame, the greater the camaraderie communicated between the represented and interactive participants. Again, because Latinos are not typically allowed to enter into relationships of camaraderie with represented participants in the English-language mass media, close shots in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are indicative of transformative ideologies, and thus are assigned a plus sign. Likewise, because long shots create an

inaccessible distance between the Latino viewer and what he/she sees in the image, long shots are indicative of similar negative ideologies in the mass media that maintain Latino immigrants in the background. Finally, medium shots received a plus/minus sign because they neither invite the viewer into a relationship of camaraderie nor relegate the viewer to the background. In Table 15 above I have assigned all images containing a medium shot as a neutral ideology; images containing only close shots were assigned a plus sign; and the one image containing only a long shot was assigned a minus sign. The size of frame, then, overwhelmingly communicates neutral ideologies because most images are taken from a medium distance, at once inviting the viewer into a relationship of camaraderie, and at once keeping the audience at a distance.

To summarize, the ideologies communicated through four semiotic constructs at the *(re)presentational* level constitute opposite ends of the spectrum of transformative ideologies. On the one hand, the represented things in the images constituted the most transformative semiotic construct of all that I analyzed in the visual mode; on the other hand, eye contact constituted the most perpetuating semiotic construct of all that I analyzed in the visual mode. Such differences likely have an effect on the viewer in that they communicate dissonant ideologies that, as I will discuss in the section "Intersemiotic Complementarity", work to incite viewers to stand up against the negative actions committed against them by Anglo Americans.

At the *orientational* level, I analyzed horizontal and vertical camera angle. Regarding horizontal angle, I assigned a plus sign to those images in which the represented participants were only portrayed at a direct angle for the same reason I assigned plus signs to the close size of frame: The direct angle indicates a relationship of

camaraderie between the represented and interactive participants. Because the mainstream media do not typically present ideologies where Latino viewers are in a close relationship with the represented participants, a direct angle indicates a transformative ideology. Similarly, images where the represented participant is positioned at an oblique angle are assigned a minus sign because they represent ideologies similar to those in the mass media that do not allow the interactive participant to enter into a relationship with the represented participant. Only one image, Nn, was transformative with regards to horizontal camera angle; four images sustained ideologies; finally, eight images were neutral because they contained both direct and oblique angles. In this way, horizontal camera angle is similar in its outcome to size of frame because the majority of the images indicated neutral ideologies and few solely transformative or perpetuating ideologies.

Conversely, six images were transformative with regards to vertical camera angle and only three were sustaining. I assigned a plus sign to images taken at a high angle because they indicate greater power of the viewer vis a vis the represented participants, an ideology that is not common in the English-language mass media. Likewise, I assigned a minus sign to images taken at a low angle because they indicate greater power of the represented participants, an ideology that perpetuates those found in the mass media. Images taken at a straight-on vertical angle were assigned a plus-minus sign because they indicated greater power neither for the represented participants nor the viewer.

As I have discussed in previous sections, while these results appear to suggest that there is more potential for transforming ideologies through the vertical camera angle than the horizontal angle, the process by which the photographs were taken does not warrant

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such a conclusion, given that the vertical and horizontal angles were likely the result of chance rather than choice. However, I underscore that there is still an effect produced by horizontal and vertical camera angle whereby the viewer is overall excluded from what is happening in the images, but also afforded power that is more than or equal to that which the represented participants hold. In this way, the ideological effect of horizontal and vertical camera angle is simultaneously transformative and perpetuating of ideologies found in the English-language mainstream media. Similar to what I observed at the *(re)presentational* level, the differences in ideological effect at the *orientational* level communicate mixed messages that, as I will discuss in the section "Intersemiotic Complementarity", work to incite viewers to stand up against the negative actions committed against them by Anglo Americans.

At the *organizational* level, I considered the semiotic construct salience. Because all of the objects that were salient were represented participants (people or places), I analyzed salience here similarly to how I analyzed the represented participants. For example, similar to the analysis of represented people, I assigned a plus sign to images where a Latino social actor was the most salient item, and a minus sign to images where a non-Latino social actor was most salient. I assigned a plus sign to any image whose most salient item was a sign or banner because the content of these signs and banners challenged the stereotypical ideologies found in the English-language mass media that Latinos are non-powerful backgrounded social actors. Similar to the analysis of represented things, the broken door and stop sign received minus signs because they both indicated ideologies that aligned with those found in the mass media, for example Anglo

Americans committing acts of aggression against Latinos.[27] The salience of the driver's license in semiotic text Tt indicates transformative ideologies because it signifies mobility for the Latino immigrant community in the Twin Cities in the face of potential immobility as a result of not being able to receive a driver's license. Finally, semiotic text Ww was not assigned a plus or minus sign regarding salience because no item was most salient. In sum, salience was the most transformative semiotic construct besides represented things; this is not surprising, given that many of the transformative represented things constituted the most salient element of several images. This semiotic construct plays an especially important part in determining the overall message communicated by an image because, as I have noted earlier, the most salient element of an image is likely the audience's first introduction to the content of the text-image combination and, as such, has the ability to establish the topic and set the tone of the multisemiotic text. For this reason, the fact that nearly all of the salient items in the semiotic texts I analyzed indicated transformative ideologies, the first introduction of the audience to these semiotic texts is one characterized by ideologies that challenge those found in the English-language mainstream media.

The final column indicates the total transformative power of an article, which I calculated in the same manner I calculated the final column in Table 10 above. I started at zero and added one point for a plus sign or subtracted one point for a minus sign. Because the plus/minus sign indicates a neutral ideology, it works to bring the total closer to zero

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[27] Note, however, that this analysis refers to the ideology that is communicated, rather than the way in which the ideology is communicated. Following van Dijk (1998, 2008b), in such a case it is likely that phrases referring to the Anglo American aggressors appear as passive constructions such that the negative actions of the majority group may be hidden. Regardless, the ideology communicated by such reports is one where Anglo Americans carry out aggressive actions against Latinos in the United States.

in half-point increments. As an example, if the points initially add up to +2 and there is one remaining plus/minus sign, the total should move one half-point closer to zero, yielding a total of 1.5. Similarly, if the points initially add up to -1 and there is one remaining plus/minus sign, the total should move one half-point closer to zero, yielding a total of -0.5. In the case that the total is zero after accounting for all plus and minus signs, any remaining plus/minus signs do not affect the total, which remains at zero.

Overall, the most common outcome for images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina was a transformative ideology, with a total of eight images communicating an ideology that is different from those found in the English-language mainstream media in the United States. The second most common outcome for ideological representations in the visual mode was neutral ideologies, with six total images communicating ideologies that equally challenged and perpetuated ideologies. As with the verbal analysis, it is important to note that every image contained at least one semiotic construct that was transformative. In this way, then, images that accompany local news articles are similar to the verbal texts in that they all challenge, to some extent, stereotypical ideologies represented by the English-language mainstream media. In contrast with the verbal mode, in the visual mode there is only one semiotic text, Uu, that overall perpetuates stereotypical ideologies. Initially, this indicates that the visual mode is more transformative than the verbal mode. I now consider the extent to which each text sustains or transforms ideologies.

Table 16 below is a frequency table indicating where each semiotic text falls on the continuum whose poles are constituted by most perpetuating and least transformative at one end, and most transformative and least perpetuating at the other end. A first

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observation is that it is clear that the most frequent outcome, or mode, for the visual mode is a transformative score of 0 with six total semiotic texts exhibiting this outcome. Thus, the most frequent outcome is an ideology that neither transforms nor perpetuates those found in the English-language mainstream media. Conversely, the mean transformative score for the visual mode was +0.87, indicating that the tendency for the visual mode is to communicate ideologies that challenge negative ideologies towards Latino immigrants. As an initial point for comparison, the mean transformative score for the verbal mode was +0.27, suggesting that the visual mode has greater potential than the verbal mode to challenge ideologies. While this may be true, the section concerning intersemiotic complementarity will demonstrate that this difference is necessary for members of the audience to take action against the negative acts carried out against Latino immigrants in the United States.

Table 16. Continuum of transformation for visual mode

Frequency	- transformative +perpetuating				+ transformative -perpetuating	
	-1.5 - -2.0	-0.5 - -1	0	0.5 - 1.0	1.5 - 2.0	2.5 - 3.0
6			X			
5			X		X	
4			X		X	
3			X		X	X
2			X		X	X
1	X		X		X	X

Degree of transformation or perpetuation of ideologies

Similar to the verbal texts, the images in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina vary regarding how strongly they sustain or transform ideologies, albeit to a lesser extent. In other words, the range of possible outcomes for ideologies was

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greater for the visual mode, from -5.0 to +4.5, than it was for the visual mode, with a range of -1.5 to +2.0. From this, I propose that images do not exhibit the same potential to challenge ideologies as verbal texts, given that they pattern around neutral ideologies much more frequently than in the verbal mode. This would imply that the transformative power of the verbal mode is stronger than the visual mode. However, given that the ideologies communicated by the visual mode are overall more transformative than the verbal mode, the visual mode may equally challenge stereotypical ideologies found in the mainstream English-language media.

In addressing these results in more detail, three images had an overall transformative score of +2.5 to +3.0; this high transformative score indicates the great potential these images have to challenge ideologies. Likewise, five images received an overall transformative score of +1.5 to +2.0, indicating that they also have potential to challenge ideologies, albeit to a lesser degree. Finally, only one image received an overall negative transformative score, indicating that it represents ideologies that perpetuate those found in the English-language mass media in the United States. This can be compared to the nine texts that perpetuated ideologies in the verbal mode, again pointing to the fact that while the visual mode may have less extreme outcomes (i.e., outcomes do not fall near the extremes of the continuum of transformation), they are overwhelmingly transformative. For this reason, I conclude that the visual mode communicates to the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina ideologies that challenge the stereotypical representation of Latino immigrants in the United States.

Verbal Analysis Within Images

According to Barthes (1977), photographs do not function in isolation. Instead, they are "in communication" with other other structures which, when juxtaposed, constitute the totality of the message (p. 16). Thus, I consider the text within images as a final element of analysis, as this may enrich the understanding of the totality of the representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language newspapers. In this section, I will demonstrate how the texts found within the 15 images I analyzed draw heavily upon contextual information that points to ideologies that perpetuate the stereotypes found in United States mass media; at the same time, these texts also challenge those ideologies by calling upon sociocultural knowledge of Latino immigrants protesting their unfair treatment by the United States authorities.

Eleven of the 15 images I analyzed contained some written text, which coincides with the analysis of represented things at the *(re)presentational* level above. Of these eleven images containing text, two contained text only in Spanish, while five contained text only in English. This leaves four texts[28] that were in both Spanish and English. Because the current investigation focuses on ideologies represented in Spanish, I will not analyze the five instances of written text in English in great depth.

To begin, most salient from Table 17 is the fact that the text within the images is primarily in English. The greater presence of English is indicative of a heterogenous audience and, as such, points to two ways in which these texts are transformative. First, printing protest signs in English implies that there is an audience of English speakers that

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[28] Because the images were published in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, they are listed only once in Table 17.

cares about the offenses committed against Latino immigrants residing in Minnesota. Given that apathy is the reaction typically associated with the English-speaking audience in the United States regarding these offenses, these signs suggest that this audience is interested in the well being of a minoritized group. The second implication is that the protesters are conscientiously directing their message at an English-speaking audience to bring to its attention the maltreatment of the Latino immigrant community. In light of van Dijk's (2008b) argument that the negative actions of majority groups are rarely discursively underscored, these signs constitute a step in the direction of dismantling the ideological square. In other words, by emphasizing the negative actions of the majority group and bringing it to the attention of the majority group, these signs present ideologies that challenge those most commonly presented in the mainstream English-language media.

Table 17. Texts from images as a function of language (semiotic text in parentheses)

Spanish	*English*	*Spanish* and *English*
"**No más deportaciones**" [No more deportations] (Bb)	"Food with hypocrisy" "Chipotle discriminates my people Latinos" "Chipotle this is what discrimination looks like" "Chipotle not a good place to work" "Anti-Mexican Grill" (Cc)	"Burito [sic] food without integrity" "**Empleadores sin integridad**" [Employers without integrity] "Food with hypocrisy" "Chipotle unequal opportunity [cannot discern rest]" (Dd, Ii)
"**Huelga de hambre, llevando a la luz las injusticias que enfrentamos todos los días limpiando Cub Foods**" [Hunger strike, bringing the light the injustices that we face every day cleaning Cub Foods] (Ll)	"Stop the Frame-ups" (Ee) "Good Jobs. Green Future" (Oo) "Minnesota Driver's License" (Tt) "CAUTION" (Ss)	"Stop Hate" "Fix our broken immigration system now" "Stop racism **alto SB1070**" [Stop racism stop SB1070](Gg) "Jamie Delton" "Jamieforstaterep.com" "Emmer says racist Arizona law is wonderful" "**Emmer apoya ley racista de Arizona**" [Emmer supports racist Arizona law] "**Tom Emmer no quiere a los latinos**" [Tom Emmer does not like Latinos] "**Tom Emmer apoya la ley racista de Arizona**" [Tom Emmer supports the racist Arizona law] (Ww)

As a final comment regarding the signs in English, it is essential to note that

modes do not work alone, and instead must be juxtaposed with the other modes present in

any text to arrive at the meaning of the entire text (article plus image). In the case of the use of untranslated English in the images, the reader must look to the visuals in the image, as well as read the accompanying article, to fully understand the text. Thus, even if the reader does not understand written English, he/she can understand the images and the article in Spanish, so that he/she does not need to be literate in both languages to successfully "read" the entire text, and, consequently, will not feel alienated from the text in the signs and banners.

The first Spanish text reads "No más deportaciones" [No more deportations]. This short phrase calls upon the reader's K-3 and K-4 to make sense of its message. The concrete event to which it refers is an implicature: Because the text says no *more* deportations, it implies that there have been deportations in the past. Thus, the reader must remember that, especially in the recent past, the roundup and deportation of Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities have become more prevalent, and for this reason this group is proposing to stop the deportations. Moreover, the reader must possess sociocultural knowledge of the current situation of Latino immigrants in the United States and why it is necessary to become an activist and protest the deportation of Latino immigrants. Thus, it seems that this text draws heavily upon contextual information that points to ideologies that perpetuate the stereotypes found in United States mass media. However, the text also challenges those ideologies by calling upon sociocultural knowledge of Latino immigrants protesting their unfair treatment by the United States authorities.

The same observations and conclusions can be made for the second text, "Huelga de hambre…" [Hunger strike]. This text simultaneously perpetuates and challenges stereotypical ideologies by calling upon the reader's knowledge of the injustices the

janitors at Cub Foods suffer every day at work, and by asking readers to understand the process of activism and why it applies to the context of the unfair treatment of janitors, respectively.

Regarding the bilingual English and Spanish texts that appear in the images, there is only one case of intrasentential codeswitching from Image Gg: "Stop racism alto SB1070". The remaining texts are separate units, where one sign is given in Spanish and other is given in English, for example, within the same image. Similar to what I proposed above concerning the extensive use of untranslated English in the images, I argue here that images that incorporate both Spanish and English do not necessarily alienate the non-English-reading audience because the texts in Spanish overlap with those in English. Put another way, the reader can come to the same understanding of the entire text by just reading the Spanish text because it reiterates the context of the English texts (though not verbatim because they are not translations).

The first text in the Spanish and English column, "Empleadores sin integridad" [Employers without integrity], makes use of the K-3 and K-4 of the audience to understand the impact and irony of the message. There are several concrete events implicating the lack of integrity of Chipotle employers to which the message refers: the firing of hundreds of Latino Chipotle employees at the end of 2010 and the prohibition of speaking Spanish on the job, among others. The short text within this image underscores the importance of the analysis of context and intersemiotic complementarity both because it refers to concrete events outlined in past news articles and because it refers to content in the accompanying text. The text also assumes that the reader has sociocultural knowledge of Chipotle's slogans. One such slogan reads: "Food with integrity". The

protesters have made several puns on this slogan, for example "Empleadores sin integridad" [Employers without integrity], to make the point that Chipotle is the opposite of what it claims to be. In summary, this text perpetuates ideologies that reiterate the powerful position of the majority in the United States by representing ideologies that portray Latinos as the recipients of negative behavior by the aforementioned majority group.

The other texts under the Spanish and English column exhibit similar ideologies by calling upon contextual elements in which Latino immigrants are victims of the negative behavior of members of the majority group, thereby perpetuating ideologies that support stereotypical ideologies represented in the English-language mainstream media. However, this conclusion is somewhat misleading in the absence of the other modes. I have shown how the images that accompany these texts contain Latino represented participants who are protesting against Arizona's law SB 1070 and Tom Emmer, respectively. Thus, the consideration of a text as a gestalt in the section that follows, "Intersemiotic Complementarity", and not simply its comprising modes, will yield the most fruitful analysis.

To conclude, the majority of texts present in the images that accompany local Spanish-language news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina are in English. The greater presence of English is indicative of a heterogenous audience and, as such, points to two ways in which these texts are transformative. First, the English-language texts that appear in the images indicates that there is an English-speaking audience that cares about issues affecting Latino immigrants in this region, an attitude that does not corroborate the stereotypically negative attitudes towards Latino

immigrants in the English-language media. Second, these texts underscore the negative

actions of Anglo Americans against Latino immigrants, a message that is uncommon in

the mainstream media, which traditionally hides the negative actions of Anglo

Americans. Regarding the texts written in Spanish, while they often referenced

contextual information that pointed to ideologies that sustained the stereotypical

ideologies found in the English-language media, it is clear that they were intended to be

read in concert with other modes that challenged such ideologies. For example, the

references to the situation of Latino immigrants in the United States communicate

ideologies where Latinos are powerless social actors who must live in constant fear of the

United States government and their Anglo American employers, among others. However,

the function of these negative ideologies has a positive result: They call attention to the

reader about the negative actions carried out against the Latino immigrant community in

the Twin Cities. The audience reads this message while seeing images of Latino

immigrants fighting back against these injustices, which serves as a proverbial call to

arms to the audience to recognize that something can be done to resist the negative

actions of Anglo Americans against Latino immigrants in the United States.

As can be seen with this example, the 15 images I analyzed cannot be completely

understood in isolation. As such, it is necessary to consider the juxtaposition of the visual

mode and the verbal modes, which is addressed below in the section "Intersemiotic

Complementarity".

Conclusion to Visual Analysis

In summary, this section gave the results of a critical social semiotic analysis of the representation of ideologies in the visual mode. I analyzed 15 images that accompany local news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina to determine whether the ideologies represented in these images perpetuated or challenged the negative stereotypes towards Latinos represented in the English-language mass media. These results point to the overarching goal of determining the extent to which local Spanish-language media provide a discursive space from which Latino immigrants in the United States may challenge the oppressive practices carried out against them.

At the *(re)presentational* level, the ideologies discursively represented are conflicting: The represented things were overwhelmingly transformative, whereas the represented people, eye contact, and size of frame were overwhelmingly sustaining of ideologies. This hierarchy fluctuates in that it is not same across all articles or across the two newspapers in question. In this way, ideologies at the *(re)presentational* level are not uniform: At times they perpetuate stereotypical ideologies found in the United States mass media, while other times they present new ideologies where Latinos are active members of the local community who are at the forefront of creating change through protests and marches.

At the *orientational* level, an analysis the horizontal and vertical camera angle indicated ideologies that were neutral, albeit slightly more transformative than those at the *(re)presentational* level.

At the *organizational* level, I considered salience and the overall transformative power of each image. The analysis of salience indicated overall transformative ideologies because the most salient items in the images were the banners and signs used in protest that indicated the agency of Latino immigrants in the United States. Similar to the verbal analysis, at the *organizational* level I considered ideology as a function not only of semiotic construct, but also as a function of individual images. From this analysis, I initially concluded that the overall transformative potential of the visual mode was less than that of the verbal mode, given that its transformative scores were less extreme. However, the mean transformative score for the visual mode was +0.87, indicating that the visual mode was, overall, more transformative of the ideologies found in the mainstream media than the verbal mode.

In the following section, I present the results of an analysis of the relationship between the verbal and visual modes in 15 images found in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina in order to achieve a more complete understanding of the representation of ideologies within this medium.

Intersemiotic Complementarity

As a final stage of analysis, I consider the relationship between the verbal and visual modes, henceforth intersemiotic complentarity, as well as the text that appeared within the images, whenever possible, thereby answering the third research question:

3. How do ideologies compare across the visual and verbal modes?

It bears repeating here the emphasis in the literature on making meaningful wholes out of semiotic texts because we process them as a gestalt (cf. Lemke, 2002, 2009; Norris,

2004a; van Leeuwen, 2004). Thus, although I have analyzed how the verbal and visual modes function independently, Flewitt, Hampel, Hauck and Lancaster (2009) hold that "it is not sufficient to analyse different modes in isolation, as modes interconnect to make meaning," (p. 46). For this reason, I analyze the relationship across and between modes to fully comprehend the ideologies conveyed by local Spanish-language news articles from La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. This analysis is especially important in the current investigation because the meaning of semiotic texts, and at times even individual modes, is established cross-modally, such that the visual mode gives meaning to the verbal mode and vice versa.

I underscore at the outset that I define intersemiotic complementarity as the relationship across different ways of meaning that ultimately determines the function of a semiotic text. For this reason, I consider not only the overarching categories of the verbal and visual modes, but also the semiotic constructs within these modes, such as context, to fully understand the function of each semiotic text.

The results of the analysis are presented as follows: First, I give the results of a global analysis of ideology across the verbal and visual modes, followed by a comparison of ideologies across modes within the 15 image and text combinations.

General Analysis

Overall, I observed that in the verbal mode, 13 of 24 articles, or 54%, were transformative of ideologies, making this the most common outcome for this mode (see Table 18 below). This is followed by 38% of articles (nine out of 24) that were not transformative, or sustained ideologies, and 8% (two out of 24) that were neutral.

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Similarly, with the visual mode, the most common outcome was a transformative ideology, which characterized 53% of the images (eight out of 15). The second most common outcome was six of 15 images, or 40%, that contained neutral ideologies, followed by only one of 15 images, or 7%, that sustained ideologies. Thus, the overall outcome of analysis was nearly equal for the modes in that transformation of ideologies was most common for both modes. The perpetuation of ideologies was more frequent for the verbal mode; however, these ideologies only accounted for slightly more than one-third of the total ideologies, from which I conclude that the general message that the audience receives from local news in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is one that transforms ideologies.

Table 18. Global results for ideology in verbal and visual analysis

	Verbal mode	*Visual mode*
Transformative	**13/24 (54%)**	**8/15 (53%)**
Neutral	2/24 (8%)	6/15 (40%)
Perpetuating	9/24 (38%)	1/15 (7%)
Total	**24/24 100%**	**15/15 100%**

In light of the overall transformative message these local news stories are communicating, one item to consider is the role of the newspapers in establishing this message. For example, Richardson (2007) argues that the manifestation of ideology is incongruent across newspapers aimed at different social classes. Similarly, Barthes (1977) suggests that the newspaper in which the semiotic text appears may orient the

interpretation of the meaning of the text. Thus, although I have spoken earlier to the role of authors in determining which ideologies are communicated through semiotic texts, there is no question that the newspapers in which they appear play an equally significant part in establishing how such ideologies are received by the audience. To begin, then, the transformative nature of local news stories is not surprising, given Monserrate's comments that his newspaper, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota (and, presumably, La Conexión Latina, because it demonstrates the same characteristics), has a left-leaning political slant. Thus, the presence of ideologies presenting Latinos as social actors who are recipients of negative actions from the majority group, but who fight back against such actions is not surprising, and perhaps expected, in newspapers whose goals are to inform Latinos in Minnesota about issues that affect them, as well as how to resolve such issues. Moreover, readers may have come to expect such ideologies from these newspapers and, as such, may automatically ascribe the aforementioned ideologies to all texts, regardless of whether the author had intended his/her text to be interpreted in such a way.

While this global perspective is helpful to understand overarching trends concerning the representation of ideologies across modes in local Spanish-language print media, it does little to explicate the intricacies of the cross-modal representation of ideologies. Because these differences are best explained through a close examination of the ideologies represented in each semiotic text, in the following section I analyze the outcome of each of the 15 image and text combinations.

Individual Articles

In this section, I compare the representation of ideology across modes within individual article and text combinations (semiotic texts). Table 19 summarizes the results from the verbal and visual analyses,[29] indicating whether the article or image was overall transformative or sustaining of the ideologies found in the mainstream English-language media. The final two columns are of greatest interest because they indicate the outcome of the juxtaposition of ideologies across modes and the total transformative score of each semiotic text, respectively.

Table 19. Summary of ideologies across modes

Article	Transformative?	Image	Transformative?	Agree?	Total Transformative Score
B	Neutral	Bb	Yes	**No**	**1.5**
C	No	Cc	Yes	**No**	**0**
D	Yes	Dd	Yes	**Yes**	**4.0**
E	No	Ee	Neutral	**No**	**-1.5**
G	Neutral	Gg	Neutral	**Yes**	**0**
I	Yes	Ii	Yes	**Yes**	**4.0**
L	Yes	Ll	Neutral	**No**	**2.5**
M	Yes	Mm	Neutral	**No**	**4.5**
N	No	Nn	Neutral	**No**	**-1.5**
O	Yes	Oo	Yes	**Yes**	**4.0**
S	Yes	Ss	Yes	**Yes**	**4.5**
T	No	Tt	Yes	**No**	**1.0**
U	No	Uu	No	**Yes**	**-6.5**
V	No	Vv	Neutral	**No**	**-1.0**
W	Yes	Ww	Yes	**Yes**	**2.5**
Total	**7 Yes; 2 Neutral; 6 No**	**--**	**8 Yes; 6 Neutral; 1 No**	**7 Yes; 8 No**	**+1.2 (Mean)**

[29] Note that this excludes the texts that were not accompanied by images, thus the totals equal 15, or the number of images I analyzed for the current study.

Regarding the penultimate column, in seven semiotic texts the outcome of the analysis of ideology was similar across modes; in contrast, in eight semiotics texts the outcome was different. Regarding the cases in which the outcome was similar, in five semiotic texts both modes are transformative; in one, both modes are neutral, and in one both modes perpetuate those found in the English-language mass media. It is the last column of Table 19 that speaks more specifically to the effect of the intersemiotic relationship in the penultimate column because it adds the transformative scores recorded previously (see Table 10 and Table 15 above for the verbal and visual analyses, respectively) to give a total transformative score for each semiotic text. This row will explain how each semiotic text inscribes a particular reader and calls the reader to a particular action (although he/she may not actually carry out that action). I now take up the cases in which ideologies are the same across modes, followed by those cases in which ideologies are different across modes, noting the ideological effect of both of these outcomes. At the close of this section, I discuss how the total transformative score suggests (in)action on the part of the reader.

Article and image combinations Dd, Gg, Ii, Oo, Ss, Uu, Ww agree in their ideologies. In light of the lack of consensus concerning terms used to describe the relationship between modes, for the modes that had the same outcomes, I will simply note if they repeat or clarify each other. I begin with the five semiotic texts where both modes were overall transformative of ideologies: Dd, Ii, Oo, Ss, and Ww. What nearly all of these semiotic texts have in common verbally is their presentation of Latinos as agentive and individualized, and the transformative nature of the contextual knowledge they call upon in the reader. This contextual knowledge was transformative regarding the

particular concrete events that authors assume readers know, or K-3, and regarding the sociocultural and epistemic knowledge of the Latino immigrant community would use to "fill in the gaps" to make a text coherent, or K-4. Visually, these images tend to include signs and banners used in protest, as well as Latino protesters. The relationship between these modes is best described as clarification, rather than repeating. In other words, while the modes communicate a similar message, they do not simply repeat this message, supporting Barthes' (1977) affirmation that the juxtaposition of text and image results in more than a mere duplication of a message. Instead, they work in concert in what can be called mutual clarification, whereby the text clarifies the image, and the image clarifies the text. For example, while the audience has a general idea of where a particular event is occurring from the image, the text commonly clarifies the exact location of the text, which then calls upon the audience's K-4 to understand the importance of the particular location for the event in question. Another example of clarification I observed in these semiotic texts is the mention of social actors in the text, often providing details about them through individualization and by mentioning the groups to which they belong. However, the images clarify the identity of these represented participants and, most importantly, establish the relationship between the represented participants and the audience through eye contact and horizontal camera angle. Finally, the role of the text within the images is best classified as clarification. As I have mentioned earlier, these texts typically set the stage for the image and article by summarizing the topic at hand, as well as communicating the tone or register the semiotic text will assume.

Image 23. Semiotic texts Dd and Ii, the most transformative image and figure combination

As an example, I present the most transformative image and figure combination, Dd and Ii, which appeared in both La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, in Image 23 above. The relationship between these modes can best be described as one of clarification, rather than repetition. For example, the text clarifies important information that cannot be given in the image: the fact that the protest was held in Edina, the total number of protesters present (100), the different groups present for the protest (CTUL, SEIU, and MIRAc), and the specific reason for carrying out the protest. The image, on the other hand, clarifies the content of the *pancartas* [banners] referred to in the article, the ethnicity and gender of the protesters, as well as the relationship between the protesters and the audience, which is established through direct eye contact between some of the represented participants and the viewer, as well as a direct horizontal camera angle. Moreover, the text present in the image is included in the cross-modal relationship by setting the tone of the semiotic text, as well as clarifying that the protest was, indeed, directed at the English-speaking residents of Edina, given that some of the signs were printed in English. Overall, this semiotic text is highly transformative of the ideologies

typically found in the English-language mass media. As such, the function of this semiotic text is to demonstrate the capacity of the Latino immigrant community to take action against majority groups, a concept that is not common in the mainstream press.

As part of a second example, I wish to address a point that initially arose in the "Critiques of Multimodal Studies" section, and later became salient in the verbal analysis: the application and explanatory power (or lack thereof) of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2001) framework of visual analysis. Bateman (2008) questioned the validity of this framework, citing the specious nature of the semiotic construct "horizontal placement of elements". He argued that the spatial assignment of elements in a text is not self-evident and, just as often as not, is a function of cultural constraints and of the media. While it would initially appear that Bateman's critique holds water in light of the current investigation, I argue that, upon closer investigation, Kress and van Leeuwen's framework for multimodal social semiotics does indeed possess explanatory power if the analyst considers the contextual factors involved in the consumption of the semiotic text.

Image 24. Semiotic text Vv, horizontal placement of images

Image 25. Semiotic text Ee, horizontal placement of images

To exemplify this point, and to reinforce the current cross-modal analysis, I take the text/image combination Ss, which was categorized as transformative in both the verbal and visual modes. From the analysis above, I had concluded that, by simply considering the visual mode, the semiotic construct "horizontal placement of elements" did not appear to follow Kress and van Leeuwen's framework because the images in which a speaker was on the left-hand side, Image 24, did not appear to differ in the ideologies represented from the image in which a speaker was on the right-hand side, Image 25. However, a cross-modal analysis taking into account contextual factors indicates that the analysis of the horizontal placement of elements from an ideological standpoint does explain the situation represented in Ss (Image 26 below).

In the original visual analysis, I concluded that the speakers on the left-hand side did not appear to fit with what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) labeled "given", nor did the audience on the right appear to constitute the "new" element of the image. Nevertheless, upon comparing the image with the text, one can see that, taken in concert,

the modes do communicate a particular message that corroborate the ideological

implications of the horizontal placement of elements. The text states that the dozen

janitors who had been fired *recientemente* [recently] from Lunds & Byerly's were asking

for assistance. However, from the reader's K-3, one would know that this is not the first

instance that workers affected by this action had spoken out against the unfair treatment

from Lunds & Byerly's; in fact, previous articles had reported that the workers and allies

had demanded that stores give monetary support to those workers who had lost their jobs.

In other words, before reading article S, the reader already possessed in his/her K-3 the

knowledge that actions had been taken against Lunds & Byerly's by the Latino janitors

they had fired, and that these same Latino janitors had already spoken out against their

mistreatment. Thus, in light of this information, it is understandable that the represented

participants are the "given" element in Image 26.

Image 26. Semiotic text Ss and horizontal placement of elements

Furthermore, from the text the reader learns that although repeated requests were

made to help the workers, "Lunds ha rehusado tomar acción para apoyar o comunicarse

con el grupo de trabajadores" [Lunds has refused to take action to support or

communicate with the group of workers]. In this way, the situation established by means

of contextual information and the information in the article is one where Latino janitors

have stood up against the company that has mistreated them, and have been met with

refusal to offer support. Thus, with the following information from the text, it is clear that

the audience does, in fact, constitute the "new" part of the image:

> Docenas de trabajadores de limpieza y aliados de CTUL (Centro de Trabajadores
> Unidos en la Lucha) se reunieron para apoyar el grupo de más o menos doce
> trabajadores quienes limpiaban las tiendas de Lunds & Byerly's y para hacer el
> llamado a Lunds para hacer lo mismo. Se recolectó dinero para trabajadores y sus
> familias.
> [Dozens of janitors and allies of CTUL (Center for Workers United in the Fight)
> met to support a group of approximately twelve workers who cleaned Lunds and
> Bylerly's sotres and to call attention to Lunds to do the same. Money was
> collected for the workers and their families] (Méndez, 2011a)

In other words, the fact that the fired janitors received any assistance, though not from the

source they had hoped it would come from, is new, and for this reason, the placement of

the audience, who offered the support, on the right hand side of the image fits with Kress

and van Leeuwen's framework. In this way, a cross-modal analysis clarifies the meaning

of particular semiotic constructs, while also determining the overall ideological message

portrayed by a semiotic text.

Image 27. Semiotic text Gg, verbal and visual modes communicate neutral ideologies
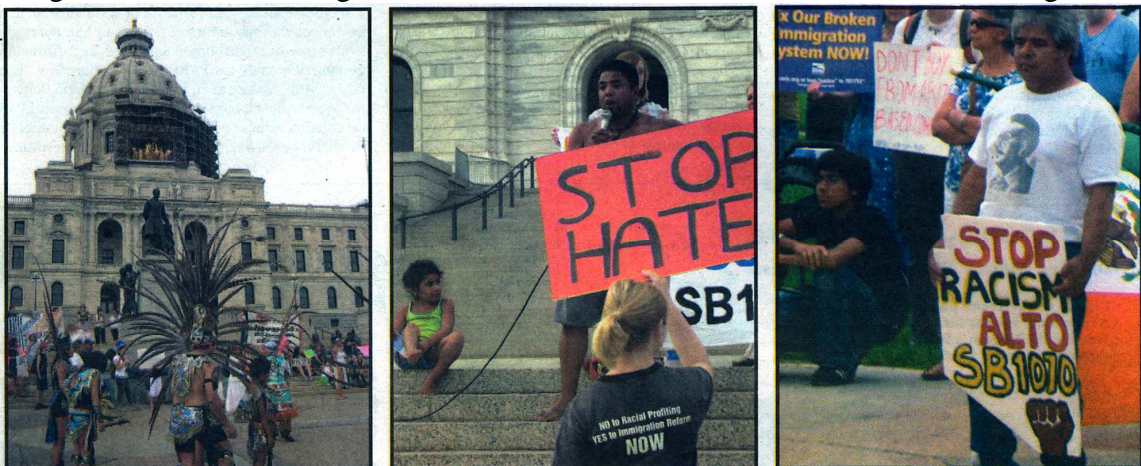
The semiotic text Gg in Image 27 is similar to the previous texts I have analyzed

in that the ideologies represented across the verbal and visual modes were similar: They

both communicated neutral ideologies. However, semiotic text Gg is different from the previously analyzed texts in that the relationship across modes is not one of clarification, but rather one of reinforcement. Verbally, article G is characterized by a lack of agency for Latino social actors and passive constructions that hide the negative actions of the majority group against Latinos. However, in this article Latinos were afforded individualization, and the concrete events and sociocultural information referred to was both positive and negative regarding Latinos. Visually, the viewer feels like, in Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) words "a dispassionate…invisible onlooker" (p. 124), because there is no eye contact between the represented participants and the audience is looking up at the represented participants from a distance. Nevertheless, some of the represented participants were Latinos, and the signs used in protest did incite the viewer to stand up against poor treatment by the government. To be sure, the ideologies represented in all other articles and images conflicted to a certain degree, but one ideology was most notable in one or both modes, making the overall message of the semiotic text clear. In the semiotic text Gg, this is not the case: Because the verbal and visual modes are equal parts transformative and equal parts sustaining, the resulting message when the modes are juxtaposed in a single semiotic text is unclear. As such, the hypothesis of clarification across modes with similar outcomes does not hold for this case. Instead, it appears that a caveat to my classification of the cross-modal relationship of clarification is only when the outcome of each mode is decidedly transformative or perpetuating of ideologies found in the English-language mainstream media; in the case of neutral ideologies for both modes, a clear message is not sent to the consumer of the semiotic text, and therefore, instead of clarifying each other, the modes reinforce ambiguity.

Image 28. Stop sign printed in Spanish from semiotic text Uu

Finally, Uu, seen in Image 28, was the only semiotic text in which both modes communicated an ideology that perpetuated those found in the mass media. At first glance, the image seems innocuous, but the text clarifies the interpretation of the image as one that is anti-Latino. Article U, which was the most perpetuating of negative ideologies against Latino immigrants, hides the negative actions of the powerful Anglo majority, does not afford Latinos individualization or agency, and calls upon background knowledge that perpetuates ideologies. It is especially the sociocultural knowledge, or K-4, that leads to a negative overarching message for the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnestoa and La Conexión Latina: that of wrongdoing and difficulties for immigrants in the United States. Readers of these newspapers are familiar with the never-ending reports about wrongdoings that affect immigrants, from difficult border crossings due to *coyotes*, border patrol, or starvation, to legal situations including roundups, layoffs, being fired for improper documentation, racial profiling, and deportation. Thus, this article's allusion to a negative act against immigrant groups – ruling that the city of Lino Lakes will be an "English-only" city – fits with the reader's sociocultural knowledge of other negative acts against Latino immigrants in the United States. After reading article U, then, the meaning

ascribed to image Uu becomes clear. The image is a stop sign printed in Spanish that says *Alto*[30] [Stop], which, taken in conjunct with the article, indicates that Latinos should "stop" because speaking Spanish is not allowed in the city of Lino Lakes.

Lastly, I analyze the hierarchical organization of modes in semiotic texts where the represented ideologies are similar across modes by considering whether one mode takes precedence over the other and, consequently, whether a particular ideology comes to the fore more than another. To answer this question, I refer to Jorge Amérigo's (Graphic Designer for La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota) comments regarding hierarchization of image and text in his newspaper. Amérigo argues that today's society is driven by technology and, as such, tends to be more visually literate than verbally literate, especially with regards to the younger generations. He cites the example of Facebook, where many people claim to "know" another person just by browsing through the pictures that person has posted. Similarly, consumers of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota, in Amérigo's opinion, look immediately to the images and photographs to tell the story, and then to the article (if at all). Indeed, Chouliaraki (2006) comments that the visual mode is more powerful and more likely to be remembered than the verbal mode (p. 76). In this sense, the images are dominant because, in the case that consumers only look at the images, they may singlehandedly communicate ideologies for the newspaper. If this is the case, from the global analysis of ideologies in this section, the consumer will receive a message that challenges the ideologies present in the mainstream English-language media. In the case that consumers also read the articles that accompany the

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[30] This version of a stop sign is unique to Mexico; in the rest of Latin America, the stop sign would read "Pare" (from the verb "parar" [to stop]).

images, the images still hold a somewhat dominant position in that they determine the tone or register and the focus of the semiotic text. Thus, even if the content of the article disagrees with the image, the image is consumed first and may take precedence over the content of the article. However, as I have shown, images still depend heavily on the accompanying articles for clarification, so it is not altogether correct to assign a completely dominant role to the visual mode over the verbal mode. As I have mentioned earlier in this analysis, the most accurate description of modes whose outcome is similar accounts for their mutual dependence for clarification.

A cross-modal analysis is even more insightful regarding the eight semiotic texts in which the outcomes did not agree across modes, of which Bb, Cc, Ee, Ll, Mm, Nn, Tt, and Vv are examples. Once again, in light of the lack of consensus concerning terms used to describe the relationship of modes, for the modes that had different outcomes, I will simply note if they they offer different ideologies, or if the ideologies are in conflict with one another.

For this analysis, I have further categorized the outcome as either slight disagreement, where one of the modes is "neutral", or strong disagreement, where one mode is transformative and the other is perpetuating. Those text-image combinations that are in slight disagreement are Bb, Ee, Ll, Mm, and Nn; those in strong disagreement are Cc, Tt, and Vv. I now address these outcomes in turn.

I argue that, aside from article Uu in which the verbal and visual modes both perpetuated ideologies, two of the semiotic texts that are in slight disagreement, Ee (Image 29) and Nn (Image 30), are the most perpetuating of ideologies found in the

mainstream English-language media. This is because, in these examples, the verbal mode perpetuates ideologies and the visual mode is neutral, thus communicating an overall message of perpetuation of ideologies. In Ee and Nn, the verbal mode does not afford Latinos agency, hides the negative actions of the majority group against Latinos, and calls upon the reader's sociocultural knowledge of a country that does not welcome, and even oppresses minoritized groups. While the represented participants in image Ee are holding signs, there is not a strong affinity between them and the audience, leading to an image that communicates neutral ideologies. For image Nn, if Amérigo is correct, the first introduction the consumer receives from this semiotic text is one that shows a broken down door in the aftermath of the FBI arresting a pro-immigrant activist. In this way, this image does little to challenge ideologies and, in fact, it may scare the consumer and hinder him/her from standing up and protesting against unfair treatment, given that unfair treatment is the result of protesting. In conclusion, it does not seem appropriate to classify this cross-modal relationship in terms of difference or conflict. Instead, the relationship between these modes hews closer to that which occurred between modes with a similar outcome. In other words, the modes in Ee and Nn clarify each other, resulting in the perpetuation of ideologies traditionally found in the English-language mass media.

Image 29. Semiotic text Ee perpetuates ideologies traditionally found in the English-language mass media

Image 30. Semiotic text Nn perpetuates ideologies traditionally found in the English-language mass media

Conversely, the semiotic text Bb (Image 31 below), whose modes I have categorized as being in slight disagreement, functions more similarly to the three articles in strong disagreement I discuss below due to its overarching message that incites indignation in readers and suggests that they take action. In article B, the first person

plural pronoun *nosotros* inscribed and was inclusive of Latinos; moreover, Latinos were afforded agency. However, Latinos were not afforded individualization, and passive constructions hid the negative actions of Anglos against Latino immigrants. The article called upon the reader's K-3 to recall negative actions against Latinos and the reader's K-4 to understand the references to groups whose actions are negative to Latino immigrants. At the same time, the article referred to previous positive actions and groups that supported Latinos. On the other hand, the image contained the transformative elements of one Latino social actor and signs used in protest. The overall effect of the semiotic text is to stir up the audience to fight back, but only to a limited extent. The text only partly emphasizes the negative actions against Latinos, and the image does not underscore the fact that many Latinos are joining together to fight back. Thus, even though the text might suggest that the number of Latinos participating in protest is great, the image does not reinforce this, thus potentially detracting from the total message. It appears that semiotic text Bb is a weak case of ideologies in conflict both across modes and within modes.

Image 31. Semiotic text Bb is indicative of conflicting ideologies across modes and within modes

The outcome for semiotic texts Ll and Mm are distinct from the other semiotics texts in slight disagreement because they constitute the only text-image combinations in which the visual mode is less transformative than the verbal mode. More specifically, articles L and M are transformative of the stereotypically negative ideologies found in the English-language mass media, whereas images Ll and Mm communicate overall neutral ideologies. While one could argue that the ideological effect is ultimately the same, in other words, the contrast between a transformative verbal mode and a neutral visual mode results in the reader taking action against the injustices they read about or see, this may not be the case if the order in which the semiotic text is consumed is taken into account. I have mentioned elsewhere that the image is the most readily available for immediate consumption upon viewing the semiotic text; in this way, the image sets the tone and topic for the semiotic text. Although the verbal mode may communicate an ideology distinct from that communicated by the visual text, the consumer's first introduction to the semiotic text, in the case of semiotic texts Ll and Mm, was a neutral ideology that communicated equally transformative and perpetuating ideologies. Thus, it is possible that the consumer returns to the initial interpretation of the semiotic text as neither transformative nor perpetuating of negative ideologies and decides that no action is necessary. Of course, future studies would be required to determine which part of the semiotic text is consumed first, and what role, if any, this has on the overall message communicated by modes whose messages are in slight disagreement. For the time being, suffice it to say that semiotic texts Ll and Mm are in slight disagreement, and as such the overall message they communicate could be similar to that communicated by the other semiotic text in slight disagreement, Bb, discussed in the previous paragraph: limited

incitement of the audience to fight back against the injustices committed against Latino

immigrants in the United States. However, it is possible that because the consumer's first

introduction to the semiotic text is a neutral ideology, he/she may establish that ideology

as a default and not feel a strong urge to fight back against the oppressive practices of

Anglo Americans against Latino immigrants. The following three semiotic texts

exemplify stronger cases of conflicting ideologies across modes and, as such, stronger

potential reactions to the semiotic texts.

In all three cases of strong disagreement between the verbal and visual modes, the

former perpetuated the ideologies found in the English-language mass media, while the

latter challenged those ideologies. In contrast to the highly transformative semiotics texts

Dd and Ii discussed above, the overall message communicated by the semiotic texts Cc,

Tt, and Vv appears to be more movitating for the reader to take action, precisely because

of the disagreement between the modes. As an example, I use semiotic text Cc.

Image 32. Semiotic text Cc is indicative of strong disagreement across modes.

Taken separately, article C and image Cc (Image 32) are similar to the other

perpetuating articles and transformative images I analyzed, respectively. However, what

is unique about semiotic text Cc is the result of the cross-modal relationship: The strong

disagreement in the outcome of the modes leads to incitement in the audience and later

the desire to stand up to their maltreatment by the majority group. Verbally, article C

does not afford Latino social actors individualization, while passive constructions hid the

negative actions of Anglo groups against Latino immigrants. What is more, the concrete

events (K-3) and sociocultural knowledge (K-4) called upon were also negative

concerning Latino immigrants. On the other hand, visually, Latinos constitute the

represented participants, and there are several protest signs present, both indicative of

transformative ideologies that demonstrate how Latino immigrants fight against injustices

they suffer in the workplace. Thus, Cc, even though less transformative than Dd or Ii

(which constituted the most overall transformative semiotic texts), appears to have the

greatest potential to call the Latino audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La

Conexión Latina to action by verbally emphasizing the negative actions committed

against them, and then visually demonstrating that they can stand up to these actions.

In summary, the three semiotic texts that are in strong disagreement exhibit the

following pattern of ideologies in conflict: One mode (in the case of the semiotic texts I

analyzed, the verbal mode) indicates offenses committed against Latinos, while the other

(the visual mode) demonstrates how Latinos can stand up against these offenses and fight

back. Thus, the whole effect of disagreement in ideologies across modes is to incite

Latinos to want to do something, and then show them that doing so is possible. The

function of modes in these semiotic texts can be compared to what Bateman (2008),

Lemke (2002), and Lim (2007) discuss as a technique used in advertisements to

intentionally produce mixed signals. Divergence across modes, as the authors have called

it, demands the attention of the consumer because of the apparent dissonance in messages being simultaneously communicated to the audience. In general, it appears that, for the audience to really be affected there needs to be a rather clear-cut distinction between ideologies across modes. Examples of conflicting ideologies across modes that call attention to the audience are semiotic texts Bb, Cc, Ll, Mm, Tt, and Vv. In the following section, I explain the ideological effect of conflicting ideologies across modes on the audience.

Table 20. Continuum of transformation for visual mode

	- transformative +perpetuating												+transformative -perpetuating

Frequency	-6.5 - -7.0	-5.5 - -6.0	-4.5 - -5.0	-3.5 - -4.0	-2.5 - -3.0	-1.5 - -2.0	-0.5 - -1.0	0	0.5- 1.0	1.5- 2.0	2.5- 3.0	3.5- 4.0	4.5- 5.0
3												X	
2						X		X			X	X	X
1	X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Degree of transformation or perpetuation of ideologies

Table 20 above provides an overview of the transformative score of the 15 semiotic texts I analyzed in this section, as well as the basis for an idea I propose regarding the way in which each semiotic text inscribes a particular reader who is consequently called to take up action.

From Table 20, it is clear that the overall ideologies communicated by semiotic texts (or image-text combinations) in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina challenge those found in the English-language mainstream media because nine of a total 15 semiotic texts received an overall transformational score above zero. Two semiotic texts communicated neutral ideologies, while three texts communicated ideologies that perpetuated those found in the English-language media, particularly semiotic text Uu, which I have described above as the most perpetuating semiotic text I analyzed. From this table, it would seem that the semiotic texts that fall nearer the +transformative end of the continuum have the greatest potential to effect change in the audience. However, this is not the case, as I will explain in the following paragraphs.

From the analysis above, I have shown that some semiotictexts are in agreement in that both the verbal and visual modes communicate the same ideology, for example, both modes communicate transformative ideologies. These semiotic texts appear in Table 20 nearest the extremes of the continuum, as they have the greatest absolute values. Conversely, I have demonstrated that some texts are in slight or strong disagreement in that the modes communicate differing ideologies. These semiotic texts appear in Table 20 nearest the middle of the continuum, zero, because their transformative values cancel each other out. I propose that those semiotic texts that fall closer to zero on the transformational continuum have the greatest potential to lead to action on the part of the

audience, while those semiotic texts that fall nearer the poles of the continuum have lesser potential to lead to action on the part of the audience. I explain the reasoning behind this hypothesis by using Lilie Chouliaraki's observations on the spectatorship of suffering.

I begin this section with relevant observations from the field of media studies regarding media effects. In the early twentieth century, administrative communications research proposed a media effects theory whereby a single reaction to a particular message would be experienced across an entire audience. Given the homogeneity of the effect of the media proposed by this theory, it came to be termed the Magic Bullet Theory, or the Hypodermic Needle Model Theory, as it allowed only for a single shot and a single reaction to that shot. Starting with the Frankfurt School in the first half of the twentieth century, and continuing throughout the century, the Magic Bullet Theory has since been largely rejected in the field (see, for example, Lazarsfeld, 1941; Daryl Slack and Allor, 1983). Since this time, new models have been developed that allow for greater agency on the part of the audience, such as Stuart Hall's Reception Theory (see, for example, Hall, 1980, 1996, 2001) and Lawrence Grossberg's radical contextualism (see, for example, Grossberg, 1995a, b). Contemporary models allow the researcher to take into account contextual factors when analyzing and predicting the effects of a particular message on a particular audience. In the following analysis, I emphasize that although there are undeniable similarities acxross the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, there are undoubtedly differences that will lead to varying interpretations of any particular message. For example, what I have identified as a perpetuating ideology may have the effect of causing one audience member to take

action; however, it is equally possible for another audience member to feel indifference after consuming a text that perpetuates the ideologies found in the English-language mainstream media. Thus, I emphasize that any predictions I make regarding the audience effect of the 15 semiotic texts I have analyzed are one of many possible effects. However, given the information that I have gathered about the audience and comparing this with the results of Chouliaraki's work on media effects, the ideas I propose constitute viable audience reactions to the message in question.

The reactions of the audience to semiotic texts are expanded in Chouliaraki's (2006) study of how suffering and misfortune are portrayed in the media. Drawing most of her examples from European media, the author demonstrates how, in televised news programs, very subtle changes in the ideology presented in one particular mode can lead to more drastic changes in the message communicated by the entire multimodal text. Consequently, there are disparate results in the audience's uptake and response to the text. For example, Chouliaraki speaks to the fine balance between pessimistic narratives ("adventure news") which lead to hopelessness in the audience and, consequently, no action on their part to help those who are suffering, and transformative events ("ecstatic news") which portray the misfortunes as being proximate in some way to the experience of the viewer, and ultimately incite the audience to take action. In La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, semiotic texts Ee, Gg, Nn, and Uu, function similarly to "adventure news" in that they simply become a spectacle to the audience, and cause the audience to distance itself from the misfortune (see Image 33 for an example). In other words, these semiotic texts cause the audience to think that there is no solution to the negative actions committed against Latino immigrants by the majority group, and

therefore the expected reaction would be hopelessness. On the other hand, while the semiotic texts Dd, Ii, Oo, Ss, and Ww were highly transformative, they also did little to incite action in the audience, perhaps because they did not underscore, to the extent necessary, the suffering of Latino immigrants. For this reason, one might expect the audience to treat such texts as celebratory, and, as such, as requiring no action (see Image 34 for an example).

Image 33. Semiotic text Nn, "adventure news", leads to no action from the audience

Image 34. Semiotic text Oo, "celebratory", leads to no action from the audience

Image 35. Semiotic text Vv, "ecstactic news", incites audience to action

The remaining four semiotic texts, Bb, Cc, Tt, and Vv (and potentially semiotic texts Ll and Mm) appear to function as Chouliaraki's "ectstatic news" because they were the most likely to lead to action on the part of the audience (see Image 35 for an example). Similar to the cases of "adventure news", these texts did, in fact, underscore the maltreatment of Latino immigrants; similar to the cases of the highly transformative texts, these also underscored the actions of Latinos to stand up to this maltreatment. Of note is the fact that although there were elements that perpetuated and transformed ideologies in both modes in these semiotic texts, one mode clearly communicated a particular ideology, while the other mode clearly communicated the opposite ideology. In this way, these semiotic texts portrayed the misfortunes as being proximate in some way to the experience of the viewer while simultaneously inciting the audience to take action by demonstrating how to stand up to the majority group.

Finally, regarding the only other study of which I am aware that considers intersemiotic complementarity in a Spanish-language semiotic text (cf. Crespo Fernández and Martínez Lirola, 2012), it appears that the results of the current analysis of intersemiotic complementarity only partly overlap. In fact, it seems that some of the

results of the aforementioned authors' study hew closely to what is found in verbal texts created by majority groups that address minoritized groups (cf. Chouliaraki, 2006; Delbene, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009; van Dijk, 1989, 1998; van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman, and Troutman, 1997). Crespo Fernández and Martínez Lirola (2012) summarize their findings of a multimodal analysis across verbal and visual modes of eight print photographs and their accompanying captions in the Spanish newspapers La Verdad de Alicante and Información as follows:

> Immigrants tend to be represented in three main ways in the multimodal texts analysed: First, they are portrayed as a threat and a burden on society because they invade our territory, increase unemployment rates and reduce economic growth, among other "evils". In this case, readers are compelled to reject them; second, they are represented as poor people living in a dramatic situation, in which case the reader shows compassion towards them; and third, though to a lesser extent, they are considered as workers who aim at earning their living and integrating into Spanish society. (p. 46)

Two of these predictions regarding the reaction of the audience to a multimodal text are similar to ones that I have made regarding the 15 intersemiotic texts I studied for the present investigation: action and inaction. In the Spanish newspapers, action from the audience is similar to the "ecstatic news" I identified above. Inaction from the audience of La Verdad de Alicante is similar to the inaction I predicted for the audience of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina in that it stemmed from the portrayal of immigrants as successful members of the new country. The only outcome that was not attested in my results was the first outcome, in which immigrants were represented as a

threat to and burden on society and to which audiences respond with inaction. This outcome is, however, attested in the literature regarding the ways in which majority groups represent minoritized groups. In light of the fact that Spanish-language newspapers in the Twin Cities constitute media created by a minoritized group, it is surprising that they share many of the characteristics of media created by a majority group. This is an area that warrants further research in the future, as it might explain whether the characteristics of the media in question are a function of the language in which the media is created or a function of the social status of the group who creates the media and for whom it is created.

Conclusion to Intersemiotic Complementarity

From the analysis across modes, I showed that, overall, the message communicated to the audience of these newspapers was transformative of those ideologies commonly found in the English-language mass media. For the verbal mode, 54% of the articles were transformative; similarly, for the visual mode, 53% of the images were transformative. Given the left-leaning agenda of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, these findings were not surprising.

Regarding individual articles, the outcome of modes matched in seven of the semiotic texts, whereas they did not match in eight semiotic texts. I argued that the cross-modal relationship of semiotic texts whose modes were both transformative or both perpetuating was best characterized as clarification. What is more, two of the semiotic texts whose modes I had deemed were in "slight disagreement", Ee and Nn, also worked to clarify each other. The cross-modal relationship in the semiotic text whose modes were

neutral was not characterized by clarification, but rather by uncertainty or ambiguity. Finally, I characterized the cross-modal relationship in the semiotic texts where the modes were in disagreement as one of conflict, where one mode presented the negative actions of the majority group against Latino immigrants, while the other mode presented the action Latinos had taken to demand fair treatment.

The function of these semiotic texts corroborates the findings of Chouliaraki (2006) in that slight differences in the representation of ideology in each mode appear to lead to distinct potential reactions in the audience. Semiotic texts that communicated overall transformative, neutral, or perpetuating ideologies are not expected to cause the audience to take action. On the other hand, semiotic texts whose verbal and visual modes were divergent are expected to cause the audience to take action, thus corroborating the findings of Bateman (2008), Lemke (2002), and Lim (2007) who asserted that divergence across modes causes the audience to pay attention to the semiotic text. Moreover, because these divergent modes make the situation at hand appear proximate to that of the audience while also presenting the audience an example of how to stand up to the negative actions of the majority group, it is expected that the audience would be more motivated to take action.

From these examples, it is clear that much would be lost in the understanding of the representation of ideology had I focused only on one mode. What is more, I would not have arrived a complete understanding of the ideologies represented in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina had I simply analyzed the verbal and visual modes in isolation. Put another way, an analysis of ideology across modes is

necessary because it is a closer approximation to how consumers understand and interpret semiotic texts.

Summary of Findings

Analyzing the discursive representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language newspapers in the United States has allowed me to determine which ideologies are represented in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and, moreover, to consider whether the verbal and visual modes, as well as the combination of these modes in single semiotic texts, challenge or perpetuate the ideologies found in the English-language mass media. I began this chapter by analyzing several linguistic constructs at the *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* levels in order to determine the function of ideologies in the verbal mode, thereby answering the first research question:

1. What ideologies are represented verbally?

After analyzing the first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, passive constructions, and individualization at the *description* level, I determined that Latinos are simultaneously included and excluded from discourse at this level. While *nosotros* was highly transformative of the ideologies found in the English-language mass media by including Latino immigrants in the discourse, passive constructions overwhelmingly perpetuated these ideologies by hiding the negative actions of anti-Latinos groups and by hiding the agentive actions of Latinos. These findings, coupled by the equally transformative and perpetuating ideologies found for agency and individualization, led to the conclusion that while the *description* level presents some transformative ideologies, it

relies heavily on perpetuating ideologies to communicate its message of the exclusion of Latino social actors.

After analyzing authors and context (both through concrete events, or K-3, and sociocultural knowledge, or K-4), I concluded that ideologies at the *interpretation* level are similar to those found at the *description* level in that they are both transformative and perpetuating. At the *explanation* level, I considered ideology as a function not only of linguistic construct, but also as a function of individual articles. In this way, I was able to determine that although several linguistic constructs at the *description* and *interpretation* levels perpetuated ideologies, the combination of ideologies across linguistic constructs within individual articles led to an array of outcomes that point to a different understanding of the representation of ideologies in the verbal mode. For instance, the range of "transformative scores", or the overall transformative potential, for the 24 articles I analyzed was from -5.0 to +4.5, approximating the most extreme possible outcomes for the perpetuation or transformation of ideologies, respectively. In other words, the combination of linguistic constructs at the *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* levels in one article I analyzed resulted in an overall highly perpetuating ideology. Conversely, in another article the linguistic constructs combined to yield an overall highly transformative ideology. Because the mean transformative score for the verbal mode was +0.27, overall, this mode communicates ideologies that are transformative. However, given that this transformative score is very close to zero, I concluded that the potential transformative power of the visual mode is only slight.

I continued my analysis by considering several semiotic constructs at the *(re)presentational*, *orientational*, and *organizational* levels in order to determine the

function of ideologies in the visual mode, thereby answering the second research question:

    2.   What ideologies are represented visually?

I analyzed the represented people, places, and things in the images, as well as eye contact and size of frame, to conclude that the ideologies at the *(re)presentational* level were similar to those found at all three metalevels of analysis for the verbal mode because they were equally transformative and perpetuating, or neutral. For example, while the things represented in the 15 images I analyzed were overwhelmingly transformative, the semiotic construct eye contact was overwhelmingly perpetuating of those ideologies found in the English-language mass media. The people represented in the images and the size of frame communicated neutral ideologies, indicating a combination of transformative and perpetuating ideologies within semiotic constructs. An analysis of horizontal camera angle and vertical camera angle at the *orientational* level also indicated ideologies that were neutral, albeit slightly more transformative than those at the *(re)presentational* level. However, an analysis of salience at the *organizational* level led to overall transformative ideologies because the most salient items in the images were the banners and signs used in protest that indicated the agency of Latino immigrants in the United States.

       Similar to the verbal analysis, at the *organizational* level I considered ideology as a function not only of semiotic construct, but also as a function of individual images. In this way, I was able to determine that although several semiotic constructs at the *(re)presentational* and *orientational* levels perpetuated ideologies, the combination of ideologies across semiotic constructs within individual images led to an array of

outcomes that point to a different picture regarding ideologies in the visual mode. For example, the range of transformative scores for the images I analyzed was from -1.5 to +2.5, scores that were more moderate compared to those assigned to the articles in the verbal analysis. As such, I initially concluded that the overall transformative potential of the visual mode was less than that of the verbal mode, given that its transformative scores were less extreme. However, the mean transformative score for the visual mode was +0.87, indicating that the visual mode was, overall, more transformative of the ideologies found in the mainstream media than the verbal mode.

I also analyzed the ideologies found in the texts within the images by means of a reduced version of the verbal analysis given that these texts were overwhelmingly comprised of individual words or phrases, versus complete sentences. The analysis of references to concrete events and sociocultural knowledge for these texts was accompanied by an analysis of the implications of the language in which these texts were published. The fact that the majority of these texts were published in English initially appeared to point to sustaining ideologies; however, I showed that these texts did indeed transform ideologies by calling attention to the negative actions carried out by Anglo Americans against Latino immigrants and by disseminating this information to Anglo Americans, thereby indicating that Anglo Americans are possibly concerned with the well being of the Latino community. What is more, while the texts in Spanish make reference to contextual elements that sustain ideologies, I demonstrated that they served as a catalyst for a positive outcome where the audience would stand up to the oppressive practices carried out against them in the United States.

Lastly, I addressed the juxtaposition of ideologies across modes by analyzing intersemiotic complementarity, thereby answering the final research question:

3. How do these ideologies compare (intersemiotic complementarity)?

As I have already mentioned, the visual mode was overall more transformative than the verbal mode. However, the global analysis of outcomes for intersemiotic complementarity showed that the representation of transformative ideologies was quite similar for the verbal and visual modes, with 54% and 53%, respectively, of the outcomes. The modes differed in their representation of other ideologies, with eight percent of the verbal mode representing neutral ideologies, versus 40% of neutral ideologies in the visual mode. Finally, the modes also differed greatly with respect to perpetuating ideologies, with 38% of the verbal mode representing these ideologes, while only seven percent of the visual mode represented perpetuating ideologies.

From these differences arises a range of potential effects of the consumption of semiotic texts on the audience. I have argued for three possible outcomes caused by the following intersemiotic relationships: similar transformative ideologies across modes, similar perpetuating ideologies across modes, and diverging ideologies across modes, where the visual mode is more often transformative and the verbal mode is more often perpetuating (although two cases, semiotics texts Ll and Mm were exceptions). Given that the overall transformative score for the 15 semiotic texts was +1.2, it is not surprising that six semiotic texts demonstrated transformative ideologies across the verbal and visual modes, resulting in what Chouliaraki (2006) has denoted "celebratory news". The potential effect of celebratory news on the audience is inaction because the overall message is positive, indicating a lack of problems and no need for action on behalf of the

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audience. However, in one semiotic text, both modes perpetuated the ideologies found in the English-language mass media, resulting in what Chouliaraki (2006) calls "adventure news". I argued that adventure news in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina could also potentially lead to audience inaction because the overarching message is negative, causing the audience to feel overwhelmed and unable to exact any change on what they consider an impossible situation. Finally the eight semiotic texts in which the outcome was different across the modes are in line with Chouliaraki's (2006) "ecstatic news". I argued that this kind of semiotic text achieves its effect by drawing the audience's attention to the negative actions carried out against Latino immigrants in the United States by Anglo Americans, thus inciting them to take action. However, different from adventure news, ecstatic news also provides the reader with the means to take action by presenting the ways in which Latino immigrants are standing up to Anglo Americans in the United States. In this way, I showed that the incongruence of ideologies across modes has the greatest potential to result in action on behalf of the audience in the 15 semiotic texts I analyzed.

In the next chapter, I consider the implications of the ideologies represented by the verbal and visual modes in local Spanish-language newspapers with regards to theory, research, and practice. I also address areas of expansion that will constitute future avenues for research in this area.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In the previous four chapters, I have established the foundations upon which I based the current study, outlined the literature pertinent to the current investigation, set forth the process for data collection and analysis, and presented the results of the findings of the investigation. I have studied the representation of ideology in the verbal and visual modes, while also comparing the representation of ideology across these modes, in order to determine the potential for local Spanish-language media to constitute a base from which Latino immigrants can resist the negative and oppressive practices carried out against them. In the present chapter, I discuss the implications of this study with regards to three broad areas: theory, research, and practice. I close the chapter by addressing the limitations of the study and by making suggestions for future research.

Implications

I had three goals in analyzing ideological representations in the Spanish-language newspapers La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina that point to implications. First, I proposed to study the discursive representation of ideologies in Spanish-language texts in the Midwest of the United States with the goal of understanding how they function in Spanish as a minoritized language. Second, I proposed to carry out a multimodal analysis as one of the first applications of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001) social semiotic framework on a minoritized semiotic system. Third, I proposed that through this investigation, I would determine the extent to

which local Spanish-language media could serve as a place for resistance for a minoritized group, Latino immigrants, against the negative and oppressive practices of a majority group, Anglo Americans.

In this section, I take up each of these goals by discussing the implications of the current study vis a vis theory, research, and practice. First, I demonstrate the ways in which my study adds to research in several fields and constitutes a new approach to the study of Spanish-language media as a minoritized discursive and semiotic system. Second, I indicate the implications of the representation of perpetuating ideologies, transformative ideologies, and the combination of perpetuating and transformative ideologies in a single semiotic text. Finally, I address the ways in which the results from this study can lead to critical action from within the Latino immigrant community in the Twin Cities and surrounding areas.

Theory

In Chapter 1, Introduction, I outlined the ways in which the current study would add to the existing literature in three areas: Spanish in the United States, critical discourse studies, and multimodal social semiotics. At the outset I note that it is often not possible to compare the work I have carried out to other studies because it is the first of its kind in many respects. For this reason, I simply note the ways in which the current study fills in gaps in previous work or in particular fields, making comparisons to existing work when appropriate, or indicating how this study constitutes a new angle or approach to the study of Spanish-language media in the United States.

Spanish in the United States

The linguistic and semiotic analysis of the representation of ideologies in Spanish-language media in the United States constitutes a new approach to Spanish and Spanish-language media in the United States. Broadly speaking, my approach advances the study of Spanish in the United States for two reasons: First, it considers a new region of Spanish in the United States, and second, it constitutes a linguistic and semiotic approach to Spanish-language media in the United States.

In Chapter 2, Literature Review, I showed how previous linguistic research on Spanish in the United States has focused on the largest concentrations of Spanish-speaking communities in the country, such as New York City, Miami, and Los Angeles. I noted that investigations considering less-studied populations of Spanish speakers were lacking, and, for this reason, scholars in this field still do not have a complete understanding of Spanish in the United States. My investigation considers a Spanish-speaking population in the Midwest of the United States, thus moving forward the study of Spanish in this region. In light of the findings indicating the strong presence of Spanish in the Midwest and the potential for media created by speakers of Spanish to transform negative ideologies, the current study indicates the viability and necessity of continuing research on Spanish in the United States to previously unstudied areas.

Moreover, the current study constitutes one of the first investigations of the linguistic and semiotic characteristics of print Spanish in the Twin Cities. Because previous studies have focused predominantly on the demographic and historical characterstics of the Spanish-speaking community in Minnesota, little is known about the

characteristics of media created by this community, nor the function of these media within the community. By explaining how several linguistic and semiotic constructions represent ideologies, and by demonstrating the potential for Spanish-language media to incite the local Latino immigrant population to stand up against the oppressive practices carried out against them, this study affords a more complete understanding of Spanish in the Twin Cities. Likewise, it points to the necessity of continuing research on Spanish as the population spreads to new regions and establishes new communities of Spanish speakers.

Finally, Spanish-language media in the United States have grown exponentially in the past decade, reflecting the increase of Latin American immigrants in the United States, most especially in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Indeed, the "Spanish media boom" noted by Otheguy, García and Roca (2000) has been corroborated by my investigation, which notes the presence of numerous Spanish-language media in Minnesota while underscoring the characteristics and functions of two local Spanish-language newspapers in particular. As a result of this Spanish-language media boom in the United States, many fields have dedicated inquiries to television, radio, and newspapers in Spanish. For example, areas such as media studies and marketing have taken a special interest in these media, particularly their potential to reach a large audience for new and existing products. Thus, while a great deal is known about the creation and consumption of Spanish-language media through the lens of media studies and marketing, little to nothing is known about the linguistic and semiotic characteristics of these media. The current investigation advances these fields by presenting a new

approach to Spanish-language media that analyzes the linguistic and semiotic realizations of ideology in this media.

Linguistically, most of what is known about Spanish in the United States focuses on the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical characteristics of spoken Spanish in these communities. Given that the current scholarship offers a new angle to the linguistic study of Spanish in the United States, it advances the field of Hispanic Linguistics. This study also indicates the importance of continuing research on new linguistic constructions in Spanish-language media so that scholars may reach a more complete understanding of the linguistic features of Spanish in the United States. Finally, the current study considers the semiotic features of Spanish-language media in the United States, constituting one of the first studies to do so. Considering the fact that semiotic features do a great deal to explain how local newspapers interact with their audiences, the current study constitutes a significant addition to understanding Spanish-language media in the United States.

Ideological representations in the media have been addressed since the twentieth century, becoming a particular concern of Cultural Studies theorists. Notably, Cultural Studies theorist Stuart Hall (1996, p. 36) has stated that "Language is the medium par excellence through which things are 'represented' in thought and thus the medium in which ideology is generated and transformed," therefore acknowledging the role of language in the representation and generation of ideology. However, investigations of ideological representations in media studies do not engage in close linguistic or semiotic analyses, yielding only a macro understanding of how ideologies are represented in the media. Consequently, the current study constitutes a new approach to the study of ideology in the media because it considers both the macro structures commonly

addressed in media studies (e.g., context) as well as the micro structures commonly addressed in discourse analysis (e.g., agency and passive constructions) and multimodal analysis (e.g., size of frame and placement of elements).

The results of my analysis of ideologies corroborate the findings of other studies considering the representation of ideologies in the media that indicate stereotypically negative representations of minoritized groups. However, my analysis goes beyond what these studies found to demonstrate the ways in which the representation of ideologies can transform the negative ideologies represented by the media of the majority in the United States. This finding was achieved by assuming a new approach to the study of ideology in the media that constituted the crossroads of several areas. Because ideologies in the media are deeply embedded in linguistic and semiotic structures, such an approach adds a new dimension to the study of ideology that exists in other fields.

In conclusion, I have shown how my investigation of the representation of ideology in local Spanish-language media adds to the understanding of Spanish in the United States because of the critical multimodal social semiotic approach and the object of study, local Spanish-language newspapers.

Critical Discourse Studies

The current study of the linguistic construction and representation of ideologies in Spanish-language media advances the field of critical discourse studies in three essential ways: First, it helps scholars understand the ways in which ideologies are discursively represented by a minoritized group; second, it provides insight into the potential effects

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of these ideological representations; and finally, it indicates possible solutions to the oppressive practices against Latino immigrants in the United States.

From critical discourse studies, scholars have learned, among other things, how majority groups across the world discursively represent minoritized groups. The consensus reached from these investigations is that majority groups discursively represent minoritized groups in a negative light. In fact, this finding was so pervasive that it led Teun van Dijk to develop the concept of the ideological square to explain the phenomenon where discourse of the majority group hides the negative actions of the majority group and emphasizes the negative actions and attributes of minoritized groups. However, very few studies in this field address the discursive representation of ideology in the discourse of minoritized groups. This is significant given the goals of critical discourse studies, which has as its objective the identification and analysis of the roots of social problems, as well as encountering "feasible ways of alleviating or resolving them," (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak, 2004, p. 1). By omitting studies concerning the discourse of minoritized groups, scholars have an incomplete understanding of the social problem that is the negative treatment of Latino immigrants in the United States and, more importantly, the potiential solutions to this problem. The current investigation indicates that media created by a minoritized group do to a certain extent reify the negative ideologies found in the mainstream media, thus constituting part of the negative discursive treatment of Latino immigrants in the United States. However, given that the overall transformative score for the visual and verbal modes was positive, this study indicates that the representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language media may also

challenge those stereotypical representations found in the aforementioned critical discourse analyses.

By indicating the perpetuating and transformative ideologies represented in local Spanish-language media, the current study also points to another implication for critical discourse studies: the effect of the representation of particular ideologies on audiences. Noting the potential effects of the representation of particular ideologies allows critical discourse analyses to espouse critical action that is most appropriate to the context and situation at hand. In Chapter 4, Findings, I compared the results of the current study to another critical discourse analysis that considers the potential effects of represented ideologies on the audience. I showed how Chouliaraki's (2006) terms "adventure", "celebratory", and "ecstatic" accounted for the following possible outcomes in the semiotic texts I analyzed: inaction due to negativity, inaction due to positivity, and action due to equal emphasis on wrongdoing and ways to stand up to wrongdoing, respectively. In light of the absence of critical studies that consider the possible effects of ideologies represented in Spanish-language media on audiences, my analysis constitutes an essential first step in the way of understanding how the representation of perpetuating and transformative ideologies have distinct effects on audiences.

Finally, knowledge of the effect of ideologies on audiences leads to critical action by indicating ways in which certain ideologies can either encourage or discourage audiences to stand up against oppressive practices. The study of audience effects and the possibility for the representation of particular ideologies to incite positive change is not new in fields such as critical media studies and postcolonial studies. Indeed, scholars in these fields argue that discourse has the potential to establish a place of resistance, or a

"third space", from which oppressed groups can challenge the oppressive practices of the dominant group.

For example, working from a postcolonial approach, Latinos in the United States constitute a peripheral (minoritized) group within a metropole (the United States), or imperial power. This approach holds that the physical presence of minoritized groups within the very group to which it is subordinate initially appears to perpetuate the dominant/subordinate dichotomy. However, scholars in postcolonial studies such as Laura Lomas have argued that discourses created by minoritized groups residing within the metropole lead to the creation of a new space that minoritized groups inhabit and utilize to resist conformity to the practices of the majority group. In other words, because minority texts are not hidden in the periphery, they are asserting their non-conformity to the discourses of the majority group. Lomas (2008) interprets this non-conformity as a threat: "Latino/a migrants represent a threatening variable if they do not conform to the progress narrative associated with imperial modernity," (p. 7). In this way, the mere presence of Spanish-language media in the United States constitutes critical action because it establishes a discursive space from which Latino immigrants may work to challenge the oppressive discursive practices carried out against them.

While the existence of Spanish-language media in the United States points to the beginning of resistance, I argue that the ideological effect of these media continues this resisting function by carrying out deconstructive "work": "The movements of deconstruction do not destroy structures from the outside. They are not possible and effective, nor can they take accurate aim, except by inhabiting those structures," (Derrida, 1974, p. 24). Spanish-language media have the potential to "destroy" dominant structures

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(i.e., the discourse of Anglo Americans) precisely because they work from within the metropole (i.e., the discourse of Anglo Americans). From the new, alternative space within the imperial structures, local Spanish-language news articles deconstruct dominant discourses by representing ideologies that challenge those found in the English-language mainstream media. In this way, my investigation echoes the work of scholars in critical media studies and postcolonial studies by demonstrating the possibility for local Spanish-language media to deconstruct the ideologies of the majority group from within. This finding underscores the necessity of critical discourse studies to analyze not only the ideologies that are discursively represented, but also the effect and critical action that result from the representation of particular ideologies.

To summarize, the current study has advanced the field of critical discourse studies by demonstrating how Spanish-language media represents ideologies that both perpetuate and challenge those ideologies found in the mainstream media; how these ideologies may lead to action or inaction by the audience; and how these media create a "third space" from which Latino immigrants may resist and challenge the oppressive practices committed against them. The following section addresses the ways in which the current critical investigation of semiotic structures in Spanish-language media in the United States has added to the field of multimodal studies.

Multimodal Social Semiotics

As one of the first studies to analyze Spanish as a minoritized semiotic system using Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic framework, my study advances the field of multimodal studies in three ways: First, it demonstrates that multimodal studies are

necessary for understanding the representation of ideology in Spanish-language semiotic systems; second, it sets forth an argument for the role of context in similar analyses; finally, it underscores the need for further research that compares the representation of ideology across modes.

I have noted in Chapter 2, Literature Review, that the "turn to the multimodal" is a recent phenomenon that has led to an upsurge in research dedicated to understanding the meaning-making potential of modes other than written and spoken language, particularly since the turn of the twenty-first century. One approach to the study of multimodality, social semiotics, is dedicated to investigating the dialectal relationship between social constructs and semiotic structures. Results of studies in social semiotics have shown how ideology is realized in the visual mode through several semiotic constructs, for example size of frame and vertical camera angle. However, I have shown how studies in this field rarely consider Spanish as a semiotic system or as a minoritized semiotic system. This constitutes a gap in the literature, and indicates that the current study contributing to advancing the field of multimodal sutides by providing a new application of the multimodal social semiotic framework. Moreover, the strong transformative potential of the visual mode in the current study points to the necessity of multimodal approaches in understanding ideologies, given that a strictly linguistic analysis in the current study would have yielded one-sided results suggesting that local Spanish-language media do not have great transformative potential.

Regarding context, this study has shown that the application of Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic framework requires the analysis of context. For example, although Kress and van Leeuwen's framework initially did not seem suitable to analyze

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the ideological implications of the horizontal placement of elements, when context was taken into consideration, the framework achieved explanatory power. I observed similar results concerning the human represented participants. The strong presence of Anglo Americans in the images initially appeared to denote perpetuating ideologies because these participants make up the most commonly represented group in the English-language media. However, when analyzed in context, it became clear that these represented participants indicated transformative ideologies because they are a group that is not associated with supporting Latino immigrants in the mainstream media. Their presence at protests supporting Latino immigrants thus transforms the ideologies found in the English-language media. Thus, another way in which my work advances the field of multimodal studies is by demonstrating the necessity of considering context in Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic framework so that it may reach full explanatory power.

This investigation adds to the new field of intersemiotic complementarity, or the relationship across modes and ways of meaning, by presenting an application of this approach on a Spanish-language semiotic system, which has heretofore been considered in only two other studies. The results from the current study imply that intersemiotic complementarity is a necessary component in understanding the function of ideology in multimodal texts in general, and, more specifically, in Spanish-language media in the United States.

In summary, the current investigation has advanced the fields of Spanish in the United States, critical discourse studies, and multimodal social semiotics because its approach constitutes a micro analysis of the discursive and semiotic representation of

ideologies, as well as a macro analysis of the cognitive and contextual structures involved in the representation of ideologies. Moreover, it adds to the aforementioned fields with regards to the object of analysis, the discursive and semiotic representation of ideologies in Spanish-language media as a minoritized media, which has heretofore been studied to a limited extent. The specific results and implications of these results are discussed in the section that follows.

Research

In this section, I address the results of this project vis a vis the initial goal of the project: to shed light on the potential of ideology in Spanish-language print media to challenge the unjust position of Latinos in this country. This section also serves to complete Fairclough's (2009) Stage 3 of a critical discourse analysis: "Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong" (p. 167). From this step,

> "Social wrongs" can be understood in broad terms as aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps only through major changes in these systems, forms or orders. Examples might be poverty, forms of inequality, lack of freedom or racism. (pp. 167-168)

Step 3 determines, in other words, the extent to which the "social wrong" contributes to sustaining unequal relations of power and dominance. In the present study, the social wrong I address is the oppression of a minoritized group: Latinos in the United States. As such, this social wrong does contribute to a social hierarchy where Anglo Americans occupy a position of greater power that leads to dominance; conversely, in this hierarchy

Latino immigrants occupy a position of subordinance because they have less power than Anglo Americans. While this hierarchy is social in nature, it is reified in discourse, which later informs the social hierarchy, leading to what I have called a dialectal relationship between society and discourse. For this reason I study discourse: to determine the discursive realizations of social structures (ideologies) and to determine the extent to which they may challenge existing structures and lead to the formation of new, non-oppressive structures.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss the implications of the three ideological outcomes observed in the verbal and visual modes – perpetuating ideologies, transformative ideologies, and the combination of perpetuating and transformative ideologies – in local Spanish-language newspapers and the ways in which these outcomes contribute to sustaining or challenging the social wrong of the negative discursive treatment of Latino immigrants in the United States. Of note is that these conclusions and implications are local and small-scale, given that the analysis I have carried out was also local and small-scale. The final section of this investigation discusses the ways in which future research can shift these conclusions and implications to the national level.

It comes as no surprise that ideologies that perpetuated those ideologies common in the English-language mass media were present in both the verbal and visual modes in local Spanish-language news articles, as these ideologies were found in similar previous analyses considering Spanish-language media in the United States. Perpetuating ideologies in local news articles in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina patterned around the concept of the presence and absence of Latino immigrants from United States society. Ideologies in which Latino immigrants were present

portrayed them as victims of negative and oppressive treatment by Anglo Americans, thereby perpetuating the ideologies found in the English-language mass media.[31] The other type of perpetuating ideology was based on the exclusion, or absence, of Latinos from United States society. Given that this ideology was accompanied by or implied the inclusion and presence of Anglo Americans, it also reinforced similar ideologies found in the mainstream media where Anglo Americans are at the forefront of society and Latino immigrants are in the background or nonexistent.

It appears that the function of these perpetuating ideologies in local Spanish-language news articles is to lend to the existing hegemonic structure in the United States. Many scholars have noted that the mass media use ideology to promote a hegemonic system (cf. Fairclough, 1995, 2001; Grossberg, 1984; Hall, 1985; van Dijk, 1988, 2008b). Here I follow Grossberg's (1984) understanding of such a system, which he postulates is:

> The ongoing process by which a particular social block (made up of various class fractions) maintains its position of power by mobilizing public support for its social projects in a broad spectrum of social life. Hegemony is a question of leadership rather than explicit domination and control, containment rather than incorporation. It involves the colonization of popular consciousness or common sense through the articulation of specific social practices and positions within ideological codes or chains of connotational significance. (p. 412)

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[31] Note that, in line with van Dijk's ideological square, it is unlikely that the English-language mass media underscore Anglo Americans as the agents of the negative actions carried out against Latino immigrants in the United States; rather, the media likely emphasize the actions, and even more so, those affected by these actions.

From this position, a hegemonic structure in the United States concerns the relegitimation of power by the majority group that consists of Anglo Americans. In this way, one would expect that those ideologies present in the United States mass media would portray Anglo Americans in a way that allows them to maintain their position of power. Indeed, the perpetuating ideologies I observed in my analysis served to help Anglo Americans colonize popular consciousness and thereby implicitly reinforce their position of dominance by representing Latino immigrants as victims of negative actions and by representing Anglo Americans as those at the forefront of society while simultaneously backgrounding and excluding Latinos. However, the aforementioned scholars have argued that hegemony is promoted through the mass media without noting the role of minoritized media in this process. From my investigation, it appears that, as Grossberg (1984) remarked, ideologies that promote the hegemonic structure have infiltrated the popular consciousness of not only the mainstream media, but also of the minoritized media. In this way, it would appear that local Spanish-language media is yet another mouthpiece through which Anglo Americans can implicitly propagate their position of dominance over Latino immigrants. Undeniably, the ideologies represented in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina do contribute to the social wrong; however, because these ideologies were in the minority in both the verbal and visual modes, local Spanish-language newspapers in fact did more to ameliorate the social wrong.

Perhaps the most surprising outcome in the current study was the greater presence of transformative ideologies than perpetuating ideologies. Both the verbal and visual modes represented more transformative ideologies than perpetuating ideologies overall.

The transformative ideologies I observed carry out three functions: they establish and sustain a Latino immigrant community in the Twin Cities; they inform and teach the audience; and they help dismantle the United States hegemonic structure, thereby leading to more activism by the audience.

My analysis has shown that the topics covered in local news articles center on marches and protests, workplace issues, and laws and ordinances affecting immigrants. These topics serve two functions: First, they serve to build and sustain the Latino community and second, they serve to inform and educate this community, which I now discuss in turn.

Much as what Suro (2004) found in his study, one of the functions of transformative ideologies (e.g., those that refer to the marches and protests carried out by Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities) in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina is to build and sustain the Spanish-speaking community in Minnesota. For example, my analysis of the *description* level of the verbal mode showed that the linguistic constructs first person plural pronoun *nosotros*, agency, and individualization, as well as my analysis of the semiotic constructs represented human participants, horizontal camera angle, and size of frame functioned as inclusive devices. In this way, the texts and images invite the audience to be a part of the community it inscribes. The numerous images and texts dedicated to protests and marches function to strengthen the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota by communicating that Latinos in the Twin Cities metropolitan area support each other. Moreover, I have shown that the function of "adventure news" is to incite the audience to action, further indicating that these

newspapers function to build and strengthen the Latino immigrant community in Minnesota.

A peripheral function of the establishment and reinforcement of a community through the representation of transformative ideologies is the informing and teaching of this community. In this study, I have shown that even medium-sized Spanish-speaking communities geographically far from the United States-Mexico border (where the greatest concentration of Latino immigrants resides) and other large Spanish-speaking communities have numerous local media offerings, ranging from newspapers to radio (and television, to a limited extent). In light of the goals communicated by the owners and editors of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, it is reasonable to conclude that media play an important role in Spanish-speaking communities in the United States: Newspaper personnel emphasized that their publications aimed to inform and teach the Spanish-speaking community in Minnesota about issues and events of importance. In other words, these media keep audiences abreast of issues happening in the "Old World" (Latin America), national issues, and local issues directly affecting the local Latino immigrant community. Indeed, I found in my investigation that these newspapers inscribe a hybrid community by referring to sociocultural knowledge from Latin America, the Latino immigrant community in the United States, and the local immigrant community. In this way, local Spanish-language media serve an educational role in which pre-existing knowledge about Latin America is reinforced and new knowledge about national and local issues that affect the Latino immigrant community is added to ultimately establish a hybrid epistemic community.

I discussed above that the perpetuating ideologies represented by La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina served to relegitimate the hegemonic structure in the United States. However, the repetitive representation of ideologies that challenge traditional ideologies may begin to break down the hegemonic structure, serving in this manner as a form of activism in and of itself. Returning to Grossberg's (1984) understanding of hegemony, the greater occurrence of transformative ideologies in local Spanish-language newspapers indicates a recolonization and deconstruction of the audience's consciousness. In this way, the greater presence of ideologies that present Latino immigrants as agentive social actors who stand up to unfair treatment by Anglo Americans plays a part in dismantling and shifting the hegemonic structure in the consciousness of those who read La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. As such, the discursive and semiotic representation of activism also serves as activism by creating alternative realities for the audience in which Latinos are represented in a non-stereotypical fashion.

Transformative ideologies also function to dismantle the current United States hegemonic structure by means of a variation on the original understanding of the spiral of silence. For the sake of clarity, I repeat the definition of this concept here: The spiral of silence occurs when the media privilege certain ideas which in turn are perceived by the audience as being the prevailing opinion. As a consequence, the ideas presented in the media are strengthened and gain more followers, whereas other ideas weaken and lose assenters (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). In the context of my study, the repeated representation of transformative ideologies may lead the audience to believe that such ideologies are the prevailing opinion, at least among the audience of La Prensa/Gente de

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Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. These transformative ideologies may begin to colonize the consciousness of the audience, causing perpetuating ideologies to appear less common and to lose favor with this group. As a consequence, if the audience shifts their consciousness to believe that activism and Latino agency is more common than the English-language mainstream media would have them believe, they may begin to participate in activism so as to be part of the norm. In other words, following the spiral of silence, the prevalence of activism in local news articles could result in the mobilization of support for pro-immigrant causes, thereby further breaking down the hegemonic structure in the United States. As such, it seems appropriate to rename the spiral of silence as the spiral of activism because the repetitive mention of certain ideologies in this case does not lead audiences to silence; rather, it leads readers to perceive activism as normal and something in which they should partake.

In summary, the representation of transformative ideologies in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina serves to build and sustain a local Latino immigrant community, inform and teach this community about issues of importance, and challenge the United States hegemonic structure. Regarding this last point, while transformative ideologies certainly play a part in shifting popular consciousness, the current investigation suggests that the juxtaposition of transformative and perpetuating ideologies across the verbal and visual modes is most likely to lead to action from the audience.

I have noted on several occasions that one cannot arrive at a complete understanding of the representation of ideology, and, consequently, the effects of such, by analyzing a single mode or modes in isolation. Thus, while the previous conclusions and

implications hold for the outcomes of transformative and perpetuating ideologies within particular discursive and semiotic constructions, these ideologies are not consumed in this manner by the audience. Instead, the audience tends to consume a semiotic text as a gestalt, thus encountering transformative and perpetuating ideologies simultaneously, leading to an overall ideological outcome that I have defined as the transformative potential of each semiotic text. I have shown that the juxtaposition of ideologies across modes has led to three different outcomes, and thus three potential effects on the audience. Those semiotic texts in which ideologies were similar across modes (both perpetuating or both transformative) have been discussed in the previous paragraphs. Thus, I now take up the case of semiotic texts in which there was disagreement in ideologies across modes.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have discussed the implications of the representation of perpetuating and transformative ideologies in local Spanish-language media, where the former perpetuates the United States hegemonic structure through ideologies representing Latino immigrants as non-agentive victims and where the latter works to dismantle the United States hegemonic structures through ideologies representing Latino immigrants as agentive activists at the forefront of society. The combination of these ideologies in a single semiotic text results in tension because there is disagreement across ideologies. I have postulated that this tension gives way to action on behalf of the audience because the perpetuating ideologies incite anger and the transformative ideologies show that there is an opportunity to "take up arms". Therefore, the function of contrasting ideologies within semiotic texts is to lead to action that asserts

the agency of Latino immigrants and attempts to stop the oppressive treatment of Latino immigrants by Anglo Americans.

It is worthwhile to explore the reasons behind representing the kinds of ideologies that would lead to activism and protest by the audience. For this, I return to the goals of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina: According to the owners and writers, the newspapers have the goal of teaching the audience what they need to know to be "successful" in Minnesota. From the content and focus of the newspapers, raising awareness about injustices committed against the local Latino community is part of this process, followed by teaching readers how to stand up for themselves in the face of such injustices. From this, I deduce that the newspapers teach activism to reach their goal of preparing their audience for success.

This begs the question: Why do La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina, in their endeavor to inform readers so that they may be successful, underscore activism as the path to success? In other words, why do these newspapers "teach" activism in the face of other possible alternatives associated with success, such as education or business? The answers to these questions point back to the findings of the analysis of K-3 and K-4, as well as the implications of the representation of transformative ideologies. I demonstrated the ways in which the semiotic texts I analyzed referenced particular events and sociocultural knowledge that perpetuated the ideologies found in the mainstream English-language media by portraying Latino immigrants as backgrounded social actors who are victims of oppression by Anglo Americans. This finding contrasts with the agency indicated by transformative ideologies, whose repeated mention, I argued, could lead to a shift in consciousness and encourage readers to take

action against their oppressors. The newspapers might be assuming that Latino immigrants in the United States will always encounter the negativity and injustice that was indicated by K-3 and K-4, and therefore want to bring it to their attention so that they take action. By helping the reader see the hegemonic forces at work in society and giving them tools with which they can fight back against such forces, the newspapers are teaching their readers that they have more options than to be victims of this treatment. Instead, the newspapers are acknowledging that Latino immigrants have been victims, but that they also have agency and can fight back. As such, it appears that the newspapers in question discursively and semiotically emphasize activism as the means to success because it will ultimately improve the lives of its readers. Undoubtedly, emphasizing education or business as a means to become successful would also lead to improvement in the lives of readers, especially in light of the limited access many Latino immigrants have to education in the United States. Perhaps, then, local Spanish-language newspapers see the unfair treatment of Latino immigrants as the most pressing issue currently facing this community, and for this reason have decided to teach its audience about this issue and how to resolve it.

To conclude, the implications of the results of the current study are related to the three representations of ideologies I encountered in my analysis: perpetuating ideologies, transformative ideologies, and the combination of perpetuating and transformative ideologies in a single semiotic text. Perpetuating ideologies promoted the United States hegemonic structure while transformative ideologies dismantled the hegemonic structure by shifting the popular consciousness of the audience and encouraging readers, by means of what I called the spiral of activism, to take action and challenge the oppressive

practices carried out against them by Anglo Americans. The juxtaposition of perpetuating and transformative ideologies incites the audience to take action and indicates that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina promote activism as a means to success in order to improve the lives of Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities and the surrounding areas.

Practice

While the previous sections have demonstrated the implications of the current study vis a vis previous research and the research questions, in this section I address perhaps the most significant implications of my research. It bears repeating here that a critical analysis such as mine is not analysis for the sake of analysis, but rather an approach to correcting a social wrong:

> What is most plainly distinctive about critical discourse analysis…is its sense of responsibility and its commitment to social justice. This is linguistics with a conscience and a cause, one which seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of power and the suppression of human rights. In a grossly unequal world where the poor and the oppressed are subject to discrimination and exploitation such a cause is obviously a just and urgent one which warrants support. (Widdowson, 1998, p. 136 in Seidlhofer, 2003, p. 130)

Therefore, the analysis that I have carried out in the present study works toward social justice by determining the ways in which the representation of ideology can work to eradicate the discrimination and exploitation of Latino immigrants in the United States.

To summarize, in my analysis of the representation of ideologies in local Spanish-language media, I selected Fairclough's (2009) framework as the overarching guide of my research given that it starts from the identification of a social problem and ends with the proposed solution to the social problem:

Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.

Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

Stage 3: Consider whether the social order "needs" the social wrong.

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles. (p. 167)

The final stage of Fairclough's (2009) approach to the critical analysis of the discursive representation of ideology, and, likewise, the overarching concern of the present investigation, is in line with the goal of critical discourse studies of resolving the problems identified in critical analyses. I underscore this component of my study in light of the critiques aimed at critical discourse analyses concerning their lack of critical action (cf. Ingulsrud and Allen, 2009). In an effort to avoid this oversight, in this section I propose the steps I will take that will ideally result in challenging and transforming oppressive practices against Latino immigrants in the United States.

With regards to critical action, I follow Rymes, Souto-Manning, and Brown (2005) in arguing for action that comes from the group in question, rather than solely from the researcher:

[Critical discourse analysts] need a reconstructivist orientation – but it needs to be built within the lifeworld of those we are studying, based on an understanding of their unique agency, not exclusively our own. This is consistent with an empowering agenda centered in theory and research that is always tied to praxis –

an engaged praxis that accounts for the deliberative capacity of all individuals. (p.

197)

In this way, the critical action that I propose underscores the agency, or deliberative

capacity, of Latino immigrants to exact change, rather than basing the action solely on

what I will do to exact change. This empowering agenda is of especial importance given

that it appears to be missing in the previous research concerning Latinos in the United

States.

The first step I take concerning critical action is realizing how ideologies are

represented in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. I have noted the

finding that the semiotic texts I analyzed were more transformative than I had expected.

In fact, all texts and images, save semiotic text Uu, exhibited at least some transformative

characteristics. To that end, some semiotic texts, such as Ss, were highly transformative,

exhibing very few ideologies that perpetuated those found in the English-language

mainstream media. Thus, I establish as a basis for critical action the awareness of the

transformative nature of semiotic texts in local Spanish-language newspapers and their

potential to constitute a space of resistance against oppressive practices.

The next step toward critical action is creating awareness about the function of

ideologies in La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina and the continued

potential for these newspapers to lead to change in the community. In order to do so, I

plan to meet with the owners, editors, and writers of these newspapers to discuss the

results and implications of my investigation. More specifically, in meeting with

newspaper personnel, I would underscore the positive impact the newspapers are likely

already having by informing and teaching the audience, by creating and reinforcing a

Latino immigrant community in the Twin Cities, and by communicating transformative ideologies to this audience. In an initial meeting I would communicate the following results of my study:

1. Celebratory texts: Celebratory texts, though highly transformative, will likely not lead to action on behalf of the audience. Thus, I hope to create awareness that celebratory texts are not inherently bad (indeed, they play a part in dismantling the United States hegemonic structure), but that by glossing over problems and systematic oppression, they might feed into the overarching negative ideologies present in the English-language mainstream media.

2. Adventure texts: I will emphasize the transformative impact that the newspaper is likely already having given that adventure news was frequent in both La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota and La Conexión Latina. I hope to encourage newspapers to follow this style by underscoring how the contrast between, for example, the wrongdoings against Latino immigrants (especially in the verbal mode) with the actions Latinos are taking to stand up to this mistreatment (especially in the visual mode), appear to be the most likely to lead to the audience to also take action against mistreatment by the majority group.

3. Ecstatic news: I will emphasize that it is positive that the newspapers appear to be publishing next to no semiotic texts that overwhelmingly represent perpetuating ideologies. I hope to create awareness that presenting negative ideologies against Latino immigrants are most likely to lead to action on behalf of the audience when they are coupled by ideologies that represent Latinos as agentive social actors who stand up to oppressive treatment by Anglo Americans.

In the case that the newspaper personnel were in agreement, a plausible extension of these meetings would be the establishment of a partnership between the newspapers and myself in which I could encourage the newspapers to continue publishing semiotic texts that can be categorized as "adventure news". I could communicate in greater detail what linguistic and semiotic constructs the writers and editors could employ to continue the positive outcomes the newspapers are already achieving and to work towards creating newspapers that would challenge the oppressive practices carried out against Latino immigrants in the Twin Cities.

It goes without saying that because the scope of this study is highly localized, the effects of the critical action taken in response to this study will also be highly localized. This is not to say that local actions cannot have an impact at the state or even national level; in fact, this study constitutes a first step in the direction of critical action at the state and national levels. However, given that scholars have limited knowledge of the representation of ideologies in Spanish-language media in the United States, it is impossible to predict whether the critical action taken as a result of the current study would hold in other contexts. Of course, this points to the necessity of further research in this area so that critical researchers can provide directions for critical action at the state and national levels.

Limitations and Future Research

The current study of the representation of ideologies in Spanish-language print media in the United States constituted a new approach involving several academic fields and, as such, there are many ways in which it could be expanded in each field in future

research. From the previous section, "Practice", I have demonstrated the necessity for the expansion of similar research in order to warrant large-scale action to stop the negative treatment of Latino immigrants in the United States. Thus, in this section, I give suggestions for new directions this research should take in the future to ultimately arrive at this outcome.

Spanish in the United States

My study represents just one critical multimodal social semiotic analysis of ideology in Spanish-language media in the United States. In light of the constantly shifting and numerous Spanish-speaking communities in the United States, the current study is limited in its geographical scope, pointing to similar future research in other communities in the future. Possible factors that could lead to variations in the ideologies represented in Spanish-language media are, for example: size of Spanish-speaking population, socioeconomic characteristics of the population (e.g., Miami Cubans, who are more affluent than many other Latino immigrant groups in the United States), and groups that comprise the population, with particular note of the variation in attitudes across generations towards Spanish. Future critical studies of Spanish-language media in the United States would need to expand to new areas and consider the aforementioned factors in order to better understand the representation of ideologies in these media, as well as their function within each Spanish-speaking community.

Critical Discourse Studies

Given that very few critical discourse analyses have considered Spanish as a minoritized language, I suggest that more analyses are necessary to reach any certainty regarding the ways in which minoritized groups represent ideologies. Moreover, as the current study considers only 24 texts, any conclusions that have been drawn necessarily can only be applied locally to the Twin Cities and its surrounding suburbs. In order to make more far-reaching conclusions, future studies would have to include more texts both from the Twin Cities area and from other Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. What is more, given the numerous possible discursive constructions that may be studied in a critical discourse analysis, I suggest the analysis of other discursive constructions included in Fairclough's and van Dijk's frameworks in order to determine how they represent ideologies.

Multimodal Social Semiotics

In light of the fact that the present study is just one of three others that analyze Spanish as a semiotic system, and one of two others that analyze Spanish as a minoritized semiotic system, this study constitutes a preliminary understanding of the Spanish-language semiotic system. Because I considered 15 multimodal texts, the first step would be to carry out more research on similar multimodal texts in order to determine the reliability of the findings. The next steps would include what I have mentioned in previous sections: expansion to other regions by considering multimodal texts from other

Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. Another expansion would include other media, such as the television, and other modes, such as color and layout.

Postscript

Since the completion of this investigation, La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota has experienced substantial changes to its appearance and content. The newspaper has merged with Vida y Sabor, the entertainment publication created by the parent company, Latino Communications Network (LCN). Thus, the publication now reflects the entertainment focus of Vida y Sabor. To begin, the cover contains images pertaining to entertainment, rather than news (although the focus on images on the cover page, versus news text, is not far from the tabloid format La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota had recently adopted), and states "Ahora con las noticias de: La Prensa de Minnesota" [Now with news from: La Prensa de Minnesota]. Similarly, the majority of the publication is now dedicated to topics of entertainment, and as such, the news content has been drastically reduced. There are now 10 total pages of news compared to the approximately 24 pages of La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota's previous format. The only similarity that remains is that both formats contained four pages of local news, perhaps signaling the importance of local news compared to national and international news which have been reduced to fractions of their original content. It appears that Monserrate's prediction that the newspaper would add pages online that are not included in the print version has come to bear with the phrase "Lea todas las noticias en: www.laprensademn.com" [Read all the news on: www.lapensademn.com] that appears on the first page of the news section. Indeed, it seems that the webpage has recently been overhauled and now features sections

dedicated to local, national, and international news as well as a section dedicated to Latin America. Another notable change to the print version is that the news section is simply called La Prensa, implying that Gente de Minnesota has disappeared because the name does not appear anywhere in the publication.

Based on recent trends in print media, it is not surprising that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota has reduced its print version and enhanced its online offerings. The increasing presence of and relatively easy access to these digital media indicates that future studies of the representation of ideology in Spanish-language media will need to include new media. Of note is the fact that La Conexión Latina has not, at the time of completing this study, changed its format, indicating that is has not suffered the same economic difficulties that La Prensa/Gente de Minnesota experienced.

To close, the present study has advanced the fields of Spanish-language media in the United States, critical discourse studies, and multimodal social semiotics by offering one of the first studies to consider the verbal and visual representation of ideology in local Spanish-language print media. Moreoever, it constitutes a distinct application of Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to critical discourse analysis, as well as Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal social semiotic approach. By indicating the potential for local Spanish-language media to challenge the negative ideologies commonly represented in the English-language mass media, this study underscores the impact smaller media may have on changing oppressive discursive practices against a minoritized group in the United States.

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Appendix A

<u>1200 Personas Despedidas en Redada en Las Twin Cities: Original</u>

Minneapolis – Uno de los golpes más pesados para los indocumentados tuvo lugar la semana pasada aquí en las Twin Cities, cuando más de 1200 empleador [sic] de limpieza fueron despedidos.

Los trabajadores eran empelados [sic] de ABM una empresa basada en San Francisco quienes prestaban servicio a varios edificios en el Centro.

La administración de Obama ha dejado atrás las dramáticas redadas en los centros de trabajo de su predecesor Bush. La actual administration [sic] esta [sic] poniendo presión sobre los empleadores.

Uno de los indocumentados confiesa que ahora no sabe quehacer [sic] con sus tres hijos nacidos en Estados Unidos y su esposa también indocumentada.

Yo limpiaba los baños, carpetas, ventanas y hacia [sic] alrededor de $13 dólares la hora, comento [sic].

Hace un par de meses recibió una carta de su empleador notificándole que se requería ciertos documentos como Seguro Social, Tarjetas Verdes, Identificación del Estado o podrían ser despedidos.

Inmediatamente el miedo se apodero [sic] de todos en esperas que de un momento a otro las autoridades llegaran a sus centros de trabajo.

Pero a finales del mes de octubre el plazo para que los presentaran acabo [sic] y fueron despedidos.

La política migratorio no se encarga de perseguir a los indocumentados pero si [sic] de poner en claro que ya no pueden trabajar aquí.

1200 people fired in raid in Twin Cities: English translation

Minneapolis – One of the toughest things for undocumented workers took place last week here in the Twin Cities when more than 1200 janitors were fired.

The workers were employees of ABM, a company based in San Francisco that served various buildings in the Midwest.

The Obama administration has left behind the dramatic roundups in workplaces of his predecessor, Bush. The current administration is putting pressure on the employers.

One of the undocumented workers confesses that now he does not know what to do with his three children that were born in the United States, or with his wife who is also undocumented.

"I cleaned bathrooms, carpets, windows and made about $13 an hour," he commented.

A few months ago he received a letter from his employer notifying him that certain documents, like Social Security [card], Green Card or State ID, were necessary or he could be fired.

Immediately fear took over everyone as they waited for authorities to arrive at their workplace.

But, at the end of October, the period given to present the documents ended and they were fired.

Immigration policy is not in charge of rounding up undocumented workers but it is in charge of making it clear that they can no longer work here.

Celebran con éxito Día de México en Minnesota: Original

La promoción de negocios entre México y Minnesota la meta del evento con la presencia de importantes personalidades de la política y de los negocios, se realizó el pasado 29 de Octubre el primer Día de México Minnesota.

Promovido y organizado por el Consulado Mexicano en asociación con la Oficina de Negocios de Minnesota (MN Trade Office) y realizado en el campos del Corporativo Best Buy en Richfield MN, ofreció a los asistentes importante información acerca de la relación actual de negocios entre empresas de México y Minnesota, misma que producen actualmente negocios por cerca de 800 millones de dólares al año.

Para la apertura del evento se conto con la presencia de el Gobernador de Minnesota, el Sr. Tim Pawlenty, así como de una presentación en video de la Embajadora Patricia Espinosa, Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores de México, quien a nombre del Presidente Felipe Calderón agradeció la presencia de los asistentes, así como también felicito [sic] a los organizadores e invito [sic] a los empresarios de Minnesota a invertir en México e incrementar el intercambio entre las comunidades.

También ofrecieron algunas palabras de bienvenida por parte de Best Buy, los anfitriones del evento, Bob Willet, Director de Best Buy Internacional y Brian Dunn, CEO de Best Buy. Durante su estancia en el podio, el Sr. Willet presentó un video de la más reciente aventura empresarial de Best Buy, la apertura de sus tiendas en México, DF, explicando un poco de la experiencia y expectativas que este proyecto ha dejado en la compañía. La primera tienda de Best Buy en México es su segunda tienda más grande en todo el mundo. Próximamente estarán abriendo mas tiendas en la capital Mexicana así como en Guadalajara.

Durante el breve seminario que se extendió por 3 horas, y que fue encabezado por la Cónsul de México en St. Paul Ana Luisa Fajer y el señor Tonny Larusso de la MN Trade Office, se presentaron temas de relevancia para los empresarios interesados en trabajar o vender sus productos en México, algunos expositores que ya han tenido experiencia en esa área dieron también sus comentarios y consejos durante la sesión.

Para finalizar el evento, los participantes fueron invitados a pasar a un salón para la actividad final, "Taste of México", una presentación gastronómica de diferentes platillos mexicanos llevada a cabo por restauranteros de la localidad, tales como Many's [sic] Tortas, Taquería la Hacienda, Tamales La Loma, Salsa a la Salsa y otros.

Eventos como este, que difunden las relaciones comerciales entre Minnesota y México se seguirán realizando, con la esperanza de promover la inversión extranjera al sur de la frontera norteamericana y volver así al país azteca el primer socio comercial de este estado.

Mexico Day in Minnesota celebrated successfully: English translation

With the goal of promoting business between Mexico and Minnesota, and the presence of important political and business personalities , the first Mexico Day was realized last October 29.

Promoted and organized by the Mexican Consul, in association with MN Trade Office, and carried out at the Best Buy Corporate office in Richfield, MN, this event offered attendees important information about the current state of business between businesses in Mexico and Minnesota which currently generates around $800 million a year.

For the opening of the event, the Governor of Minnesota, Mr. Tim Pawlenty, was present, as well as a video of Ambassador Patricia Espinosa, Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who spoke in name of President Felipe Calderón in thanking the attendees and the organizers of the event. Calderón invited business owners in Minnesota to invest in Mexico and increase the exchange between these communities.

Bob Willet, Director of Best Buy International and Brian Dunn, CEO of Best Buy, also spoke at the event. Mr. Willet presented a video of the most recent business venture of Best Buy, the opening of a store in Mexico City, explaining the experience and expectations that this project has given the company. This store, the first of its kind in Mexico, is Best Buy's second largest in the world. More stores will open soon in Mexico's capital as well as in Guadalajara.

During the short seminar that lasted three hours and was headed by the Mexican Consul in St. Paul, Ana Luisa Fajer and Mr. Tonny Larusso of MN Trade Office presented related ideas for businesses interested in working or selling products in

Mexico. Businesses that have already had experience in this area also offered advice during the session.

To close the event, the participants were invited to take part in a "Taste of Mexico", a gastronomical presentation of different Mexican dishes created by local restaurants such as Manny's Tortas, Taquería la Hacienda, Tamales La Loma, Salsa a la Salsa and others.

Events such as this, which spread the word about commercial relations between Minnesota and Mexico, will continue to take place with the goal of promoting foreign investment south of the American border and of turning Mexico into Minnesota's number one business partner.

Appendix B

<u>Spoken Text of "Inglés Sin Barreras": Original and English Translation</u>

Frame 1:   Los hispanos tenemos fama de ser la mejor

                [We Hispanics have the fame of being the best]

Frame 2:   mano de obra

                [work force]

Frame 3:   del mundo

                [in the world]

Frame 4:   pero usted y yo sabemos que nuestra capacidad va mucho más allá del

                trabajo físico

                [but you (formal) and I know that our capacity goes far beyond physical

                labor]

Frame 5:   es hora de que reconozcan nuestra inteligencia

                [it's time that they recognize our intelligence]

Frame 6:   y nuestros valores

                [and our values]

Frame 7:   pero para lograrlo tenemos que hablar inglés sin barreras

                [but in order to achieve that we have to speak English without barriers]

Frame 8:   sólo así sabrán que vinimos aquí para sumar esfuerzos

                [only then will they know that we came here to join forces]

Frame 9:   imagínese cuánto más valdría su trabajo si usted hablara inglés sin

                barreras

                [imagine (formal) how much more your (formal) work would be worth if

                you (formal) spoke English without barriers]

Frame 10:   se lo paso el costo

                [I'll give it to you (formal) at face value]

Frame 11:   con Inglés Sin Barreras sí se puede

                [with English Without Barriers yes we can (voices of a crowd say "yes we

                can" with announcer)]

Frame 12:   y para comenzar el año ganando hoy puede elegir la forma de aprender
             que más le convenga
             [and to start the year off winning today you (formal) can choose the
             learning style that is most convenient to you (formal)]
Frame 13:   Inglés Sin Barreras Tradicional
             [Traditional English Without Barriers]
Frame 14:   Inglés Sin Barreras para llevar con un DVD portátil
             [English Without Barriers To-go with a portable DVD player]
Frame 15:   Inglés Sin Barreras integrado que incluye una laptop
             [Integrated English Without Barriers that includes a laptop]
Frame 16:   y el curso de Computación Sin Barreras
             [and the course Computers Without Barriers]
Frame 17:   Inglés Sin Barreras virtual
             [Virtual English Without Barriers]
Frame 18:   que ahora incluye una espectacular netbook ya lo sabe el que habla dos
             idiomas
             [that now includes a spectacular netbook you (formal) know he who
             speaks two languages]
Frame 19:   vale por dos
             [is worth two]

Appendix C

Multimodal Analysis of "Inglés Sin Barreras": Verbal and visual modes.

	Frame 1	Frame 2	Frame 3	Frame 4	Frame 5	Frame 6	Frame 7
Frame	**Frame 1**	**Frame 2**	**Frame 3**	**Frame 4**	**Frame 5**	**Frame 6**	**Frame 7**
Semiotic Resource:							
Verbal:							
Spoken	*Los hispanos tenemos la fama de ser la mejor*	*mano de obra*	*del mundo*	*pero usted y yo sabemos que nuestra capacidad va mucho más allá del trabajo físico*	*es hora de que reconozcan nuestra inteligencia*	*y nuestros valores*	*pero para lograrlo tenemos que hablar inglés sin barreras*
Written	"hispanos mejor mano de obra" "mano de obra del mundo"			"capacidad" "trabajo físico"	"e=mc^2" "inteligencia" "ideas"	"ética cultura valores"	"Inglés Sin Barreras"
Visual:							
Gaze	Viewer	Flexed bicep	Viewer	Viewer	Viewer, lightbulb	Viewer	Viewer
Size of frame	Close	Medium long	Long	Close	Medium long	Close	Medium Long
Camera angle (horizontal)	Frontal/involved	Oblique/detached	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved
Camera angle (vertical)	Eye level/equality	Low angle/represented participant power	Low angle/represented participant power	Eye level/equality	Low angle/represented participant power	Eye level/equality	Low angle/represented participant power

Left/Right placement	Expected	--	--	Expected	Unexpected	Unexpected	--

Multimodal Analysis of "Inglés Sin Barreras": Verbal and visual modes.

Frame	**Frame 8**	**Frame 9**	**Frame 10**	**Frame 11**	**Frame 12**	**Frame 13**
Semiotic Resource:						
Verbal:						
Spoken	*sólo así sabrán que vinimos aquí para sumar esfuerzos*	*imagínese cuánto más valdría su trabajo si usted hablara inglés sin barreras*	*se lo paso el costo*	*con Inglés Sin Barreras sí se puede*	*y para empezar el año ganando hoy puede elegir la forma de aprender que más le convenga*	*Inglés Sin Barreras Tradicional*
Written	"sumar" "esfuerzos"	"Inglés Sin Barreras"			"comience el año ganando"	"1. Tradicional"
Visual:						
Gaze	Viewer, plus sign	Viewer, "Inglés Sin Barreras"	Viewer	Crowd, viewer	Viewer	Viewer
Size of frame	Medium close	Close	Medium long	Long	Close	Medium close
Camera angle (horizontal)	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Frontal/involved	Oblique/detached
Camera angle (vertical)	Eye level/equality	Eye level/equality	Low angle/represented participant power	Low angle/represented participant power	Eye level/equality	High angle/viewer power

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Left/Right placement	Expected	Unexpected	--	--	--	Expected

Multimodal Analysis of "Inglés Sin Barreras": Verbal and visual modes.

Frame	**Frame 14**	**Frame 15**	**Frame 16**	**Frame 17**	**Frame 18**	**Frame 19**
Semiotic Resource:						
Verbal:						
Spoken	*Inglés Sin Barreras para llevar con un DVD portátil*	*Inglés Sin Barreras integrado que incluye una laptop*	*y el curso de Computación Sin Barreras*	*Inglés sin Barreras virtual*	*que ahora incluye una espectacular netbook ya lo sabe el que habla dos idiomas*	*vale por dos*
Written	"2. Para llevar"	"3. Integrado"	"3. Integrado"	"4. Virtual"	"4. Virtual"	
Visual:						
Gaze	Viewer	Viewer	Viewer	Viewer	Viewer	Viewer
Size of Frame	Medium close	Medium close	Medium close	Medium close	Close	Close
Camera angle (horizontal perspective)	Frontal/involved	Oblique/detached	Frontal/involved	Oblique/detached	Frontal/involved	Oblique/detached
Camera angle (vertical perspective)	High angle/viewer power	High angle/viewer power	High angle/viewer power	High angle/viewer power	High angle/viewer power	Eye level/equality
Left/Right Placement	Expected	Expected	Expected	Expected	Expected	--

Appendix D

<u>Articles (originals and English translations) and Images</u>

<u>Article A: Original</u>

3 diciembre, 2010

Marchan trabajadores de limpieza

Trabajadores de limpieza de tiendas marchan para exigir sueldos y condiciones justas en el trabajo. Se anunció Supervalu como el blanco principal de la campaña para justicia en limpieza de tiendas

Minneapolis, MN – En los últimos diez años, tiendas han acumulado poder sobre los contratistas de limpieza que resulta en una competencia enorme entre compañías bajando los precios de los contratos. Por lo tanto, los sueldos de trabajadores de limpieza han bajado por casi $4 por hora. Esta estrategia corporativa ha resultado en un aumento del peso de trabajo a casi el doble para trabajadores. El sábado 6 de noviembre más de 300 trabajadores y aliados marcharon por la ruta de 3 millas en la Lake St. Con paradas en Lunds, Supervalu, Cub Foods, y Target para exigir sueldos y condiciones de trabajo justas para los que limpian las tiendas.

Al final de la marcha, trabajadores, líderes de fe y oficiales elegidos se reunieron para anunciar Supervalu como la prioridad principal para poner un alto a las violaciones de derechos humanos.

Veronica [sic] Mendez [sic], organizadora con el Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha (CTUL) – la organización que organizo [sic] la marcha el sábado – dijo: "corporaciones son los responsables por poner a las compañías de limpieza en competencia que resulta en un rebajo de sueldos y aumento de peso de trabajo. La única forma de parar esto es si las cadenas de tiendas se reúnen con trabajadores para establecer estándares justos. Estas condiciones pésimas de trabajo afectan a todos en nuestras comunidades. Hoy, nos levantamos juntos para exigir que Supervalu tome el paso de establecer un código de conducto justa para trabajadores de limpieza en sus tiendas."

El 25 de abril, trabajadores de limpieza en tiendas de CTUL mandaron una carta a cadenas de tiendas incluyendo a Target, Supervalu y Lunds & Byerly's, informándoles sobre las violaciones serias de derechos humanos en la limpieza de sus tiendas. En esta carta y en muchas otras comunicaciones, trabajadores y aliados pidieron una reunión con las compañías para discutir maneras de parar estos abusos. Los intentos fueron rechazados.

Los abusos que enfrentan trabajadores de limpieza aquí en las Twin Cities están pasando a nivel nacional. Trabajadores marcharon el sábado para exigir que todo trabajador en Minnesota sea tratado de una forma justa, y para buscar justicia para trabajadores de limpieza de tiendas en cualquier lugar adonde se enfrentan abusos de derechos humanos.

- En Julio [sic] de 2010 una red de esclavitud fue descubierta en limpieza de tiendas en el Noreste, involucrando a trabajadores que limpiaban Target, Kmart, Wal-Mart, Safeway y otras tiendas

- En un acuerdo en la corte en Maryland en 2009, trabajadores de limpieza en tiendas recuperaron casi $3.8 millones en compensación por violaciones de la Acta de Estándares Laborales Justas por sus empleadores

- En 2007 el Departamento Laboral de los Estados Unidos llevo [sic] una investigación sobre la falta de pagar sueldos de overtime a trabajadores de limpieza basados en Minnesota. El Departamento de Labor encontró 106 violaciones de un total de más de $25,000 en sueldos no pagados. Según un investigador del departamento, parecía que la compañía, a propósito, se atraso [sic] en responder a la investigación para poder declararse en la bancarota [sic] para no pagar a los trabajadores.

Mario Colloly, un trabajador de limpieza dice: "Hace muchos años en la tienda donde limpio, algunos trabajadores ganaban hasta $11 o $12 por hora. Ahora, la fuerza laboral se ha reducido, nuestro peso de trabajo es casi el doble y muchos trabajadores de limpieza ganan el sueldo mínimo con las justas. Pero, no es solo con nosotros, este problema está pasando a través de toda la industria…Si no hacemos algo ahora, estamos yendo a cien por hora hacia violaciones trágicas." CTUL es una organización basada en las Twin

Cities adonde [sic] trabajadores construyen poder para dirigir la lucha por sueldos y condiciones justas, respeto básico y una voz en el trabajo.

"Después de muchos meses de silencio de las tiendas, aliados están planeando una seria de acciones en diferentes tiendas para empezar a preguntar a los clientes de Cub Foods que piensan [sic] de las violaciones de derechos humanos que ocurren en la limpieza de las tiendas. El día 24 de Noviembre [sic], el día antes del día de acción de gracias, muchos diferentes grupos y organizaciones de la comunidad tomaran [sic] acción en solidaridad con CTUL."

CTUL es una organización basada en las Twin Cities adonde [sic] trabajadores construyen poder para dirigir la lucha por sueldos y condiciones justas, respeto básico y una voz en el trabajo.

Article A: English translation

Janitors march

Janitors of stores march to demand fair salaries and conditions in the workplace. Supervalu is announced as the main target of the campaign for justice for janitors

Minneapolis, MN – In the past ten years, stores have accumulated power over janitors' contractors that results in enormous competition between companies and the lowering of contract prices. For this reason, janitors' salaries have decreased by almost $4 an hour. This corporate strategy has resulted in an increase in workload to nearly double for workers. On Saturday, November 6, more than 300 workers and allies marched a three-mile route on Lake Street with stops at Lunds, Cub Foods and Target to demand fair salaries and work conditions for janitors.

At the end of the march, workers, leaders of the religious community and elected officials came together to announce Supervalu as the principal priority to put an end to the violation of human rights.

Veronica Mendez, organizer with the Center for the Fight of United Workers (CTUL) – the organization that organized the march on Saturday – said: "Corporations are responsible for placing cleaning companies in a competition that results in the

decrease of salaries and the increase in workload. The only way to stop this is if the chains of stores get together to establish fair standards. These terrible work conditions affect everyone in our community. Today, we rise up together to demand that Supervalu take the steps to establish a fair conduct code for janitors in their stores."

On April 25, janitors in CTUL stores sent a letter to store chains, including Target, Supervalu, and Lunds and Byerly's, informing them about the serious violations of human rights in the cleaning of their stores. In this letter and in many other communications, workers and allies asked for a meeting with the companies to discuss ways to stop these abuses. The attempts were rejected.

The abuses that janitors face here in the Twin Cities are happening at a national level. Workers marched on Saturday to demand that all workers in Minnesota be treated in a fair manner, and to look for justice for janitors in any place where they face abuses of human rights.

- In July 2010, a janitor slavery network was found in the Northeast, involving workers who cleaned Target, K-mart, Wal-Mart, Safeway and other stores
- According to Maryland courts, in 2009, janitors of stores won nearly $3.8 million in compensation for violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act by their employers
- In 2007 the United States Department of Labor carried out an investigation about failing to pay Minnesota-based janitors overtime. The Department of Labor found 106 violations totaling $25,000 in unpaid salaries. According to the department investigator, it appeared that the company was slow to respond to the investigation on purpose so that it could declare bankruptcy and not pay the workers.

Mario Colloly, a janitor, says: "Many years ago in the store where I clean, some workers made up to $11 or $12 an hour. Now, the labor force has been reduced and our workload is nearly double, and many janitors make minimum wage with benefits. But, this problem that is happening across the whole industry is not our only problem…If we don't do something now, we are going full speed toward tragic violations."

"After many months of silence in stores, allies are planning a series of actions in different stores to start asking Cub Foods clients [what they think/to think] about the

violations of human rights that occur in the cleaning of the stores. The 24th of November, the day before Thanksgiving, many different groups and organizations in the community will take action in solidarity with CTUL.

CTUL is an organization based in the Twin Cities where workers construct power to direct the fight for fair salaries and conditions, basic respect, and a voice in the workplace.

Article B: Original

17 diciembre, 2010

La campaña No más deportaciones lanza mensaje

Minneapolis, MN – El 19 de Diciembre [sic] activistas de la campaña No Más Deportaciones llevaron un mensaje al New York Plaza, un mercado que se ubica en calle Lake. Una vez ahí, los activistas hablaron a la gente que compraba sus verduras, y tambien [sic] recogieron decenas de firmas para una petición que consiste en parar las deportaciones en el Condado de Hennepin.

La campaña No Mas [sic] Deportaciones es un esfuerzo de voluntarios que tiene como objetivo el parar las deportaciones en Condado Hennepin. Actualmente se están organizando foros informativos y actividades educativas tales como estas para explicar los derechos de los inmigrantes e invitarles a unirse a la lucha cuya misión es parar las deportaciones que actualmente se están dando y que son las culpables de que se estén separando a nuestras familias y a nuestras comunidades.

Muchos compradores de verduras se detenían para escuchar a los activistas hablar sobre esta campaña llamada No Mas [sic] Deportaciones. La campaña tiene como enfoque prevenir que las cárceles en Condado Hennepin cooperen con La Migra a través del llamado Programa de Criminales Extranjeros (CAP por sus siglas en ingles [sic]). Esta campaña también tiene como enfoque bloquear el programa Comunidades Seguras (Secure Communities) para que no sea implementado en Condado Hennepin.

Article B: English translation

The No More Deportations campaign launches message

Minneapolis, MN – On December 19, activists from the No More Deportations campaign brought a message to New York Plaza, a market located on Lake Street. While there, the activists spoke with people buying vegetables; the activists also collected several signatures for a petition that consists in stopping deportations in Hennepin County.

The No More Deportations campaign is an effort by volunteers whose objective is to stop deportations in Hennepin County. Currently, informational meetings and educational activities, for example to explain immigrant rights, are being organized. [Unclear] are invited to join the fight whose mission is to stop the deportations that are currently occurring which are the reason our families and our communities are being separated.

Many shoppers stopped to listen to the activists speak about the No More Deportations campaign. The campaign has as its focus preventing Hennepin County jails from cooperating with Migration through the Criminal Alien Program (CAP). This campaign also has as its focus blocking the Secure Communities program so that it cannot be implemented in Hennepin County.

17 diciembre, 2010

Protesta

Trabajadores Latinos protestaron el miércoles sus despedidos de Chipotle Mexican Grills

Por: SBJ

 Minneapolis MN. – Usando carteles y gritos en español varios ex-empleados del restaurant [sic] Chipotle llegaron a una de las sucursales ubicado [sic] en el centro de Minneapolis el día miércoles 22 de diciembre, para realizar la protesta de despidos injustos por parte de dicha empresa. "No hemos recibido todos nuestros salarios, bonos y vacaciones decía," [sic] un trabajador que no quiso ser identificado.

 La protesta fue parte de una campaña apoyada por el Comité de Acción de Derechos de los Inmigrantes, el Service Employees International, Union Local 26 y el Centro de Trabajadores en Lucha. Los grupos estiman que más de 100 trabajadores fueron despedidos a través de Minnesota en diciembre de varios restaurantes Chipotle. Hay 50 tiendas en Minnesota y cerca de 1.200 trabajadores. Los despidos son el resultado de una auditoría por parte de EE.UU. de Inmigración y Aduanas. Con sede en Denver Chipotle dijo el miércoles que los representantes de la cadena de tiendas de 1000 se reunirían con los trabajadores en enero.

 "Nos entristece perder algunos excelentes empleados – muchos de los cuales han estado con nosotros desde hace varios años – y todo esto viene en respuesta a una solicitud de documentos formuladas por funcionarios de Inmigración y Aduanas en Minnesota," dijo la compañía en un [sic] declaración.

Article C: English translation

Protest

Latino workers protested Wednesday their firing from Chipotle Mexican Grills

By: SBJ

Minneapolis MN. – Using signs and shouts in Spanish various ex-employees of Chipotle arrived at a restaurant located in central Minneapolis on Wendesday, December 22 to carry out a protest against the unfair firing by this company. "We have not received all of our salaries, bonuses and vacation days," said a worker who did not want to be identified.

The protest was part of a campaign supported by the Action Committee for Immigrant Rights, Service Employees International, Union Local 26 and the Center for Workers United in Struggle. These groups estimate that more than 100 workers were fired throughout Minnesota in December from various Chipotle restaurants. There are 50 restaurants in Minneosta and close to 1,200 workers. The firings are the result of an audito by United States Immigration and Customs. With its headquarters in Denver, Chipotle said Wendesday that representatives of the chain of 1,000 locations would meet with the workers in January.

"It saddens us to lose some excellent employees – many of whom have been with us for many years – and all of this comes in response to a request for documents formulated by Minnesots Immigration and Custons," said the company in a statement.

21 enero, 2011

Los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan afuera de una de las tiendas en Edina

Por: Marco Dávila

El Sábado [sic], 15 Día [sic] Sábado [sic], 15 de enero las y los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle llevaron a cabo una protesta en Edina. En esta protesta fueron apoyados por cuatro diferentes sectores, [sic] trabajadores de limpieza, CTUL, SEIU y MIRAc. La acción dio inicio alrededor de la una de la tarde. Un total de cien ex-trabajadores y aliados llegaron a las afueras del Restaurante Chipotle en tres buses. Se comenzó un piqueteo con pancartas y consignas que iban dirigidas a la directiva de dicho restaurante para que no se haga de la vista gorda y haga justicia a los más de setecientos trabajadores despedidos en Minnesota.

El manager del restaurante al ver tanta gente, vino y se dirigió hacia los protestantes y trato [sic] de negociar para que hicieran la protesta en otra parte. Uno de los ex-trabajadores, le explico [sic] al manager las razones por las que ellos estaban ahí y dijo que ahí permanecerían protestando hasta que llegara un representante de la cadena.

Después de unos minutos de lanzar consignas, llegó dicho representante que al momento recibió por parte del grupo organizador una hoja con las demandas, y fue así como prometió pasar el mensaje a sus superiores.

Todo transcurrió pacíficamente y los ex-trabajadores junto con los aliados dieron un golpe más a la directiva de Chipotle que aunque aún no ha aceptado tomar acción respecto a todas las demandas, ya comienzan a sentir la presión de estos trabajadores quienes fueron despedidos a finales del 2010.

Estos trabajadores no están dispuestos a claudicar, cada vez están más fuertes y cada vez están mejor concientizados y organizados.

Chipotle ex-employees protest outside of an Edina store

By: Marco Dávila

On Saturday, January 15 Chipotle ex-employees carried out a protest in Edina. In this protest they were supported by four different sectors: janitors, CTUL, SEIU and MIRAc.

The action began around one o'clock in the afternoon. A total of 100 ex-employees and allies arrived near Chipotle in three buses. The picketing began with banners and signs that were directed at the board of directors of the restaurant so that the 700 fired workers in Minnesota were not ignored and so that justice was served in their case.

Upon seeing so many people, the manager of the restaurant arrived and spoke to the protesters and tried to negotiate moving the protest to another location. One of the ex-employees explained to the manager the reasons that they were there and said they would continue protesting there until a representative of the chain arrived.

After a few minutes of picketing, a representative arrived and immediately received from the group organizer a document with the group's demands. The representative promised to pass the message on to his superiors.

Everything occurred peacefully and the ex-employees, along with their allies, exacted one more blow to the board of directors of Chipotle that, although it has not

taken action with respect to all of the demands, has already begun to feel pressure from the workers who were fired at the end of 2010.

These workers are not willing to give in. They are getting stronger and are becoming more aware and organized.

<u>Article E: Original</u>

1 junio, 2011

Alto a la [sic] Represiones FBI

La demostración en Minneapolis y otras ciudades alrededor del país

Minneapolis, MN – Mas [sic] de 50 personas protestaron enfrente del edificio del FBI en Minneapolis, para demandar que los cargos en contra de Carlos Montes un Activista que lucha por los derechos de Los Inmigrantes en California sean removidos inmediatamente. Los organizadores de la Protesta denunciaron el rápido crecimiento de los ataques del FBI y otras agencias policiales en contra de activistas del movimiento contra la guerra, como también de activistas que luchan por los derechos de los Inmigrantes.

Tom Burke, Miembro del comité nacional Alto a la [sic] Represiones FBI, dio un mensaje claro "Esta protesta es parte de un día de acción nacional que está teniendo lugar en 19 Ciudades de los Estados Unidos."

La demostración en Minneapolis y otras ciudades alrededor del país fueron para mandar un mensaje claro que el activista Carlos Montes no es ningún criminal y que paren los acosos que la administración de Obama está llevando a cabo en contra de activistas y luchadores sociales. Carlos Montes es un veterano activista del movimiento chicano y [sic] Inmigrante que ha luchado desde los 70's [sic] por la comunidad inmigrante.

Stop FBI Repressions

Demonstration in Minneapolis and other cities around the country

Minneapolis, MN – More than 50 people protested in front of the FBI building in Minneapolis to demand that the charges against Carlos Montes, an activist who is fighting for the rights of immigrants in California, are removed immediately. The organizers of the protest denounced the rapid growth of attacks by the FBI and other policy agencies against activists in the anti-war movement, as well as activists who are fighting for immigrant rights.

Tom Burke, member of the national committee Stop FBI Repression, gave a clear message, "This protest is part of a national day of action that is taking place in 19 cities in the United States."

The demonstration in Minneapolis and other cities around the country were to send a clear message that the activist Carlos Montes is not a criminal and that harassment against activists that the Obama administration is carrying out stop. Carlos Montes is a

veteran activist of the Chicano movement and is an immigrant who has fought since the 1970's for the immigrant community.

Article F: Original

3 junio, 2011
Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre indefinida [sic]
Senadora estatal, Patricia Torres Ray expresa apoyo; Pastor se une en huelga
Por Verónica Méndez

El viernes 20 de Mayo [sic], un grupo de nueve trabajadores y aliados, unidos por la organización de derechos laborales, CTUL, anunciaron una huelga de hambre sin límite para mejorar los sueldos y condiciones laborales de los trabajadores que limpian Cub Foods y otras tiendas en las Ciudades Gemelas. El sábado 21 de mayo, a las 12:15 pm, un grupo de más de cien trabajadores y aliados se reunieron para apoyar la huelga de hambre y protesta en la tienda de Cub Foods en la Lake y Minnehaha, adonde [sic] huelguistas han creado un campamento.

"Cada noche trabajamos en tiendas rodados de comida, pero muchas veces no podemos poner comida en nuestras propias mesas para alimentar a nuestras familias. Yo decidí ser un huelguista para llevar a la luz las injusticias que enfrentamos todos los días limpiando en Cub Foods, y para hacer le [sic] el llamado a Cub Foods que se reúnan con nosotros," dijo Mario Colloly Torres, ex-trabajador de limpieza quien fue despido [sic] de su trabajo después de que empezaron protestas en contra de Cub.

Por más de un año, CTUL ha intentado dialogar con representantes de Cub Foods, incluyendo mandando [sic] casi 200 firmas de trabajadores de limpieza a los representantes de la tienda. Trabajadores de limpieza le han pedido a Cub Foods que negocie un código de conducta asegurando sueldos y condiciones justas para los trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas. Cub Foods ha ignorado estas peticiones. En un incidente, protestantes pacíficos y otros clientes se les echó spray pimienta el [sic] seguridad en Cub. Silbia García Roque, trabajadora de limpieza dijo, "este problema está

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pasando a través de la industria. Le estamos haciendo el llamado a Cub Foods para ser un líder en cambiando [sic] este problema."

Hace diez años, muchos trabajadores que limpiaban Cub Foods ganaban hasta $10-$11 por hora. Ahora, la mayoría de trabajadores ganan más o menos $7.50 la hora, y el peso de trabajo es el doble.

"La petición de los trabajadores es justa y sencilla. La gente decide ayunar para fortalecer sus propios principios que cada persona esta [sic] creada en la imagen de Dios. Las políticas de Cub, no cumplen con estos principios," dijo el Pastor Grant Stevenson, Pastor de Spirit of Truther [sic] Lutheran Church en St. Paul, quien se ha unido a la huelga.

La Senadora de Minnesota, Patricia Torres Ray, también expresó preocupación sobre la situación. "De un lado, Cub crea una imagen positiva dando donaciones a almacenes de comida y otras organizaciones. Por el otro, están creando una situación en la cual trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas muchas veces son los mismos que usan estos servicios. Esto no es aceptable. Cub Foods tiene que tomar la responsabilidad de asegurar que trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas tienen sueldos y condiciones justas."

Article F: English translation

Janitors and allies launch unlimited hunger strike
State senator Patricia Torres Ray expresses support; Pastor unites in the strike
By Verónica Méndez

On Friday, May 20th, a group of nine workers and allies, united by the workers' rights organization, CTUL, announced an unlimited hunger strike to improve salaries and working conditions for janitors in Cub Foods and other stores in the Twin Cities. On Saturday, May 21, at 12:15 p.m., a group of more than 100 workers and allies united to support the hunger strike and to protest in the Cub Foods store on Lake Street and Minnehaha, where the strikers have created a camp.

"Each shift we work surrounded by food, but many times we cannot put food on our own tables to feed our own families. I decided to become a striker to throw light on

the injustices that we deal with every day cleaning Cub Foods, and to make the call to Cub Foods that they join forces with us," said Mario Colloly Torres, an ex-janitor who was fired from his job after the protests against Cub began.

For more than a year, CTUL has tried to converse with representatives of Cub Foods, including sending nearly 200 signatures of janitors to representatives of the store. Janitors have asked Cub Foods to negotiate a code of conduct assuring fair salaries and working conditions for janitors in their stores. Cub Foods has ignored these petitions. In one incident, Cub Foods security sprayed pepper spray on peaceful protesters and other clients. Silbia García Roque, janitor, said, "This problem is happened throughout the industry. We are calling upon Cub Foods to be a leader in changing this problem."

Ten years ago, many workers who cleaned Cub Foods earned up to $10-$11 an hour. Now, the majority of workers earn $7.50 an hour, and the workload has doubled.

"The workers' petition is fair and simple. People have decided to fast to strengthen their own principles that each person is created in the image of God. The policies of Cub do not uphold these principles," said Pastor Grant Stevenson, pastor of Spirit of Truth Lutheran Church in St. Paul, who has joined the strike.

The senator of Minnesota, Patricia Torres Ray, also expressed concern about the situation. "On the one hand, Cub creates a positive image by donating to food shelves and other organizations. On the other, it is creating a situation in which workers who clean their stores many times are the very people who use these services. This is unacceptable. Cub Foods must take responsibility to ensure that its janitors have fair salaries and working conditions."

Article G: Original

6-12 agosto, 2010
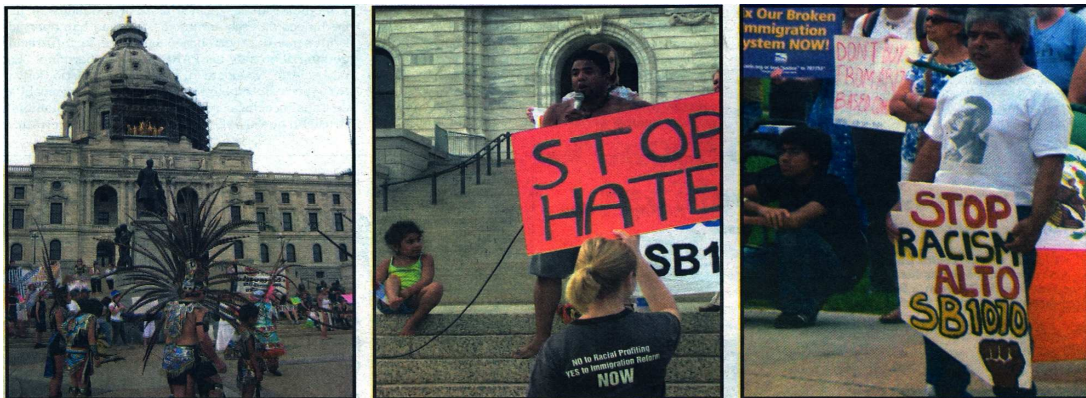Minnesota protesta contra SB 1070
Nota y fotos: Laura Cecilia Rodríguez González

El pasado jueves 29 de julio, el día que entro [sic] en vigor la ley anti inmigrante SB-1070 en Arizona, se llevó a cabo una manifestación en el Capitolio de Minnesota en

Saint Paul, donde cientos de personas se unieron en esta protesta que tuvo como objetivo mantener la presión sobre la derogación total de la SB1070, y para la derogación del programa federal 287g que permite a la policía local para [sic] llevar a cabo las leyes de inmigración.

La protesta de Saint Paul sirvió para enviar un fuerte mensaje a los legisladores de Minnesota contra proyecto de ley SB1070 que se pretende imitar en Minnesota con la HF3830. La protesta fue organizada por el Derechos de los Inmigrantes de Minnesota Comité de Acción (MIRAc) y el Boicot Arizona Minnesota (BAM) y en ella participaron oradores como Javier Morrillo, Pham Anh, Marco Dávila y Ana Vázquez. Los oradores al hacer uso de la palabra hablaron sobre el racismo y la opresión nacional en contra de los chicanos y mexicanos, especialmente en Arizona, estado que se ha caracterizado por el racismo extremo, ya que en la década de los 80's [sic] fue el último estado en la nación en firmar para honrar la memoria de Martin Luther King con un día feriado.

En esta protesta aparte de los oradores se contó con números artísticos, en especial con los Danzantes Aztecas.

Article G: English translation

Minnesota protests against SB 1070

Caption and photos: Laura Cecilia Rodríguez González

Last Thursday, July 29, when the anti-immigrant law, SB-1070, took effect, a protest took place at Minnesota's capitol in St. Paul. Hundreds of people joined together

in this protest whose objective was to mantain opposition against the total derogation of SB-1070 and the federal program 287g that permits local police to carry out immigration laws.

The protest in St. Paul served as a strong message to Minnesota legislators against the project that SB-1070 hopes to imitate in Minnesota with HF3830. The protest was organized by the Action Committee for Immigrant Rights in Minnesota (MIRAc) and the Boycott Arizona Minnesota group. Also, speakers like Javier Morillo, Pham Anh, Marco Dávila and Ana Vázquez participated. They spoke about racism and oppression against Chicanos and Mexicans, especially in Arizona, a state which has been characterized by extreme racism, given that in the 1980's it was the last state in the nation to sign a bill to honor the memory of Martin Luther King [sic] and make the day a national holiday.

Besides the speakers who were present at the protest, there were also musical numbers and a special number by the Aztec Dancers.

Article H: Original

19-25 noviembre, 2010
Trabajadores de limpieza realizan marcha
Los trabajadores exigen sueldos y condiciones justas en el trabajo.

En los últimos diez años, tiendas han acumulado poder sobre los contratistas de limpieza que resulta en una competencia enorme entre compañías bajando los precios de los contratos. Por lo tanto, los sueldos de trabajadores de limpieza han bajado por casi $4 por hora. Esta estrategia corporativa ha resultado en un aumento del peso de trabajo a casi el doble para trabajadores. El sábado 6 de noviembre más de 300 trabajadores y aliados marcharon por la ruta de 3 millas en la Lake St. con paradas en Lunds, Supervalu, Cub Foods, y Target para exigir sueldos y condiciones de trabajo justas para los que limpian las tiendas.

Al final de la marcha, trabajadores, líderes de fe y oficiales elegidos se reunieron para anunciar Supervalu como la prioridad principal para poner un alto a las violaciones de derechos humanos.

Veronica [sic] Mendez [sic], organizadora con el Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha (CTUL) – la organización que organizo [sic] la marcha el sábado – dijo: "corporaciones son los responsables por poner a las compañías de limpieza en competencia que resulta en un rebajo de sueldos y aumento de peso de trabajo. La única forma de parar esto es si las cadenas de tiendas se reúnen con trabajadores para establecer estándares justos. Estas condiciones pésimas de trabajo afectan a todos en nuestras comunidades. Hoy, nos levantamos juntos para exigir que Supervalu tome el paso de establecer un código de conducto justa para trabajadores de limpieza en sus tiendas."

El 25 de abril, trabajadores de limpieza en tiendas de CTUL mandaron una carta a cadenas de tiendas incluyendo a Target, Supervalu y Lunds & Bylerly's, informándoles sobre las violaciones serias de derechos humanos en la limpieza de sus tiendas. En esta carta y en muchas otras comunicaciones, trabajadores y aliados pidieron una reunión con las compañías para discutir maneras de parar estos abusos. Los intentos fueron rechazados.

Los abusos que enfrentan trabajadores de limpieza aquí en las Twin Cities están pasando a nivel nacional. Trabajadores marcharon el sábado para exigir que todo trabajador en Minnesota sea tratado de una forma justa, y para buscar justicia para trabajadores de limpieza de tiendas en cualquier lugar adonde se enfrentan abusos de derechos humanos.

- En Julio [sic] de 2010 una red de esclavitud fue descubierta en limpieza de tiendas en el Noreste, involucrando a trabajadores que limpiaban Target, Kmart, Wal-Mart, Safeway y otras tiendas
- En un acuerdo en la corte en Maryland en 2009, trabajadores de limpieza en tiendas recuperaron casi $3.8 millones en compensación por violaciones de la Acta de Estándares Laborales Justas por sus empleadores
- En 2007 el Departamento Laboral de los Estados Unidos llevo [sic] una investigación sobre la falta de pagar sueldos de overtime a trabajadores de limpieza basados en Minnesota. El Departamento de Labor encontró 106 violaciones de un total de más de $25,000 en sueldos no pagados. Según un investigador del departamento, parecía que la compañía, a propósito, se atraso

[sic] en responder a la investigación para poder declararse en la bancarota [sic] para no pagar a los trabajadores.

Mario Colloly, un trabajador de limpieza dice: "Hace muchos años en la tienda donde limpio, algunos trabajadores ganaban hasta $11 o $12 por hora. Ahora, la fuerza laboral se ha reducido, nuestro peso de trabajo es casi el doble y muchos trabajadores de limpieza ganan el sueldo mínimo con las justas. Pero, no es solo con nosotros, este problema está pasando a través de toda la industria…Si no hacemos algo ahora, estamos yendo a cien por hora hacia violaciones trágicas." CTUL es una organización basada en las Twin Cities adonde [sic] trabajadores construyen poder para dirigir la lucha por sueldos y condiciones justas, respeto básico y una voz en el trabajo.

Article H: English translation

Janitors carry out march

Janitors demand fair salaries and working conditions.

In the past ten years, stores have accumulated power over janitors' contractors that results in enormous competition between companies and the lowering of contract prices. For this reason, janitors' salaries have decreased by almost $4 an hour. This corporate strategy has resulted in an increase in workload to nearly double for workers. On Saturday, November 6, more than 300 workers and allies marched a three-mile route on Lake Street with stops at Lunds, Cub Foods and Target to demand fair salaries and work conditions for janitors.

At the end of the march, workers, leaders of the religious community and elected officials came together to announce Supervalu as the principal priority to put an end to the violation of human rights.

Veronica Mendez, organizer with the Center for the Fight of United Workers (CTUL) – the organization that organized the march on Saturday – said: "Corporations are responsible for placing cleaning companies in a competition that results in the decrease of salaries and the increase in workload. The only way to stop this is if the chains of stores get together to establish fair standards. These terrible work conditions

affect everyone in our community. Today, we rise up together to demand that Supervalu take the steps to establish a fair conduct code for janitors in their stores."

On April 25, janitors in CTUL stores sent a letter to store chains, including Target, Supervalu, and Lunds and Byerly's, informing them about the serious violations of human rights in the cleaning of their stores. In this letter and in many other communications, workers and allies asked for a meeting with the companies to discuss ways to stop these abuses. The attempts were rejected.

The abuses that janitors face here in the Twin Cities are happening at a national level. Workers marched on Saturday to demand that all workers in Minnesota be treated in a fair manner, and to look for justice for janitors in any place where they face abuses of human rights.

- In July 2010, a janitor slavery network was found in the Northeast, involving workers who cleaned Target, K-mart, Wal-Mart, Safeway and other stores
- According to Maryland courts, in 2009, janitors of stores won nearly $3.8 million in compensation for violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act by their employers
- In 2007 the United States Department of Labor carried out an investigation about failing to pay Minnesota-based janitors overtime. The Department of Labor found 106 violations totaling $25,000 in unpaid salaries. According to the department investigator, it appeared that the company was slow to respond to the investigation on purpose so that it could declare bankruptcy and not pay the workers.

Mario Colloly, a janitor, says: "Many years ago in the store where I clean, some workers made up to $11 or $12 an hour. Now, the labor force has been reduced and our workload is nearly double, and many janitors make minimum wage with benefits. But, this problem that is happening across the whole industry is not our only problem…If we don't do something now, we are going full speed toward tragic violations."

"After many months of silence in stores, allies are planning a series of actions in different stores to start asking Cub Foods clients [what they think/to think] about the violations of human rights that occur in the cleaning of the stores. The 24th of November,

the day before Thanksgiving, many different groups and organizations in the community will take action in solidarity with CTUL.

CTUL is an organization based in the Twin Cities where workers construct power to direct the fight for fair salaries and conditions, basic respect, and a voice in the workplace.

Article I: Original

21-27 enero, 2011
Ex-trabajadores de Chipotle protestan en una sucursal de Edina
En esta protesta fueron apoyados por cuatro diferentes sectores, trabajadores de limpieza, CTUL, SEIU y MIRAc
Por Marco Dávila

El sábado 15 de enero los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle llevaron a cabo una protesta en Edina. En esta protesta fueron apoyados por cuatro diferentes sectores, trabajadores de limpieza, CTUL, SEIU y MIRAc.

La acción dio inicio alrededor de la una de la tarde. Un total de cien ex-trabajadores y aliados llegaron a las afueras del Restaurante Chipotle en tres buses. Se comenzó un piqueteo con pancartas y consignas que iban dirigidas a la directiva de dicho restaurante para que no se haga de la vista gorda y haga justicia a los más de setecientos trabajadores despedidos en Minnesota.

El manager del restaurante al ver tanta gente, vino y se dirigió hacia los protestantes y trato [sic] de negociar para que hicieran la protesta en otra parte. Uno de los ex-trabajadores, le explico [sic] al manager las razones por las que ellos estaban ahí y dijo que ahí permanecerían protestando hasta que llegara un representante de la cadena. Después de unos minutos de lanzar consignas, llegó dicho representante que al momento recibió por parte del grupo organizador una hoja con las demandas, y fue así como prometió pasar el mensaje a sus superiores.

Todo transcurrió pacíficamente y los ex-trabajadores junto con los aliados dieron un golpe más a la directiva de Chipotle que aunque aún no ha aceptado tomar acción

respecto a todas las demandas, ya comienzan a sentir la presión de estos trabajadores quienes fueron despedidos a finales del 2010. Estos trabajadores no están dispuestos a claudicar, cada vez están más fuertes y cada vez están mejor concientizados y organizados.

<u>Article I: English translation</u>

Ex Chipotle employees protest in an Edina restaurant
In this protest they were supported by four different sectors: janitors, CTUL, SEIU, and MIRAc
By Marco Dávila

On Saturday, January 15 ex-employees of Chipotle carried out a protest in Edina. In this protest they were supported by four different sectors: janitors, CTUL, SEIU, and MIRAc

The action began around one o-clock in the afternoon. A total of 100 ex-employees and allies arrived outside of Chipotle in three buses. Picketing began with banners and slogans that were directed at Chipotle so that this is not overlooked and so that justice is served to the more than 700 workers fired in Minnesota.

The restaurant's manager, upon seeing so many people, arrived and spoked to the protesters and tried to negotiate that they protest in another place. One of the ex-employees explained to the manager the reasons why they were there and said they would remain there protesting until a representative of the chain arrived. After a few minutes of

(lanzar consignas), the aforementioned representative arrived to receive on behalf o fhte organizing group a list of demands, and, from this, he promised to pass the message to his superiors.

Everything transpired peacefully and the ex-employees, along with their allies, gave another blow to Chipotle executives who, although they have not agreed to take action with respect to the demands, have already begun to feel pressure from these workers who were fired at the end of 2010. These workers are not willing to give up, they are stronger and better informed and organized with each passing day.

Article J: Original

4-10 febrero, 2011
Preparan marcha de inmigrantes para primero de mayo.
"Demócratas y Republicanos no están a favor de nuestra comunidad Inmigrante y por eso este Primero de Mayo [sic] salgamos a las calles y demandemos una legalización incondicional para todos": MIRAc
Por Cristian Villaruel

En este frío mes de Febrero [sic] el movimiento inmigrante de Minnesota le comienza a dar calor al ir dando los primeros pasos para la preparación de nuestra marcha por los derechos de los trabajadores Inmigrantes para el Domingo 1ero de Mayo.

Como nos hemos dado cuenta, ya sea que los políticos se definan como Republicanos o Demócratas al final queda claro que están cortados con la misma tijera, por un lado los Republicanos continúan con su hostilidad en contra de nuestra gente inmigrante, ellos lo han demostrado, cabe recordar lo que sucede en Arizona con las leyes anti-inmigrantes, la persecución hacia la apariencia Latinoamericana [sic] por parte del Sheriff Joe Arpaio y la prohibición de estudiar en los establecimientos educacionales de Arizona la historia de Inmigrantes Latinos [sic] y de esta forma se niega su enorme aporte a la cultura de este país. Por el otro lado los Demócratas con sus promesas incumplidas nos han dado la espalda y también a nuestros aliados, ha quedado claro en las intervenciones en que el presidente Obama sea referido sobre la situación de los

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Inmigrantes [sic] en este país y el dando como solución para la inmigración el mayor control en las fronteras, además de las represiones en contra de los trabajadores indocumentados al ir aumentando las auditorias de documentación en los trabajos para verificar sus papeles y como clara muestra de esto está el caso de los ex trabajadores de Chipotle. Aquí en Minnesota alrededor de 700 trabajadores inmigrantes despedidos de un día para otro.

Así como los ex trabajadores de limpieza de IBM que hace unos años padecieron por el mismo inconveniente quedando alrededor de 1500 trabajadores sin el sustento para sus familias. Es por esto que como inmigrantes tenemos que unirnos nuevamente para salir a la calle a marchar este 1ero de Mayo [sic] para demostrarle [sic] a los políticos que aquí estamos, somos muchos y además somos fuerza de trabajo que realmente aporta a la economía de este país. El movimiento inmigrante continúa porque las injusticias en contra de nuestra gente no ha cesado, seguimos en la lucha! [sic] Es por eso que les pedimos a nuestra comunidad inmigrante que esté atenta a la convocatoria para este 1ero de Mayo [sic], que no le demos importancia a esos rumores sin fundamento que solo nos buscan fomentar el miedo para que nos quedemos en casa encerrados sin expresar lo que sentimos, ya que jamás en las marchas del 1ero de Mayo [sic] ha pasado nada, tranquilamente hemos salido a marchar para manifestar nuestras demandas por una legalización incondicional para todos los trabajadores inmigrantes, seguimos avanzando y confiando en la fuerza de nuestra gente trabajadora para exigir los cambios a este actual sistema que tanto nos oprime. Aquí estamos y nos vemos el Domino 1ero de Mayo [sic] "Día Internacional de los trabajadores".

Article J: English translation

They prepare march for immigrant for May 1st
"Democrats and republicans are not in favor of our immigrant community and for this reason on May 1st let's hit the streets and demand inconditional leglization for everyone": MIRAc.
By Cristian Villaruel

In this cold month of February Minnesota's movement for immigrants is beginning to warm up by taking the first steps to prepare our march for the rights of immigrant workers on Sunday, May 1st.

As we have already realized, whether it be republicans or democrats, in the end it is clear that they are all cut from the same cloth. On the one hand, republicans continue with their hostility against our immigrants, and they have demonstrated it. One needs to remember what is happening in Arizona with anti-immigrant laws, the persecution of those who appear Latin American by Sheriff Joe Arpaio, and the prohibition to study the history of Latino immigrants in educational settings in Arizona, and, in this way, negating their enormous contribution to this country's culture. On the other hand are the democrats with their unfulfilled promises who have turned their back on us and on our allies. This becomes clear from interventions in which President Obama has referred to the situation of immigrants in this country and by offering as a solution to this situation greater border control. Moreoer, there are repressions against indocumented workers in the workplace as document audits increase to verify their papers, a clear example of this being the case of the ex-employees of Chipotle. Here in Minnesota around 700 immigrant workers [were] fired overnight.

This is similar to the sufferings of around 1500 ex-janitors of IBM who were left without sustenance for their families a few years ago. For this reason we need to join together as immigrants once again to hit the streets for a march on May 1st to demonstrate to politicians that we are here, there are many of us, and, what is more, that we are a workforce that truly contributes to the economy of this country. The immigrant movement continues because the injustices against our people have not stopped: let us continue in our fight! For this reason we ask our immigrant community to be alert for the announcement about May 1st. Let us not pay attention to unfounded rumors that only try to encourage fear so that we stay locked up at home without expressing what we feel, in light of the fact that nothing has ever happened on the May 1st marches. We have calmly gone out to march to manifest our demands for unconditional legalization for all immigrant workers. We continue to advance and confide in the force of our hard-

working people to demand changes in the current system that oppresses us so much. Here we are and we'll see you Sunday, May 1st, "International Day of the Worker".

<u>Article K: Original</u>

20-26 mayo, 2011

Trabajadores de limpieza iniciarán huelga de hambre

Trabajadores anunciarán su compromiso a una Huelga de Hambre sin límite que será basada afuera de la tienda de Cub Foods en la Minnehaha y la Lake St. en Minneapolis.

Un grupo de trabajadores de limpieza y aliados con el Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha (CTUL) anunciarán el 20 de mayo una huelga de hambre sin límite para hacer el llamado a Cub Foods a reunirse con trabajadores para establecer sueldos y condiciones justas para los trabajadores quienes limpian sus tiendas.

En los último 10 años, sueldos y condiciones en la limpieza de tiendas han bajado hasta el piso. Hace 10 años, muchos trabajadores ganaban hasta $10 por hora. Hoy muchos trabajadores ganan más o menos $7.50 con el doble del trabajo. Esto es el resultado de que cadenas de tiendas grandes han promovido la competencia entre compañías de limpieza para dar el precio de contrato más barato. Esto ha sido el patrón a través del país que ha provocado violaciones serias de los derechos humanos resultando en demandas de multi-milliones [sic] de dólares en contra de compañías de limpieza, y hasta la esclavitud moderna.

Después de un año de intentar hablar a representantes de cadenas de tiendas, la única respuesta ha sido el despido de un trabajador líder involucrado en organizarse (Mario Colloly Torres), reacciones violentas a protestantes pacíficos, y traspasando a los organizadores de CTUL de pisar su propiedad. CTUL ha mandado varias cartas a representantes de Cub Foods, incluyendo una petición con casi 200 firmas de trabajadores de limpieza, ha organizado varias delegaciones a las oficinas centrales, protestas, marchas, y una conferencia de prensa y ha recibido mucho apoyo de casi 30 organizaciones religiosas, laborales y de la comunidad que han endorsado la campaña.

Trabajadores y aliados anunciarán su compromiso a una huelga de hambre sin límite que será basada afuera de la tienda de Cub Foods en la Minnehaha y la Lake St. en Minneapolis, todos los días de 8 am – 8 pm después del lanzamiento de la Huelga. Para mayor información Verónica Méndez.

Article K: English translation

Janitors will begin a hunger strike

Workers will announce their commitment to an unlimited hunger strike that will be based outside of Cub Foods on Minnehaha and Lake Street in Minneapolis.

A group of janitors and allies from the Center for Workers United in the Fight (CTUL) will announce on May 20 an unliminted hunger strike to call out to Cub Foods to join the workers in esetablishing fair salaries and work conditions for those who clean their stores.

In the past 10 years, salaries and conditions for those cleaning stores have decreased drastically. Ten years ago, many workers earned up to $10 an hour. Now many workers make around $7.50 with double the workload. This is the result of large chains of stores promoting competition between cleaning companies to get the lowest price for contracts. This has been a pattern across the country that has provoked serious violations of human rights resulting in multi-million dollar lawsuits against cleaning companies, and even slavery in the modern age.

After a year of trying to speak with representatives of this chain of stores, the only response has been the firing of a worker who is the leader of organizing this group (Mario Colloly Torres), violent reactions towards peaceful protesters, and (y traspasando a los organizadores de CTUL de pisar su propiedad). CTUL has sent several messages to Cub Foods representatives, including a petition with nearly 200 signatures of janitors. CTUL has also organized various delegations to central offices, protests, marches, and a press conference. What is more, the group has received the support of nearly 30 religious, laboral, and community organizations, all of whom have endorsed their campaign.

Workers and allies will announce their commitment to an unlimited hunger strike that will be based outside the Cub Foods on Minnehaha and Lake Street in Minneapolis, every day from 8 am to 8 pm, after the launch of the strike. For more information, contact Verónica Méndez.

Article L: Original

27 mayo – 2 junio, 2011
Trabajadores de limpieza y aliados lanzan huelga de hambre sin limite [sic]
Senadora estatal, Patricia Torres Ray expresa apoyo; Pastor se une en huelga
Por Verónica Méndez

El viernes 20 de Mayo [sic], un grupo de nueve trabajadores y aliados, unidos por la organización de derechos laborales, CTUL, anunciaron una huelga de hambre sin límite para mejorar los sueldos y condiciones laborales de los trabajadores que limpian Cub Foods y otras tiendas en las Ciudades Gemelas. El sábado 21 de mayo, a las 12:15 pm, un grupo de más de cien trabajadores y aliados se reunieron para apoyar la huelga de hambre y protesta en la tienda de Cub Foods en la Lake y Minnehaha, adonde [sic] huelguistas han creado un campamento.

"Cada noche trabajamos en tiendas rodados de comida, pero muchas veces no podemos poner comida en nuestras propias mesas para alimentar a nuestras familias. Yo decidí ser un huelguista para llevar a la luz las injusticias que enfrentamos todos los días limpiando en Cub Foods, y para hacer le [sic] el llamado a Cub Foods que se reúnan con nosotros," dijo Mario Colloly Torres, ex-trabajador de limpieza quien fue despido [sic] de su trabajo después de que empezaron protestas en contra de Cub.

Por más de un año, CTUL ha intentado dialogar con representantes de Cub Foods, incluyendo mandando [sic] casi 200 firmas de trabajadores de limpieza a los representantes de la tienda. Trabajadores de limpieza le han pedido a Cub Foods que negocie un código de conducta asegurando sueldos y condiciones justas para los trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas. Cub Foods ha ignorado estas peticiones. En un incidente, protestantes pacíficos y otros clientes se les echó spray pimienta el [sic]

seguridad en Cub. Silbia García Roque, trabajadora de limpieza dijo, "este problema está pasando a través de la industria. Le estamos haciendo el llamado a Cub Foods para ser un líder en cambiando [sic] este problema."

Hace diez años, muchos trabajadores que limpiaban Cub Foods ganaban hasta $10-$11 por hora. Ahora, la mayoría de trabajadores ganan más o menos $7.50 la hora, y el peso de trabajo es el doble.

"La petición de los trabajadores es justa y sencilla. La gente decide ayunar para fortalecer sus propios principios que cada persona esta [sic] creada en la imagen de Dios. Las políticas de Cub, no cumplen con estos principios," dijo el Pastor Grant Stevenson, Pastor de Spirit of Truther [sic] Lutheran Church en St. Paul, quien se ha unido a la huelga.

La Senadora de Minnesota, Patricia Torres Ray, también expresó preocupación sobre la situación. "De un lado, Cub crea una imagen positiva dando donaciones a almacenes de comida y otras organizaciones. Por el otro, están creando una situación en la cual trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas muchas veces son los mismos que usan estos servicios. Esto no es aceptable. Cub Foods tiene que tomar la responsabilidad de asegurar que trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas tienen sueldos y condiciones justas."

Article L: English translation

Janitors and allies launch unlimited hunger strike
State senator Patricia Torres Ray expresses support; Pastor unites in the strike

By Verónica Méndez

On Friday, May 20th, a group of nine workers and allies, united by the workers' rights organization, CTUL, announced an unlimited hunger strike to improve salaries and working conditions for janitors in Cub Foods and other stores in the Twin Cities. On Saturday, May 21, at 12:15 p.m., a group of more than 100 workers and allies united to support the hunger strike and to protest in the Cub Foods store on Lake Street and Minnehaha, where the strikers have created a camp.

"Each shift we work surrounded by food, but many times we cannot put food on our own tables to feed our own families. I decided to become a striker to throw light on the injustices that we deal with every day cleaning Cub Foods, and to make the call to Cub Foods that they join forces with us," said Mario Colloly Torres, an ex-janitor who was fired from his job after the protests against Cub began.

For more than a year, CTUL has tried to converse with representatives of Cub Foods, including sending nearly 200 signatures of janitors to representatives of the store. Janitors have asked Cub Foods to negotiate a code of conduct assuring fair salaries and working conditions for janitors in their stores. Cub Foods has ignored these petitions. In one incident, Cub Foods security sprayed pepper spray on peaceful protesters and other clients. Silbia García Roque, janitor, said, "This problem is happened throughout the industry. We are calling upon Cub Foods to be a leader in changing this problem."

Ten years ago, many workers who cleaned Cub Foods earned up to $10-$11 an hour. Now, the majority of workers earn $7.50 an hour, and the workload has doubled.

"The workers' petition is fair and simple. People have decided to fast to strengthen their own principles that each person is created in the image of God. The policies of Cub do not uphold these principles," said Pastor Grant Stevenson, pastor of Spirit of Truth Lutheran Church in St. Paul, who has joined the strike.

The senator of Minnesota, Patricia Torres Ray, also expressed concern about the situation. "On the one hand, Cub creates a positive image by donating to food shelves and other organizations. On the other, it is creating a situation in which workers who clean their stores many times are the very people who use these services. This is

unacceptable. Cub Foods must take responsibility to ensure that its janitors have fair salaries and working conditions."

Article M: Original

3-9 junio, 2011

La huelga de hambre llegó a su fin

Pero la lucha sigue, trabajadores de limpieza esperan llegar a acuerdos en la mesa del dialogo con Cub Foods

El miércoles finalizó la huelga de hambre que desde hace 12 días realizaban trabajadores de limpieza de Cub Foods afuera de la tienda ubicada en Minnehaha y Lake St. A un acto de apoyo a los huelguistas acudieron líderes políticos y religiosos de la localidad, quienes les manifestaron su apoyo y los exhortaron a sentarse a la mesa del dialogo [sic] con los directivos de esta tienda.

Por respeto a estos líderes, y haber sentido el sólido respaldo de la comunidad de las Ciudades Gemelas en torno a este tema durante los últimos 12 días, los huelguista [sic] decidido [sic] llevar esta protesta de hambre a su fin, con la creencia de que este acto motivará [sic] a Cub Foods para cumplir con sus demandas.

"Esperamos que Cub Foods demonstrará la misma cantidad de respeto por estos líderes, así como la comunidad en general, y estará de acuerdo para abrir el diálogo. Esto marca un cambio de las voces más silenciadas a algunas de las voces más respetadas en la comunidad tomar nuestra causa. Creemos que este es un importante paso adelante para garantizar que todos los trabajadores de limpieza al por menos son [sic] tratados con dignidad y respeto," expresaron los huelguistas en un comunicado.

A lo que añadieron que "A pesar de que han decidido poner fin a la huelga de hambre hoy en día, el movimiento continúa. Somos optimistas en que estos líderes serán capaces de abrir la puerta al diálogo con Cub Foods, pero también tenemos que recordar que todavía tenemos que pagar el alquiler, y todavía tenemos que poner comida en la mesa para nuestros hijos, por lo que no puede esperar por siempre. Si Cub Foods ignora la llamada de estos líderes respetados en nuestra comunidad, no vamos a sentarnos y ver

como [sic] esta industria continúa por el camino de cada vez menos salarios y condiciones de trabajo. Nos quedaremos sin más opción que tomar nuevas medidas."

Por su parte la Senadora Patricia Torres-Ray dijo que apoyaba el sacrificio de los trabajadores y que tenía fe que las cosas se solucionarían de la mejor manera.

Mario, uno de los huelguistas al hacer uso de la palabra hizo un recuento de lo logrado en esos 12 días de huelga.

Mario dijo que más de 500 aliados, estudiantes, líderes de fe y laborales les ofrecieron su apoyo. 30 organizaciones endosaron la campaña de protesta, incluyendo Minneapolis Federation Teachers [sic] y AFSCME Council 5; de igual manera más de 250 personas entregaron 105 mil dólares en recibos de compras en tiendas declarando que su dinero seguirá sus valores y, el viernes salieron en la prensa a nivel nacional.

Algunos de los líderes comunitarios y religiosos que les manifestaron su apoyo incondicional a los huelguista [sic] fueron líderes religiosos y comunitarios fueron [sic]: Keith Ellison, representante; Senadora Patricia Torres-Ray; Representante del Estado de Minnesota, Jim Davnie; Miembro del Consejo de ciudad de Minneapolis Gary Schiff; Obispo Craig Johnson, Minneapolis; Pastor Stevensen, Espíritu de la Verdad; Pastor Jay Carlson, Santa Iglesia Luterana de la Trinidad; Pastor Justin Linden-Ayers, Iglesia Luterana Bethany; Pastor Brad Froslee, Iglesia Luterana del Calvario; Pastor Patricio Cabello Hansel, Iglesia de San Pablo Luterana, entre otros.

Hunger strike reaches its end

However, the fight continues. Janitors hope to arrive at an agreement during dialog with Cub Foods

Wednesday finalized the hunger strike that janitors of Cub Foods had been carrying out for 12 days outside of the store's Minnehaha and Lake Street location. Political and religious leaders joined the strikers in an act of support, expressing their support and urging the executive committe of Cub Foods to sit down and negotiate with the janitors.

Out of respect for these leaders, and having felt the solid backing of the Twin Cities community over the span of the past 12 days, the janitors decided to bring the hunger strike to an end, with the belief that this act would motivate Cub Foods to keep their word with respect to the janitors' demands.

"We hope that Cub Foods will demonstrate the same quantity of respect for these leaders as it does for the community in general, and will agree to begin a dialog. This marks a change from the most silenced voices to the most respected voices in the community to take up our cause. We believe that this is an important step forward to guarantee that janitors are treated, at the very least, with dignity and respect," expressed the strikers in a statement.

They added that "Despite having decided to end the hunger strike today, the movement continues. We are optimists in hoping that these leaders will be capable of opening up a dialog with Cub Foods, but we also have to remember that we still need to pay rent, and we still have to put food on our tables for our children, so we cannot wait forever. If Cub Foods ignores the call these respected leaders from our community make, we will not sit down to see how this industry continues down the path of smaller salaries and worse working conditions. We will be left with no other option than to take up new measures."

For her part, Senator Patricia Torres-Ray said that she supported the sacrifice of these workers and that she had faith that things would work out for the best.

Mario, one of the strikers, recounted what had been achieved in the 12 days of the hunger strike in a speech.

Mario said that more than 500 allies, students, labor and faith leaders had offered their support. 30 organizations endorsed the protest and campaign, including Minneapolis Teachers Federation and AFSCME Council 5; similarly, more than 250 people donated $105,000 in receipts of purchases made at the store declaring that their money will reflect their values and, on Friday it was covered by the national press.

Some community and religious leaders that expressed their unconditional support of the strikers were: Keith Ellison, representative; Senator Patricia Torres-Ray; Minnesota State Representative Ji Davnie: Member of Minneapolis City Council Gary Schiff; Bishop Craig Johnson, Minneapolis; Pastor Stevenson, Spirit of Truth; Pastor Jay Carlson, Holy Trinity Lutheran Church; Pastor Justin Linden-Ayers, Bethany Lutheran Church; Pastor Brad Froslee, Cavalry Lutheran Church; Pastor Patricio Cabello Hansel, St. Paul Lutheran Church, among others.

Article N: Original

24-30 junio, 2011
Solidaridad en protesta con el activista pro inmigrante Carlos Montes
El 17 de mayo 2011 a las 5:00 a.m. el equipo SWAT del departamento del sheriff del condado de Los Ángeles y miembros del FBI hicieron una redada en la casa de Carlos Montes, un veterano activista chicano y miembro activo del Comité Contra la Represión del FBI.
Por Niger Arévalo

Más de 50 personas protestaron enfrente del edificio del FBI en Minneapolis, para demandar que los cargos en contra de Carlos Montes un Activista que lucha por los derechos de Los Inmigrantes en California sean removidos inmediatamente.

Los organizadores de la Protesta denunciaron el rápido crecimiento de los ataques del FBI y otras agencias policiales en contra de activistas del movimiento contra la guerra, como también de activistas que luchan por los derechos de los Inmigrantes.

Tom Burke, miembro del Comité Nacional Alto a la Represión del FBI, dio un mensaje claro "Esta protesta es parte de un día de acción nacional que está teniendo lugar en 19 Ciudades de los Estados Unidos."

La demostración en Minneapolis y otras ciudades alrededor del país fueron para mandar un mensaje claro que el activista Carlos Montes no es ningún criminal y que paren los acosos que la administración de Obama está llevando a cabo en contra de activistas y luchadores sociales. Carlos Montes es un veterano activista del movimiento chicano y [sic] Inmigrante que ha luchado desde los 70's [sic] por la comunidad inmigrante.

El 17 de mayo 2011 a las 5:00 am el equipo SWAT del departamento del sheriff del condado de Los Ángeles y miembros del FBI hicieron una redada en la casa de Carlos Montes, un veterano activista chicano y miembro activo del Comité contra la represión del FBI (CSFR, por sus siglas en ingles [sic]). El equipo SWAT rompió la puerta de entrada de la casa y entraron con armas automáticas mientras Carlos dormía. El equipo del sheriff y del FBI saqueó su casa y tomó su computadora, teléfonos celulares y cientos de documentos, fotos, discos y recuerdos de sus actividades políticas actuales en el movimiento por los derechos de los inmigrantes y el movimiento por los derechos civiles de los chicanos. También tomaron cientos de documentos históricos relacionados con el involucramiento de Carlos Montes en el movimiento chicano por los últimos 44 años.

Le [sic] arrestaron bajo un cargo relacionado con un código legal de armas de fuego. Él pagó una fianza y salió de la cárcel la próxima mañana. Su primera audiencia en la corte será el 16 de junio 2011.

El ataque contra Carlos Montes es parte de la campaña de acoso contra los 23 activistas pro paz y justicia cuya lucha se centra en la zona centro-oriental del país. El nombre de Carlos Montes es un de los que apareció en la citación que el FBI dejó en la oficina del Comité Anti-Guerra de Minnesota cuando hicieron una redada allí el 24 de septiembre pasado. Cuando arrestaron a Carlos Montes y lo metieron al carro de la policía del sheriff, un agente del FBI se le acercó y empezó [sic] preguntarle sobre la Organización Socialista Camino a la Libertad (Freedom Road Socialist Organization).

Carlos ha estado involucrado y ha sido un líder comprometido con la lucha de los inmigrantes, la lucha contra guerra, y la lucha por la educación de buena calidad durante toda su vida adulta.

Article N: English translation

Solidarity in protest with pro-immigrant activist Carlos Montes
On May 17, 2011 at 5:00 a.m. the SWAT Team from the Los Angeles county Sheriff's Department and members of the FBI carried out a raid on Carlos Montes's house. Montes is a veteran Chicano activist and an active member of the Committee against FBI Repression.
By Niger Arévalo

More than 50 people protested in front of the FBI building in Minneapolis to demand that the charges against Carlos Montes, an activist fighting for the rights of immigrants in California, be removed immediately.

The organizers of the protest denounced the rapid increase of attacks by the FBI and other police agencies against activists for the anti-war movement, as well as those who fight for immigrant rights.

Tom Burke, member of the National Committee to Stop FBI Repression, gave a clear message, "This protest is part of a national day of action that is taking place in 19 cities across the United States."

The goal of the demonstration in Minneapolis and other cities around the country was to send a clear message that the activist Carlos Montes is no criminal and that the harrassment against activists and social fighters being carried out by the Obama administration stops. Carlos Montes is a veteran activist for the Chicano movement and an immigrant who has fought since the 1970's for the immigrant community.

On May 17 at 5:00 a.m. the SWAT Team from the Los Angeles county Sheriff's Department and members of the FBI carried out a raid on Carlos Montes's house. Montes is a veteran Chicano activist and an active member of the Committee against FBI Repression (CSFR, its abbreviation in English). The SWAT team broke the front door to the house and entered with its automatic weapons while Carlos slept. The sheriff's team and the FBI sacked the house and took his computer, cell phones and hundreds of documents, pictures, discs and memorabilia from his recent political activities for the pro-immigrant movements and the movement for civil rights for Chicanos. They also took hundreds of historical documents related to Carlos Montes's involvement in the Chicano movement for the last 44 years.

They arrested him on charges related to a legal code about firearms. He paid bail and left jail the following morning. His first court hearing will be June 16, 2011.

The attack against Carlos Montes is part of the harrassment campaign against 23 pro-peace and justice activists whose fight is centered on the midwest of the country. Carlos Montes's name is just one that appeared in the citation that the FBI left in the office of Minnesota's Anti-War Committee when it carried out a raid there on September 24. When they arrested Carlos Montes and put him in the police car, an FBI agent came up to him and began to question him about the Freedom Road Socialist Organization.

Carlos has been involved and has been a leader committed to fighting for immigrants, against the war, and for quality education during his entire adult life.

5 marzo, 2010

"La unión hace la fuerza"

Y con la fuerza se obtinen [sic] logros importantes

Minneapolis – En una gran victoria para buenos empleos en la nueva economía verde, los trabajadores de limpieza en Las Twin Cities, [sic] ganaron el apoyo para la utilización de productos de limpieza buenos para la naturaleza y la transición al turno de día, en un nuevo acuerdo del contrato alcanzado en las primeras horas de la mañana del domingo después de alrededor de 26 horas seguidas de negociación; Los trabajadores de limpieza también ganaron un mejor seguro de salud y un trabajo seguro a tiempo completo para los miles de trabajadores que limpian la gran mayoría de los edificios de oficinas comerciales y de oficinas corporativas en la región. "Nuestro nuevo contrato hará que nuestros trabajos sean empleos verdes", dijo Blanca Pineda, una trabajadora de limpieza en Roseville quien había perdido su sentido del olfato por los productos químicos que tenia [sic] que usar en el trabajo. "Vamos a utilizar productos de limpieza verdes que serán mas [sic] seguros para mi [sic] y mas [sic] seguro [sic] para la gente de mi edificio y cuando los edificios decidan cambiar al turno de día, tendremos el tiempo y el entrenamiento para que sea un éxito."

El acuerdo de contrato con la Asociación de limpiadores en el área de Minneapolis-St. Paul incluyendo ABM, FBG, Harvard, Mid-City y Triangle se produce después de que los trabajadores de limpieza hicieron preparativos concretos para irse de huelga en las próximas semanas, antes de la negociación atravez [sic] de la noche del sábado para llegar a un acuerdo. En el transcurso de los 3 años de contrato, todos los trabajadores de limpieza de Las Twin Cities tendrán acceso a un seguro de salud, común, con mejores niveles de beneficio para las personas solas y la familia, manteniendo costos accesibles, [sic] anteriormente la calidad del servicio era bajo y este nuevo contrato da un paso adelante importante en la reducción de gastos para el bolsillo. "Todo el mundo merece un seguro de salud de calidad para que no nos quedemos estancados con facturas enormes si tenemos que ir al médico," dijo Adriana Espinosa, una trabajadora de

limpieza en el centro de Minneapolis y miembro del comité de negociación. "Nos paramos fuerte y ahora voy a tener la tranquilidad de saber que tengo dinero para mantener a mi familia sana."

Después de perder ingresos importantes a través de recortes de horas o de la pérdida cuando los edificios cambiaron contratistas en los últimos años, los trabajadores de limpieza ganaron el derecho a 8 horas de trabajo a tiempo completo entre ahora y el 2012 y la seguridad del empleo cuando los edificios decidieron cambiar de compañía de limpieza. Trabajadores de limpieza de tiempo completo que han tenido sus horas recortadas podrán ver su aumento en el ingreso de hasta un 38% el 1ro de enero del 2012. "Después de 12 años en un edificio, perdí mi trabajo, mi seguro de salud y todos mis beneficios cuando decidieron cambiar contratistas de limpieza", dijo Rosalina Gómez, una trabajadora de limpieza quien ha estado enfrentando la ejecución hipotecaria de su casa, así como enormes costos de atención médica que la llevó a la quiebra personal. "Hemos sido capaces de ganar un aumento de sueldo, así como un plan de salud mucho más fuerte en un momento de problemas económicos. Estoy muy orgullosa de estar de pie con mis hermanas y hermanos en nuestra victoria de hoy."

"Minneapolis es una ciudad que trabaja día y noche, y estamos muy orgullosos de ello", dijo el alcalde de Minneapolis, RT Rybak en una declaración escrita. "Pero esto no sucede por accidente: miles de buenos trabajadores de limpieza lo hacen semana tras semana, y este contrato representa un logro importante para ellos. Los trabajadores de limpieza en Las Twin Cities trabajan duro todos los días, no solo para asegurar que nuestras oficinas estén limpias, sino también para que sus familias se puedan unir a la fuerte clase media de nuestra ciudad y reclamar su parte del sueño Americano [sic] y entre mas [sic] éxito tengan, mas [sic] le darán a nuestra comunidad y eso es bueno para todos. Felicito a los miembros de Local 26 y a los lideres [sic] de negocios de nuestra ciudad por juntarse y asegurarse de que Minneapolis sigue [sic] trabajando para todos."
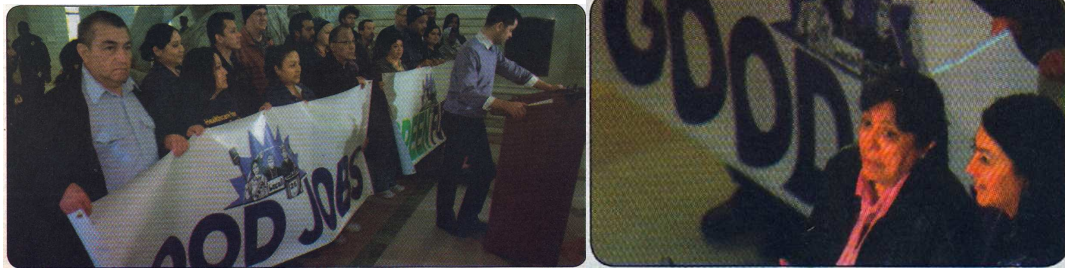
"Union creates strength"

And with strength important achievements are made

Minneapolis – In a huge victory for good jobs in the new green economy, janitors in the Twin Cities won support to use cleaning products that are good for the environment, as well as the transition to the day shift in a new agreement for a contract arrived at during the early hours of Sunday morning after approximately 26 continuous hours of negotiation. Janitors also won better health coverage and a more secure job

In a large victory for good jobs in the new green economy, janitors in the Twin Cities won the support to use cleaning products that are good for the environment as well as to transition to the day shift. This new contract deal was reached during the early hours of the morning on Sunday after around 26 straight hours of negotiation. The janitors also won better health insurance and a secure full-time job for thousands of janitors who clean the majority of commercial and corporate offices in the region. "Our new contract will make our jobs green," said Blanca Pineda, a janitor in Roseville who had lost her sense of smell from the chemical products she had to use on the job. "We will use green cleaning products that will be safer for me and safer for the people in my building and when the buildings decide to change to the day shift, we will have the time and training for it to be a success."

The contract agreement with the Association of Cleaners in the Minneapolis-St. Paul área, including ABM, FBG, Harvard, Mid-City and Triangle, comes after janitors made concrete preparations for a strike in the upcoming weeks, before the all-night negotiation to reach an agreement. During the three-year contract, all janitors in the Twin

Cities will have access to a common health insurance plan with better levels of benefits for single people and those with families while maintaining accesible costs. Before the quality of service was low and this new contract will give an important step forward in the reduction of out-of-pocket costs. "Everyone deserves quality health insurance so we don't get stuck with huge bills if we have to go to the doctor," said Adriana Espinosa, a janitor in downtown Minneapolis and member of the negotiation committee. "We stand strong and now we can be at peace knowing that I have the money to keep my family healthy."

After losing important income through hour reductions or losses when contractors changed buildings in the past years. the janitors won the right to 8 hours of full-tie work between now and 2012 and job security when buildings decide to change cleaning companies. Full-time janitors whose hours have been reduced could see up to a 38% increase in their salaries on January 1, 2012. "After 12 years in one building, I lost my job, my health insurance, and all of my benefits when they decided to change cleaning contractors," said Rosalina Gómez, a janitor who has been facing foreclosure of her house, as well as enormous costs for medical attentino that have brought her to personal bankruptcy. "We have been able to win an increase in salary, as well as a much stronger health plan in a time of economic problems. I am very proud to stand up with my sisters and brothers in our victory today."

"Minneapolis is a city that works day and night, and we are very proud of that," said the mayor of Minneapolis, RT Rybak in a written statement. "But this does not happen by accident: thousands of good janitors do it week after week, and this contract represents an important achievement for them. The janitors in the Twin Cities works hard every day, not only to ensure that our offices are clean, but also that their families can become part of our city's strong middle class and reclaim part of the American Dream. The more successful they are, the more they will give back to our community and that is good for everyone. I congratulate the members of Local 26 and the business leaders of our city for coming together and ensuring that Minneapolis continues working for everyone."

25 marzo, 2011

Trabajadores exigen que Cub Foods pare las represalias, violencia y abusos de derechos humanos

CTUL anuncia planes para una huelga de hambre si Cub Foods continua [sic] reusando [sic] dialogo [sic]

Minneapolis, MN – Aproximadamente 50 trabajadores de limpieza con CTUL y aliados se reunieron para hacer el llamado a Cub Foods a poner un alto a las represalias, reacciones violentas a protestas pacificas [sic] y para reunirse con trabajadores de limpieza para establecer un código de conducta asegurando sueldos y condiciones justas en el trabajo para todos los que limpian sus tiendas. En el último año, CTUL ha buscado dialogo [sic] con Cub Foods, solo para ser ignorado. Ahora, en vez de dialogo [sic], un trabajador líder de la campaña es despedido y aliados son asaltados físicamente y con spray pimienta mientras protestaran [sic] pacíficamente en una tienda de Cub Foods.

En las últimas dos semanas, CTUL y aliados han organizado varias protestas referentes al despido de Mario Colloly Torres, trabajador y líder quien trabajaba de noche limpiando una tienda de Cub Foods. Se metieron cargos con la Mesa Nacional de Relaciones Laborales diciendo que Cub Foods y la compañía contratada para hacer la limpieza despidieron a Mario por organizar sus compañeros de trabajo para luchar por mejores sueldos y condiciones labores. En la ultima [sic] protesta, organizada por aliados de CTUL, protestadores pacíficos se encontraron con violencia por la seguridad en la tienda de Cub Foods.

Kristen Melby, una activista que tuvo que ir al hospital después de que le echaron spray pimienta en los ojos en las protestas del martes dijo, "la reacción a nuestra protesta pacífica en Cub Foods fue totalmente injustificada. Asaltaron a varias personas, nos bloquearon de poder salir y le echaron spray a protestadotes y clientes sin importar. Algunos clientes nos dijeron que sus dos hijos fueron afectados."

Trabajadores nombraron estos dos incidentes extremos como solo ejemplos del problema que existe en la industria de limpieza de tiendas, demostrando la necesidad de

que Cub Foods juegue un rol de liderazgo en acabar con estos abusos. CTUL declaró hoy que si Cub Foods continúa reusar dialogo [sic], trabajadores organizarán una huelga de hambre empezando el viernes 20 de mayo, 2011.

"No tomamos esta decisión como algo leve. En los últimos dos días la violencia se ha vuelto flagrante, pero la violencia que sufrimos todos los días enfrentando sueldos miserables, pesos de trabajo extremos y humillaciones en el trabajo, se han mantenido en la oscuridad por demasiado tiempo. Es hipocrático que estos supermercados que donan tanto dinero a los almacenes de comida, ignoran el hecho de que muchas veces somos nosotros, los que limpiamos sus tiendas, que tienen que esperar en fila para esa comida. A través de esta huelga de hambre, llevaremos esta violencia a la luz pública," dijo Jesus [sic] Castillo, trabajador de limpieza y miembro de CTUL.

Article P: English translation

Workers demand that Cub Foods stop repressions, violence and human rights abuses
CTUL announces plans for a hunger strike if Cub Foods continues to refuse dialog

Minneapolis, MN – Approximately 50 janitors, along with CTUL and allies gathered to make a call to Cub Foods to put an end to repressions, violent reacionts to peaceful protests and to join with janitors to establish a conduct code that ensures fair salaries and working conditions for all who clean their stores. In the past year, CTUL has sought dialog with Cub Foods, only to be ignored. Now, instead of dialog, a janitor who is the leader of the campaign was fired, and allies were physically assaulted with pepper spray while they peacefully protested in a Cub Foods store.

In the last two weeks, CTUL and allies have organized various protests referring to the firing of Mario Colloly Toores, janitor and leader who worked the night shift cleaning a Cub Foods store. Charges were filed with the National Labor Relations Board accusing Cub Foods and the cleaning company of firing Mario for organizing his colleagues in order to fight for better salaries and working conditions. In the last protest, organized by CTUL, peaceful protesters were confronted with violence by Cub Foods security.

Kristen Melby, an activist who had to go to the hospital after she was hit with pepper spray in the eyes during Tuesday's protest said, "The reaction to our peaceful protest in Cub Foods was totally unjustified. They assaulted various people, they blocked us from leaving, and they carelessly sprayed protesters and shoppers with pepper spray. Some of the shoppers told us that their two children were affected."

The workers named these two extreme incidents as just a few examples of the problem that exists in the cleaning industry, demonstrating the necessity that Cub Foods play a leadership role in stopping these abuses. CTUL declared today that if Cub Foods continues to refuse dialog, the workers will organize a hunger strike beginning Friday, May 20, 2011.

"We don't take this decision lightly. In the last two days the violence has become flagrant, but the violence that we suffer every day facing miserable salaries, extreme workloads and humiliations at work have been kept in the darkness for too long. It is hypocritical that these grocery stores that donate so much money to food shelves ignore the fact that many times we, who clean their stores, are the ones who have to wait in line for that food. Through this hunger strike we will bring this violence into the public eye," said Jesús Castillo, janitor and member of CTUL.

3-10 junio, 2010

Tribunal aprueba acuerdo de acción colectiva de trabajadores latinos de la construcción

Este caso comenzó en el 2007 cuando ocho Latinos, trabajadores en construcción, entablaron cargos de discriminación con la Comisión para la Igualdad de Oportunidades en el Empleo

Por Gail Shore

El Tribunal Federal de Estados Unidos para el Distrito de Minnesota emitió la aprobación final sobre discriminación y pago justo llevado por trabajadores Latinos en contra de Mulcahy, Inc. y su dueño, Gary Mulcahy. Bajo los términos del acuerdo, los trabajadores Latinos van a recibir compensación por los sueldos no pagados y mal pagados.

La cantidad pagada hacia el acuerdo va a ser entre $2.5 millones y $6 millones, dependiendo de la fecha del pago. Los demandantes del caso son representados por el bufete de abogados Miller O'Brien Cummins y sus abogados Bill O'Brien, Brendan Cummins, Justin Cummins, y Francis Rojas.

El acuerdo cubre una clase de trabajadores que han trabajado en construcción para Mulcahy, Inc., el cual ha sido uno de los contratistas más grandes en el drywall comercial en Minnesota.

"Nosotros creemos que la resolución de este caso va a servir como un aviso justo que los empleadores deben tener presente los derechos de los trabajadores Latinos y otros inmigrantes," dijo Cummins.

Este caso comenzó en el 2007 cuando ocho Latinos, trabajadores en construcción, entablaron cargos de discriminación con la Comisión para la Igualdad de Oportunidades en el Empleo. En Marzo [sic] del 2008, los trabajadores entablaron esta demanda de clase colectiva. En Julio [sic] del 2009, los términos comprensivos del acuerdo fueron establecidos después de casi 16 meses de litigio.

Bajo los términos del acuerdo, los demandados también acordaron a cambios operativos diseñados a asegurar el pago apropiado y el tratamiento apropiado de todos los trabajadores, Latinos y no-Latinos.

"Este resultado aprobado hoy es una realización tremenda, el cual fue posible por medio del valor de unos pocos trabajadores," dijo Cummins.

Miller O'Brien Cummins, un bufete de abogados basado en las Ciudades Gemelas, manejan casos de derechos civiles, labor y empleo, representando individuales y clases en asuntos de discriminación, pago justo, y terminación injusta. Algunos de los resultados distintivos incluyen la más grande acción colectiva de discriminación por base de sexo antes de una demanda, y el más grande juicio en un caso de discriminación de vivienda en Minnesota.

Article Q: English translation

Court approves agreement for collective action lawsuit for Latino construction workers
This case began in 2007 when eight Latino construction workers filed charges of discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
By Gail Shore

United States Federal Court for the District of Minnesota announced the final decision about the discrimination and fair pay case brought forth by Latino workers against Mulcahy, Inc. and its owner, Gary Mulcahy. Under the terms of the agreement, Latino workers will receive compensation for unpaid and underpaid salaries.

The quantity to be paid out is between $2.5 and $6 million, depending on the date of the payment. The plaintiffs in the case are represented by the law firm Miller O'Brien Cummins and its lawyers Bill O'Brien, Brendan Cummins, Justin Cummins, and Francis Rojas.

The agreement covers a group who has worked in construction for Mulcahy, Inc., which has been one of the largest commercial drywall contractors in Minnesota.

"We believe that the resolution in this case will serve as a fair warning that employers should keep in mind the rights of Latino and other immigrant workers," said Cummins.

This case began in 2007 when eight Latino construction workers filed charges of discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In March of 2008, the workers initiated the collective lawsuit. In July of 2009, the comprehensive terms of the agreement were established after nearly 16 months of litigation.

Under the terms of the agreement, the plaintiffs also agreed to operative changes designed to ensure appropriate pay and treatment for all workers, both Latino and non-Latino.

"The verdict reached today is a tremendous achievement which was possible becuase of the courage of just a few workers," said Cummins.

Miller O'Brien Cummins, a law firm based in the Twin Cities, directs cases of civil rights, labor and employment, and represents individuals and groups in suits of discrimnination, fair pay, and unfair termination. Some of their notable outcomes include the largest class action gender discrimination suit, and the largest judgement in a case of housing discrimnination in Minnesota.

Article R: Original

7-13 enero, 2011
Trabajadores y ex-trabajadores de Chipotle organizándose para exigir mejor trato
Alrededor de 25 trabajadores y extrabajadores de Chipotle se reunieron en las oficinas de CTUL, ubicada en la Calle Franklin y Avenida 25.
Por Marco Dávila

Mientras Chipotle se prepara con sus abogados y prepara su maquinaria millonaria, los trabajadores y ex-trabajadores siguen concientizándose y están listos para lidiar con los hipócritas que dirigen Chipotle y exigir que las demandas sean escuchadas.

En esta reunión se hablo [sic] de la importancia de que los trabajadores se organicen, se habló de la situación nacional y de que estos son tiempos difíciles para los inmigrantes.

Ya se empiezan a escuchar las injusticias cometidas dentro de los restaurantes Chipotles, Juan dijo: "a muchos trabajadores se les ha amenazado y se les ha intimidado por estar organizándose".

La ex-trabajadora María expreso [sic]: "En el Chipotle donde yo trabajaba y de donde me despidieron, estaba prohibido hablar español".

Las siguientes, [sic] son las exigencias que los ex-trabajadores de Chipotle en una reunión que ellos han solicitado:

-Pedir un listado de todas las personas que han sido despedidas en Minnesota

-Exigir los bonos, y las vacaciones del ano [sic] 2011

-Compensación por años de trabajo invertidos en el crecimiento del restaurante

-Multa por no pagar dentro de 24 horas a muchos trabajadores despedidos como exige la ley

-Que Chipotle firme apoyando una legalización

-Igualdad y respeto en el lugar de trabajo

-Que den aumentos justos y no miserables sobre todo para la nueva generación de trabajadores

-Que Chipotle firme un comunicado en cual exprese su rechazo a las auditorías mejor conocidas como I-9 que el gobierno de Obama está llevando a cabo a nivel nacional para despedir a los trabajadores inmigrantes

El trabajador José dijo: "Chipotle tiene miedo y van a tratar de intimidarnos y actuar como que son muy buenos, mientras tanto los trabajadores unidos nos mantendremos firmes en nuestras convicciones, estrictos con nuestras demandas y lograremos respeto no solo para los ya despedidos sino para las próximas generaciones de trabajadores que podrían pasar por lo mismo que hemos nosotros pasado o que también podrían experimentar un ambiente de trabajo mucho mejor que el que actualmente nos ofrecen los restaurantes Chipotle".

María concluye: "Ahora la gente que gusta de la comida Mexicana [sic] tiene dos opciones, numero [sic] uno – podrían ir a comer y encontrarse unos burritos destripados y malhechos, viendo a trabajadores preparar comida mientras se rascan la cabeza sudorosa o la numero [sic] dos – podrían encontrar a buenos trabajadores prepararles su comida, trabajadores contentos por trabajar en un ambiente limpio, seguro y libre de prejuicio".

Chipotle es una cadena de restaurantes que se autoproclama progresista, protectora de animales, protectora de medio ambiente, pero al mismo tiempo están explotando a nuestra gente y usando símbolos relacionados con la cultura mexicana tales como el chile, el burrito y hasta en el nombre. Esto nos parece una obvia hipocresía.

Article R: English translation

Employees and ex-employees of Chipotle organizing to demand better treatment
Around 25 Chipotle employees and ex-employees united in CTUL offices, located on Franklin and 25th Avenue.
By Marco Dávila

While Chipotle prepares its lawyers and money machine, employees and ex-employees continue to become aware and are prepared to litigate with the hypocrites that direct Chipotle and to demand that they are heard.

In this meeting the importance that the workers get organized was addressed, as well as the national situation and how these are difficult times for immigrants.

We are starting to hear about the injustices committed at Chipotle restaurants, Juan said: "Many workers have been threatened and intimidated for organizing."

María, an ex-employee, expressed: "In the Chipotle where I worked and from where they fired me, it was prohibited to speak Spanish."

The following are the demands that the ex-employees of Chipotle from a recent meeting:
-As, for a list of all people fired in Minnesota
-Demand bonuses and vacation time from 2011
-Compensation for years of work invested in the growth of the restaurant

-Fines for not having paid workers within 24 hours of being fired, as the law requires

-That Chipotle signs a document supporting legalization

-Equality and respect in the workplace

-That they give fair, not miserable, raises to employees, above all for the new generation of workers

-That Chipotle signs a communication in which it expresses its rejection of the audits known as I-9 that the Obama government is carrying out on a national level to fire immigrant workers.

The worker José said: "Chipotle is afraid and they are going to try to intimidate us and act like they are good, while we workers will maintain united and firm in our convictions, strict with our demands and we will earn respect not only for those who have been fired but also for the next generations of workers who could go through the same thing we have or who could experience a much better work environment than the one Chipotle restaurants currently offer us."

María concludes: "Now people who enjoy Mexican food have two options. Number one, they could go to eat and get badly made disemboweled burritos, all the while watching workers prepare food as they scratch their sweaty heads. Or, number two, they could see good workers prepare their foods, workers who are happy to work in a clean and safe environment free of prejudice."

Chipotle is a restaurant chain that proclaims itself progressive, protector of animals and the environment, but at the same time is exploiting our people and using symbols related to Mexican culture, like chiles, burritos, and even its name. This seems to be an obvious hypocrisy to us.

Article S: Original

4-10 marzo, 2011

Trabajadores de limpieza despedidos reciben ayuda

Ex trabajadores de Lunds recibieron donaciones y despensas de parte de la comunidad

Por Verónica Méndez

Docenas de trabajadores de limpieza y aliados de CTUL (Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha) se reunieron para apoyar el grupo de más o menos doce trabajadores quienes limpiaban las tiendas de Lunds & Byerly's y para hacer el llamado a Lunds para hacer lo mismo. Se recolectó dinero para trabajadores y sus familias. Se hizo el llamado a Lunds para hacer una contribución económica a trabajadores quienes se quedaron desempleados.

Recientemente, Lunds tomó la decisión de cambiar contratistas de limpieza para cuatro de sus tiendas, cambiando de National Floor Maintenance a Carlson Building Maintenance. Hace dos semanas, una representante de Lunds, le dijo a representantes de CTUL que Lunds inició un proceso de ofertas entre los contratistas y escogieron el que ofrecía "la oferta más competitiva," Carlson Building Maintenance. Como resultado, trabajadores quienes antes limpiaban sus tiendas fueron despedidos.

Después del despido repentino, en algunos casos despedidos en medio de su turno, trabajadores se encontraron en una situación económica difícil durante una época económica más difícil aún. Lunds ha rehusado tomar acción para apoyar o comunicarse con el grupo de trabajadores.

"Lunds dice que dan dinero a organizaciones que ayudan a familias en situaciones de emergencia. Ahora, como resultado de las acciones de Lunds, nosotros, estamos en una situación de emergencia. Después de todo el servicio que hemos dado a sus tiendas y su imagen, ellos nos deberían estar ayudando," dijo Jesús Martínez uno de los trabajadores despedidos.

Trabajadores de limpieza con CTUL han estado organizando a través de las Twin Cities para mejorar sueldos y condiciones de trabajo y parar las violaciones de derechos humanos que se han reportado en la industria de limpieza de tiendas. Trabajadores han hecho el llamado a Lunds, Cub Foods, y Target a ser líderes en asegurando [sic] este cambio, reuniéndose con trabajadores de limpieza para establecer códigos de conducta que aseguran sueldos y condiciones de trabajo justas para todos los trabajadores que limpian sus tiendas.

En vez de reunirse con trabajadores de limpieza para discutir cambios, Lunds cambio [sic] de compañía de limpieza a otra. Simón Ramírez, miembro de CTUL y

trabajador de limpieza en Carlson Building Maintenance dijo, "Yo he trabajado por Carlson por varios años, y las condiciones aquí no son nada mejores a las de National Floor Maintenance. En los últimos diez años, sueldos han bajado y el peso de trabajo ha aumentado. Antes, muchos trabajadores ganaban hasta $10 o [sic] $11 por hora. Ahora, muchos trabajadores ganan más o menos $7.50 y el peso de trabajo es casi el doble. Hoy, un grupo de nosotros que limpiamos Cub Foods, metimos quejas con el Departamento de Labor sobre sueldos que no fuimos pagados por horas que trabajamos. Lunds, Cub Foods, y Target tienen que reunirse con nosotros para establecer condiciones justas. Si no, esto va a empeorar."

"Aunque las tiendas rehúsan hablar con nosotros, pararemos!" dijo Mario Colloly Torres, miembro de CTUL que limpia Cub Foods, "Continuaremos sacando estos problemas a la luz pública hasta que nos escuchan y logramos nuestras metas."

Article S: English translation

Fired janitors receive help
Ex-employees of Lunds received donations and food from the community
By Verónica Méndez

Dozens of janitors and allies of CTUL (Center for Workers United in the Fight) met to support a group of approximately twelve workers who cleaned Lunds and Bylerly's sotres and to call attention to Lunds to do the same. Money was collected for the workers and their families. Lunds was called upon to make an economic contribution to its workers who were left unemployed.

Recently, Lunds make the decision to change cleaning contractors for four of its stores, changing from National Floor Maintenance to Carlson Building Maintenance.

Two weeks ago, a representative of Lunds told a representative of CTUL that Lunds started a bidding process between contractors and they chose the company that had "the most competitive offer," – Carlson Building Maintenance. As a result, workers who had previously cleaned the stores were fired.

After the sudden firing, in some cases in the middle of a shift, workers have found themselves in a difficult economic situation during an even more difficult economic downturn. Lunds has refused to take action to support or communicate with the group of workers.

"Lunds says that it gives money to organizations that help families in emergency situations. Now, as a result of the actions of Lunds, we are in an emergency situation. After all the service we have given to their stores and their image, they should be helping us," said Jesús Martínez, one of the workers who was fired.

Janitors and CTUL have been organizing throughout the Twin Cities to improve salaries and working conditions and to stop the violation of human rights that have been reported in the cleaning industry. Workers have called upon Lunds, Cub Foods and Target to become leaders in ensuring this change. Workers have also met with janitors to establish conduct codes that ensure fair salaries and working conditions for all workers in their stores.

Instead of meeting with the workers to discuss the changes, Lunds changed from one company to another. Simón Ramírez, member of CTUL and janitor with Carlson Building Maintenance, said, "I have worked for Carlson for several years, and the conditions here are no better than those at National Floor Maintenance. In the past 10 years, salaries have decrease and the workload has increased. Before, many workers made up to $10 or $11 an hour. Now, many workers make around $7.50 and the workload is double. Today, a group of us who clean Cub Foods lodged complaints with the Department of Labor about unpaid hours we have worked. Lunds, Cub Foods and Target need to meet with us to establish fair conditions. If they don't, things will get worse."

"Even though the stores refuse to speak with us, we will stand up!" said Mario CollolyTorres, member of CTUL who cleans Cub Foods, "We will continue to bring these problems to light until they hear us and until we reach our goals."

<u>Article T: Original</u>

19 marzo, 2010
"Identificación para todos"
Licencias de Minnesota para conducir para inmigrantes

Varios activistas se reunieron en la Waite House de la Comunidad en Minneapolis el 25 de febrero para encontrar maneras de avanzar con un proyecto de ley que permitiría a los inmigrantes indocumentados obtener una licencia de conducir, mujeres en Liderazgo, una organización dedicada a cuestiones sociales y de inmigración, organizo [sic] la reunión.

Jovita Morales, de Mujeres en Liderazgo, activista y empleada de la Waite House añadió que, los mas [sic] vulnerables pueden ser explotados si no tienen una identificación, personas que no tienen identificaciones del estado a veces tienen problemas al alquiler de un apartamento, obtener atención médica o no estar dispuestos a denunciar delitos por temor de ser acusados por falta de identificación, esto también impide a las personas el acceso al trabajo y oportunidades educativas.

Miembros de la Política de Transporte y Tránsito y la División de Representantes de Minnesota, se reunieron el 10 de Marzo [sic], para escuchar el testimonio de un proyecto de ley que propone cambiar los requisitos de poder obtener una licencia de conducir en Minnesota. House Bill 1718, presentado por el co-autor Rep. Karen Clark, modificaría los procedimientos de solicitud y los requisitos para los individuos, permitiendo que los residentes indocumentados, [sic] puedan calificar para una licencia.

Según Patricia McCormack, Directora de conducción y de Servicios de Vehículos de la división del Departamento de Seguridad Publica [sic] de Minnesota, una persona debe tener "presencia legal" en el estado para poder obtener una licencia. Documentos de inmigración, licencia de conducir valida [sic] o un certificado de nacimiento de los

Estados Unidos se encuentran entre los documentos utilizados por el Estados para autenticar la identidad de una persona. Según McCormack, "las tarjetas de identificación y documentos de los gobiernos extranjeros no son formas aceptadas porque todos los países tienen requisitos diferentes."

Bajo las disposiciones de la nueva ley, un documento de identidad del país de origen de la persona y prueba de residencia, como un documento de impuesto de Minnesota, sería aceptado para probar su identidad. Algunos legisladores estaban preocupados por las cuestiones. Los que presentan esta propuesta, [sic] quieren que el proyecto de ley se enfoque más en la seguridad pública, si se aprueba, Minnesota seria [sic] el quinto estado para aplicar este cambio.

Article T: English translation

"Identification for all"
Minnesota driver's licenses for immigrants

Various activists met at the Waite Community House in Minneapolis on February 25 to find ways to advance a legislative project that would permit undocumented immigrants to obtain a driver's license. Women in Leadership, an organization dedicated to social issues and immigration, organized the meeting.

Jovita Morales, of Women in Leadership, activist and employee of Waite House, added that the most vulnerable can be exploited if they do not have identification. People without state-issued identification sometimes have problems renting an apartment, obtaining medical attention, or are not willing to report crimes for fear of being accused

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of not having identification. This may also impede access to work and educational opportunities.

Members of the Política de Transporte y Tránsito y la División de Representantes de Minnesota met on March 10 to hear the testimony of the legislative project that proposes to change the requirements to obtain a Minnesota driver's license. House Bill 1718, presented by co-author Representative Karen Clark, would modify the application process and the requirements for individuals, permitting undocumented residents to qualify for a license.

According to Patricia McCormack, director of (de conducción y de Servicios de Vehículos de la división del Departamento de Seguridad Publica [sic] de Minnesota), one should be "legally present" in the state in order to obtain a license. Immigration documents, a valid driver's license, or a United States birth certificate are among the documents used by the State to authenticate a person's identity. According to McCormack, "Identification cards and documents from foreign governments are not acceptable forms because every country has different requirements."

Under the regulations of the new law, identifying documents from the country of origin, proof of residence, as well as tax returns from Minnesota would be accepted as proof of identy. Some legislators were concerned about certain issues surrounding this proposal. Those who presented the proposal want the law to focus more on public security. If it is approved, Minnesota would be the fifth state to enact this change.


Article U: Original

6 agosto, 2010
English only ordinance in Lino Lakes Minnesota

Lino Lakes, MN – El pasado lunes 26 de julio el Ayuntamiento de Lino Lakes eligió imprimir los documentos oficiales de la ciudad en Ingles [sic] solamente, una ordenanza en Ingles [sic], esta [sic] es la primera ciudad que permite pasar semejante ordenanza en el estados [sic] de Minnesota.

Oficiales declaran que estas medidas son motivadas solamente por intereses económicos, para evadir pagar los altos costos de traducción, la ciudad de Lino Lakes ha hecho varios recortes financieros y siguen buscando maneras de seguir para poder ahorrar dinero y la ciudad por el momento no tienen [sic] un presupuesto para traducciones, con esto en mente el alcalde Jeff Reinert tomo [sic] su decisión con el futuro en mente.

La ordenanza tiene varias excepciones casi todas de la salud publica [sic], seguridad y la educación en orden de evadir conflictos con el Titulo [sic] VI o la Acta de Derechos Civiles de 1964, los cuales requieren [sic] organizaciones del gobierno que provean a los Americanos [sic] con limites [sic] de Ingles [sic]: "Acceso a todos los programas, servicios he [sic] información que provean estas identidades." La ciudad de Lino Lakes recibe fondos federales para respaldar estas traducciones. A nivel Nacional [sic] ya se han registrado por lo menos 23 estados que han aprobado leyes similares, las cuales muchas y a se están peleando en una Corte [sic].
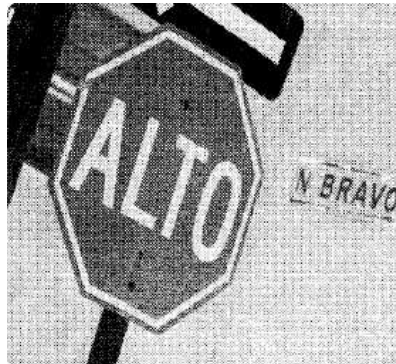
Article U: English translation

English only ordinance in Lino Lakes Minnesota

Lino Lakes, MN – Last Monday, July 26, Lino Lakes City Hall chose to print official city documents in English only, an English-only ordinance. This is the first city in Minnesota that allowed such an oridnance to pass.

Officials declare that these measures are motivated solely by economic interests, in order to avoid paying the high costs of translation. The city of Lino Lakes has made varios financial cuts and continues looking for ways to continue saving money. The city

does not currently have room in its budget for translations, and with this in mind, the mayor, Jeff Reinert, made this decision with the future in mind.

The ordinance has many exceptions, almost all including public health, security, and education, in order to avoid conflicts with Title VI or the Civil Rights Act of 1964, both of which require government organizations to provide Americans with limited English: "Access to all programs, services and information that these entities provide." The city of Lino Lakes receives federal funding to support these translations. At the national level, at least 23 states have been registered as approving similar laws, of which many are already being disputed in court.

Article V: Original

11 marzo, 2011

Defensor local de los inmigrantes se enfrenta a la deportación

Minneapolis, MN (Fuentes Locales) – Mariano Pérez Espinoza de 41 años, director Ejecutivo de la Libertad de los Inmigrantes de Minnesota, está en la cárcel en espera de deportación por supuestamente estar en el país ilegalmente después de una deportación previa.

Shawn Neudauer, un portavoz local de Inmigración de EE.UU. y Control de Aduanas (ICE), confirmó el miércoles que Espinoza se encuentra bajo custodia. A partir del miércoles por la tarde, hasta el cierre de nuestra edición del miércoles no había sido deportado a su país natal México. Más información en nuestra siguiente edición o atraves [sic] de nuestra página web.

<u>Article V: English translation</u>

March 11, 2011

Local defender of immigrants faces deportation

Minneapolis, MN (Local Sources) – Mariano Pérez Espinoza, 41 years old, Executive Director of Minnesota Immigrant Freedom Network, is in jail awaiting deportation for supposedly being in the country illegally after a previous deportation.

Shawn Neudauer, a local spokesperson for United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), confirmed on Wednesday that Espinoza was in custody. Starting Wedesday afternoon, until the close of our edition on Wednesday, he had not yet been deported to his home country of Mexico. More information in our next edition or on our webpage.

<u>Article W: Original</u>

14-20 mayo, 2010

Emmer: Ley anti-inmigrante es "maravillosa"

Comunidad rechaza a Republicano Tom Emmer en desfile Cinco de Mayo en San Pablo.

Por Brad Sigal

San Pablo, MN – En el desfile del 5 de mayo en San Pablo, el candidato Republicano para el gobernador Tom Emmer recibió una reacción no esperada – rechazo.

Eso [sic] rechazo fue debido a su apoyo por la nueva ley anti-inmigrante en Arizona, SB1070. En un programa de radio en MPR, Señor Emmer calificó la nueva ley como una cosa "maravillosa". Muchas personas han comparado la ley SB1070 de Arizona con las leyes racistas que existían en el sur de los Estados Unidos en contra de los Afro-Americanos hasta las victorias del movimiento para los derechos civiles de los años 1960.

Cuando activistas pro-inmigrantes se dieron cuenta de que Emmer iba a hacer presencia y hacer campaña en el desfile del Cinco de Mayo en San Pablo, decidieron no quedarse callados. Tomaron la iniciativa de informar [sic] la comunidad sobre la posición anti-inmigrante de Emmer y para enfrentar su campaña en el desfile.

Los activistas pro-inmigrantes llegaron con pancartas con mensaje pro-inmigrante y anti-Emmer, explicando que Emmer apoya la nueva ley racista en Arizona. También gritaron "boooo!" cuando llego [sic] el grupo de Emmer en el desfile, y gritaron consignas como "Emmer, escucha, No Somos Arizona! No leyes racista [sic] aquí en Minnesota!" Muchas personas que simplemente llegaron a ver el desfile también se unieron al coro de "booo!" cuando se dieron cuenta que Emmer apoya la ley anti-inmigrante en Arizona.

Emmer no solo apoya la ley SB1070 en Arizona, sino que sus aliados más cercanos en la Casa de Representantes de Minnesota han propuesto la misma ley aquí en Minnesota. Emmer ha promovido muchas otras propuestas de ley anti-inmigrante aquí en Minnesota durante su tiempo como miembro de la Casa de Representantes estatal, por ejemplo una propuesta de hacer ingles [sic] el idioma oficial del estado, una propuesta para requerir la ciudanía [sic] para recibir becas para asistir a la universidad, una propuesta para eliminar cobertura de salud para los inmigrantes con la única excepción del parto de un bebe [sic], y otras medidas extremas en contra de los trabajadores inmigrantes.

Alejandra Cruz, una de los organizadores de la protesta dijo "Sentimos la necesidad de denunciar públicamente su apoyo al SB1070, una ley de odio que sanciona el perfil racial en contra de los Latinos. Tuvimos que denunciar su presencia en un desfile que celebra nuestra cultura. Le mandamos un mensaje fuerte que Minnesota no es Arizona, y no vamos a permitir este tipo de odio y [sic] intolerancia en nuestro estado!"

Article W: English translation

Emmer: Anti-immigrant law is "marvelous"

The community rejects Republican Tom Emmer in the Cinco de Mayo parade in St. Paul

By Brad Sigal

St. Paul, MN – In the cinco de mayo parade in St. Paul, the Republican gubernatorial candidate Tom Emmer received an unexpected reaction: rejection. This rejectino was due to his support of the new anti-immigrant law in Arizon, SB1070. On a radio program on MPR, Mr. Emmer classified the new law as something "marvelous". Many people have compared Arizona's SB1070 law to the racist laws that existed in the south of the United States against African Americans up to the victories of the civil rights movements in the 1960's.

When pro-immigrant activists realized that Emmer was going to be present and would be campaigning in the Cinco de Mayo parade in St. Paul, they decided to not remain quiet. They took the initiative to inform the community about Emmer's anti-immigrant position and to confront his campaign in the parade.

The pro-immigrant activist arrived with banners with pro-immigrant and anti-Emmer messages, explaining that Emmer supports the new racist law in Arizona. They also yelled "boooo!" when Emmer's group arrived in the parade, and yelled chants like "Emmer, listen, we are not Arizona! No to racist laws here in Minnesota!" Many people who came simply to see the parade also joined the chorus of "booooo!" when they realized that Emmer supports the anti-immigrant law in Arizona.

Emmer not only supports law SB1070 in Arizona, but also his closest allies in Minnesota's House of Representatives have proposed the same law here in Minnesota. During his time as a member of the state's House of Representatives, Emmer has promoted many other proposals of the anti-immigrant law here in Minnesota, for example a proposal to make English the official language of the state, a proposal to require citizenship to receive scholarships to attend college, a proposal to elimiate health coverage for immigrants, with the exception of child birth, and other extreme measures against immigrant workers.

Alejandra Cruz, one of the organizers of the protest said, "We feel the necessity to publicly denounce his [Emmer's] support of SB1070, a hate law that sanctions racial profiling against Latinos. We had to denounce his presence in a parade that celebrates our culture. We are sending him a strong message that Minnesota is not Arizona, and that we will not permit this type of hate and intolerance in our state!"

Article X: Original

14-20 mayo, 2010
USCIS anuncia el rediseño de la "*Green Card*"
Tecnología avanzada hace más segura la nueva tarjeta

El Servicio de Ciudadanía e Inmigración de los Estados Unidos (USCIS, por sus siglas en inglés) anunció hoy que ha rediseñado la tarjeta de residente permanente (comúnmente conocida como la "tarjeta verde") para incorporar otras características de seguridad importantes. El rediseño de la tarjeta verde es el paso más reciente en los esfuerzos de USCIS para combatir el fraude de inmigración. Los avances tecnológicos incorporados en la nueva tarjeta evitan la falsificación y manipulación de documento, y facilitan su autenticación de forma rápida y precisa. A partir de hoy, USCIS emitirá todas las tarjetas verdes con este nuevo y más seguro formato.

"El rediseño de la tarjeta verde es un gran logro para USCIS", dijo el Director Alejandro Mayorkas. "Esta nueva tecnología de seguridad cumple una funciona [sic] crítica para la integridad del sistema de inmigración."

Las mejoras a la tarjeta verde serán de utilidad a los encargados del orden público, los empleadores y los inmigrantes, ya que todos usan la tarjeta verde como una prueba contundente de autorización para residir y trabajar en los Estados Unidos. Algunos de los beneficios del nuevo diseño incluyen:

- Un sistema óptico seguro almacenará información biométrica para la identificación rápida y fiable del titular de la tarjeta.
- Imágenes holográficas, huellas dactilares grabadas por láser y micro-imágenes de alta resolución harán casi imposible de la reproducción de la tarjeta
- Mayor integración de elementos personalizados y el diseño de la tarjeta impedirán una fácil alteración de la misma en el caso de robo.
- La identificación por radiofrecuencia permitirá que los agentes de la Oficina de Aduanas y Protección Fronteriza lean la tarjeta a distancia y comparen con la información archivada inmediatamente.
- La dirección del remitente impreso en la tarjeta facilitará su devolución al USCIS si se extraviara.

De acuerdo con el sobrenombre de la tarjeta de residente permanente, ésta será de color verde para su fácil reconocimiento. USCIS sustituirá a las tarjetas verdes que están en circulación cuando las personas la renueven o soliciten una sustitución de la misma.

Article X: English translation

USCIS announces redesign of "*Green Card*"
Advanced technology makes the new card safer

United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) announced today that it has redesigned the permanent resident card (also known as the "Green card") in order to incorporate other important security characteristics. The redesign of the green card is the most recent step in efforts by USCIS to combat immigration fraud. The technological advances incorporated in the new card avoid document falsification and manipulation, and aid its fast and precise authentication. Starting today, USCIS will issue all green cards with this new and more secure format.

"The redesign of the green card is a great achievement for USCIS," said Director Alejandro Mayorkas. "This new secure technology carries out a critical function for the integrity of the immigration system."

Improvements to the green card will be useful to those in charge of public order, employers, and immigrants, given that all use the card as conclusive proof of authorization to reside and work in the United States. Some of the benefits of the new design include:

- An optical security system will store biometric information for fast and reliable identification of the cardholder.
- Holographic images, laser recorded fingerprints and high resolution micro images will make card reproduction nearly imposible
- Greater integration of personalized elements and the redesign of the card will impede easy alteration of the card in the case of robbery
- Radiofrecuency identification will allow Customs and Border Protection agents to read the card at a distance and compare it with archived information immediately
- The address of the cardholder printed on the card will facilitate its return to USCIS if it is lost

Following the nickname of the permanent resident card, the new card will be green for its easy identification. USCIS will replace green cards that are currently in circulation when people renew or request a substitute.

Appendix E

1. Of what does your job at newspaper X consist? How did you arrive at this job?

2. What themes/topics are covered in newspaper X? How are these determined? Do you receive feedback from the audience about the content of the newspaper? If so, how?

3. Who are the primary and secondary audience for newspaper X?

4. What is the goal of newspaper X?

5. Who writes the articles for newspaper X? What is their professional and personal background? Are there criteria for who can and can't contribute?

6. How do you determine when to publish articles without authors? How does this work? Are they wired in or does the author ask for anonymity?

7. Who owns the publishing company of newspaper X? Has ownership changed since it was founded?

8. Have you noticed any changes in the newspaper over time? For example, the audience, the themes covered, the writers, etc.?

9. Who are the main advertisers in newspaper X? What plans are there, if any, to attract other advertisers? What impact does advertising have, if any, on the publication?

10. Does the newspaper have a style sheet? If so, what does it include?

11. How is newspaper X disseminated? Where? How frequently?