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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

Documented: A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of ICE Raids of Mississippi

Poultry Plants

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Abstract

On August 7, 2019, Immigration and Customs Enforcement arrested approximately 680 people across seven food-processing plants in Mississippi. The events of that day have garnered considerable news coverage both inside and outside the state. In my research, I conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the August ICE raids of Mississippi food-processing plants and examined whether the terms used to refer to workers and the immigrant community differed by local versus out-of-state newspapers. 51 national newspaper articles and 29 Mississippi articles were coded and analyzed for the language they used to refer to the workers/community. The content analysis revealed that national and Mississippi newspapers used similar words to refer to the workers/community, but Mississippi newspapers focused slightly more on community and family. Although journalists themselves did not refer to the immigrants/community as “illegal” or “aliens”, they still often invoked “illegality” in their coverage, and these words were still prevalent in quotations of politicians and government officials.

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On August 7, 2019, Immigration and Customs Enforcement arrested approximately 680 people across seven food-processing plants in Mississippi. The events of that day have garnered considerable news coverage both inside and outside the state (Fowler, 2019; Jordan, 2019). There has been no research conducted yet on media portrayals of the workers arrested in the August 7 raids. Existing research of media portrayals of immigrants has examined the terms like “Illegal,” “Undocumented,” or “Unauthorized” that are used to describe this population (Abrajano, 2017; Thomas, 2019). The choice in terms can influence the perception of immigrants, and this perception may impact how immigrants are treated.

The August 7 raids were the largest workplace immigration raids ever conducted within a single state (Shapiro, Contreras, & Blanchard, 2019). It came only four days after a shooting in a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, where a gunman who was targeting Latinos killed 22 people. While a state known for its history of racial discrimination, Mississippi has largely avoided headlines surrounding immigration. This is despite an estimated 20,000 undocumented immigrants that live in Mississippi and make up 35 percent of the immigration population as of 2016 (Primera & Rodríguez-Pons, 2019).

The motivation for this research came from an intersection in my life of classroom and real-life events. As I learned about the language used to refer to Hispanic immigrants in the media in one class and read a book about undocumented workers in Mississippi poultry plants in another, that same semester the raids took place. I was struck by the scale of the raids, but I was more struck by a story about immigration in Mississippi that made international headlines. A

Mississippi resident most of my life, I had seen little coverage of immigration in Mississippi as I had seen in coverage in states on the border with Mexico.

In my research, I conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the August ICE raids of Mississippi food-processing plants and examined whether the terms used to refer to workers and the immigrant community differ by local versus out-of-state newspapers. This research contributes to the existing research on news coverage related to U.S. immigrants by providing a comparative approach of newspaper terminology choice by location.

Literature Review

“Illegal” vs. “Undocumented”

In 2013, the Associated Press (AP) stylebook revised its guidelines and directed journalists to refer to immigrants as “documented” and “undocumented” rather than “illegal” and “legal.” The recommendation provided by AP (2013) was as follows:

Entering or residing in a country in violation of civil or criminal law. Except in direct quotes essential to the story, use illegal only to refer to an action, not a person: illegal immigration, but not* illegal immigrant. Acceptable variations include *living in *or *entering a country illegally or* without legal permission.* (“Associated Press stylebook”)

This change followed a Latino-led campaign to end the use of “illegal” in public discourse. Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Jose Antonio Vargas was a leader of the campaign with the slogan “no human being is illegal” (Thomas, 2019, p. 10). This decision by AP ran against common usage of “illegal.” Many Americans continued to associate the term “illegal

immigrants” with Latinos, while the term “undocumented immigrants” was associated with a wider range of immigrant ethnicities (Chavez, 2013, p. 27).

Latinos often reject the term “illegal,” in part because illegal entry is associated with criminality (Chavez, 2013, p. 27). Despite this, the labels that Latinos use for themselves (“undocumented” and “unauthorized”) are not adopted by the state (Brubaker et al., 2014, p. 35). Furthermore, Latinos are overidentified as “undocumented” in crime stories in the news. One study found that Latino criminal suspects are identified in news stories as undocumented 97% of the time and that 99% of undocumented immigrants addressed in crime stories are Latino (Dixon & Williams, 2015, p. 31). This runs counter to empirical evidence that first-generation immigrants are less likely to commit criminal acts than native-born Americans (Hagan, Levi, & Dinovitzer, 2008, p. 103). In fact, there is no meaningful relationship between immigration and crime (Hickman & Suttorp, 2008, p. 77). The shift from the use of “illegal” by AP can be seen as a shift from what Eduardo Bonilla-Silva refers to as “covert racism” (Bonilla-Silva, 1997, p. 476). The term “illegal immigrant” is covertly racist because it is used to “presumptively refer to all individuals fairly even though stereotypically it can operate as a code word that refers to a particular racial group” (Thomas, 2019, p. 16).

Media Effects and Print News

Examining media coverage of particular events is important, because media can create “external shocks” by the way they frame news stories (Vasterman, 2005, p. 508). According to Boomgaarden & Vliegethard (2008), both the “frequency and the tone” of coverage have a significant impact on anti-immigration sentiments (p. 2). However, they found that immigration coverage only had a marginal impact on immigration perception while ethnic minority coverage had a significant impact (Boomgaarden & Vliegethard, 2008, p. 21).

Additionally, studies have shown how media effects can influence political attitudes (Kinder, 1998). For example, Abrajano and Hajnal (2017) found that “Latino frames on immigration are linked to a macro shift in the political orientation of white Americans” (p. 29). Negative framing on immigration was “associated with shifts toward the Republican party” (p. 5). Stories that focused on an arrested immigrant were one of the types of stories that were coded as negative, and they found that most news coverage follows the “immigrant threat narrative,” or the narrative that links “immigration to economic costs, social dysfunction, illegality, and cultural decline” (Abrajano & Hajnal, 2017, p. 9).

Furthermore, Blinder and Jeannet (2017) found that even “subtle media interventions” can affect the public perception of immigration (p. 1444). For example, the framing of immigrants as “highly skilled workers” led to participants in Blinder and Jeannet’s (2017) study being less likely to think of immigrants as asylum seekers or as “illegal” (p. 1456). Finally, when examining media effects, one must also consider the context of the media, which has a moderating role (Boomgaarden & Vlieghart, 2008, p. 5). For instance, Boomgaarden and Vlieghart (2008) argue that people are susceptible to news about immigration and ethnic minorities when immigration levels are high (p. 5). The context of Mississippi as a non-border state with historically little coverage of immigration must also be taken into account (Branton & Dunaway, 2009, p. 289).

Race and Immigration in Mississippi

One reason that Mississippi has avoided national headlines in its handling of immigration is the resistance to the anti-immigration measures taken in other “new immigrant destination” states such as Alabama and South Carolina (Brown & Jones, 2016). Brown and Jones (2016) found that an effective Black-Latino coalition had influence in Mississippi immigration politics,

with Latino immigrants' "staunchest allies" the members of the Black Legislative Caucus (p. 36). This Black-Latino alliance also plays itself out within the poultry plants, as Stuesse (2016) lays out in her activist research into unionizing efforts in the Mississippi plants.

In *Scratching Out a Living*, Stuesse outlines the "Hispanic Project," the coordinated efforts by poultry plants managers to import Hispanic immigrant labor into Mississippi. The project, which began in the early 1990s, brought nearly five thousand workers to Morton and Forest by 1998 (Stuesse, 2016). As a result of the "Hispanic Project," the white and black residents of these towns, which have a combined population of under ten thousand, were forced to adjust to a new racial status quo.

Local Mississippians responded to the immigrants within the framework of the "immigrant work ethic," or the acceptance of the presence of immigrants as long as they are engaged in jobs seen as undesirable to white Americans (Stuesse, 2016, p. 110). This served to reinforce the racial hierarchy in Mississippi, placing Latino workers in poultry plants below white Mississippians and above black Mississippians who were perceived by whites as "too lazy" to work in poultry plants (Stuesse, 2016, p. 110). Stuesse's "immigrant work ethic" may also work against the "immigrant threat narrative" as immigrant workers are conceivably less threatening to white Mississippians than immigrants that are unemployed.

Prior Content Analyses

According to Mastro (2014), while news on immigration is sporadic, "the most consistent and heaviest coverage of immigration appears to be in print news (compared with network TV and cable) in the local newspapers in border states" (p. 139). Print news remains the "preferred news outlet for the vast majority of consumers" (Rasmussen, 2010). Other than mere exposure to

the news, the actual content of the news also affects changes in opinion (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006, p. 317). Mastro (2014) found that the news tended to characterize undocumented immigrants in “abstract and unfavorable language” (p. 135). Mastro argues that their finding demonstrates that although journalism values objectivity, news “is a form of storytelling and social construction” (p. 143). Thus, journalists may unconsciously shift their language from “concrete to abstract” when describing “desirable characteristics...[of] majority group members in the United States and undesirable attributes.... [of] minority group members” (Mastro, 2014, p. 143).

Other content analyses have focused on the specific language that has been used to refer to the U.S. immigrant community. In their study of intergroup bias in print news, Dragojevic, Sink, and Mastro (2017) pulled articles that contained the terms “immigration,” “immigrant,” “undocumented,” “illegal,” “migrant,” or “any derivation thereof” for their sample (p. 466). They found that negative statements outnumbered positive statements (Dragojevic et al., 2017, p. 462). Thomas (2019), in response to the AP stylebook recommendation in 2013, performed a content analysis that counted the frequency of the words “illegal immigrant” and “undocumented immigrant.” According to Thomas (2019), the ratio of articles with the word “illegal immigrant” to those with the word “undocumented immigrant” decreased from 6.7 to 1.4 after the AP Style guide shift (p. 21).

My study serves as an extension of the prior content analyses on news coverage of immigration. It moves beyond the scope of a study like Thomas’s (2019) because it focuses on all language used to refer to the worker/Latino community rather than simply focusing on terms that reference immigration status. This decision allows us to capture more of the overall tone used in reference to the worker/Latino community than the more technical language used in

reference to the workers. It fills a gap in the literature because it covers the August ICE raids of Mississippi poultry plants, a recent event that has had few to no content analyses performed on its coverage. Because Mississippi is a state with a history of racial discrimination, an event involving immigration in Mississippi deserves a content analysis to reveal how journalists, Mississippian and national, respond. Mississippi journalists may fall privy to the “immigrant threat narrative,” or they might demonstrate the unifying behaviors seen in the Black-Latino alliances. Also, because of the little previous coverage of immigration in Mississippi, this study will serve as work that can be referenced in future research into news coverage of immigration in Mississippi. This content analysis directly addressed the following question: Do the terms used to refer to workers and the immigrant community in the August ICE raids of Mississippi poultry plants differ by local versus out-of-state newspapers?

Methods

Data Collection

The Nexis Uni database was used to collect online newspaper articles for the national pool of articles. Articles that fell within the date range of August 7 (the day of the raid) and August 14 were retrieved. Articles were selected from this date range to capture the Mississippi media reaction to the events without the external influence of the national media’s reaction. The search string “Mississippi AND (ICE or immigration customs enforcement) AND (arrest or raid)” was used. “AND (arrest or raid)” was a necessary component of the search string to avoid any uses of the word “ICE” that did not pertain to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (such as ice on the roads, drugs, etc.)

From the pool of articles collected, the articles were further narrowed down to meet the purposes of the study. Only articles that included “Mississippi” or “ICE raids” in the first paragraph were included in the sample, thus news articles and opinion articles that did not provide direct coverage of the August 7 raids or the events that followed or that only mentioned these in passing were not included in the sample. Since only two Mississippi articles fell within the original search of the Nexis Uni database, they were removed, and another methodology was created for collecting the articles for the Mississippi sample. After narrowing down the pool by these criteria, there were a total of 51 articles in the national articles sample.

Mississippi articles were manually collected from the website of the primary newspaper in each of the 13 most populous Mississippi cities according to U.S. Census 2018 population estimates (U.S. Census, 2020). Of the top thirteen cities, using the search capabilities available on each newspaper’s website, only eight cities’ newspapers had articles about the August ICE raids. Newspapers using the same source of articles (ex. *Daily Journal*) were counted as individual stories in Excel and downloaded once each for analysis. After following the same guidelines used for the national articles of narrowing down the articles to fit the purposes of the study, there were a total of 29 articles in the Mississippi articles sample.

Data Analysis

Coding software NVivo was used to manually code all references to either workers or the immigrant community. This included text in the body of the article and the headline but did not include text in linked articles or captioned photos. Eighty-seven nodes (unique descriptors used to refer to workers or the immigrant community) were created, and the references were coded into these nodes (see Table 1). Examples of such nodes were “undocumented,” “workers,” etc. Both nouns and adjectives that described the workers/community were coded. Thus, the term

“undocumented worker” would have been coded into the nodes “undocumented” and “worker.” This decision was made so that the full context of references to the workers and community was provided for the analysis of the language used by newspapers.

The same nodes were used for both the Mississippi collection of articles and the national collection of articles for the sake of comparison. The coding resulted in two sets of data—number of articles in which a reference to a node was made and number of total references made of a node across each dataset (national vs. state). Because the length of the articles varied and the sample size of Mississippi articles ($N = 29$) and of national articles ($N = 51$) differed, two measures were established for comparing the two sets. Mississippi articles and national articles were compared according to the percentage of articles that referenced a node and the average number of references per article of a node.

Another comparison was made between Mississippi articles and national articles after nodes were grouped thematically. Themes were established after the initial coding was complete, and the themes included were family, country of origin, legality, neutral (language), race/ethnicity, and community. Examples of nodes that were included in family were references to familial relations, such as “brother,” “parent,” and “child.” Country of origin included any direct reference to the nation from which worker was from, such as “Guatemalan” or “Mexican.” Legality was language that directly linked the workers/community with their legal status, such as “unauthorized” or “illegal.” Neutral language were the nodes that did not seem to fit any of the other themes, such as “people” or “persons.” Race/ethnicity included nodes such as “brown” and “Latino,” and community included nodes that focused on the workers’/community’s community ties, such as “customer” or “neighbor.” A list of which nodes fell under which theme can be found in Table 2.

Results

Mississippi articles had a total of 388 references to the workers or immigrant community, and the words most commonly used to describe the population were “workers” with 69 references, “children” with 68 references, and “people” with 67 references. National articles had a total of 872 references to the workers/community, and the words most commonly used to describe the population were “workers” with 205 references, “people” with 106 references, and “immigrant” with 93 references. Figures 1 and 2 provide every node in the study along each horizontal axis.

The data on the percentage of articles that referenced a node (see Figure 1) and the average number of references per article of a node (see Figure 2) revealed that national articles tended to refer to the workers/community more frequently and more often as “undocumented,” “unauthorized,” and “illegal.” The only exception to this result was the average number of references per article of a node for “undocumented” in the Mississippi articles, and this was due to the Mississippi sample only containing one article referencing the workers/community as “undocumented” 15 times. Several nodes were referenced only once per article, such as “adult,” “boy,” and “couple” (see Figure 2).

A thematic analysis of node frequency provided a more telling picture of the differences between Mississippi articles’ and national articles’ references to the workers/community. The results of the thematic analysis are depicted in Figure 3. The average number of references per article to family and community made in Mississippi articles are both higher than in national articles. Mississippi articles referred to family an average of approximately 2.5 times per article, while national articles referred to family only an average of approximately 2 times per article.

Mississippi articles referred to community an average 1.6 times per article, while national articles referred to community only an average 1.1 times per article.

Discussion

The most striking aspect of the results was the similarity between Mississippi and national newspapers in the language used to refer to the workers/community. Two of the top three terms used to describe the workers/community (“people” and “workers”) were the same in Mississippi and national newspapers. Other terms that were used frequently by both Mississippi and national newspapers were “immigrant,” “children,” and “families.” Although the average number of times terms were referenced per article and the percentage of articles that referred differed, Mississippi and national newspapers frequently used the same nouns when referring to the workers/community.

The frequency of the use of the term “illegal” was far less than the sum of the other terms to describe the workers/community, such as “undocumented,” “unauthorized,” and “ineligible.” This is like the results of Thomas’s (2019) study that found the use of the term “illegal” decreased after the AP stylebook change (p. 21). When the term “illegal” was used, it was most often used to describe an action of the workers/community rather than to describe the workers/community themselves. For example, articles often used the term “illegal” in phrases such as “people working illegally” or “workers who were in the country illegally.” In this way, journalists still reflected the “illegality” of the workers/community through their actions while avoiding labeling the workers/community as “illegal.” This, of course, follows directly from the AP Style guide’s recommendations for the use of the term “illegal” when referring to immigrants. “Illegality” may still feed into the “immigrant threat narrative” similarly to “illegal immigrants” (Abrajano & Hajnal, 2017, p. 9).

There were more differences in the language used to refer to the workers/community between Mississippi and national articles when viewed thematically. The Mississippi articles generally focused more on the aspects of family and community when reporting the August ICE raids while the national articles focused more on the aspects of country of origin, race/ethnicity, and legality to a certain extent. When referring to family, articles often focused on the response of ICE to the separation of parents from their children following the detention of the workers. Articles covered how “those detained could make child care arrangements for their children” and described “children crying after their parents.” Journalists described in detail the complexity of the intersections of family with immigration and work. One scene that was described by several articles depicted “a tearful 13-year-old boy whose parents are from Guatemala waved goodbye to his mother, a Koch worker, as he stood beside his father.” When referring to community, articles often focused on the community response to the raids and the impact of the raids on local business. For example, one article said that for a local business owner, “most of his customers were working at Peco Foods. Since the raid, he said he has had to cancel nearly all weekend orders.”

The focus on family and community by Mississippi newspapers is best understood with a contextualization of Mississippi. Mississippi is a state composed of many rural communities such as Morton, where some of the raids took place (U.S. Census, 2010). According to Beaudoin and Thorson (2004), “...rural communities have higher levels of social integration and attachment than urban communities” (p. 379). When a shock such as the August ICE raids breaks these ties, the members of these communities must scramble to maintain their sense of security. In addition to the value of family and community ties to rural Mississippi communities, local newspapers are more committed to local news than national newspapers (Nielsen, 2015, p.

51). Certainly, the August ICE raids were of a large enough scale to garner national media attention. This perhaps helps explain the focus on demographic and legal terms by national newspapers to describe the workers/community. However, Mississippi newspapers understand that their primary audience are Mississippians who are may be more focused on the local impacts of the raids instead of their context within the national conversation on immigration.

Quotations

In those instances when terms such as “illegal immigrant” (or other harsher immigration terms, such as “alien”) were used, they were overwhelmingly found within quotations. Oftentimes, conservative groups advocate the use of the term “illegal” and liberal groups advocate the use of the term “undocumented” or “unauthorized” (Abrajano, 2017; Thomas, 2019). For example, Republican Mississippi Governor Tate Reeves’s tweet was quoted several times, in which he said “680 aliens detained in Mississippi today. We must enforce our laws, for the safety of all Americans.” Acting Customs and Border Protection Commissioner Mark Morgan put his view starkly, being quoted as saying, “These aren’t undocumented immigrants. These are illegal immigrants.” These instances were usually quotations of state and national government officials, reflecting the disconnect Brubaker et al. (2004) found between the labels that Latinos use for themselves and those adopted by the state. Other language, such as “wave” and “invaders,” was used in opinion pieces that did not necessarily follow AP style. Thus, terms used to describe immigration that are not journalistically recommended still find their way into newspapers in the form of quotations and opinions.

Limitations and Future Research

This study had some limitations. The sample of Mississippi articles was convenient and was not selected from an exhaustive database of Mississippi newspapers. Firstly, several Mississippi newspaper websites were inaccessible either due to subscription access or poor website design. Secondly, the study did not consider any newspapers that are only available in a print form and are not available online. Future research into Mississippi newspapers should investigate the prevalence of print-only newspapers in Mississippi and whether their coverage differs substantially from newspapers available online. Thirdly, newspapers from the communities where the raids took place were not included in the sample. Future research should use these newspapers to further localize the sample. Additionally, many newspapers in Mississippi draw their articles from the same national journalists. These newspapers, although published in different cities, led to the same articles being coded several times in the sample. The study assumed that since different populations would read these articles, coding and counting the same articles more than once would be appropriate, as it reflects exposure in the population of interest, but the results would be different if these duplicates were excluded. Finally, the sample of articles was pulled from articles published within a week of the raids (August 7 – August 14). Since there was and continues to be a significant amount of follow-up coverage, some of which has gone more in-depth than the immediate coverage did, thus future research may include the follow-up coverage to examine whether language used by state and national newspapers converges or diverges when examined over a longer time period.

The research also highlights opportunities for future research. Because of the AP Style guide recommendations, the usage of terms like “illegal” and “alien” have decreased dramatically. However, this research provides evidence that politicians and government officials

continue to use these terms in social media. Future research could focus on the language used by politicians and government officials on social media.

Implications

The findings from this study have implications for journalists who are interested in minimizing negative media effects. One finding of this study is that language found in newspaper coverage of immigration dramatically differs between the journalist and the sources of their quotations. Although the media landscape may have shifted away from the use of terms like “illegal alien,” politicians and government officials frequently still use these words. My content analysis of words used to refer to the workers/community would have been incomplete without the inclusion of quotations, and upon analysis it was seen that the harshest language was not used by journalists but by the officials they quoted.

Journalists have also, consciously or unconsciously, continued to refer to the “illegality” of immigrants without using the words “illegal immigrant.” They did this in a variety of ways—in reference to the process by which immigrants entered the country, in reference to the work that was performed by the workers, and potentially in reference to any action performed by this no longer “illegal” community. In this way, the AP stylebook recommendation has had a limited effectiveness, only deterring journalists from the words “illegal immigrants” but not from “illegality” itself. One of the implications of this work may be to inform guidelines for journalists who are looking to avoid the association of “illegality” and immigrants.

Finally, while the focus of this research was rather specific, I believe that implications can be drawn for the broader public. The emphasis of Mississippi newspapers on family and community reflects the connections that the workers/immigrant community have in these

Mississippi towns. My work demonstrates that although undocumented immigrants make up a small proportion of the population of Mississippi, they are integrated in the make-up of the communities in which they reside. As there were no previous content analyses on this event, this study is the first attempt at contextualizing the coverage of the raids and analyzing the language used to refer to the workers/immigrant community of the Mississippi poultry plants in Mississippi and national newspapers. It allows us to look past the headlines of the event and have a better understanding of the way the workers/immigrant community is portrayed.

Conclusion

In my research, I conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the August ICE raids of Mississippi food-processing plants and examined whether the terms used to refer to workers and the immigrant community differ by local versus out-of-state newspapers. The most-used words used to refer to workers and the immigrant community did not differ much between Mississippi and national articles, and a wide variety of words were used. A thematic analysis revealed that national articles tended to focus more on the workers/community's race/ethnicity, country of origin, and legal status while Mississippi articles tended to focus more on family and community aspects of the workers/community. Although journalists themselves did not refer to the immigrants/community as "illegal" or "aliens," they still often invoked "illegality" in their coverage, and these words were still prevalent in their quotations of politicians and government officials.

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Figure 1

Comparison of Percentage of Articles Referenced a Node, National vs. Mississippi

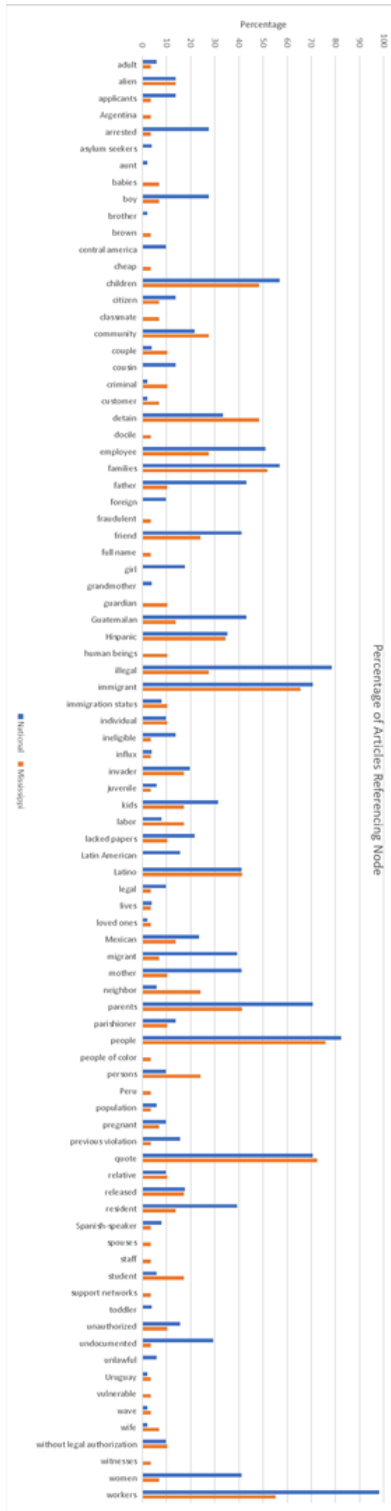


Figure 2

Comparison of Average Number of References Per Article of a Node, National vs. Mississippi

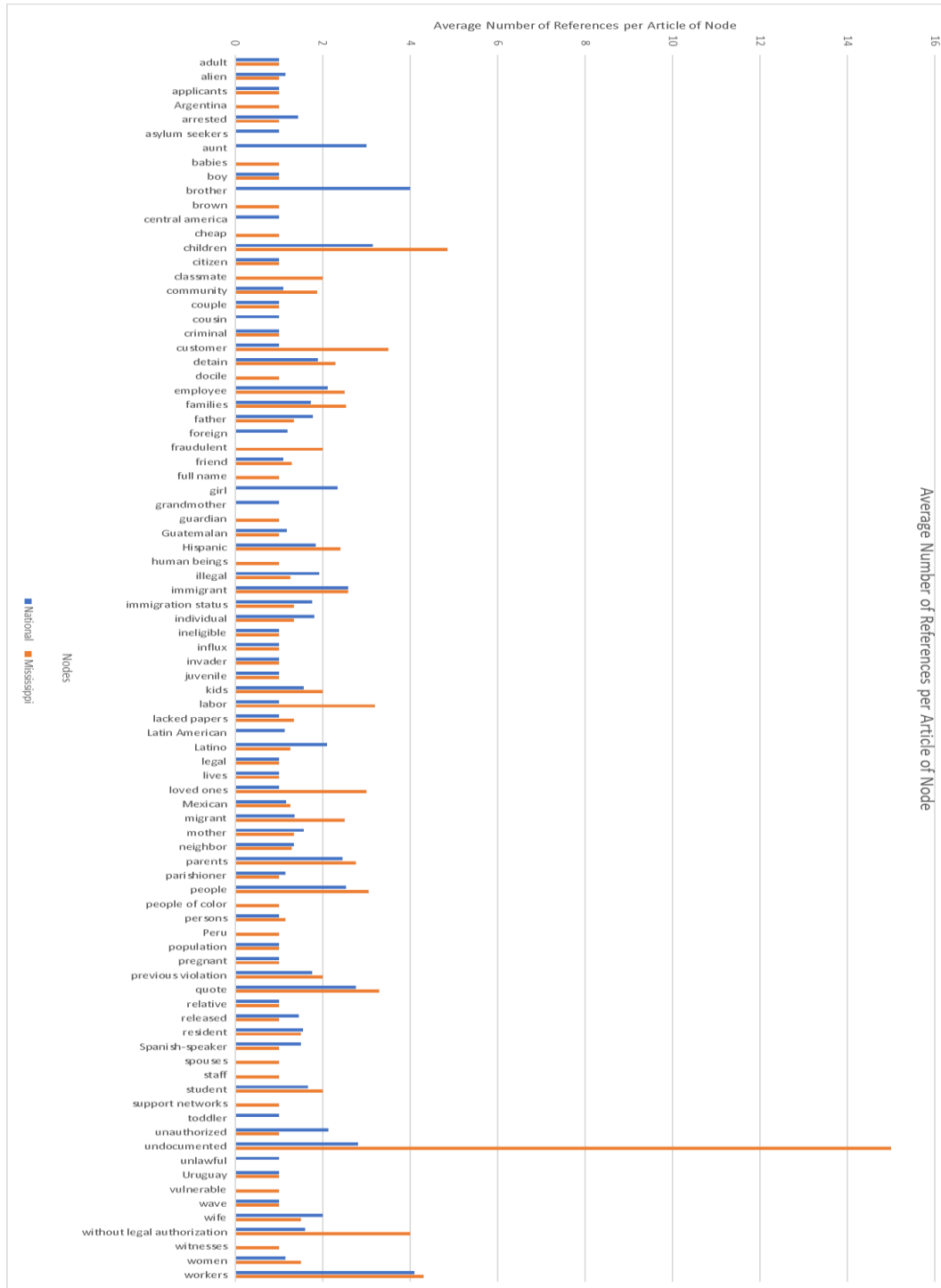


Figure 3

Comparison of Prevalence of Themes in Newspaper Coverage, National vs. Mississippi

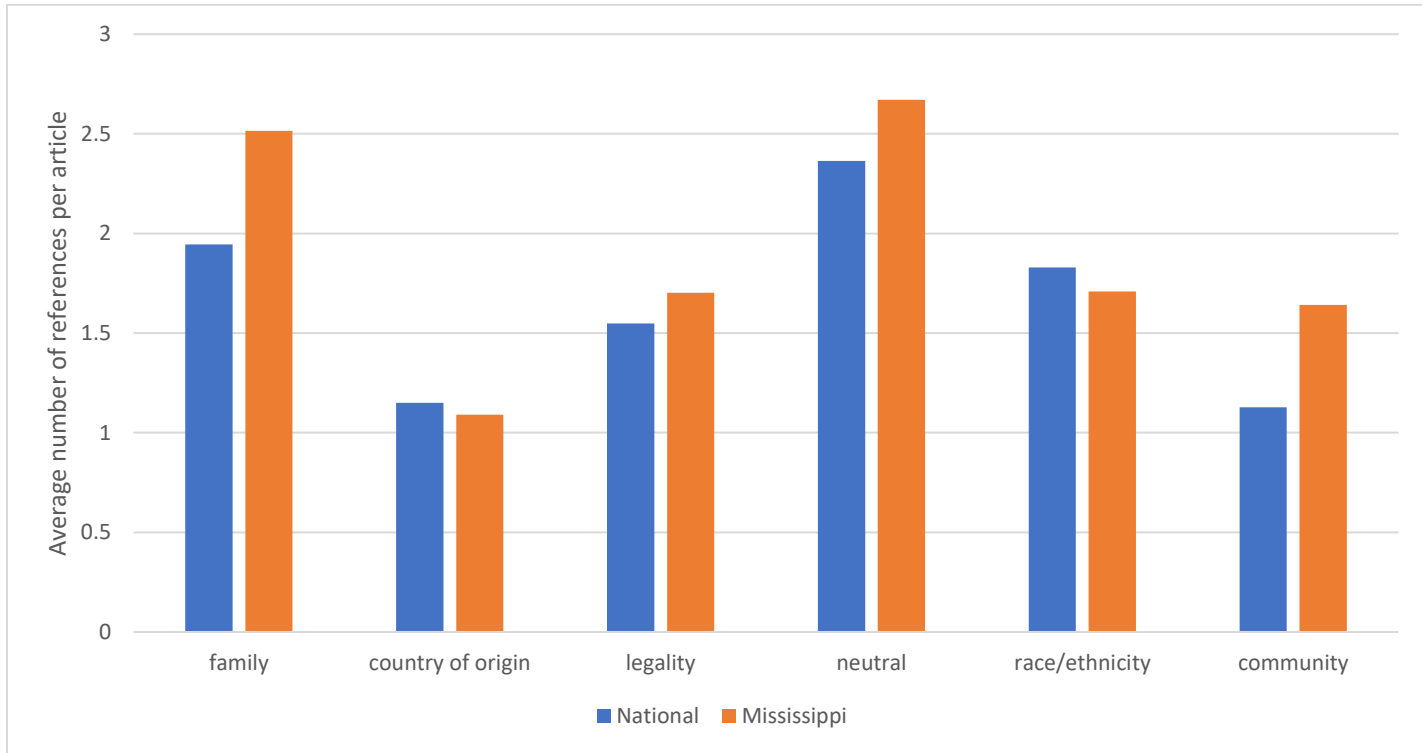


Table 1*Nodes and Example Quotes*

Node	Example Quote
Adult	“ICE is currently detaining over 53,000 single adults”
Alien	“Approximately 30 detained aliens were released”
Applicants	“Latino job applicants”
Argentina	“Later, came a wave from Argentina”
Arrested	“Those arrested and released can't work legally”
Asylum seekers	“The administration also has sought to turn away asylum seekers”
Aunt	“Juana and Eduardo took on the role of translators as their aunts”
Babies	“Our concern was that those babies were taken care of”
Boy	“A tearful 13-year-old boy was seen waving”
Brother	“brother did not find out about the raid until that afternoon”
Brown	“They see a brown person and they see the government”
Central America	“Central American families”
Cheap	“cheap, docile labor”
Children	“children arriving home to find their parents missing”
Citizen	“U.S. citizens were detained”
Classmate	“neighbors, friends, classmates, or fellow parishioners”
Community	“President Trump allows so many families and communities to be torn apart”
Couple	“both members of a couple were working at the plant”
Cousin	“a cousin with two children who was detained in one of the raids”
Criminal	“unauthorized immigrants as moochers, criminals”
Customer	“Spanish-speaking residents had become customers”
Detain	“detainees who met certain conditions”
Docile	“cheap, docile labor”
Employee	“Hispanic employees was subject to retaliation”
Families	“families wondering where they belong”

Father	“a young girl crying and begging for her father to be brought back”
Foreign	“an industry's reliance on foreign-born workers”
Fraudulent	“employees are real and which are fraudulent”
Friend	“about 70 family, friends and residents waved goodbye”
Full name	“Osiel Avila-Parra, a Mexican citizen”
General	
Girl	“young girl crying and begging for her father to be brought back”
Grandmother	“relatives had been arrested, including a 65-year-old grandmother”
Guardian	"visual reference to a parent or guardian"
Guatemalan	“Guatemalans, and about 200 of the 1,000 parishioners”
Hispanic	“Hispanic workers, many of them undocumented”
Human beings	“human beings are involved, families and children”
Illegal	“companies that knowingly and willfully hire illegal aliens”
Immigrant	“these aren't undocumented immigrants. These are illegal immigrants”
Immigration status	“the wave of Latino immigration”
Individual	“those individuals that are here illegally against immigration law”
Ineligible	“Plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers”
Influx	“mass influx of migrants”
Invader	“president's own references to an immigrant "invasion,"
Juvenile	“Those released included 18 juveniles”
Kids	“kids are being cared for”
Labor	“foreign-born labor”
Lacked papers	“immigrants without papers to live in the U.S. illegally”
Latin American	“Latin American immigrants”
Latino	“Not if most of the Latinos don't come back.”
Legal	“a legal resident and Koch worker”
Lives	“workers' lives”
Loved ones	“any information about their loved ones”
Mexican	“Mexican man named Omar, 39, had come for his wife's tools”

Migrant	“potential migrants from Latin America”
Mother	“A tearful 13-year-old boy was seen waving at his worker mother”
Neighbor	“Hispanic neighbors”
Parents	“children arriving home to find their parents missing”
Parishioner	“1,000 parishioners in the church were Hispanic”
People	“many undocumented people declined to give her last name”
People of color	“Hispanics or other people of color”
Persons	“he also drove home a person”
Peru	“wave from Argentina, Uruguay and Peru”
Population	“Latino population”
Pregnant	“pregnant women or those who hadn't faced immigration proceedings previously.”
Previous violation	“people who already had been arrested for immigration violations”
Quote	"These aren't undocumented immigrants. These are illegal immigrants," he said.
Relative	“whose relatives had been arrested.”
Released	“those who had been released were let go at the plants”
Resident	“undocumented residents”
Spanish-speaker	“Spanish-speaking community”
Spouses	“isolated detention centers, far from their spouses”
Staff	“Four of his staff, working at the plant”
Student	“150 students were absent Thursday”
Support networks	“far from their spouses, children, communities, and support networks”
Toddler	“crying toddlers and preteens whose parents”
Unauthorized	“680 unauthorized immigrants working”
Undocumented	“Hispanic workers, many of them undocumented”
Unlawful	“those who are seeking to work unlawfully”
Uruguay	“immigrants from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Uruguay and Guatemala.”
Vulnerable	“vulnerable populations”
Wave	“the wave of Latino immigration”
Wife	“Omar, 39, had come for his wife’s tools”
Without legal authorization	“workers without legal authorization”
Witnesses	“They can be critical witnesses”

Women	“woman named Juana — who like many undocumented people”
Workers	“Hispanic workers, many of them undocumented”

Table 2*Themes and Associated Nodes*

Theme	Nodes
Family	aunt, brother, children, couple, cousin, families, father, grandmother, kids, girl, brother, mother, parents, pregnant, relative, toddler, wife
Country of Origin	Central America, Guatemalan, Mexican, Uruguay
Legality	alien, arrested, asylum seekers, citizen, criminal, detain, illegal, ineligible, legal, previous violation, released, unauthorized, unlawful, without legal authorization
Neutral	adult, applicants, employee, foreign, immigrant, individual, juvenile, labor, lives, migrant, people, persons, population, Spanish-speaker, women, workers
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic, Latin American, Latino
Community	community, customer, friend, loved ones, parishioner, student

Table 3*Mississippi newspaper titles, article titles, and publication dates*

Article Title	Newspaper Title	Publication date
After Mississippi ICE raids, job fair draws hopeful workers	Starkville Daily News	August 13, 2019
Are ICE agents detaining immigrants on MS Gulf Coast	Biloxi Sun Herald	August 8, 2019
Documents: Plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers	Starkville Daily News	August 9, 2019
How many kids were affected by ICE raids in Mississippi	Biloxi Sun Herald	August 8, 2019
'A safe place': Over 200 students absent after ICE raids. Schools reaching out.	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
ICE raids at Mississippi's poultry plants demonstrate disconnect on immigration policy	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 14, 2019
Churches on ICE raids: 'Mississippi didn't ask for this. It doesn't come from the people'	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
ICE raids raise question: What about the employers?	Starkville Daily News	August 14, 2019
Hundreds arrested in ICE raids at Mississippi food processing plants	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 7, 2019
Ankle monitors and informants: How ICE chose the 7 Mississippi food plants to raid	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
'Dehumanizing': Jackson mayor slams ICE raids, asks churches to become safe havens	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 7, 2019
ICE raids: Mississippi politicians praise, criticize federal immigration roundup	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 8, 2019
Largest US immigration raids in a decade net 680 arrests	Starkville Daily News	August 7, 2019

Mississippi groups address recent ICE raid in press conference	Daily Journal	August 8, 2019
'Let them go!': Tears, shock over ICE raids at Mississippi food processing plants	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
Mississippi ICE raids: A manager speaks out at a plant that lost most its employees	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
ICE releases 300 of 680 detainees in Mississippi, some on 'humanitarian grounds'	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 8, 2019
Racism fueling some terrorism: US homeland security chief in Mississippi after ICE raid	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 14, 2019
'Now hiring': Koch Foods holding job fair after Mississippi ICE raids	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 9, 2019
'The store depends on them': What MS ICE raids are doing to small town businesses	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 11, 2019
Where are Mom and Dad? School on standby to help children in aftermath of ICE raids	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 7, 2019
Job fair after ICE raids: Here's who showed up for Koch Foods plant jobs	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 12, 2019
After the MS ICE raid: Chicken deboners wanted. Experience required. \$10.82 an hour.	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 13, 2019
'Jails in every sense': After ICE raid, what's next for those detained?	Mississippi Clarion Ledger	August 10, 2019
OUR OPINION: Better plan needed for children left behind after ICE raids	Daily Journal	August 11, 2019
SID SALTER: ICE raids demonstrate disconnect on immigration policies	Daily Journal	August 14, 2019
SID SALTER: ICE raids show disconnect on immigration policies	Meridian Star	August 14, 2019

Trump aide regrets 'unfortunate' timing on ICE raid of food processing plants in Mississippi	Clarion Ledger	August 11, 2019
What happens to the 680 people captured in Mississippi ICE raids	Biloxi Sun Herald	August 8, 2019

Table 4*National newspaper titles, article titles, and publication dates*

Article Title	Newspaper Title	Publication date
300 released after Miss. Immigration raids	The New York Post	August 9, 2019
Acting Border Patrol chief: Miss. ICE raids 'aren't raids'	The Baltimore Sun	August 12, 2019
Acting Border Patrol chief: Miss. ICE raids 'aren't raids'	Daily Press (Newport News, VA)	August 12, 2019
Acting Border Patrol chief: Miss. ICE raids 'aren't raids'	The Hartford Courant	August 12, 2019
After ICE Raids, the Parking Lot Was Crowded, but No One Was There to Work	The New York Times	August 9, 2019
DHS chief calls timing of ICE raids 'unfortunate'; Arrests followed shooting that targeted Hispanics	USA Today	August 12, 2019
Documents Plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers	The Salt Lake Tribune	August 9, 2019
Documents: Food plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers	Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	August 10, 2019
Documents: ineligible workers hired 'willfully' Court papers show some Miss. plants turned a blind eye	The San Diego Union Tribune	August 10, 2019
Documents_ Plant owners _willfully_ used ineligible workers	Tribune-Review (Greensburg, PA)	August 9, 2019
Documents_ Plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	August 10, 2019
Dozens released after massive Mississippi immigration raids	Stillman Advance: Stillman College	August 9, 2019
Editorial_ Administration sweeps up undocumented workers while employers escape sanction	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	August 14, 2019
Factories Back to Life After Raids, but the Streets Go Quiet	The New York Times	August 9, 2019

Feds defend raids on workplaces Officials criticize airing images of crying children	The San Diego Union Tribune	August 12, 2019
Hundreds Arrested in ICE Raid in Mississippi	The New York Times	August 8, 2019
Hundreds of migrants freed after Miss. raid	Daily News (New York)	August 9, 2019
'I just want my mom and dad'; Mississippi raids end with more immigrant families separated	Los Angeles Times	August 10, 2019
ICE agents arrest 680 in massive workplace operation Mississippi raids rank as largest single-state w	The San Diego Union Tribune	August 8, 2019
ICE agents raid 7 work sites in Miss., arrest 680	The Washington Post	August 8, 2019
ICE Arrests Hundreds in Mississippi Raids Targeting Immigrant Workers	The New York Times	August 7, 2019
ICE raid aftermath brings calls to hotline; Mississippi agency says kids are being cared for	USA Today	August 14, 2019
ICE Raids in Mississippi Leave Fear and Uncertainty in Their Wake	The New York Times	August 8, 2019
ICE raids in Mississippi sow fear among poultry workers	Los Angeles Times	August 9, 2019
ICE raids target workers, but few companies are charged	The Washington Post	August 10, 2019
Immigration officials raid Mississippi food processing plants, arrest 680	Spokesman Review (Spokane, WA)	August 8, 2019
Immigration raids net 680 arrests in Miss. Workplace sting at food plants may be largest in a decade	The Baltimore Sun	August 8, 2019
Immigration raids net 680 arrests in Miss. Workplace sting at food plants may be largest in a decade(2)	Daily Press (Newport News, VA)	August 8, 2019
Immigration raids net 680 arrests in Mississippi	Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	August 8, 2019

Largest in a decade net 680 arrests	Chicago Daily Herald	August 8, 2019
Largest U.S. immigration raids in a decade net 680 arrests	The Salt Lake Tribune	August 7, 2019
Largest US immigration raids in a decade net 680 arrests	The Wyoming Tribune-Eagle (Cheyenne)	August 8, 2019
Largest US immigration raids in a decade net 680 arrests	Charleston Gazette-Mail	August 8, 2019
March against ICE raids_ 'Let our voices be heard' Churches offer support after hundreds arrested	Spokesman Review (Spokane, WA)	August 12, 2019
Matthew in the middle; The two Americas	Eureka Times-Standard (California)	August 11, 2019
Miss. ICE raids show poultry firms' dependence on foreign-born labor	The Washington Post	August 9, 2019
Miss. residents rally around detainees, kids after ICE raids	Daily Press (Newport News, VA)	August 9, 2019
Miss. residents rally around detainees, kids after ICE raids	The Hartford Courant	August 9, 2019
Miss. residents rally around detainees, kids after ICE raids	The Baltimore Sun	August 9, 2019
Mississippi immigration raids lead to 680 arrests; The workplace sting is the largest in a decade. Most of those detained are Latino.	Los Angeles Times	August 8, 2019
Mississippi processing plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers, documents say	St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	August 10, 2019
Mississippi_ Raids capture hundreds Immigration sweep is largest workplace sting in at least a decade	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	August 8, 2019
Park Ridge-based company that ICE targeted has history of labor issues	Chicago Daily Herald	August 9, 2019
Plant owners 'willfully' used ineligible workers	Spokesman Review (Spokane, WA)	August 10, 2019
Poultry towns drown in ICE wake Local economies, schools can suffer over long term in aftermath of raids	Daily Press (Newport News, VA)	August 13, 2019

Poultry towns drown in ICE wake Local economies, schools can suffer over long term in aftermath of raids	The Baltimore Sun	August 13, 2019
Residents lock doors, support children of detained Nearly half of 680 arrested in ICE raid have been	The San Diego Union Tribune	August 9, 2019
Some 300 arrested in MS immigration raids have been released, officials say	Stillman Advance: Stillman College	August 10, 2019
U.S. needs the workers that ICE targeted	The San Diego Union Tribune	August 10, 2019
What ICE raids won't solve	The Washington Post	August 12, 2019
Workers line up for jobs opened by ICE raid	The Washington Post	August 14, 2019