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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
LANGUAGE POLICY IN CALIFORNIA

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
English Composition:
Applied Linguistics and Teaching English
as a Second Language

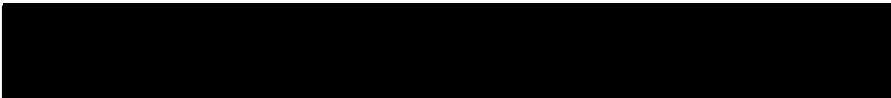
by
Steven Gomez
September 2012

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by
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September 2012

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate the issues surrounding California's Proposition 227, an important language policy passed in June of 1998 which drastically limited bilingual education. Using a method known as Critical Discourse Analysis, this study exposes the underlying bias embedded in the discourse of newspaper articles from: the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Orange County Register*, and the *Sacramento Bee*. After analyzing eight articles from the *Los Angeles Times* (8,548 words), ten articles from the *Orange County Register* (10,605), and ten articles from the *Sacramento Bee* (9,314) various themes emerged which indicated that each newspaper adhered to either an assimilationists' position which is conservative, or a pluralist position which is backed by liberals. The results indicate that the *Los Angeles Times* supported both positions more or less equally, while the *Orange County Register* leaned in favor of assimilationists, and the *Sacramento Bee* supported a pluralist policy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research project would not have been possible without the help of many people. I would like to thank Professor Vickers for aiding me through this project. Her guidance, insightful criticism, and patient encouragement contributed to this thesis in many ways. I would also like to thank Professor Smith for her expertise and for her motivation. And finally, I would like to thank my family for the constant love and support throughout this process.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all those who challenge
the media.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In these days of the 24-hour news cycle and the social network renaissance, events across the globe and locally are reported the minute they occur. This increase in news coverage has resulted in the public's increased dependence on the media's perspective, to such an extent that some refer to the media as the fourth branch of the government (Cook, 2005). Many believe that the media holds a social responsibility, and it is "commonly suggested that newspapers or television should fulfill certain goals, such as raising public awareness about AIDS, encouraging interest in international affairs, or stimulating community activism" (Norris, 2000, p. 22). But the truth is that the media is not accountable to the public and does not always report information in a straightforward manner. In fact, all discourse is biased, and it is understood that knowledge of any type "is never a neutral or objective phenomenon but a matter of the place from which one speaks, to whom, and for what purpose," (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 22). The media, too has an agenda. Instead of being loyal to the public, they construct news reports with underlying ideologies

that benefit their particular constituencies. Motivated for ratings, news agencies can slant stories in order to appeal to a particular political ideology.

The media has been known for doing exactly this when concerning ethnic relations. One particular study by Teo (2000) demonstrates how newspapers portray Vietnamese immigrants in Australia. In this study, Teo examined how newspaper discourse systematically otherized and stereotyped ethnic communities in relation to the "white" majority. Another study by Taiwo (2007) shows how editors shape public opinion regarding nationalism via newspaper headlines. And, in their study, Ansary and Babao (2009) used critical discourse analysis to examine how various newspapers embed hegemonic fundamentalist ideologies from the Middle East. The authors reveal patterns of how newspapers utilize rhetoric that glorifies Pan-Arab, Islamic fraternity, chauvinistic nationalism, and martyrdom. By utilizing sympathy and religion, journalists promote an agenda that points to the differences between the Arab world and the West. These three studies demonstrate that ideologies are created and reinforced via newspaper articles. In a similar fashion, using the analytic method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this thesis seeks to examine ideological constructions embedded

in various news articles surrounding Proposition 227, a measure that passed in California that limits bilingual-education and places English-immersion programs as the main method of teaching.

When constructing these newspaper articles, journalists filter information and manipulate texts by using particular conventions such as: headlines topicalization, omission, emotive vocabulary, and quotations which reflect and favor a particular ideology. The result of using these manipulations leaves the average reader unaware that a text is biased. However, CDA with its many tools can uncover the hidden ideologies embedded in these texts (Huckin, 1997). Using CDA, an analyst can point out how a journalist foregrounds one side of the story over the other, ignoring important facts. The analyst is also aware of background information and therefore can point out how a journalist is manipulating certain vocabulary and phrases. Another important feature of CDA is knowing about the genre of texts and knowing how journalists frame a newspaper article. The aforementioned features are only a few ways that an analyst can probe a text but this textual analysis is only made possible by considering the social practice behind them.

CDA views discourse as a creation of social practice in which writers, readers, and social-cultural knowledge come together to co-construct meaning (van Dijk, 1995). In other words, discourse cannot be viewed at face value; one has to consider how readers might perceive it and one must also consider external world factors such as culture and history. This triangulation of readers, writers, and social-cultural knowledge work together to create and reinforce ideologies which then influence public opinion (van Dijk, 1995). Chomsky (2002) also points out that the media functions in a way "to amuse, entertain and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society" (p. 412). Therefore, by examining news content and its ideologies, one can better understand societal issues.

In analyzing newspaper articles from the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Sacramento Bee*, and the *Orange County Register*, this study attempts to identify prominent themes surrounding Proposition 227. Influential to this study is Schmidt's (2000) political binary regarding language policies, which demonstrates how there has been a fundamental difference between assimilationists and pluralists, and how they support certain public policy,

including Proposition 227. Those who support 227 do so because they are in favor of an assimilationist model for integrating immigrants. They want to use English to assimilate immigrants because they believe that this will keep the state unified and will provide economic opportunities for immigrants. In contrast, those opposing 227, also known as pluralists, believe that the state (schools) should support minority languages. Moreover, they view 227 as a strike against minorities, particularly those that speak Spanish. In their eyes, 227 is linked to other bills which have been aimed at taking away Latino rights. Therefore, this measure is just an extension of past bills. Because this issue is controversial and politically divisive, the findings will be interesting, especially to media and ethnic researchers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Past Studies

Within the past 20 years, more and more news linguists have studied news discourse (van Dijk, 1998; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1980; Wodak, 2009). The general consensus amongst linguists is that news discourse can never be objective because there are underlying political ideologies influencing the construction of discourse; it is shaped for an intended audience. For example, in a study on news reports from Australia, Teo (2000) examines how the news discourse structure embeds ideological constructions of racism. In his analysis on newspaper reports about Vietnamese gangs, Teo (2000) shows how writers use particular newspaper conventions to construct a negative ideology about Vietnamese immigrants in Australia. The author gives many examples of how headlines, lexical choices, syntactic constructions, generalizations, omissions, and quotation patterns are used to negatively portray the ethnic minority group of the Vietnamese community. These discourse constructions create an "otherizing" of the minority group and establish an "us vs. them" ideology." The portrayed negative picture

of Vietnamese immigrants is not limited to this group but extended to all Asians as well. The conclusion of the study finds that news discourse functions in a way that both reinforces and reflects the marginalization of Vietnamese immigrants.

In another study on language, ideology, and power, Taiwo (2007) examines Nigerian newspaper headlines to see how they reflect specific ideologies and power relations in the country. He demonstrates how journalists construct an emotional connection with readers via strategic headlines. Examining a corpus of 300 headlines from six different Nigerian newspapers published between March and August 2004, the author categorizes headlines into specific ideological themes and surface structures. After identifying the ideologies in Nigerian society, various themes emerged including: religious riots, petroleum issues, corruption and crime, human rights violations, assassination and cultism, health issues, politics, education, and labor matters. The analysis revealed that the ideologies embedded in the headlines are a reflection that the country is in a state of political democratization and that people are ideologically united on nationalistic issues. Like the aforementioned study,

Taiwo's research also reveals that headlines are indeed used to reflect and sustain the views of society.

Ansary and Babao (2009) in another study, analyze 31 Arabic editorial newspapers chosen randomly from newspapers in Syria and London between 1998 and 2005. Their study reveals that the discourse is shaped in a way that serves fundamentalists' goals and their hegemonic ideologies in the Middle East. They note how specific discursive patterns in newspapers contribute to the polarized political environment between the conflicting Eastern and the Western ideologies. The authors found that the journalists persuaded readers to believe in nationalism by appealing to the great Arab past. The journalists were successful because they used sympathy and nostalgia in order to justify their actions. The analysts noticed how religion created an "us" vs. "them" ideology and how journalists used words, phrases, and sentences to reflect an anti-Western ideology. Like the previous studies, this study also shows how ideologies are embedded in discourse and how newspapers affect public opinion.

Definition of Language Policy

The term "Language policy" can be defined a number of ways. Wodak (2006, p. 170) sees language policy as "every

public influence in the communication of languages, the political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is/are supported in their public validity, their functionality and their dissemination". This means that when the government recognizes a language/s in a public sphere, the language/s and the people who speak the language/s gain support. Conversely if an initiative limits the use of a particular language, the people who speak the particular language are suppressed. McCarthy (2004, p. 72) argues that language policies are ideological constructions which reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within society. In other words, through ideological constructions, supported languages gain recognition, and the group of people who speak the recognized language gain power. In this context, a specific group gains power because they speak their language freely and have access to participate in all facets of public life. At the same time, ideologies are constructed to limit power and public access to certain language groups. Therefore, the battle for power amongst language groups takes place in the realm of news content via ideologies.

Schmidt's Binary of United States Language
Policy Conflict: Pluralists versus
Assimilationists

The ideological battles concerning Proposition 227 stem from the same political conflict that has been taking place in the U.S. since the beginning of its creation (Schmidt, 2000). Schmidt (2000) maintains that the main conflict concerning language policy is between pluralists or multiculturalists and assimilationists or nativists whom have very different ideas of what it means to be American. Pluralists want to use state resources to enhance the presence and status of minority languages in the U.S. because they believe that the U.S. is a multicultural nation, while assimilationists push for state policies that will ensure that English will be the sole public language; assimilationists believe that it is English that holds the nation together (Schmidt, 2000, p. 4). These points of view become marginalized into Democratic and Republican ideologies.

Supporters of pluralism believe that minorities whose language is not English have been oppressed throughout U.S. history. They cite the conquest by the U.S. its annexation of lands, and the oppression of people of color such as American Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans. Furthermore, they believe that because of this

past, hegemonic obstacles presently exist for ethnolinguistic minorities. The only way to remedy this is to change current policy in order to "right the wrongs of the past" (Schmidt, 2000, p. 89).

In opposition, pluralists or assimilationists believe that when there is division and conflict because of language, there is division and conflict in a nation. They contend that if we make English our sole language, we will have a more civil society. Assimilationists are not concerned with minority rights, but are concerned with the how to best socialize immigrants to create a unified nation state; this entails controlling language and limiting cultural pluralism (Schmidt, 2000, p. 5).

Language policy conflicts are not simply conflicts over language or history, they are essentially "culture wars" that are fought in schools, academic and professional associations, books, academic journals, public affairs, news magazines, national political conventions, legislative bodies at various levels of government, and of course radio, television, and the internet (Schmidt, 2000, p. 89). These sites are important because this is how the public gets its information, and whoever wins these wars eventually becomes for influential. In other words, these sites are the places in

which Americans are informed and gain a sense of who they are as nation. Within these sites a conflict of histories takes place. Assimilationists assert that appropriate education is the European experience while pluralists want their history, both positive and negative to be taught and recognized (Schmidt, 2000, p. 90). In this way, History is linked directly to language policy.

Conflicting Historical Narratives

While pluralists maintain that each ethnic group in America has their own identity within the larger identity of America, assimilationists cite how immigrants from various countries have been able to come together to become one united nation and in so doing, have forged a sense of who they are (Schmidt, 2000, p. 99). By examining the histories of assimilationists, pluralists, and their conflicts, one can gain a greater understanding of present-day language policy conflict, including Proposition 227.

Pluralists' Historical Narrative

For the greater portion of the 19th and 20th century, assimilationists have had the upper-hand in terms of controlling language policies and minority rights. Various ethnolinguistic groups such as Native-Americans, certain

European immigrants, Mexicans and Asian groups, were denied many rights, including the ability to use their native language. The dominant Anglo-Saxon ideology remained intact until the 1960's when cultural pluralism gained momentum. The African American Civil Rights Movement was the driving force that allowed other minority groups throughout the country to revive their own agenda (Schmidt, 2000, p. 100). As cultural pluralism evolved, activists began to express the idea that European imperialism and conquest was responsible for ethnic inequalities (Schmidt, 2000, p. 103). It was this claim that allowed minorities to make changes in public policy, including language policy.

Assimilationists' Historical Narrative

As pluralists pushed their agenda and cited the injustices of American history, assimilationists pushed their own narrative based on their own version of American history. They acknowledge the historical injustices cited by pluralists but, they nevertheless see the "dominant theme of the U.S. past as a steady progress toward the inclusive and integration of individuals into the membership of one united nation" (Schmidt, 2000, p. 118). They cite such examples as the Civil War and how European

Americans fought slavery, World War II and how Americans were against the ideologies of Hitler and his allies. They also note that during the Civil Rights movements diverse ethnic groups came together to create a unified "color blind society" (Schmidt, 2000, p. 119). Rather than foreground the loss of other cultures, assimilationists highlight examples of how successful many immigrant groups have been in assimilating and becoming one nation. For assimilationists, the purpose of America is not to preserve old cultures but to forge a new one, and with this new culture, only one identity may exist.

Identity and Language

As much as these differing historical narratives have helped shape policies, it is also important to note that these historical narratives and language policies deal with the identity of individuals and their respective groups. Since language is linked to identity, an attack on one's language is essentially an attack on one's personal identity (Schmidt, 2000, p. 49). As (Flores & Murillo, 2001, p. 185) note, "The debates over linguistic resources are really debates over the valuing of languages in the competition for the status between groups of speakers". Thus, when groups argue and lobby for their cause, they do

so for the sake of identity. For example, in Quebec, English has been banned in some educational institutions, at the workplace and on public signs. French speaking Canadians have lobbied to have the government implement certain laws so that French is preserved because they feel that their identity paramount (Levine, 1997). Similar examples play out in Europe. In certain parts of Spain, Catalan and Basque have become the language of instruction in public schools. The same has occurred with Irish in Ireland. The Sami language, and finish have all been recognized in Sweden, and Belgium recognizes French, Dutch, and Flemish as official languages. In all cases, language recognition has become an instrument of re-affirming ethnicity and culture.

The same way that pluralists try to push multilingual policies to preserve their cultural identities, assimilationists do the same in the name of national unity. They believe that a nation state needs human agency to maintain its status:

All nations are always in the process of being built and nationalism merges people to believe in self-determination, national character, and the idea that a particular nation is separate from the rest of

the nations because of what it contributes to
humanity. (Schmidt, 2000, p. 42)

Additionally, a nation state is also constructed and held together in part by an image in the minds of members of the nation. Therefore, it is the responsibility of political leaders to construct, repair, and renew these images and promote nationalism as a solid ideology (Schmidt, 2000, p. 43). The same notion of an image in the minds of members of a nation can be applied to ethnic groups. Each participant of a group has an imagined community/group to which they relate; they must negotiate amongst themselves and make a choice (Wenger, 1998, p. 173). This imagination is held together through the cohesion of language and culture, and each group has its own distinction from the others. If the image of a particular group is eliminated, then the group ceases to exist.

Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities

The concept of the nation state in relation to an imagined community is key to understanding the types of arguments made by assimilationists and pluralists. In order to adequately interpret the arguments surrounding conflicting language groups, it is necessary to explain

Benedict Anderson's Imagined Community theory. Before explaining this theory, one must understand that the imagined community, language, and the nation-state are inter-dependent on each other, and together they merge to create nationalism.

According to Anderson (1992) Nationalism is imagined because people in a nation will never get to know each other however, in the mind of each member, an image of their communion exists (p. 6) Anderson describes this communion as "always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). In this respect, a nation can be any group of persons as long as they share commonalities. Historically, nations have come together because they have shared a commitment to language, descent, or other cultural factor. It is these factors that create an imagined community. However, all of this is made possible with the help of print technology. Print technology such as books, magazines, and newspapers generate, sustain, and fracture an imagined community, which then create nationalism.

According to Anderson (1992) nationalism emerged during the 18th century as power went from the hands of the religious cultural system to a centralized government system (p. 11-12). At one point, writing (and reading) was

only for kingship, clientship, and personal loyalties, but print technology reformed the class system and allowed the bourgeoisie to imagine a community of their own. When these communities were built, territories were marked, and nations were created. And as the bourgeoisie gained power so did their language. Official languages emerged along with legitimacy of many European countries. Official languages such as Russian, Czech, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Finnish, and Norwegian were identified along with each mapped territory (Anderson, 1992, p. 77). Before this shift, the concept of the nation did not exist. It was print technology that allowed societies to think about themselves in relation to others (Anderson, 1992, p. 36). To put it another way, it was the ideologies channeled via print technology that gave rise to the unification of nations.

Newspapers became particularly popular because they informed everyone about the happenings of their community (Anderson, 1992, p. 37). Anderson (1992) notes that in the Americas, newspapers played a key role in unifying the United States. While the countries south of the U.S. used newspapers to inform the public about import and export prices, the U.S. would publish community events and consequently, they gained a greater sense of their

identity. For this reason, the term "America" became synonymous with the U.S. (Anderson, 1992, p. 61-62). In doing so, citizens gained the sense that they were one nation.

Print technology also paved the way for the spread of political ideologies, and this too led to the unification of nations. For example, Wachirawut, Thailand's first nationalist wrote two anti-Chinese pamphlets entitled *The Jews of the Orient*, and *Clogs on Our Wheels* (Anderson, 1992, p. 100). Through this form of propaganda, he made it known that Chinese people were not liked in Thailand. He also increased nationalism by controlling primary education and by rewriting history. Political leaders recognized that if they had competing languages (cultures), their country would not be unified (Anderson, 1992, p. 101). Anderson (1992) also notes that in Europe, nations became stronger when one language dominated a particular region. It is for this reason that English pushed most of Gaelic out of Ireland, French overtook Breton, and Castilian Spanish minimized Catalan (p. 74). Naturally, speakers who spoke the minority language rebelled but eventually they had to adapt.

Print technology solidified languages, nations and class systems, but more importantly, it provided an

opportunity for capitalists to channel specific information. It allowed people access to information, which then shaped people's lives and allowed them to see and understand the world through another perspective. That is, to understand the world according to the subject matter/opinion printed in a book or newspaper (Anderson, 1992, p. 46). It is important to note that this theory can still be applied to the modern nation-state and its policies. Therefore, when examining the arguments surrounding Proposition 227, the analysis will adhere to Anderson's theory. To better understand Proposition 227, one must first consider other similar initiatives. Though these initiatives do not deal directly with language policy, they deal with Latino rights in the public sphere. These initiatives are important because many people believe that Proposition 227 is an extension of these initiatives.

California's Proposition 187

After the 1960's bilingual education was protected and it seemed as if multiculturalists had the dominant position in terms of political power. However, a shift in power during the Reagan administration cut funding for bilingual programs and changed their objective. These

sentiments carried over into the 1990s as Proposition 187 passed in California (Santa, 1999, p. 193). Approved overwhelmingly by voters, this law denied illegal immigrants the right to receive public health, education, and welfare benefits. Furthermore, it required schools, health and welfare agencies to ask students and clients to prove their legal status before receiving services. Proposition 187 had successfully passed because it reflected the state's economic distress, the costs of immigration, and the slightly disguised concern about the "browning" of America (Valdes, 1997, p. 42).

After Proposition 187 passed, a number of associations, supporting multiculturalism argued that it was unconstitutional. The state court ruled that because it required school administrators, health care and social workers to collect and report information about immigration status, it was indeed unconstitutional (Valdes, 1997, p. 44). Although this measure was overturned, the rhetoric used in the campaign for the proposition succeeded in convincing voters to support it. Furthermore, the passing of this proposition was an indicator that most Californians were indeed against immigrant rights.

Proposition 227

The purpose of reviewing the intricacies behind language policies in the U.S. thus far has been to better understand the implications of Proposition 227. In many ways, though proposition 187 failed, it was a precursor to proposition 227, which eventually passed in California in June of 1998. This proposition requires that all public school instruction be in English only. However, a child can be exempt if the parents or guardian can show that the child already knows English, has special needs, or would learn English faster through other methods. With this initiative, children are only allowed a maximum time of one year in an intensive sheltered immersion program before they must be mainstreamed into normal classes. Fiscally, this initiative provides \$50 million every year for ten years for the purpose of providing additional support for students beyond the classroom. Also, this initiative holds the school accountable by allowing parents and guardians to sue if they are not enforcing policy correctly.

CHAPTER THREE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Introduction

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary tool used by scholars to study language (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Gee, 1996, 1999; Kress, 1989; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Lemke, 1995). This approach differs from other approaches of discourse analysis, text linguistics, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics because it has an overt political agenda which aims to create an equal society through language awareness (Kress, 1989). While other analytical approaches attempt to describe sociocultural aspects of texts, CDA aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, external factors and overall organization of texts. An important factor that determines meaning in CDA is the theoretical perspective that looks at language as a type of social practice used for representation and signification; meaning is co-constructed by individuals and socio-cultural knowledge. CDA acknowledges that ideologies stem from invested groups who push forth their ideologies via particular linguistic features. These

ideologies interact with listeners and readers, who then perpetuate the projected ideologies in society. In other words, discourse goes through a variety of stages in which the meaning is socially constructed by its interlocutors.

In addition to considering the social constructions of discourse, a Critical Discourse Analysis is not complete until a textual analysis has been done. A textual analysis consists of using various micro tools to examine strategically employed vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure. By combining external (social) and internal (textual) factors of discourse, an analyst can reveal the hidden ideologies in a text. The proceeding paragraphs will review the history of CDA in detail and give the reader a better understanding of how it functions.

The Creation of Critical Discourse Analysis

During the 1970s, Critical Linguistics (CL) that is, the study of texts, their production, interpretation, and their relation to social impulses and structures emerged (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 5). Fairclough (1989) claims that within CL the ability to critically analyze discourse was limited because the disciplines of Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Pragmatics, Cognitive Psychology, Conversation Discourse Analysis, and other social theories

were kept separate from each other. However, as linguistics evolved, these disciplines combined and gave birth to a new theory that became known as CDA.

The Agenda of Critical Discourse Analysis

One of the major principles of CDA is that it has a particular agenda; it aims to address social problems due to unfair power relations and social practices (Fairclough, 1997; van Dijk, 2001; Kress, 1989). Analysts are interested in showing how social power is abused, and how inequality is enacted, reproduced, and resisted via public discourse. As van Dijk (2001) states, analysts challenge the idea that science, including the construction of words are value free. Therefore, an analyst must recognize that words are never neutral - they carry the power that reflects the interests of particular groups, (Fowler et al., 1979).

Ideology of Discursive Practices

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, power is exercised in modern society through the ideological workings of language (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). Through particular discursive patterns, the production of discourse, ideologies, history, and society are linked together (Fairclough, 1989, p. 271-80). Discourse is

constructed in a particular way that reflects the agenda of an invested group and it is shaped according to a particular structure that is beneficial for that group. Fairclough (1989) notes that all discourse is a "reproduction of a previously learned format" (p. 23).

Therefore, when discourse is constructed, it is done so in a purposeful way to take advantage of the reader or listener. Language by itself has no specific bias but once put into a structure, it becomes ideological. For example, a sentence that reads, "Oil spilled in the ocean causes a catastrophe" ignores who the agent spilling the oil is and thereby omits responsibility. This is just one example of how structure can carry out an ideological position.

Another facet that also plays a role in the social construction of text is how readers and listeners interact with discourse. Individuals interpret discourse according to their knowledge of language, values, beliefs, and assumptions. However, as Kress (1989) points out, individuals are not formed autonomously but by the available representations in society, be it media representations or other kinds of racial and political groupings. Therefore, all individuals fall into an ideological category.

An additional factor that affects the interaction between discourse and an individual is the social context. Fairclough (1989) asserts that the level of the social situation, such as the "level of the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 25). To put it simply, the content of the discourse is affected by external factors of time and place; interpretation is based on a particular situation. The ideological factors of text and how they relate to readers and listeners are an important factor of CDA.

Van Dijk (2001) adds that discourse and society have a "micro and macro relationship" (p. 354). A micro approach can be considered written or spoken discourse, while a macro approach means recognizing the power, dominance, and inequality outside of the discourse. A newspaper article or a speech represents the type of discourse on a micro level of communication while the macro factor of such discourse is seen as the constituents who in some way shape or form hope to maintain power and dominance.

Within CDA, there are many frameworks that one can use to conduct research. Some may aim at conversational discourse, while others might aim at news discourse.

Nevertheless, all frameworks have the commonalities of looking at language through the scope of "power, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, reproduction, and social structure" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 354). Since this study is on newspaper discourse I will adhere mainly to Huckin's (1997) framework but also integrate other methods.

Newspaper Discourse and Power

Like each type of discourse, the newspaper has its own conventions and significance. Through the use of specific strategies, the news informs the public about what they should consider important, and when presenting a particular issue, they also control how people view it (Paletz, 1996). By carefully filtering content, placing a limitation of what exactly constitutes news, and by limiting the choices of perspectives a reader can have, media institutions maintain a specific ideological stance that is beneficial for their institution and their constituents. In so doing, newspapers also create a normalization in society in terms of what is common sense.

When preparing the content for a newspaper article, a particular process of editing takes place. Media institutions will gather information of events, and then

carefully edit the material into a complete text, tailored for a target audience. Drafts will go through a number of stages by a number of staff members before it is ready for publication (Bell, 1991, p. 44-46). When considering the information gathered, a journalist must think through whether or not the information is profitable for the media institution and its constituents. As a result of this process, the institution filters out information that is of no use to the organization, thus constituting what qualifies as news (Fairclough, 1995).

News also has to contain "information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group" (Reah, 2002, p. 4). Journalists try to make connections between the events reported in the media and events that occur in society (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). By relating to the public and shaping the content of news, institutions re-contextualize real-life events thereby creating a new reality. Therefore, "news is not objective but a constructed re-contextualization of facts that shapes the world in accordance to the ideologies projected in the newspaper" (Fowler, 1991, p. 13).

One of the most significant aspects of news discourse is that it has the power to control power struggles of

certain individuals and their organizations in the eye of the public (Fairclough, 1989). The daily news affects people on two levels. First, it informs the public of what is happening in the community, and second, it reflects the thinking of those in power. Moreover, the content of news discourse is constructed in a manner that arouses the interests and curiosity of its readers, simultaneously influencing their views on the given issue (Fowler, 1991). News Discourse, be it through newspaper or other mediums, uses language as a tool to articulate a specific ideological stance (Fowler, 1991). Unlike other countries in the world, news agencies in western society are afforded this power because of the democratized belief in freedom of press (Reah, 2002). Because of this, it is easy to have conflicting views in the news from different sources.

Creating Common Sense

Not only do newspapers play an important role in creating a new reality, they also create "common sense" assumptions in society (Fairclough, 1989, p. 69). In other words, they normalize what is accepted and what is not accepted. As Simpson (1996) states, "common sense" assumptions are ideologically embedded in everyday

discourses, and they can be identified in the way texts are constructed. Readers will not always challenge the writer, and assume that what is written and published is expressing truth and common sense. "Common sense" assumptions are not solely created by newspapers, but they are maintained by newspapers. This normalization begins at a young age, as Fairclough (1989) explains "Even before babies begin to speak, they are being socialized through language and so, we begin to rely on 'common sense' assumptions" (p. 2). Part of human nature is to understand what is common sense and what is not.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This Critical Discourse Analysis is based on 28 (non-editorial) hard-news newspaper articles surrounding Proposition 227 from the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Sacramento Bee*, and the *Orange County Register*. In order to be objective, the total amount of words in the articles from each newspaper were kept relatively the same. The ten articles from the *Sacramento Bee* contain a total of 9,314 words, the eight articles from the *Los Angeles Times* contain 8,548 words, and the ten articles from the *Orange County Register* contain a total of 10,605 words. All articles were published from at least a year before and leading up to the passing of Proposition 227, which was in June of 1998. These three particular newspapers were chosen because they have the largest circulation in California, and therefore, they have the potential to be more influential than other newspapers. Another important reason for choosing these three newspapers is that they are known for siding with different political associations; one is known for leaning left, another center and another right. Analyzing a series of

publications from these three newspapers provides balanced and solid data for applying a CDA.

The *Sacramento Bee*, a newspaper based in Sacramento, California and founded in 1857, prints more than 3.2 million newspapers and is read globally via the internet (Guide To The Bee 2006 Internet). Besides having a large circulation of papers, this particular news agency is also important to this study because of its location. Since it is located in Sacramento, the state capital, it is keenly focused on California's political affairs, including bilingual education and Proposition 227. Moreover, this newspaper is known for having left-wing political views.

Much like the *Sacramento Bee*, the *Los Angeles Times* (*L.A. Times*) has been around for a long time, and it too has a large circulation of newspapers. First published in 1881, the *L.A. Times* is now circulates 1.1 million copies of the daily edition in 22 foreign bureaus and 15 domestic bureaus (Los Angeles Almanac, 2011). This newspaper agency is paramount to this study because it is located in the epicenter of bilingual education conflict. Also important to this study is that the *L.A. Times* is known for having a center view on political issues. Since the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) is the largest school district in California, there has been substantial

coverage on issues that affect this region, including Proposition 227.

The third and last newspaper that will be analyzed in this study is the *Orange County Register*. This company began in 1905 to serve Orange County's residents and now it has the third largest circulation in California (Orange County Communications, 2010). Like the *L.A. Times*, it is also located in Southern California and it has extensively covered Proposition 227. Moreover, because this newspaper is centered in Orange County, a region known for being conservative, it may reflect the views of its citizens.

Conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis

The CDA framework employed for this analysis comes from Huckin (1997) who provides a number of micro tools to probe newspaper text. In detail, (Huckin, 1997) explains how an analyst should examine text. One way to start a CDA is to read the text at face value, similar to how an ordinary reader might read it, and then read it critically (Huckin, 1997, p. 9). When trying to read a text critically, Huckin (1997) recommends that an analyst should imagine how a writer could have constructed the text differently, question the legitimacy of some of the statements, and find out the type of genre. Next, an

analyst should look at the kind of perspective that the writer is presenting; this is called framing. Framing is constructed by using specific photographs, diagrams, sketches, headlines, and keywords in order to present a point of view. Once the analyst has an idea of how an article is framed, s/he can look for elements of foregrounding and backgrounding. Foregrounding is when a writer gives prominence to particular elements in a text to shape the framing, whereas backgrounding is the omission of important details that might be a counter point to the position taken. These are the first steps that an analyst needs to take before delving deeper into the analysis.

Since this study is on the discourse of newspapers, a more extensive explanation on how to conduct a CDA of this type of genre will be explained. Additionally, micro-tools used to analyze textual, grammatical, and structural features of discourse will also be explained. Specifically, these tools are used to analyze topicalization, vocabulary, the relation, and expressiveness of words, metaphors, and grammatical features such as active and passive sentences. Though interpreting the meaning of discourse via micro tools is important, it is equally important to consider the meaning

of discourse relative to the genre, framing, and macro relations.

Genre

In addition to discussing the features of newspaper discourse and the relation of discourse to external factors, it is also important to discuss the internal (textual) conventions of the newspaper genre. Like all other genres, newspaper discourse has a particular textual structure with exclusive conventions. One such convention is the use of catchy headlines to lure the reader to read the rest of the article. Thereafter, information is listed from most to least important in a pyramid-like fashion (Huckin 1997). Other conventions within this information structure are topicalization/foregrounding, backgrounding/omission, framing of agents and patients (power), subject position, presupposition, insinuations/connotations, metaphors, and preferred identity/ideology. The features mentioned above are all distinct in their own ways, however, they work in unison to achieve the larger goal of trying to investigate social interaction and its relationship to the world.

Framing

As previously mentioned, one of the most important features of CDA is framing. When choosing how to frame a news event, the author has to make decisions, in terms of what side to favor; this is especially true amongst polarized political issues. However, sometimes these decisions are not conscious. Huckin (1997) gives an example of how a writer can achieve this. He discusses how in a confrontation between protesters and the police, the author chooses to report on the aggressive actions of protesters including the number of arrests, thus portraying the police in a favorable light. In this event, the police are framed as the defenders of good, representing law and order while the protesters are framed as unruly people.

Another example of framing takes place when a writer promotes one side or a person representing one particular side in a conflict as an agent and the other side or a person representing the other side as a patient. Kress (1989) sums it up well when he says that many texts will describe things so that certain persons are consistently depicted as initiating actions (power agents) while others are depicted as being powerless patients. Demonstrating the use of topicalization in a news article, Huckin (1997)

points out that government officials were mentioned repeatedly as initiating actions. For example, the verbs arrest, take, transport, estimate, and release. However, he also notes that in the second half of the article, the protesters are empowered through the use of such verbs as kick, carry, rally, cross, crawl. Although both sides of the conflict were at one point portrayed as agents (empowered), the presentation of the protesters as agents in the second half of the report does not follow chronological order. As a consequence of how the event is sequenced in the article, the government's responsibility is ignored. Based on this example, one can see how an author can present one group as the agent and another as the patient. It is also important to note that the article Huckin analyzed portrayed both parties of a conflict as agents and patients but, it is also possible to have an article portray one party as consistently being the initiator of action.

Topicalization

Another convention of the newspaper genre (briefly mentioned above) is topicalization. When constructing a text, a writer can choose to put specific information in the topic position. Usually, the content written in this

slot is indicative of the writer's slant or position on the issue at hand. Van Dijk (1988) notes that topicalization expresses the most information of the cognitive model of journalist, and readers are more likely to be influenced by the perception created here.

Foregrounding

Topicalization also ties into foregrounding; however, foregrounding takes place when the author inserts particular information in the text that he or she believes is more pertinent. This information is usually inserted in the topical slot of a paragraph (topic sentence) or as the headline of the article. Taiwo (2004, p. 324) also contends that editors strategically place emotive vocabulary, and other rhetorical devices to make an impact on the reader. Another important feature regarding the use of headlines is that they reach a larger audience than the actual news articles because many people will not read the news article but will read the headline and make a judgement based on the headline. This type of foregrounding not only relates to topicalization, it also relates to framing because the placement of pertinent information is going to position one ideology over another.

Background/Omission

In contrast to foregrounding is backgrounding and omission. A writer will sometimes minimize or disregard certain points that are pertinent to an issue in an effort to favor one ideology. If a reader is not well informed, s/he will not question the given information in the text. One form of omission that readers often do not notice is the agent-deletion through the use of passive verbs. For example, an article about the deaths of two American soldiers in Iraq could be presented a number of ways. If presented in the passive form, it can be stated two ways: In Iraq, two soldiers were killed; In Iraq, two soldiers were killed by the Taliban. Notice the first example omits the agent, and doer of action. The reader might know who killed the soldiers based on other background information but the impact of the agent is nevertheless minimized because it is not mentioned. The second example includes the agent however, the emphasis on the agent is still minimized because grammatically the subject (Taliban) is not in the subject position. In contrast, if this sentence were converted from passive to active, it would read: The Taliban killed two soldiers in Iraq. This structure foregrounds the Taliban as the agent by placing it in the subject position. Analysts need to critically examine why

exactly an author chose to use a specific grammatical structure and consider what is at stake.

Presupposition

Another type of linguistic device that takes advantage of readers is presupposition. Presupposition is when an uses language in a way that appears to take certain ideas for granted, as if there were no alternatives. Giving an example from politics, Huckin (1997) explains that when a politician says, "we cannot continue imposing high taxes on the American people" the politician is presupposing that the taxes Americans pay are high. Presuppositions are one of the most manipulative forms of discourse because they establish a premise that is sometimes difficult to challenge. A reader must be well informed on the subject being discussed in order to challenge presuppositions.

Insinuations/Connotations

Like presuppositions, insinuations and connotations function as words and phrases on a more minute sentence level and they are also difficult to challenge because readers need to have background knowledge on the given subject to know what the author's intentions truly are. Huckin (1997) asserts that insinuations usually have

double meanings, and if challenged, the writer can claim innocence, pretending to have only one of the two meanings in mind. Connotations are also context based and they derive from the frequent use of a word or phrase in a particular type of context. For example, in a polarized political issue such as abortion, it is impossible to refer to one side of this issue in neutral terms. And so, someone who opposes abortion would likely be labeled a pro-lifer by sympathizers but anti-choice by opponents. These features help establish the writer's slant in an article.

It is important to understand that these micro tools cannot function without considering the external factors surrounding the topic being analyzed. Therefore, an analyst must always try to create meaning based on factors that go beyond the text. Nonetheless, no matter what type of discourse features derive from CDA, the overall purpose of these conventions are to reveal the true intentions of the author and to uncover the types of ideologies embedded within the text.

Data Chart

In order to evaluate all 28 articles, I developed a data chart with which to tally various linguistic

features. By looking at the data, one can see the kind of features that the author of each article is using. This also helps compare articles that cover the same theme. However, the data revealed in the various linguistic categories are not always complete because these numbers only represent the textual features, and they are not always relevant to the overall rhetorical construction created by the author. I evaluated the data from each article by considering perspectives from all three newspapers as well as the histories behind this political conflict.

Keeping the various CDA tools in mind, I created various categories for these charts. These categories address background information such as; the type of newspaper, the amount of words in the article, whether or not the author favors Proposition 227, whether or not the headline is biased, the amount of representatives for each campaign, and the prominent theme of the article. This background information facilitates the comparison of articles to see if they fall into the same theme. Also, knowing if the author and headline favor the initiative is important too because patterns of topicalization, foregrounding, and backgrounding emerge. Furthermore, seeing how many representatives there are for each

campaign can also shed light on whether the bias in this category coincides with the other categories. In addition to considering the amount of representatives for each side, knowing who the representatives are can help reveal how the article is framed. Often times a representative can be scrutinized almost as if the agent is the same as the initiative. This background information is only valuable if it is evaluated in conjunction with the other features.

The other categories in these charts address more internal grammatical features such as: statements and quotes, the lexicon, how the initiative is labeled, and instances of polarizing statements. Praise statements are statements that are not necessarily quotes, but are statements by either the author or another agent which function differently than a normal quote. These statements either praise the proposed initiative, the existing bilingual-education policy, or an agent/representative of a particular side. Quotes are also important because they not only reveal bias in terms of the author quoting one side more than the other, but also because of the way they are used. Some quotes will reinforce the beliefs of a particular campaign, while others will attack the opposing campaign. Four categories were created to tally these

quotes. Two categories register instances when a campaign is reinforcing/supporting its own side, and the two other categories register when a campaign is attacking the other. Another specific type of quote tallied is the filtered quote. The filtered quote is when the author speaks for another agent in a particular campaign or when an agent speaks for another. The difference in these types of quotes is that they do not directly stem from a particular agent; they are filtered through another person. These quotes too, are categorized like the others. The order and sequence in which quotes are structured is also important. One type of sequence is when a particular campaign attacks another, but the other campaign counters the attack. This type of sequence helps portray the attacked campaign in a favorable manner because no matter what kind of claims are brought forth against it, the campaign defends its position. Yet another type of sequenced quote used is the paired quote. This occurs when one quote is sequenced one after another. For example, a journalist can quote a person that supports Proposition 227, and then quote another person that also supports 227. By placing two quotes next to each other that are in consensus, the argument for 227 is strengthened. The significance of this structure is that it emphasizes the

issue being addressed. Like the other quotes, paired quotes can either support a campaign or attack a campaign, hence there are also four. All the categories for the various types of quotes help demonstrate an imbalance, and show bias because the author is choosing to favor the opinion of one campaign over the other.

Specific lexicon is another important feature in this analysis because the author can use certain words and phrases in a manner that favor a particular campaign. The lexicon sometimes has multiple connotations and insinuations, and in order to understand them fully, background knowledge is required. Similar to the structure used to tally quotes, one section in the charts tallies lexicon supporting Proposition 227, one section tallies lexicon against Proposition 227, another section tallies lexicon supporting bilingual-education, and the last section tallies lexicon against bilingual-education. Bias is revealed as patterns emerge.

Labeling is another important feature tallied in the charts. This category keeps track of the way that the author and others refer to Proposition 227. Throughout the 28 articles, some references to Proposition 227 are neutral but others are not. An example of a bias label of Proposition 227 is the "Unz initiative." This reference,

however, can be either positive or negative, depending on the context. Another example is "English for the Children." Most of the time, this label is positive, as it will favor Proposition 227. Examples of neutral labels are: "the measure", "the initiative", and of course, "Proposition 227." Like the first example, context determines whether the label is positive or negative. It is important to keep in mind that articles might differ in terms of the type of labels, because not all articles use the same labels. Therefore if a new term emerges in a particular article, a new labeled category will also emerge in the charts.

The last feature that is tallied in these charts is the use of polarizing statements wherein an "us versus them" statement is made. These types of statements make assumptions and are worded in a manner in which there is no neutrality. At times, the author might make such a statement but at other times, the author is quoting another person. Nevertheless, ultimately, it is the author who is writing this statement and showing bias. Once again, like labeling, context is a major factor on how these statements are perceived.

The various features exhibited in the charts are contingent on each other to make an argument. As patterns

emerge, specific combinations of features are used to argue for a particular campaign, and with these combinations, bias is revealed. Therefore, grammatical features cannot be evaluated in isolation. Data will only be discussed if it has some type of relevance to the theme and if it contributes to demonstrating the author's bias.

Below is the actual data chart used for each article. Using this system, news articles were grouped together based on their themes. Some themes contain an equal amount of articles, and some do not. Nevertheless the various articles provide insight into particular patterns, and reveal the ideological tendencies of a particular newspaper. Instead of having predetermined categories and restricting the data to particular themes, the data was carefully evaluated a number of times in a cyclical pattern of analysis. To extrapolate the findings, analyzed the text trying to reach an inductive discovery of themes, and re-analyzed the text in order to develop my interpretation.

Table 1. Model of How Features were Tallied

Type of newspaper	
Amount of words	
Does the author favor Proposition 227?	
Headline (Favoring 227? Against? Neutral?)	
Amount of representatives for 227	
Amount of representatives against 227	
Amount of Neutral representatives	
Prominent Theme	
Lexicon	
Instances of lexicon that support Proposition 227	
Instances of lexicon against Proposition 227	
Instances of lexicon that support bilingual education	
Instances of lexicon against bilingual education	
Statements	
Direct quotes	
For 227	
For bilingual education	
	Counter quote
Against 227	
Against bilingual education	

Filtered quotes

For 227	
For Bilingual education	

	Counter quote
Against 227	
Against bilingual education	

Paired quotes

Supporting 227	
Supporting bilingual education	

	Counter quote
Against 227	
Against bilingual education	

	Counter quote
Against 227/For bilingual education	
Against bilingual education/ For 227	

Terminology for Proposition 227

ACTOR	Neutral Term	Unz Initiative/Measure	English for the Children	Anti-bilingual
Author				
For 227				
For BE				

Instances of US. versus Them polarizing Ideology

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CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The data reveal that both advocates of bilingual-education and Proposition 227 argue for their respective sides within the confines of particular political ideologies, that is, Republican conservative ideologies (assimilationists) and Democrat ideologies (pluralists). Advocates of bilingual education support public policy that fosters multiculturalism, while advocates of Proposition 227 support public policy that reflects conservative ideals. Arguments surrounding Proposition 227 are not simply over language, but about how society's priorities. Therefore, the battle for control of public policy is actually the battle to control society.

From the conflicting ideologies, various themes emerge from both assimilationist and multiculturalists. One important theme from advocates of multiculturalism is that bilingual-education is a right and that teachers and administrators should have a right to teach English as they please, even if that includes using Spanish and other languages. Advocates of bilingual-education believe in an America that is great because of its diversity, and they

believe in an America that allows immigrants to retain their native culture while they adopt a new culture. Therefore, when presented with a policy that threatens these rights, it is viewed as an attack on minority culture. Themes reflecting this position emerge in various articles.

In contrast to the multiculturalists, assimilationists' main concerns are in regard to economic processes, and loyalty to the concept of patriotism. One reoccurring theme regarding economic processes is that English via 227 will provide better economic opportunities for children; students are more likely to go to college and get better jobs if they can speak and write English well. Using this rationale, they question the effectiveness of bilingual-education programs, this questioning indicated that bilingual education is contentious.

Another prevalent conservative belief is that bilingual-education programs are a waste of tax-payer money because they believe that bilingual programs are only helping Latinos maintain their language and culture. Generally, conservatives oppose government organizations because they believe that government programs are inefficient; bilingual-education is no exception.

Regarding patriotism, conservatives assert that immigrants should assimilate by placing American values before their countries' cultural values. Therefore, English should be first and an immigrant's native language should be second. Conservatives also have a strong belief that English is a way to measure one's dedication to America; conservatives desire to have one main language. This point of view is mentioned throughout various newspaper articles.

One final theme which emerges is that Of Ron Unz, the person responsible for Proposition 227. As the face of Proposition 227, Unz is presented in an altruistic manner, which subsequently is beneficial for in presenting Proposition 227 favorably. While groups against Unz portray him in a negative fashion, he is supported by assimilationists.

Headlines

As van Dijk (1988) notes, topicalization influences readers greatly and informs them about the article. Often times, the headline of an article sets up the framing. From the 28 articles analyzed, each headline indicated a particular position that reflected either a conservative or multiculturalist ideology. Five major themes emerged along with one minor theme. The themes that emerged can be

split into three sections. The first section focuses on bilingual-education as a student's right to equal education, while the second section focuses on bilingual-education as contentious. The third and final section focuses on conservative ideologies such as economic processes and assimilation.

Bilingual Education as a Student's Right to Equal Education

Headline one, from the *Sacramento Bee*, is one out of eight headlines which express that Bilingual-education is a right; advocates have issues over local control.

- (1) "LOCAL CONTROL UNDER PROP.227 A KEY ISSUE FOES DISLIKE INITIATIVE"

(Garcia, *The Sacramento Bee*, May 21,1998, pp. A4)

The issue of local control is in reference to various stipulations inserted in Proposition 227 that will not allow educators to have control of their classroom; they will not be allowed to use bilingual teaching methods as they have in the past. If this measure passes, they will have to abide by new rules such as the one year limit of bilingual instruction. To pluralist local control is tied into linguistic rights. Darder (2004) asserts that linguistic rights are essentially cultural rights. Therefore, to multiculturalists, restricting

bilingual-education is the same as restricting students' culture, identity, and citizenship. Advocates of bilingual-education cite *Lau v. Nichols*, as a definitive court case which established the right for limited English-proficient students to have special rights to help them overcome language barriers. In fact, they believe this to be a civil right. They argue that bilingual-education falls into the category of special treatment allotted by law, and Proposition 227 is a threat to this right.

From the headlines of 28 news articles, eight headlines expressed the notion that Bilingual-education is a student's right to equal education. From the eight headlines, three of them came from the *Los Angeles Times*, two from the *Orange County Register*, and three from the *Sacramento Bee*. Based on these numbers it cannot be determined if a particular newspaper is supporting a particular cause.

Table 2. Bilingual Education as a Student's Right to Equal Education

Total Amount of Headlines: 8

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
3	2	3

Bilingual-education as Contentious

Example number two represents the type of headlines that portray bilingual-education as contentious. A total of eight headlines construct the idea that bilingual-education programs have legitimate flaws, worthy of being openly discussed.

(2) "FOES CLASH ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION CITY SCHOOLS PROGRAM IS PRAISED, CRITICIZED"

(Sanchez, *The Sacramento Bee*, April 21, 1998, pp. B1)

Two aspects in this particular headline combine to construct bilingual-education as controversial. First, the notion that foes are clashing over bilingual-education signifies that there is a confrontation between two sides. Huckin (1997) notes that certain words and phrases are utilized in a manner in which there is a particular undertone. In this headline, the verb clash not only insinuates that there is conflict regarding 227, but it

also insinuates the degree of the conflict. The second aspect in this headline, which states that bilingual-education is both criticized and praised, indicates once again that bilingual-education is flawed and worth discussing. This type of construction portrays bilingual-education programs as problematic and as a consequence readers, who are also potential voters are led to believe that there is indeed a legitimate issue.

The data concerning this theme is fairly balanced amongst all newspapers. The *Los Angeles Times* has two headlines regarding the issues of 227 as contentious, while the *Orange County Register* has three, and the *Sacramento Bee* also has three.

Table 3. Bilingual-Education as Contentious

Total Amount of Headlines: 8

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
2	3	3

Unz as Altruistic

Another theme that emerges is in regard to Republican Ron Unz as a central figure. Because he is the author of Proposition 227, a lot of attention is naturally placed on

him. Headline three, from the *Orange County Register*, focuses on Unz, and portrays him in a positive fashion.

(3) "Unz crusades to end bilingual education // POLITICS:

The 'genius' former candidate for governor could make or break the English-only initiative"

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, December 29, 1997, pp. A1)

As a reoccurring theme throughout various articles, Unz is more often than not characterized as a benevolent man trying to help the community, especially Latino immigrants. Though this headline does not directly present Unz in this fashion, it does focus on him and the good he is doing. The first portion of this headline which states "Unz crusades to end bilingual-education" places him in the subject position, and thus as the agent "Unz crusades to end bilingual education // POLITICS: The 'genius' former candidate for governor could make or break the English-only initiative" (*The Orange County Register*, December 29, 1997, pp. A1). The action taken as conveyed by the verb "crusade" insinuates that Unz is on a religious war-like mission against bilingual-education. Historically, the word "crusade" is associated with the military expeditions of European Christians in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries for the recovery of the Holy Land

from the Muslims. Therefore, Unz is elevated to past warriors for Christianity; but in this case, bilingual education is the enemy. The significance of the word "crusade" also plays an important role within Unz' conservative base because most conservatives are in fact Christians and they are against bilingual-education. Unz' image is elevated even more with the second portion of the headline which calls him a "genius". Also, the description that he was a former candidate for governor adds to his accolades. Though the title also states that Unz "could make or break the English-Only initiative" indicates that he could fail, it is nevertheless minimized since it is in the latter portion of the headline. As the premier representative for 227, a positive portrayal of Unz is essentially a positive portrayal for Proposition 227, and readers are more likely to favor 227.

For this theme of Unz as altruistic, there were only two headlines. The headline discussed above is from the *Orange County Register*, and the other headline comes from the *Sacramento Bee*. Both these headlines portray Unz and Proposition 227 positively.

Table 4. Unz as Altruistic

Total Amount of Headlines: 2

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
	1	1

Bilingual-Education as a Failure

The fourth theme that emerged in this analysis was the portrayal of bilingual-education as a failed program. Like the previous headlines which portray bilingual education as contentious, these headlines do the same. However, these headlines are one-sided in that they are completely against bilingual-education. In addition, they differ from the other headlines because they deal with economic processes pertaining to conservative values.

The following except is in regard to Gloria Matta Tuchman and her classroom.

- (4) "Teacher hopes to set standard for English instruction // EDUCATION: Gloria Matta Tuchman's Santa Ana class is a model for her anti-bilingual campaign" (Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, December 28, 1997, pp. A1)

In headline four, from the *Orange County Register*, the first portion that states "Teacher hopes to set standard

for English instruction" presupposes with the word "standard" that current English instruction is not up to par. As (Huckin, 1997) notes, presupposition takes advantage of the reader because it takes particular ideas for granted, assuming that there is no alternative. Here, the idea taken for granted is that educators have not been doing a good job. Adding to the idea that bilingual-education programs are failing, the second portion of the headline promotes Gloria Matta Tuchman and her class as the model class. In doing so, essentially the author is stating that 227 is the solution and the new standard that can and will replace the inefficient bilingual-education program. The greater significance behind presenting bilingual-education is to show that government programs are inefficient. Scheuerman (1994) notes that attacking government programs by pointing out their inefficiency stems from a conservative ideology; conservatives want a small government.

Another important feature that reflects a conservative ideology is the use of the phrase "anti-bilingual campaign." Because opposing bilingual-education is also a feature of conservative values, this too appeals to the conservative base. By

presenting bilingual-education as a failed program, 227 is subsequently placed in a favorable position.

Both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* have two headlines discussing this issue while the *Sacramento Bee* only has one. The disparity amongst these numbers is still not enough to tell if a particular news agency is politically motivated.

Table 5. Bilingual-Education as a Failure

Total Amount of Headlines: 5

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
2	2	1

Campaign Funding

Another important theme which also deals with the economic processes is campaign funding. The headline in example five is in reference to Republican Ron Unz and the money he is donating to support Proposition 227.

(5) "Throwing money at education lets the wealthy make a point"

(Weintraub, *The Orange County Register*, May 3, 1998, pp. 1)

The verb "throwing", in example five, insinuates that money is carelessly being tossed about by wealthy people. Though not directly stated, this headline is a reference to Ron Unz and his personal campaign donations. Because, Unz is being presented as making a political impact with his money. The significance in this particular theme is rather interesting because it acknowledges the power of money in politics. Crane (2003) as a matter of fact, cites the Supreme Court case, *Buckley v. Valeo*, which recognized that restricting political spending is essentially restricting political speech. Therefore, campaign funding is directly correlated to access and influence in the political realm. The four headlines that emphasize campaign funding highlight the fact that whoever has more money generally has more political power.

The data for this category is also fairly even. The *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* both have one quote and the *Sacramento Bee* has two headlines regarding this theme. Again, with these numbers it is still difficult to identify a newspaper's political affiliation.

Table 6. Campaign Funding

Total amount of Quotes: 4

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
1	1	2

Assimilation

The last theme, which is only a minor theme in the category of headlines, deals with assimilation. As the only headline that discusses assimilation, headline six mentions Avila, an immigrant from Guatemala who assimilated and now supports Proposition 227 because she believes that it will promote patriotism.

(6) "One who assimilated sees value in Prop.227 Education.

Rosemarie Avila, who came from Guatemala in the 1950s, says limiting bilingual-education is a way to instill pride.

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 27, 1998, pp. A7)

This type of headline represents a typical conservative ideology. According to Imhoff (1990), conservatives adhere to the idea that English is the key to economic opportunity in America, and learning English will empower immigrants and unite the county. Though this

theme is only represented in one headline, it is much more prominent in other rhetorical categories.

Table 7. Assimilation

Total amount of Quotes: 1

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
	1	

Headline Breakdown

The data for each theme do not definitively indicate whether a particular news agency adheres to a specific political ideology. However, these headlines do identify the salient themes regarding Proposition 227 and the state of Bilingual-Education. The most important themes were Bilingual-Education as a Student's Right to Equal Education, and Bilingual-Education as contentious with eight respective headlines for each newspaper. The third largest theme was bilingual-education as a failure with five headlines, while campaign funding was the fourth largest theme with four headlines. The first of the two minor themes the presentation of Ron Unz as Altruistic with two quotes. The second theme, only presented with one quote as the promotion of assimilation via English. Even

though these numbers are not overwhelmingly significant in terms of showing bias, the themes provide a preview for the rest of the analysis.

Table 8. Headline Breakdown

Theme	Amount of headlines
Bilingual-Education as a Student's Right to Equal Education	8
Bilingual-education as Contentious	8
Unz as a Altruistic	2
Bilingual-education as a Failure	5
Campaign Funding	4
Assimilation	1

Quotes

Quotes have become such an integral part of news article that they are often taken for granted by the readers. By examining how a journalist uses various quotes, the hidden ideologies can be exposed. As Fairclough (1992) notes, speech reporting is not a reproduction but a representation. Therefore, when using quotes, a journalist can strategically choose a particular quote in order to depict a particular stance on any given issue. Journalist tend to use two types of quotes; direct

and indirect. Fairclough (1992) asserts that journalist use direct quotes when they do not want to be seen as endorsing a particular idea. In so doing, the journalist creates a distance between themselves and the idea expressed in the quote. In contrast, journalists use indirect quotes, also known as reported speech, when he or she agrees with a particular idea. Journalists will use paraphrasing, and subsequently, the reported speech will be much more different from the original utterance. In contrast, a journalist uses indirect quotes when he or she agrees with a particular idea. Because it is sometimes difficult to tell the difference between direct and indirect quotes, journalists tend to use a variety of inferential and interpretive strategies when creating indirect speech (Waugh, 1995).

While analyzing the quotes from all three newspapers, many themes emerged, some minor and some major. The major themes will be clearly demonstrated by the data, and will be thoroughly discussed, while the minor themes that appear will only be discussed if they are prevalent. For example, when one newspaper has a reoccurring theme but the other newspapers have no mention of such a theme, there needs to be an explanation why one newspaper is focusing on such a theme and the other newspapers are not.

Also, in terms of presentation, I will present themes first from the pluralist point of view and secondly from the assimilationist point of view. Within these themes, there are also be sub-themes. By the end of this analysis the major themes will be clearly identified and the reader will be able to understand to which degree each newspaper agency promotes a particular political association.

Quotes From the Pluralist Point of View

The quotes from the pluralist point of view reflect the ideology that bilingual-education is a right which is justified by law. The Bilingual Education Act, passed in 1968 established equal opportunity for English Language Learners (ELLs.) by providing funding. Before this law, children did not have equal access to education. Therefore, pluralists view the banning of their programs as turn back of the clock to the days where students had no rights.

Local Control a Problem with 227

As mentioned earlier, the conflict regarding bilingual-education stems from two opposing ideologies, that is, assimilationists and multiculturalists. One major theme which emerged from multiculturalists is the idea of local control. Similar to the theme in the newspaper

headlines regarding bilingual-education as a student's right, the theme here is about how 227's stipulations are taking control of autonomous bilingual education programs. Quote number one comes from Manuel Rodriguez, a San Diego police sergeant who had no bilingual instruction, and attended an English immersion program in California when he was 7 years old. He says:

- (1) "The initiative is a bad solution. It's so restrictive and doesn't take into account the complexity of how to best integrate non-English speaking children into society."

DILEMMAS IN THE L.A. SCHOOLS; Putting Education to the Test; The Bilingual Debate: Immigrants recall with pain and pride having to learn English. Most are leery of Proposition 227.

(Boxall, *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 26, 1998, pp. 1)

The first thing that is important to note is that the person expressing this quote is of Latino origin. As a Latino, who has experienced such programs, Rodriguez is presented as an expert. His personal experience also adds credibility to his statements. Another interesting aspect is the phrase "it doesn't take into account how to best integrate non-English speaking children into society". This points to two things. First, is that schools have the

responsibility to transition immigrants into society by teaching students English. In other words, English is the vehicle through which immigrants are integrated. Contrary to what many assimilationists believe, Rodriguez is expressing that immigrants want to integrate but 227 is not the way. And secondly, Rodriguez emphasizes that 227 does not have flexibility. This portion of the quote is in reference to the one-year limit on bilingual-education before being mainstreamed. Later in the same article, Rodriguez retells his experience, and offers a glimpse into what English immersion programs will be like if 227 passes. Note number two:

- (2) "I think having the difficulties you have gives you a low self-image. You really think you're dumb."

DILEMMAS IN THE L.A. SCHOOLS; Putting Education to the Test; The Bilingual Debate: Immigrants recall with pain and pride having to learn English. Most are leery of Proposition 227.

(Boxall, *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 26, 1998, pp. 1)

The use of the pronouns "you" address the reader directly, and make this quote more personal. In revealing his past, Rodriguez is portrayed sympathetically, and at the same time his personal experience is a warning to

readers that without bilingual education, children will experience emotional pain, suffering, and humiliation.

The one-year limit of bilingual education is not the only issue for defenders of bilingual-education. They also attack various other 227 stipulations such as the \$50 million spent per year for 10 years, and the right for parents and guardians to sue teachers if they are not following the law. Above all, the main concern is that local school districts will not have the right to design their own programs as they have done in the past. The restrictions on bilingual programs are essentially restrictions on the right for immigrants to maintain their own language.

From all the quotes, across all three newspapers, this theme had the largest amount of quotes (direct and filtered) with 119. However, not all newspapers focused on this issue equally. Both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Sacramento Bee* were fairly even with 48 and 44 quotes but the *Orange County Register* only had 27 quotes. These numbers suggest that the issues concerning 227's stipulations are not as important for the *Orange County Register* as they are for the other two newspapers. As previously noted, the *Orange County Register* is known for leaning politically to the right, therefore the data is in

concordance to the *Orange County Registers'* political stance.

Table 9. Local Control a Problem with 227

Total amount of Quotes: 119

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 29	Direct quote 12	Direct quote 23
Filtered quote 17	Filtered quote 15	Filtered quote 21
Total quotes 48	Total quotes 27	Total quotes 44

Contentious Bilingual-Education Defended by Its Advocates

The portrayal of Bilingual-educational as contentious was another theme that emerged. Similar to the theme discussed in the analysis of headlines, the presupposition that bilingual-education programs are ineffective, and part of the conflict amongst pluralists and assimilationists stems from this. While assimilationists argue that bilingual-education programs are ineffective, supporters of bilingual-education argue that they are indeed doing an effective job. Rather than creating one theme wherein I discuss how bilingual-education is contentious in general, this theme demonstrates how advocates of bilingual-education defend their program.

Though bilingual-education is also presented as contentious by advocates of 227, their arguments against bilingual-education are too complex to simply be placed in this category. They will be discussed later in this study.

Quote number three, exhibited below comes from Westrup, the principal who oversees Maria Belden's bilingual-education program.

(3) "I have seen the results of a child who makes the transition, who is bilingual, who is biliterate. Who can think and write in two languages. What could be wrong with that?"

GETTING THROUGH WHEN BILINGUAL TEACHER MARIA BELDEN
SPEAKS, HER STUDENTS HEAR THE SOULDS OF HOME

(Sylva, *The Sacramento Bee*, 18 Mar 1998, pp. F1)

This quote comes from an article that presents Maria Belden's bilingual-education classroom as a model program; it serves as an example of the model bilingual-education program. In presenting it this way, bilingual-education is portrayed in a way where it is presumed to be problematic, and supporters of these programs are in a position where they have to defend it. Presented as an expert, not only does Westrup argue that Belden's program is successful, he also asserts that there is nothing wrong with students becoming bilingual, biliterate, and "who can think and

write in two languages." GETTING THROUGH WHEN BILINGUAL TEACHER MARIA BELDEN SPEAKS, HER STUDENTS HEAR THE SOULDS OF HOME (The *Sacramento Bee*, March 18, 1998, pp. F1). As a representative of bilingual-education, Westrup promotes a pluralist ideology. He sees bilingualism and biculturalism as something that should be not be prohibited; he believes that public schools should help children maintain their mother tongue.

Maria Belden concurs with Westrup. Through the use of a filtered quote, the author of this article says:

- (4) "Belden also believes that it is the duty of a school to preserve a child's cultural vernacular. "By teaching them English (exclusively), you are robbing them of their Spanish."

GETTING THROUGH WHEN BILINGUAL TEACHER MARIA BELDEN SPEAKS, HER STUDENTS HEAR THE SOULDS OF HOME

(Sylva, The *Sacramento Bee*, March 18, 1998, pp. F1)

Belden views Proposition 227 as oppressive because in her opinion teaching an "English only" method, that is, Proposition 227 will take away "a child's cultural vernacular. In concordance with pluralists perspective, she believes that these students have a right to maintain their native language.

This ideology is in concordance with Espinosa (2010), who says English-only programs only do harm to children. She says that "Erasing a child's language or cultural patterns of language use is a great loss for the child" (p. 73). She adds that Children's identities and senses of self are inextricably linked to the language they speak and the culture to which they have been socialized" (p. 73). Therefore, modifying current bilingual-education is the same as taking away children's identities. This is one of the reasons that pluralists defend bilingual-education.

As noted in table 10 below, the amount of quotes representing this theme are not nearly as many as the quotes concerning the issue of local control. However, the amount of quotes from each newspaper shows a great disparity between newspapers. While the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* have a fairly equal amount of quotes with 8 and 11 quotes respectively, the *Sacramento Bee* has the most quotes with 28. These numbers indicate that out of all three newspapers, the *Sacramento Bee* defends bilingual-education the most, while the *Orange County Register* defends bilingual-education the least.

Table 10. Contentious Bilingual-Education Defended by Its Advocates

Total amount of Quotes: 47

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 7	Direct quote 3	Direct quote 16
Filtered quote 4	Filtered quote 5	Filtered quote 12
Total quotes 11	Total quotes 8	Total quotes 28

Proposition 227 Race-Based

Another theme, albeit minor but worth mentioning, is the overt accusation that Proposition 227 is race-based. Quote number five comes from Charles Kamasaki, the Vice President of the National Council of La Raza:

(5) "Hasn't the state had enough? Do we need another racially charged, sharp-edged debate about a hot-button, political wedge issue?"

Debate Loud as Vote Nears on Bilingual Ban:

(Anderson, *Los Angeles Times*, March 23, 1998, pp. A1)

By beginning the quote with a rhetorical question, Kamasaki sets up the argument in a way that presupposes that the state has already had many problems. However, it is not until the following question that Kamasaki informs the readers about the specific issues. Once again, the

rhctorical question presupposes that we have had "racially charged, sharp-edged debate[s] about hot-button, political wedge issues." Moreover, the use of the word "another" reinforces the initial idea set forth that the state has gone through many issues and that Proposition 227 is yet another problem. Also worth noting is the reference to the state. Though kamasaki is a representative of the Latino community, he does not directly argue that the Latino community has had "enough". Instead, he presents Proposition 227 as an issue that harms everyone in the state, as indicated with the pronoun "we." Essentially he is arguing that this measure is divisive and harmful for the state as a whole. However, this issue does impact Latino children more than any other group; therefore, the Latino community views this measure as a direct attack them.

Immediately after this quote, the author adds a filtered quote, and strengthens Kamasaki's argument.

(6) "Some view Proposition 227 as a sequel to Proposition 187 and 209, passed by voters in 1994 and 1996, respectively. Those measures struck at illegal immigration and affirmative action and provoked national debate".

(Anderson, *Los Angeles Times*, March 23, 1998, pp. A1)

This filtered quote in combination with Kamasaki's direct quote, creates a paired quote and strengthens the previous quote's claim idea that Proposition 227 is in fact race-based. Filtered quote (6) allows the author to become an advocate of bilingual-education without directly stating it. Fairclough (1992) notes how journalists utilize indirect quotes when they agree with a particular idea. He also notes that when journalists use reported speech (filtered), the text will be further way from the original utterance. Therefore, this rhetorical method allows the author to put forth an idea that is slightly different than the original idea in the previous quote. Though Kamasaki mentions that Proposition 227 is race-based, he does not specifically state how this measure relates to past race-based measures. It is the author's filtered quote which makes this connection for the reader. Another aspect regarding this filtered quote is the vagueness of the person who is stating it. The journalist of this article attributes the notion that 227 as a sequel to Proposition 187 and 209 to "some view". In so doing, the author distances himself from the argument. If he were to write for example "Latinos view 227 as a sequel...", it would appear that he is speaking on behalf

of 227 supporters. This is one example of how filtered quotes are used.

This theme of 227 as a race-based measure was not very prominent in terms of numbers. However, the data indicate that from all three newspapers, the *Orange County Register* represents this concern the least with only one quote while the *Sacramento Bee* and The *Los Angeles Times* represent this theme with four and eight quotes. Though the amount of quotes from the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Sacramento Bee* are not significantly greater than the *Orange County Register's* quotes, it is enough to claim that the *Orange County Register*, in line with an assimilationist ideology, is not expressing the idea that Proposition 227 is race-based. Conversely, the *Los Angeles Times* does express the idea that Latinos believe 227 to be a race-based proposition. Also worth noting is that the *Los Angeles Times* had more filtered quotes than direct quotes. This indicates that perhaps the authors are providing a perspective of 227 that is not necessarily the same as supporters of 227.

Table 11. Proposition 227 Race-Based

Total amount of Quotes: 13

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 2	Direct quote 0	Direct quote 3
Filtered quote 6	Filtered quote 1	Filtered quote 1
Total quotes 8	Total quotes 1	Total quotes 4

Quotes from Assimilationists

The themes that emerged from assimilationists seem to reflect the traditional conservative ideologies such as that of having weak central government, low taxes, fiscal responsibility, and a competitive free market system. Under the theme of small government, there is the sub-themes which portrays bilingual-education as an unnecessary, expensive and ineffective program;

Bilingual-Education Presented as an Unnecessary, Expensive and Ineffective Program

One important theme shared by assimilationists is that bilingual-education is an unnecessary, expensive, and ineffective program. Most assimilationists subscribe to the fundamental conservative ideology of the free market system wherein the best businesses or institutions survive because they are efficient and effective. Their model is "let the market decide". Conservatives believe that state

money (taxes) should not be used for government programs. Rather than subsidize governments programs, conservatives believe that the government should give tax cuts to thriving businesses so that they may create private jobs. They view state jobs and government programs as usurping opportunities from the private sector. The target in these newspaper articles are bilingual-education programs; conservatives claim that these programs are a misuse of tax money.

Quote number one below is a filtered quote, from a journalist, reiterating the purpose of Proposition 227:

- (1) "The plan takes aim at bilingual education programs that slowly move Spanish-speaking students from their native language into English. He blames bilingual programs for California's 5 percent annual rate of reclassifying students from limited English to fluent English. He [Ron Unz] calls that a 95 percent failure rate."

Unz crusades to end bilingual education//POLITICS: The 'genius' former candidate for governor could make _ or break _ the English-only initiative.

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, 29 Dec 1997, pp. A01)

The use of the adverb "slowly" implies that bilingual-education programs thus far have been ineffective, and it also presumes that bilingual-education programs are supposed to facilitate students quickly into mainstream classes. However, there is no consensus in terms of how long it takes for a child to become fluent. While assimilationists believe that children can become fluent quickly, supporters of bilingual-education assert that it takes seven years for a child to become fluent. The second portion of this extract reiterates Unz' quote by stating statistics. In accordance with the original statement that bilingual-education programs are not mainstreaming children quickly enough, these statistics support this claim. Again, the whole extract is founded on the premise that children need to be mainstreamed faster, and hence bilingual-education is presented as ineffective.

Quote number two pairs up with the previous quote and reinforces the idea that children are not learning English quickly enough.

(2) "If they don't get English in school, how will they learn it?"

Unz crusades to end bilingual education//POLITICS: The 'genius' former candidate for governor could make _ or break _ the English-only initiative.

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, 29 Dec 1997, pp. A01)

Unz poses a rhetorical question presupposing that, once again, schools are not teaching English. With this paired quote, bilingual-education programs are portrayed as failing.

Later in the same article, Unz attacks bureaucrats, that is, those that support bilingual-education. Quote number three questions the legitimacy of bilingual-education research.

(3) "I hope this doesn't sound arrogant, but I don't think a lot of these types of academic studies are as rigorous as theoretical physics," he said. "I don't view education theory as being scientifically respectable."

Unz crusades to end bilingual education//POLITICS: The 'genius' former candidate for governor could make _ or break _ the English-only initiative.

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, 29 Dec 1997, pp. A01)

In questioning educational theory, Unz compares this science to the study of theoretical physics, and in so doing asserts that educational theory is not legitimate. By adding the disclaimer, "I hope this doesn't sound

arrogant", Unz is excusing himself from any wrongdoing while still trying to maintain a position of humility. The interesting aspect of this quote is that Unz actually has a Ph.D. in Theoretical Physics. However, he does not state this fact himself. Instead, the author reveals this fact about him and reports on other accomplishments Unz has achieved. By contrasting Unz' success to the failure of bilingual-education programs, Unz is made to look as an expert, while bilingual-education is made to look as ineffective.

The data concerning this theme does not follow along political lines as expected. Surprisingly, the *Orange County Register* does not portray bilingual-education programs as ineffective as much as the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Sacramento Bee* do. The *Sacramento Bee* expresses this theme with 19 quotes while the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* have 13 and 8 respectively. Although the data does not make direct accusations concerning the states resources, the issues behind portraying bilingual-education as ineffective are that children are not being taught English, and that these programs are wasteful.

Table 12. Bilingual-Education as an Unnecessary Expensive and Ineffective Program

Total amount of Quotes: 40

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 6	Direct quote 4	Direct quote 10
Filtered quote 7	Filtered quote 4	Filtered quote 9
Total quotes 13	Total quotes 8	Total quotes 19

Inefficient Bureaucrats

It is not just the bilingual-education programs that assimilationists attack, bureaucrats who support and facilitate these programs are also targeted. Assimilationists attack bilingual-education representatives such as principals, and the School Board, blaming them for the inefficiency. As strong supporters of bilingual-education, bureaucrats are seen as an extension of the problem with bilingual-education; they are part of what makes big government. Through the use of many quotes, bureaucrats are also presented as inefficient and greedy. One of the main reasons why assimilationists attack bureaucrats is because of the fiscal aspect. Assimilationists, who are also known for being conservative, maintain a fiscal ideology that the

government designs programs, such as bilingual-education, in order to create jobs. Fiscal conservatives believe in a free-market competition wherein the best organizations remain while the weaker ones die-off, otherwise know as "social Darwinism". They argue that one cannot compete with government programs, and that instead of subsidizing these programs, the government should give businesses tax cuts. The deeper issue behind attacking bureaucrats is in line with conservative fiscal ideologies.

Quote number four below demonstrates this theme:

- (4) "They're not going to negotiate with every Tom, Dick or Harry who shows up with 200 bucks and an initiative. They didn't take us seriously until we demonstrated that we could qualify it for the ballot." Throwing money at education lets the wealthy make a point

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 1998, pp. 4)

This particular quote comes from an article that discusses how philanthropists use money to bypass corrupt politicians who are only interested in promoting their own agendas. Hastings, a software millionaire like Ron Unz, was a former high school teacher and is a believer in a system of custom-designed public charter schools. He tried

to open charter schools that would be free from most state and school district rules, Bureaucrats however, refused to listen to his ideas because, at the time, he did not have money. However, once he proved that he could qualify for the ballot, they listened to him. In his quote, the use of the colloquial phrase "every Tom, Dick, or Harry" insinuates that bureaucrats are unwilling to listen to the good ideas from regular people. This portrays bureaucrats as irrational and it reinforces the idea that money is a necessary tool for change. After this quote, the author reinforces this theme via the use of a filtered quote. He says:

- (5) "Soon, Democrats who had blocked proposals like his in the past were falling over themselves to try to work out a compromise."

Throwing money at education lets the wealthy make a point

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 1998, pp. 4)

Simply mentioning Democrats, the issue becomes dichotomized and then it is not just bureaucrats who are targeted, it is also Democrats. The reflexive verb falling over themselves" portrays democrats as having a sense of urgency to listen to ideas. This quote adds to the

argument that Democrats (Bureaucrats) are not cooperative. Through the use of this paired quote, bureaucrats are portrayed whiny and this is a negative feature.

Though Unz nor Proposition 227 are mentioned in the above extract, this article is framed as philanthropist versus corrupt bureaucrats (Democrats). Therefore, when Hastings is presented as a victor, Unz and subsequently 227, are presented in the same manner. The author sums up the framing with a final filtered quote:

(6) "All of this is an odd twist on the power of money in politics. The folks with big bucks used to get their way by contributing to legislators' campaigns. Now the rich are using their money to amass the signatures that give them the instant clout of a ballot initiative. Direct democracy meets the smoke-filled room."

Throwing money at education lets the wealthy make a point

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 1998, pp. 4)

Though not directly stated, the author insinuates that Unz and Hastings are representatives of direct democracy while the smoke filled room are bureaucrats. Direct democracy in this instance is a democracy which

bypasses the corruption typically associated with politics. The phrase smoke-filled room implies that the powerful people, in this case, Democrats are sitting back carelessly smoking cigars enjoying leisure time rather than doing their job.

Regarding the three newspapers and the negative portrayal of bureaucrats, the *Los Angeles Times* has four of these type of quotes, the *Sacramento Bee* has five quotes, while the *Orange County Register* has 12 quotes. As expected, the *Orange County Register* portrays bureaucrats as ineffective more than the other newspapers. Also worth noting is that in all three newspapers, the filtered quotes outnumber the direct quotes. This indicates that the news agencies are developing this theme, and even more so with regards to the *Orange County Register*.

Table 13. Inefficient Bureaucrats

Total amount of Quotes: 21

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 1	Direct quote 2	Direct quote 2
Filtered quote 3	Filtered quote 10	Filtered quote 3
Total quotes 4	Total quotes 12	Total quotes 5

Championing Immersion Programs

Another prevalent theme, amongst these newspapers was the Championing of Immersion Programs. Similar to how multiculturalists portray bilingual-education as an effective functional program, assimilationists also portray their immersion programs as successful. Quote number seven comes from Gloria Matta Tuchman, an English teacher and Co-chairwomen of Proposition 227.

(7) "What can you drink out of a mug?" Tuchman asks.

Milk, chocolate, tea, juice, coffee, the kids reply. Cappuccino, says one. "Cappuccino," Tuchman, a teacher for 33 years, says with a smile. "And these are limited-English children."

Teacher hopes to set standard for English instruction // EDUCATION: Gloria Matta Tuchman's Santa Ana class is a model for her anti-bilingual campaign.

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, 28 Dec 1997, pp. a01)

Like the article discussed earlier wherein Maria Belden is portrayed as a fantastic bilingual-education teacher, this article does the same. Tuchman's immersion program is portrayed as a highly functional model program. Quote seven is a mini dialog between Tuchman and her students. By quoting verbatim, the actions occurring in

the classroom, the author is presenting direct proof that Tuchman's immersion methods are working. Another interesting aspect is the tagline that the author uses. Similar to Belden's classroom, the author adds to this argument by inserting the tagline "with a smile" to emphasize that the immersion program is in fact a happy environment, contrary to what multiculturalists believe. Mirroring the article regarding Maria Belden, this article tries to convince readers that immersion programs are functional.

Another perspective on Proposition 227 is also given by Jaime Escalante, an honorary chairman of Proposition 227. As a supporter of 227 he views this measure as a way to integrate immigrants into the system. He says:

(8) "Any immigrant, it makes no difference where you are from-- Cuba, Mexico, a country in Europe-- you are part of a system. You have to integrate yourself into the system. The integration factor is the language."

GETTING THROUGH WHEN BILINGUAL TEACHER MARIA BELDEN
SPEAKS, HER STUDENTS HEAR THE SOULDS OF HOME

(Sylva, *The Sacramento Bee*, March 18, 1998, pp. F1)

The significance in this quote other than Escalante's push towards assimilation via English is also the fact that he is a prominent and well respected member of the

Latino community. A former high school calculus teacher, Escalante's life story was documented with a Hollywood film, which gave him high esteem in the community.

Escalante, an immigrant from Bolivia at age 37 supported his family with medial jobs and then became an educator. His testimony once again not only dismisses the ideas of racism via 227 but also adds credibility that immersion programs do in fact work.

Contrary to Walden's beliefs that it is a school's responsibility to maintain a child's cultural heritage and language, Escalante says:

(9) "Let's not confuse things, culture you learn at home. You educate at schools."

GETTING THROUGH WHEN BILINGUAL TEACHER MARIA BELDEN
SPEAKS, HER STUDENTS HEAR THE SOULDS OF HOME

(Anderson, *The Sacramento Bee*, May 18, 1998, pp. F1)

Escalante represents the assimilationist ideology which pushes forth the idea of one language and one culture in public institutions. It is not to say to people cannot have their home culture but according to Escalante, the responsibility remains at home. This ideology is a direct contradictory against the Pluralist ideology.

Once again the data representing this theme is in line with the ideology that the *Orange County Register*

represents the assimilationists ideology more than the other papers. It has a total of 34 quotes while the *Los Angeles Times* has 18 and the *Sacramento Bee* has 19. Equally important are the number of filtered quotes. Both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Sacramento Bee* have more direct quotes than filtered quotes but the *Orange County Register* has more filtered quotes than direct quotes. This suggests that the journalists for the *Orange County Register* are actively adding to the argument that immersion programs are doing well.

Table 14. Championing Immersion Programs

Total amount of Quotes: 71

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 12	Direct quote 14	Direct quote 13
Filtered quote 6	Filtered quote 20	Filtered quote 6
Total quotes 18	Total quotes 34	Total quotes 19

Defense Against Accusations of Racism

The defense against accusations of racism is another important theme that emerged. Interestingly, though there are not many overt accusations that 227 is race-based, assimilationists have many quotes defending Proposition

227, arguing that this measure is trying to help minority groups, not hurt them. Within this theme, there are two categories. The first category is in regard to the portrayal of Ron Unz as an altruistic hero. In many ways Unz' altruism is a defense against accusations of racism because his purpose, as he claims, is to help the Latino Community. The other category, which emerged are quotes that directly address the accusation of racism. The significance in these quotes is that there are many more quotes defending 227 against accusations of racism in comparison to actual overt accusations of racism. Therefore, this seems to imply that there is a presupposition that 227 is race-based and the burden to argue that it is otherwise is on supporters of 227.

Unz Altruism

As the creator of Proposition 227, Unz is often talked about by both those against and for 227. When he is mentioned, he is presented as if he were a hero. This does two things. First, it shows Unz' character and it shows who exactly it is spearheading this initiative. Secondly, it portrays Unz as an altruistic philanthropist, adding credence to the idea that Unz is a person who is doing

this to help immigrants, not to hurt them as many others believe.

Quote 10 comes from an article that discusses how various organizations are donating money towards initiatives because they have an invested interest.

(10) "Unions are fighting for their political life and plan to spend millions of dollars to defeat Proposition 226, which requires labor organizations to get written consent from every member before spending union dues on political causes and candidates. School principals and superintendents are leading the charge against an initiative that limits school spending on administration. Private and public engineers and architects are squaring off over Proposition 224, which would restrict the use of no-bid contracts by state and local governments." Initiative races draw donations // CAMPAIGNS: Fund raising is especially intense when stakeholders have a lot to lose_ or gain.

(Katches, *The Orange County Register* Ana, 27 Apr 1998, pp. a01)

Though this excerpt does not directly mention Unz, it nevertheless mentions various groups, including the teacher's union. The use of verbs "fighting", "leading the

charge", and "squaring off" indicate that these various groups are taking actions to promote their own agenda.

Later in the article, the author quotes Unz and portrays him as benevolent.

(11) "That's one of the reasons why we've had trouble raising money for something like this and why I've had to put in so much of my own money. People don't have a stake. There's no economic stake. I don't think there's one economically interested party in our list of contributors. It's people who just oppose bilingual education because they think it's bad policy."

Initiative races draw donations // CAMPAIGNS: Fund raising is especially intense when stakeholders have a lot to lose or gain.

(Katches, *The Orange County Register* Ana, 27 Apr 1998, pp. a01)

In contrast to quote 10, which sets the premise that organizations invest money when they have an invested interest, Unz is portrayed as benevolent because as he says, "People don't have a stake" (CAMPAIGNS: Fund raising is especially intense when stakeholders have a lot to lose or gain (Katches, *The Orange County Register* Ana, 27 Apr 1998, pp. a01). His proof is that not many people have invested; therefore, he has had to invest money in order

to get rid of bad policy. As mentioned earlier, quotes that portray Unz as altruistic also serve as a defense against accusations of racism because the emphasis of this theme is that Unz is trying to help immigrant children, not hurt them.

For this theme, the data suggests the *Orange County Register* is supportive of Unz and 227 with 19 quotes while the *Los Angeles Times* only has four quotes. Equally important to note is that the *Sacramento Bee* has no quotes regarding this theme. This suggests that the *Sacramento Bee* is not supportive of 227.

Table 15. Unz Altruism

Total amount of Quotes: 23

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 1	Direct quote 10	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 3	Filtered quote 9	Filtered quote 0
Total quotes 4	Total quotes 19	Total quotes 0

Quotes Against Accusations of Racism

The second theme that emerged defending 227 against accusations of racism deals with quotes that address this issue directly. Though supporters of 227 may claim that

227 is in the best interest of children, and that 227 is not race-based, this argument becomes more convincing when it is expressed by Latinos and other minorities. Quote number 12 represents this category.

(12) "In more than two dozen interviews, whites, blacks and Latinos often echoed one another, returning again and again to the same themes. They viewed fluency in English as the key to success and assimilation-and felt that bilingual instruction didn't move immigrant children into fluency quickly enough."

California and the West; CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS / PROPOSITION 227; Popularity Extends Past Racial Lines; Measure to virtually end bilingual education has widespread support. Many say immigrant children haven't become fluent quickly enough.

(Boxall, *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1998, pp. 3)

The context behind this quote is built on the idea that Proposition 227 is well liked by many people, regardless of color. This particular filtered quote emphasizes that "Whites, Blacks and Latinos often echoed one another" regarding their support for 227 and disapproval of bilingual-education. By demonstrating that many racial groups support Proposition 227 and dislike bilingual education, the author is arguing that this

measure is not race-based; otherwise, these other groups would not support it.

The data representing this theme is not congruent with the previous theme. Thus far, it seems as though the *Los Angeles Times* is somewhat centered in terms of its political affiliation, but in this category, it seems to support Proposition 227 with 17 quotes. Conversely, the *Orange County Register* only has two quotes, and they are filtered, which means that they are produced mostly by the journalist. As seen in the graph below, the *Sacramento Bee's* quotes are in the middle with a total of six quotes. It is difficult to tell but perhaps one of the explanations why the *Orange County Register* does not address overt accusations of racism is because they do not feel the need to defend Proposition 227.

Table 16. Quotes Against Accusations of Racism

Total amount of Quotes: 25

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 5	Direct quote 0	Direct quote 2
Filtered quote 12	Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 4
Total quotes 17	Total quotes 2	Total quotes 6

By looking at table 17 below which combines the data from Unz' Altruism and Quotes Against Accusations of Racism, one can see that the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* are equal in terms of how they support the idea that 227 is not race-based. The *Sacramento Bee*, however, only has six quotes, and this demonstrates that this news organization is not very supportive of 227.

Table 17. Defense Against Accusations of Racism

Total amount of Quotes: 48

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 6	Direct quote 10	Direct quote 2
Filtered quote 15	Filtered quote 11	Filtered quote 4
Total quotes 21	Total quotes 21	Total quotes 6

The Role of English

The last theme that emerged is in regards to the idea that via English, immigrants can have patriotic pride, can assimilate, and can have economic opportunities. In many ways, English plays a similar role amongst all three of these categories and it would be simple to place all quotes in one category, but this issue is more complex.

Instead, I separated these groups because not every quote regarding assimilation is motivated by patriotism, and not every quote concerning assimilation and patriotisms is related to economic opportunities. In terms of the theme of economic opportunity via English, there are two themes; economic opportunities via English as expressed by non minorities, and economic opportunities via English as expressed by Latinos and other minorities. The latter category is very important because it also acts as a defense against accusations of racism. I kept this category separate from the others because these quotes pertained strictly to how Latinos and other minorities view English.

Patriotism via English

Quote 13, from the *Orange County Register* is an example of how Patriotism plays a role in the decision to support 227.

(13) "I still feel kinda Guatemalan, I guess because I write my mom. Every time there's an article in the paper about Guatemala, I naturally gravitate to it. But my first president is George Washington."

One who assimilated sees value in Prop. 227 //

EDUCATION: Rosemarie Avila, who came from Guatemala in

the 1950s, says limiting bilingual education is a way to instill pride.

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 27, 1998, pp. A7)

To understand the significance of this quote it is necessary to explain the context. This article is in regard to Rosemarie Avila and her testimony on how and why she embraced American values. In many ways, she is presented as the model immigrant who has assimilated. The use of the adverb "still" implies that she has somewhat of a connection to her motherland, and the verbal phrase "naturally gravitate" also implies that she is drawn towards her home country. However, at the end of the extract, she asserts that her "first president" is George Washington. This specific reference reflects a typical rightwing political ideology in which there is a strong belief in the founding fathers. By placing George Washington ahead of her home country, Guatemala, Avila is an example of how immigrants should embrace American values. Another significant aspect regarding this issue is that it is a Latina that is expressing this idea. As mentioned earlier, this type of quote also serves as a defense against accusations of racism because it is a Latino who is supporting this initiative.

Later in the same article, Avila once again promotes Patriotism and also attacks multiculturalism. She says:

(14) "Because of multiculturalism, they have no sense of belonging here. They're kids without roots. We don't give a territory, a country, values."

One who assimilated sees value in Prop. 227 //

EDUCATION: Rosemarie Avila, who came from Guatemala in the 1950s, says limiting bilingual education is a way to instill pride.

(Arellano, *The Orange County Register*, May 27, 1998, pp. A7)

The attack on multiculturalisms is that children have two identities and according to Avila, this does not give them a strong foundation for who they are; it confuses them. Belden then goes on to say that "we don't give them a territory, a country, values." The use of the pronoun "we" in this sentence places blame on the reader, Avila, and all Americans that children are not being cared enough in terms of being given an identity. Subsequently, multiculturalisms is portrayed as harming towards children, while Patriotism is portrayed positively.

The data below indicates that both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* express Patriotism via English evenly with six quotes each while the

Sacramento Bee does not even have one quote supporting this theme. This data implies that the *Sacramento Bee* is not supportive of this theme.

Table 18. Patriotism via English

Total amount of Quotes: 12

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 4	Direct quote 4	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 0
Total quotes 6	Total quotes 6	Total quotes 0

English as the Key to Success

English as a key to success was another theme that emerged. Rather than just having one category, I created two; the first category is concerning quotes by non-minorities, and the second category is concerning quotes from Latinos and other minority groups. Because English is the common language in the US, assimilationsists, both minority and non minorities, view it as the key to success. If I were to have created one category, the data for each newspaper would have been much greater; however, the data for each individual category will be shown as well as the data combined.

English as the Key to Success
from Non Minorities

One example that argues that English is the key to success comes from o chairwoman of Proposition 227 Gloria Matta Tuchman. In quote 15, Tuchman argues that children need access to English and that English literacy will help them succeed.

(15) We need this to guarantee that every child in this state will gain access to English. That's what children need to stay in school, to graduate from high school and to succeed _ English literacy."

English-only measure looks hard to beat // ELECTIONS:
Opponents of an initiative to end bilingual education have a tough time getting their message across to voters.; [MORNING Edition]

(Gittelsohn, *The Orange County Register*, Apr 13, 1998, pp. a.01)

Perhaps the most interesting aspect in this quote is that there is a presupposition that children are not getting equal access to education. Therefore, it is assumed that the current system is not doing an adequate job. Thereafter Tuchman presents English or 227 as the solution that will insure that children have success. This quote reflects the ideology shared by many people

worldwide that English is the key to success and many other forms of upward social mobility (Cooper, 1989). By teaching children English, they are granted access to domains that they would not normally have. Therefore, whomever learns this language not only has access to the communicate with the entire United States, but also the access to communicate with other English speaking countries and access to people all around the world who learn English as a second language.

The chart below indicates that the *Orange County Register* supports this theme with four quotes, followed by the *Los Angeles Times* with three quotes and the *Sacramento Bee* with no quotes. As expected, the *Orange County Register* once again shows more support for 227 while the *Sacramento Bee* does not.

Table 19. English as the Key to Success from Non-Minorities

Total amount of Quotes: 7

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 1	Direct quote 1	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 3	Filtered quote 0
Total quotes 3	Total quotes 4	Total quotes 0

English Success From Latinos
and Other Minorities

Quote 16 exemplifies the type of quotes as expressed by Latinos.

- (16) "Without English, my children will not have a good future in this country. I asked the schools to teach more English, but they said no.... That's why I believe in Proposition 227, which will teach English to all Latino children from Day 1."

California and the West; CALIFORNIA

ELECTIONS/PROPOSITION 227; Ads Heat Up Fight on Bilingual Ban; Opponents plan campaign on Spanish-language TV while supporters prepare radio spots.

(Anderson, *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1998, pp. 3)

Similar to the previous quotes, this quote is from a concerned Latino parent who also complains about the school system and emphasizes that he wants his children to learn English because they will need it for the future. Later in the same article another Latino parent expresses a similar notion. He says:

- (17) "I came to the United States from Mexico to find opportunity and a good education for my children."

California and the West; CALIFORNIA

ELECTIONS/PROPOSITION 227; Ads Heat Up Fight on Bilingual Ban; Opponents plan campaign on Spanish-language TV while supporters prepare radio spots.

(Anderson, *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1998, pp. 3)

This particular quote comes from Lenin Lopez, one the parents who participated in the original boycott of bilingual-education. It was this boycott that caught Unz' attention and prompted him to draft Proposition 227. These quotes reflect the notion that many Latinos come to the U.S for employment opportunity, as noted by Martin (2000). Lopez also adds that he wants his children to have "opportunity and a good education". This reflects the ideology as put forth by Reese (2001) that Latino parents see education as the key for their children's achievement of the American dream.

It is not just parents who see English as the key to success. Another example comes from a Latino corporate account manager who says:

(18) "I don't think it's anti-immigrant, It's saying {that} in order to succeed in this country you have to speak English, and I agree with that. "For those folks who want to live in the United States, they have to take it upon themselves to learn the language and compete."

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS / PROPOSITION 227; Popularity Extends Past Racial Lines; Measure to virtually end bilingual education has widespread support. Many say immigrant children haven't become fluent quickly enough.

(Boxall, *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1998, pp. 3)

The first aspect concerning this quote is once again it is a Latino defending against accusations of racism, addressing the issue directly. Secondly, this Latino expresses the idea that success can only be achieved with English. He views English as an indispensable tool which is necessary to compete and to live in the United States. Therefore English is presented as a prerequisite to live in the U.S. and to succeed.

The data expressed below differs from the previous category in that the *Los Angeles Times* has all the quotes (eight) regarding this theme while the two other newspapers have no quotes.

Table 20. English Success from Latinos and Other Minorities

Total amount of Quotes: 8

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 6	Direct quote 0	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 0	Filtered quote 0
Total quotes 8	Total quotes 0	Total quotes 0

As demonstrated below in table 21, the combination of the two categories which express that English is the key to success show that the *Los Angeles Times* expresses this theme more than any other newspaper while the *Sacramento Bee* does not even have one quote.

Table 21. English as the Key to Success (Combined)

Total amount of Quotes:

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 7	Direct quote 1	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 4	Filtered quote 3	Filtered quote 0
Total quotes 11	Total quotes 4	Total quotes 0

Assimilation via English

The last theme from assimilationists deals with the role that English plays in assimilation. Quote 19 comes from Chung, a Westminster councilman, and representative of the Asian-American community. He says:

(19) "The education issue cannot be distorted by ethnic sensibilities or political opportunism. Children are our future. We have to educate them. We have to have one common language for everybody to be able to communicate.... That's why my heart is with this issue."

Asian American Leaders Endorse Prop. 227; Ballot initiative: Garden Grove, Westminster councilmen say dismantling of bilingual education is in kids' best interest.

(Tran, *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 10, 1998, pp. 1)

Not only does Chung shun the idea that Proposition 227 is race-based, as indicated by the phrase, "The education issue cannot be distorted by ethnic sensibilities.", but he also argues for 227 by stating that we have to have one "common language for purposes of communication." This reflects an assimilationist ideology, which says that we are more likely to have a civil and unified society with one language (Schmidt, 2000).

The quotes for this theme are not many but they nevertheless fall along the expected political lines. While the *Orange County Register* contains the most quotes with five, the *Los Angeles Times* is in second with four. Consistent with the other themes regarding the role of English, the *Sacramento Bee* does not discuss this issue.

Table 22. Assimilation Via English

Total amount of Quotes: English assimilation 10

<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	<i>Orange County Register</i>	<i>Sacramento Bee</i>
Direct quotes 2	Direct quote 2	Direct quote 0
Filtered quote 2	Filtered quote 3	Filtered quote 1
Total quotes 4	Total quotes 5	Total quotes 1

Terminology Used for Proposition 227

The way in which Proposition 227 is referred to is also important in showing biased because each type of label carries with it a particular slant. Equally important to each label is the speaker. For example, instead of referring to Proposition 227 neutrally using labels like "Prop 227" or "the initiative", sometimes other labels are used such "Unz Initiative", and with it either a positive or negative aspect is attached. This

contextualization of course depends on the context and again on the speaker. If it is a supporter of Proposition 227, and this person uses the label "Unz Initiative", then Unz' name is being used positively. In contrast, if a supporter of bilingual-education, who is obviously against Proposition 227, uses the same label, then Unz' name is being used negatively. This also applies to the journalist who is not supposed to choose a side in the conflict over bilingual-education.

A total of four different types of labels emerged when conducting this analysis. The first label is neutral and appears in many forms such as: Proposition 227, the initiative, the measure, and the bill. The second label is the Unz initiative and as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, it can be both positive and negative depending on the context and speaker. The third label, English for the Children, was a slogan which originally emerged from supporters of 227. Regardless of who uses this label, it will always be positive because in our society it is not favorable to oppose anything that will help children. The fourth and final label that was used to refer to Proposition 227 was "Anti-Bilingual". Though it is somewhat minor compared to the rest of the term, it does show bias. These various labels are used by either the

journalist, a supporter of 227 or by a supporter of bilingual-education.

Neutral Terms

By far the greatest amount of references to Proposition 227 were neutral labels. Naturally, this was the case for all three newspapers. One such example comes from the *Los Angeles Times*. In the extract below, Proposition 227 is referred to twice with neutral terms.

"The governor criticized Proposition 227's opponents, who he said that the initiative is poorly crafted and will produce a generation who cannot speak English".

Wilson Backs Ballot Measure to Ban Bilingual
Education

(Ingram, *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1998, pp. 1)

The first portion of this sentence stems purely from the author as he refers to 227 by simply using "Proposition 227", while the second portion is reported speech from the Governor, at the time, Pete Wilson. The term used in this instance, "the initiative" is also neutral. Had the author used the term "Unz initiative" or another slanted term, he would be giving credit to Unz and be showing favor towards 227. Likewise, if Wilson, who was an obvious supporter of 227 were to have used the another

term, he too would be giving credit to Unz. Regardless of who uses a neutral term, it remains neutral and shows no bias.

As indicated by the graph below, the author clearly uses neutral terminology more than any other speaker. Naturally this is this case in all three newspaper because the author is of course the person who mediates the issues surrounding Proposition 227 and bilingual-education.

Table 23. Neutral Terms

	Author	For 227	For BE	Total
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	70	3	7	80
<i>Orange County Register</i>	22	2	5	29
<i>Sacramento Bee</i>	42	4	6	52

Unz Initiative/Measure

The use of the label "Unz Initiative" as already stated, could be either positive or negative according to context and the speaker. The example below comes from the *Orange County Register*.

Still, the mere presence of the Unz initiative on the ballot prompted the Assembly to pass a bilingual education reform bill last month, after years of deadlock on the issue.

Throwing money at education lets the wealthy make a point

(Weintraub, *The Orange County Register*, 3 May 1998, pp. a04)

Here, the author, uses the term "Unz initiative" in a context that makes bureaucrats look unfavorable, and Unz and 227 favorable. Therefore, by using this term, the author shows favor for Unz and 227.

A counter example of how this term can be used negatively is found in an article from the *Sacramento Bee*. In the extract below, the author uses a form of reported speech and speaks from the point of view of critics. He says:

"But critics see the Unz measure as a sink-or-swim approach that will leave behind those who can't make the transition in a year".

ONCE AGAIN, WE FACE DILEMMA

(Walters, *The Sacramento Bee*, 28 Apr 1998, pp. A3)

The concern as expressed by critics is that Proposition 227 is a restrictive program in which students will either fail or succeed. This dichotomy presents 227 as unfavorable and it is not simply attributed to the measure but to the Unz Measure, thereby placing the blame on him.

As demonstrated in the graph below, it is not just the author who uses this term, it is also used by supporters of 227 and supporters of supporters of bilingual-education. While the *Los Angeles Times* only uses this term once, the *Orange County Register* and the *Sacramento Bee* use it 9 and 17 times respectively. As expected, there is a sharp contrast between the *Orange County Register* and the *Sacramento Bee*. Both authors from both newspapers use this term, but they use it in different ways; the *Orange County Register* uses it to promote Unz and 227 while the *Sacramento Bee* uses it to portray Unz and 227 negatively. In terms of supporters of 227, the only uses (three) of this term come from the *Sacramento Bee*. There are not enough instances in this category to make a particular claim but there are enough for the category from supporters of bilingual-education. In this category, the *Orange County Register* has three instances, while the *Sacramento Bee* has eight. Therefore, the *Sacramento Bee* portrays Unz and Proposition 227 negatively more than the *Orange County Register*. There is not much to say about the *Los Angeles Times* because there is not much data but, the other two newspapers clearly demonstrate bias. Although they show some bias, they are

not completely biased, as they do have a few instances wherein this term is used contrary to the trend.

Table 24. Unz Initiative/Measure

	Author	For 227	For BE	Total
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	1			1
<i>Orange County Register</i>	6 (pos)		3	9
<i>Sacramento Bee</i>	6 (neg)	3	8	17

English for the Children

The term "English for the Children" was coined by the Proposition 227 campaign and it is constructed in a way in which it cannot be negative. Though there were only a total of eight instances of this term, it is still important because all of the uses of this term came from journalists with the exception of one instance from the *Sacramento Bee*. As noted earlier, journalists are supposed be neutral in that they should not favor a particular side. However, this is not the case. One such example comes from the *Orange County Register*. The journalist says:

"Prop. 227 _ also known as "English for the Children" or "The Unz Initiative," after its main backer,

Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz _ appeals to common sense: The younger the child, the easier it is to learn English".

English-only measure looks hard to beat // ELECTIONS: Opponents of an initiative to end bilingual education have a tough time getting their message across to voters. *The Orange County Register*.

(Gittelson, *Orange County Register*, Apr 13, 1998, pp. a01)

Not only does the author use other slanted terms, he also attributes them in a positive manner by making a connection between Unz and the presupposition that this initiative appeals to "common sense". It was not necessary for the author to include these terms; the author could have expressed the same idea with out using a bias label. Subsequently, Unz and 227 are portrayed favorably.

In terms of the data, once again there is a drastic difference between the *Sacramento Bee* and the other two newspapers. The *Sacramento Bee*, thus far associated with supporting bilingual-education, shows no support for Proposition 227, while the journalists for the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register* support 227 with three and four uses of this term.

Table 25. English for the Children

	Author	For 227	For BE	Total
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	3			3
<i>Orange County Register</i>	4			4
<i>Sacramento Bee</i>		1		1

Anti-Bilingual

The term "anti-bilingual" only came up twice, and both times they were used by authors. The amount of instances is not significant, but this term is biased in that it presupposes that Proposition 227 is against bilingualism. Thus by default it is biased.

Table 26. Anti-Bilingual

	Author	For 227	For BE	Total
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	1			1
<i>Orange County Register</i>	1			1
<i>Sacramento Bee</i>				

The combined results of all terminology tallied show that in consensus with quotes, the *Sacramento Bee* mostly favors bilingual-education. The term used the most to negatively portray Unz and Proposition 227 by the

Sacramento Bee, with the exception of neutral terms. In terms of the *Orange County Register*, aside from neutral terms, the more significant terms used by this newspaper were the "Unz Initiative/Measure" and "English for the Children". Both these terms were used to portray Unz and 227 in a favorable manner. The *Los Angeles Times* however somewhat favored Unz and Proposition 227 but not significantly. The results from analyzing the terminology used to refer to Proposition 227 reveal a similar bias to that found in the other analytical categories. Below are three table showing all data.

Terminology Used for Proposition 227

Table 27. *Los Angeles Times*

ACTOR	Neutral Terms	Unz Initiative/ Measure	English for the Children	Anti-Bilingual
Author	70	1	3	1
For 227	3			
For BE	7			
Total	80	1	3	1

Table 28. *Orange County Register*

ACTOR	Neutral Terms	Unz Initiative/ Measure	English for the Children	Anti-Bilingual
Author	22	6 (pos)	4	1
For 227	2			
For BE	5	3		1
Total	27	9	4	2

Table 29. *The Sacramento Bee*

ACTOR	Neutral Terms	Unz Initiative/ Measure	English for the Children	Anti-Bilingual
Author	42	6 (neg)		
For 227	4	3	1	
For BE	6	8		
Total	52	17	1	

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to reveal the main themes concerning Proposition 227 and bilingual-education, and to reveal which news agencies adhere to which particular political ideologies. By using Critical Discourse Analysis, and by examining headlines, quotes, and terminology I was able to show the prevalent themes surrounding Proposition 227 and bilingual-education. All themes centered around the conflicting ideologies from pluralists and assimilationists.

Supporters of 227 adhere to an assimilationists ideology wherein they believe that public schools should help students maintain their mother tongue because it is an educational right secured from the Civil Rights era. Because they hold bilingual-education to be a right, they view Proposition 227 as a measure directly aimed at minorities, and they view this measure as a continuum of historical injustices in American history in which minorities have been acculturated. Pluralists believe immigrants can be bicultural in America.

Supporters of Proposition 227, on the other hand, maintain an assimilationist perspective in which various cultures cannot co-exist because it causes fragmentation in the nation, and the goal is to promote one language and one culture for the sake of nationalism. This ideology falls into Benedict Anderson's (1991) assimilationist model in which the goal of a nation is to create a strong connection between members of a community based on nationality. The connection, according to assimilationists is the English language. They argued that via English, immigrants can gain access to better opportunity, and have a better future. This was the message expressed by Ron Unz was portrayed as a philanthropist whose goal was to help the Latino community. In so doing, assimilationists were able to refute accusations of racism from the opposing campaign. Some of the minor themes that also came about reflected Republican ideals such as fiscal conservatism in which government programs are portrayed as inefficient. These factors helped assimilationists maintain a stronger voice in the argument surrounding 227 and bilingual-education.

The aim has not been to generalize observations but to give specific example of how different news agencies use particular discursive practices to promote a specific

political ideology that is beneficial to their agency. I

found that the *Sacramento Bee* mostly promoted a pluralist ideology, while the *Orange County Register* promoted an assimilationist ideology, and the *Los Angeles* maintained a mix of both assimilationist and pluralist ideologies. The various CDA features helped uncover these hidden ideologies.

In the *Sacramento Bee* articles, the headlines revealed such themes as bilingual-education as a right, bilingual-education as contentious, bilingual-education as a failure, Unz as altruistic and campaign funding. However, the data for this paper did not reveal much bias; this data simply revealed what the themes were. In terms of the quotes, the data for the *Sacramento Bee* revealed that this news agency focuses on such themes as local control as an issue, contentious bilingual-education defended by its advocates, and against expectations it focused on bilingual-education as an unnecessary expensive program. When referring to Proposition 227, the term the *Sacramento Bee* used the most besides neutral terms was "Unz initiative/measure". When using this term, it was mostly placed in a negative context, thereby portraying 227 and Unz in a negative fashion. As important as it is to recognize the issues the *Sacramento Bee* focused on, it

is also important to keep in mind that this news agency did not give voice to such themes as inefficient and greedy bureaucrats, championing of immersion programs, Unz as altruistic, defense against accusations of racism, patriotism via English, English as the key to success from non minorities and minorities, and assimilation via English. However, in terms of the idea that 227 is race-based, this news agency somewhat supported it. These features demonstrated the *Sacramento Bee's* bias.

The analysis on the *Orange County Register* revealed that this news agency mostly promoted an assimilationist ideology. The headlines reflected the same ideologies found in the *Sacramento Bee*. In terms of quotes, the data was quite the opposite of the *Sacramento Bee* because it focused on mostly the same issues ignored by the *Sacramento Bee*, and it ignored mostly the same issues promoted by the *Sacramento Bee*. This newspaper did not focus much on local control as a issue, Proposition 227 as a race-based measure, overt accusations of racism, and surprisingly it did not focus on bilingual-education as an unnecessary and ineffective program. Though there were a few quotes regarding bilingual-education as contentious, there were not many. The main issues the *Orange County Register* focused on were inefficient and greedy

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bureaucrats, championing immersion program, Unz altruism, patriotism via English, English as the key to success from non minorities (but not from minorities), and assimilation via English. When using terminology to refer to Proposition 227, this news agency mostly used the term "Unz Initiative/Measure" and "English for the Children". The above-mentioned features were the most salient in the *Los Angeles Times*.

It was difficult to gauge where the *Los Angeles Times* stood politically because this news agency did not always side with a particular political ideology. However this newspaper does have biases. The analysis of headlines was mostly the same except that it did not focus on Assimilation. In terms of quotes, this new agency focused mostly on pluralist based themes such as the idea regarding local control as a problem, Proposition 227 as race-based, and overt accusations of racism. However, at the same time this newspaper focused on patriotism via English, English as the key to success from non-minorities, assimilation via English, and it was the only news agency to focus on English as the key to success from Latinos and other minorities. This newspaper did not focus on: the ideal of contentious Bilingual-education being defended by its advocates, bilingual-education as an

impartial

unnecessary, expensive, and ineffective program, inefficient bureaucrats, the championing of Immersion Programs, and Unz as altruistic. The only term of importance used to refer to 227 was English for the Children. These various features are indicative that the *Los Angeles Times* has mixed ideologies-, and does not take a completely biased stance on Proposition 227 and bilingual-education.

The Proposition 227 campaign was successful in expressing more than its opposition because they had many reasons supporting their claim that the current bilingual-education programs were not functioning well and that the solution to fix this problem is 227. Though other studies have explored the dichotomy of assimilationist verses pluralists, the most interesting aspect in these arguments was that assimilationist had various spokespersons promoting Proposition 227, such as Jaime Escalante, other Latinos, and even prominent members of the Asian American community. In doing this, the attack that 227 as race-based was diminished.

This thesis can serve other researchers who hope to explore language policies in relation to media in other realms. It would be particularly interesting to compare this study to other nations that have similar linguistic

policies, such as Canada with French and in particular Belgium. In Canada, there is still contention among the status of French. In Belgium, there are various attitudes surrounding French Dutch, and Flemish, to the point where parents complain to schools that they don't want their children learning another language than their mother-tongue.

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