

Barrier or Bridge: Photojournalism of the San Diego/Tijuana Border Region

RUTH WALLEN

Department of Communication
University of California, San Diego

Using both quantitative and interpretive approaches, this article provides an in-depth analysis of the changing representations of the border region in the newspapers of San Diego and Tijuana over the last decade. The major daily newspapers, the San Diego Union-Tribune, and El Mexicano, have been sampled over a 10-year period. For the Union-Tribune, photo-journalistic coverage evolves in relationship to changing political realities, though the images may tend toward a more polarized reading than the text. Initially the photographs in the Union-Tribune depict the border as boundary. By 1998 increased emphasis on regional trade is reflected in the photojournalistic coverage. Until 2000, coverage in El Mexicano is much more static, always representing the border as bridge from the perspective of Mexican official culture. Comparative analysis of the representational strategies used in both cities suggests alternatives that cross borders rather than reinforce them.

The San Diego/Tijuana border is known as one of the busiest in the world. It also is said to have the greatest disparity of income between one side and the other (Roth & Berryman, 1989). These two observations are reflected in the contrasting ways that the border is represented. One vision is of steel sheets that reflect the illumination of bright lights, of a fence that is increasingly fortified and difficult to cross. Another vision is of a region, of twin cities, with a boundary that is increasingly permeable—a membrane that facilitates the continuous crossing of people, goods, and growing economic interdependence. The conflicting ideologies of nationalism and globalization clash in the escalating rhetoric surrounding these opposing viewpoints.

The last decade has been marked both by protests against illegal Mexican immigration and increasing levels of international trade and cooperation. In 1989

Address correspondence to Ruth Wallen, Department of Communication, 0503, University of California, San Diego, 9500 Gilman Dr., La Jolla, CA 92093. E-mail: rwallen@ucsd.edu

and 1990 a series of monthly gatherings to “light up the border” took place, where cars lined a road near the border, shining their headlights in symbolic protest against the flow of undocumented workers into the United States. In 1994 Governor Wilson based much of his re-election campaign on championing border enforcement and the passage of proposition 187. This proposition would deny many benefits, including health care and education, to undocumented workers. Anti-immigrant sentiment again was unleashed in 1996 around debates about California Proposition 206, designed to put an end to bilingual education. However, whereas some political leaders protested the illegal immigration of poor Mexicans, others developed plans for expanding regional trade. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) passed in 1992, and cooperation between businesses and the local governments of San Diego and Tijuana has continued to grow since that time.

This study explores the representation of the San Diego/Tijuana border in local newspapers from both cities over the last decade. A diachronic reading chronicles the visual depiction of changing attitudes and conflicting ideologies in the border region. A synchronic reading of San Diego and Tijuana photojournalism challenges singular points of reference and introduces the simultaneous awareness of more than one perspective.

Connotative Practices in the Border Region

This work draws on several academic traditions. In the field of communications, studies of the coverage of Hispanic Americans offer useful precedents (Salwen & Soruco, 1997). These investigations tend to focus around two questions: whether Hispanics are covered in ways proportional to their percentage in the local population (Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon & Korzenny, 1983; Van Slyke Turk, Richstad, Bryson, Jr., & Johnson, 1989) and whether there is a bias in this coverage. Explorations of the latter question suggest that stereotypical symbols have been used in the representation of Mexican Americans. Several writers argue that press coverage may have contributed to the zoot suit “riots” in 1943 where vigilantes, largely servicemen, violently attacked Mexican civilians, allegedly targeting those attired in zoot suits (McWilliams, 1943; Turner & Surace, 1956). Though Turner and Surace’s survey of the *Los Angeles Times* does not find an increase in negative coverage of Mexican issues prior to the riots, it does show a radical increase in the mention of the zoot suit image in the preceding year, suggesting that this served as an “unambiguous symbol” around which public opinion was galvanized. Other authors claim that the use of the term “wetbacks” and later “illegal aliens,” are similar devices that have stigmatized Mexican Americans. (Wilson, II & Gutierrez, 1995; Chavira, 1977). Miller (1994) argues more generally that reporting on immigration often is researched poorly and feeds uninformed xenophobia.

Although some of these articles mention photography, they do not analyze the images in any detail. In contrast, this article focuses on the visual strategies, or

what Roland Barthes (1977) calls the “connotative procedures,” that reproduce various ideologies about the border region. How does the pose, the background and the placement of the figure in relationship to it, the use of aesthetic conventions, or choice of framing influence the way the viewer reads the image?

Such investigations begin with the premise that photographs are not unmediated but present a representation of reality that is “constructed” and can be “contested” (Huxford, 2001, p. 47). The critique of photodocumentary practice offered by several contemporary critics (Rosler, 1989; Sekula 1984; Solomon-Godeau, 1991) proposes that photographs could easily reinscribe negative stereotypes held by a White middle class.¹ These authors argue that although the photographer may purport humanitarian aims, the camera often is aimed down, reinforcing the status quo and the privileged position of the viewer versus the subject. Allan Sekula (1984) argues, “in this pictorial presentation of scientific and legalistic ‘fact,’ the genre has simultaneously contributed much to spectacle, to retinal excitation, to voyeurism, to terror, envy and nostalgia, and only a little to the critical understanding of the social world” (p. 57). These claims are exemplified in an exhibition of documentary photography of the border region that featured the work of many photojournalists including Don Bartletti of the *Los Angeles Times*. The exhibition opened at the San Diego Museum of Photographic Arts in 1990, and then traveled to Tijuana. While the exhibition was titled, “Los Vecinos/The Neighbors,” the brochure cover featured a night shot of a person in shadow peering over the battered chain link fence into the light of an INS van on the other side.² The neighbor is depicted as the scary dark alien.

Situating this study in the border region, and looking at the practices from both countries, destabilizes these stigmatized representations and suggests new possibilities. While Stuart Hall (1973) argues that photographs “produce recognition of the world as we have already learned to appreciate it,” in the border region both the “we” and the “recognition of the world” are in flux. Particularly in the San Diego/Tijuana region many artists and writers, including Border Arts Workshop, Taller Arte Fronterizo (BAW/TAF), and Las Comadres, have been engaged actively in making and theorizing a border culture where identity is multiple, deterritorialized, and any singular point of view is reflected back differently from the eyes of another (Chávez & Grynstejn, 1993; Fox, 1999; Hicks, 1991; Mancillas, Wallen & Waller, 1999; Welchman, 1996).

Border theorists in both literary studies and the social sciences emphasize the significance of studying the border region, arguing that it is from the boundaries that the work of culture is taking place. Spencer and Staudt (1998), in their introduction to their anthology, *The U.S.-Mexico Border: Transcending Divisions, Contesting Identities*, state that the border is no longer a “useful outlier against which we might compare the central tendencies of the respective national spaces of Mexico and the United States, (but) today the borderlands have become an important staging ground for economic, cultural, social, and political forces that transcend the nation-state” (p. 3). Looking more generally at the formation of

culture, Bhabha (1994) argues that it is the “in between spaces,” from the “interstices—the overlap and displacement of domains of difference—that the intersubjective and collective experience of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated” (p. 2; see also Anzaldúa, 1987). In a brief overview of American news media, Holley (1994) bemoans the general lack of attention given to the frontier region.

I initiated this work out of concern over the increasing polarization resulting from the “light up the border demonstrations” in the late eighties. As I began to examine the photographs, I became aware of several visual tropes employed by photojournalists, including the use of shadows and stark contrasts, the objectification of migrant workers, and the depiction of harsh terrain and the border fence itself that constructed the border as barrier. This was not only ideology represented by the major San Diego paper, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*. Although the paper endorsed Wilson, it came out against Proposition 187 and consistently supported border cooperation and trade. But although the editorial policy said one thing, it appeared that the visual representation concentrated on the dramatic boundary. This disjunction seemingly exemplified what Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) described as the “industrial divide between word and image” (p. 10). This study was undertaken to explore the relationship between photographic representation and changing political realities. The investigation of coverage through time and across cultures offered the possibility of revealing alternative visual strategies. In particular, the consideration of Mexican media provided both a different context for reading photographs and potentially alternative methods for recording similar events.

Methodology

This article uses both quantitative and interpretive approaches to provide an in-depth analysis of photojournalism in the San Diego/Tijuana region. The major daily newspaper in each city, in San Diego, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, in Tijuana, *El Mexicano*, was sampled over a 10-year period. To provide for precise quantitative comparisons, 10 randomly selected weeks of the *San Diego Union-Tribune* and *El Mexicano* were analyzed for the years 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, and for the first six months of 1998.³

Interpretative analysis provides for a more in-depth reading of the connotative practices of particular photographs. This discussion draws from a larger sample than the quantitative analysis, including additional photographs from the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, a Tijuana weekly, *Zeta*, and a new Tijuana daily, *La Frontera*, which began publication in the fall of 1999. Until it ceased publication of a San Diego edition in 1994, the *Los Angeles Times* had very extensive coverage of the border region. In Tijuana, *Zeta* offers a marked contrast to *El Mexicano*. While *El Mexicano* is associated with the PRI, the tradi-

tional ruling party, *Zeta* prides itself in investigative, oppositional reporting, focusing on drug trafficking, corruption, and political scandals.

In an effort to not replicate the divisive practice that is under scrutiny, the border is defined in the broadest terms possible. All photographs and stories addressing a regional perspective, focusing on the actual border crossing, or the opposite city and environs (i.e., Tijuana/Ensenada/Mexicali for the *Union-Tribune*, or San Diego and Imperial County for *El Mexicano*) have been included.

Summary of Quantitative Results

A summary of the results is provided in four tables. Table 1 simply lists the total number of photographs and articles sampled in each newspaper. Tables 2 and 3 indicate the percentage of articles and photographs that pertained to various topics in the *Union-Tribune* and *El Mexicano*, respectively. Although the same subject categories are used for coding both newspapers, some adjustments have been made in the final presentation to reflect the actual distribution of the data.

The content of the photographs in the *Union-Tribune* changed radically between 1990 and 1998. In the beginning of the decade migrant workers were the subject of the largest percentage of the photographs, comprising roughly one-third of the total. It is notable that migrants were the subject of a much smaller percentage of stories (24% and 15%, respectively). This suggests that migrants were particularly photogenic, perhaps as exotic objects evoking curiosity or fear. By 1994, border enforcement was highly politicized and the border fence was reinforced with military landing mats. Attention turned from the undocumented workers themselves to the prevention of illegal crossing, which dominated coverage with 31% of total photographs in 1994, and 38% in 1996. By 1998, concern for border enforcement dropped and images of trade and Tijuana itself dominated the coverage. The number of articles and photographs about legal commerce

TABLE 1 Border Coverage in Ten-Week Sample of *El Mexicano* and *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 1990–1998

	<i>El Mexicano</i>		<i>San Diego Union-Tribune</i>	
	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos
1990	57	18	38	21
1992	80	25	33	16
1994	171	30	75	33
1996	125	33	53	55
1998	60	24	37	36

steadily increased throughout the decade with the exception of 1994. Initially, however, most of this coverage was confined to the business section. Early in the decade, the front page presented the border as a barrier, whereas the business section portrayed the border as a bridge to greater prosperity for residents of both sides. By 1998, less than one-half of the sampled articles and photographs about tourism and trade appear in the business section.

Furthermore, the data support the hypothesis that increased coverage of regional trade and cooperation correlates with heightened interest in Tijuana, the trading partner. The percentage of coverage devoted both to legal border crossing and to Tijuana peak in 1998. Photographs of Tijuana represent over 50% of the total border coverage for that year. Some of this increase may be coincidental, a response to unusually severe flooding in much of the city. But photographs of Tijuana classified as human interest (daily life, cultural affairs, personal profiles) also comprise 19% of the total photographs in the border region, or 33% of Tijuana coverage.

Photographs of Tijuana from the *Union-Tribune* were initially placed in one of six categories: crime, natural disasters, aid from San Diego residents, environment, politics, and human interest. It probably is not coincidental that in 1994 and 1996, when border enforcement is receiving the most attention, coverage of Tijuana emphasizes crime. Stories and photographs about drugs and violence represent the largest percentage of Tijuana coverage comprising 54% of the photographs of Tijuana in 1994 and 44% in 1996. Until 1998 the environment generally receives the second most coverage. The number of human interest photographs about Tijuana increases dramatically in 1998, but they represent the same percentage of total photographs of the border region (19%) as they did in 1992 because the total number of photographs in 1992 is much smaller.

For *El Mexicano* there is much less change over the 10-year period of the sample. The subject of trade and tourism dominates in all years except 1996. The

TABLE 2 *San Diego Union-Tribune* Border Coverage 1990–1998 by Percent of Articles and Photographs (perpages across)

	Legal Crossing Trade/Tourism		Border Enforcement		Migrant Workers		Total Tijuana Coverage		Other	
	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos
1990	18 %	10 %	34	24	24	33	13	29	11	5
1992	30	19	12	13	15	38	30	19	12	13
1994	20	15	43	33	7	21	15	27	16	3
1996	25	22	47	38	6	11	17	16	6	13
1998	41	28	11	3	3	0	42	58	5	11

TABLE 3 *El Mexicano* Border Coverage 1990–1998 by Percent of Articles and Photographs (percentages across)

	Legal Crossing Trade/Tourism		Border Enforcement		Migrant Workers		Cooperation		San Diego		Other	
	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos
1990	35%	44	16	0	26	28	14	22	9	6	0	0
1992	63	64	4	4	9	12	8	16	18	4	0	0
1994	35	43	5	20	36	13	5	7	5	0	17	17*
1996	14	27	31	27	33	30	6	9	9	6	7	0
1998	28	42	17	38	25	4	12	8	17	4	2	4

*Protest against U.S. border enforcement and boycott of U.S. goods.

visual representation of Mexican border enforcement gradually increases, appearing first in 1994 and becoming the subject of 33% of the total photographs by 1998. *El Mexicano* almost never publishes photographs of San Diego. Where images of Tijuana average 30% of the photographs sampled in the *Union-Tribune*, photos of San Diego average only 4% of the photographs sampled in *El Mexicano*.

Analysis of *El Mexicano* is complicated by the fact that the actual content of the photographs does not necessarily correlate with the subject matter addressed in the captions. Roughly half of the photographs in *El Mexicano* are of public figures—political officials or business or academic leaders—but these officials may be addressing border enforcement, promotion of tourism, or binational cooperation. Table 4 describes in percentages the actual content of the images in *El Mexicano* as opposed to the topic to which they pertain. As illustrated in this table, photographs of public figures combined with those depicting legal trade and tourism comprise the subject matter of the vast majority of the photographs in the paper, between 67% and 96% of the total.

Analysis of U.S. Photojournalism

My interest in this topic began with a close reading of a series of articles titled, “Uneasy Neighbors: So Close but Still a World Apart,” that ran June 5–8, 1988 in the San Diego edition of the *Los Angeles Times*. These articles described the escalating tension in the northern part of San Diego County between migrant workers camping in the chaparral and homeowners moving into new residential subdivisions. Whereas the exposé provided insight into a problem many outside the immediate area knew little about, the photographs depicted a dichotomous perspective—“the worlds apart.” The workers were usually photographed in shadow or from the back so that their faces could not be seen, despite the fact that many of them had legal status and did not need to hide from view. Their distance from the world of the reader was reinforced by contrast. A homeowner was depicted looking down at the backs of workers he was videotaping. “Aliens” stared at a homeowner through a fence or sat on a wall, backs turned to the viewer, looking down

TABLE 4 Content by Percent of Photographs in *El Mexicano* (percentages across)

	U.S. Border Enforcement	Mexican Border Enforcement	Pedestrians, Cars, Tourists	Officials	Other
1990	0	0	39	50	11
1992	0	0	28	68	4
1994	10	7	40	27	17*
1996	21	3	27	45	3
1998	4	4	29	50	13

at new homes. In the most blatant example, four migrants loomed ominously, silhouetted in shadow on the grass as a group of young school children walked by. They were positioned in darkness, symbolically representing the fear of the White residents (Figure 1). Though the border was never explicitly shown, its existence was implicit in many of the photographs.

In the spirit of objective journalism, the various articles attempted to tell the story from differing points of view: homeowners, border patrol, local police, and migrant workers. Migrants were interviewed and even identified by name in the stories, although never in photo captions. The photographs only presented the perspective of the homeowners and government officials. An article devoted to describing the migrant's viewpoint was illustrated by a picture of a man representing the "younger generation," shoving a member of the "older generation." That article also described immigrants playing tennis on a makeshift tennis court. A photograph of immigrants playing their newfound pastime would have created a very different impression than one depicting conflict. This series of articles followed a frequently noted pattern in border coverage; while the written text sought to present differing sides of the issue, the photographs polarized, privileging "the clash of cultures" (concluding editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, June 5–8, 1988).

Migrant workers were the most common subject in border photojournalism in the *San Diego Union-Tribune* from 1990 to 1992. The fact that these workers were the subject of a larger percentage of photographs than news stories suggested the possibility of visual sensationalism. In fact, in the *Union-Tribune* the workers were not so obviously displayed as an alien "other." There was no noticeable difference in cropping except that the only subjects meriting tight bust shots were public officials, whether from the U.S. or Mexico (see Parada, 1989). Migrants were not more likely to be shot in shadow, or without visible facial features than other border subjects. In roughly half of the shots the migrant workers were named in the caption.

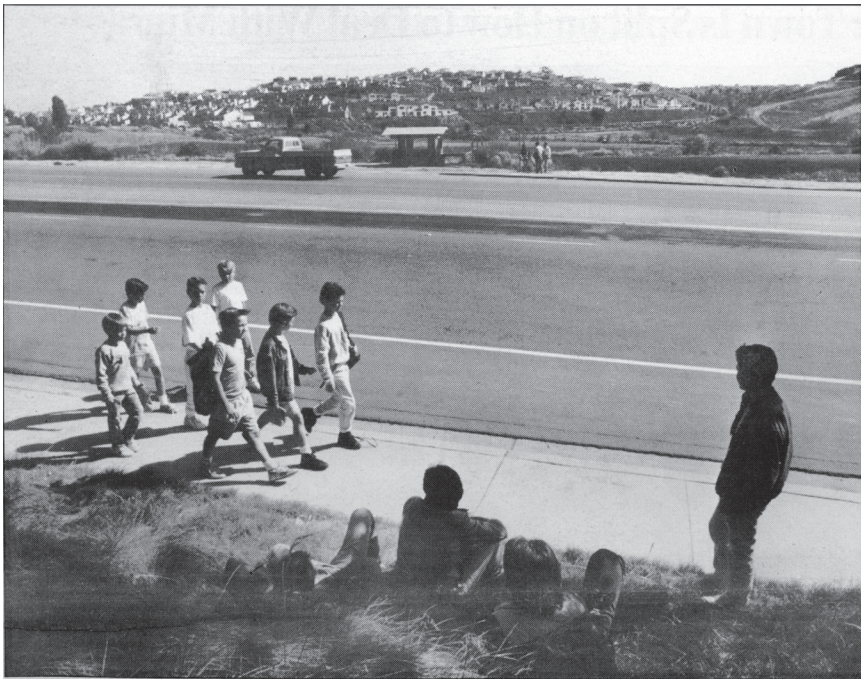
But, although the photographic strategies may be more subtle, the migrants are generally photographed as objects and not subjects (see Berger, 1972). Their poses are passive. They are photographed waiting for jobs, or at lucky moments, receiving health care. Sometimes they are not visible at all, as when a public official explores their crude dwellings. Women are rarely shown, and children are even scarcer, despite the fact that a significant percentage of legal and illegal immigrants are women. This is true also of the 1988 *Los Angeles Times* series. Of the 14 shots of migrants workers only one or possibly two photographs include women. Furthermore, with rare exceptions toward the end of the decade, migrants are always depicted as separate from the rest of population, despite the fact that many work in factories and restaurants and their children attend public schools.

It is only after seeing these rare exceptions, such as the 1998 color photograph of a female worker packing avocados, that the distance and passivity of the previous depictions becomes fully apparent. In this photograph of Gloria Garcia,

the subject has a name; her face is clearly visible. She is neatly dressed in an apron and gloves with her hair pulled back. Her gaze is focused on the task at hand. She holds an avocado in her right hand and her left hand is frozen in a grasping gesture, creating the impression that she is busy at work (Figure 2). Significantly, this story is about the fact that border enforcement has now become so successful that there may be a need to institute a guest worker program.

In 1994, border enforcement was highly politicized and attention turned from the undocumented workers themselves to the prevention of illegal crossing. The reinforced fence became a commonly photographed subject. It was frequently used as a backdrop for images of public officials, particularly those associated with then California Governor Wilson's re-election campaign. Protestors opposed to such policies were also photographed by the fence.

By 1996, pictures illustrating border enforcement stories included dramatic shots of the fence itself, but they more often depicted the treacherous mountains and desert passages that immigrants were forced to undertake after enforcement in urban San Diego became more effective. In addition to the dramatic terrain, these photographs displayed the trash the migrants left behind as they made their



Children on the way to elementary school in Carlsbad walk past four migrants waiting for work alongside El Camino Real. DON BARTLETT / Los Angeles Times

FIGURE 1. *Los Angeles Times*, SanDiego edition, June 1988.

perilous journey; the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials arresting illegal immigrants or testing new equipment; and fatal accidents as smugglers crashed trying to elude the border patrol. A lengthy feature on the front page of the Sunday Currents section, titled "Tales of the Terrain," features a huge, three-



FIGURE 2. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 16, 1998.

quarter page vertical photograph of the fence bathed in blue shadow, with a border patrol agent standing to one side (*Union-Tribune*, May 1, 1996). The story tells of border tours arranged by the INS for visiting journalists and politicians. A typical front page picture in 1996 shows a gruesome scene (*Union-Tribune*, April 27, 1996) (Figure 3). The photograph is more like one that would be expected to appear in the tabloid press. A body lying by the side of the road, draped with a bright yellow sheet, with one arm sticking out, dominates the foreground. Only an anonymous or foreign victim, lacking in social standing, would be shot in this way (see Barnhurst, 1994, p. 61). Of the two public officials in the foreground, one is looking to the left down at the pavement and the other has his back to the viewer and the victim. Their poses could be read as conveying a feeling of dismay or as creating distance from the tragedy on display.

In the height of the border enforcement coverage in 1996, the *Union-Tribune* ran an extended essay “Journey to the Promised Land.” This 18-part series, which perhaps not coincidentally ran immediately before the Republican convention was held in San Diego, presents the journey of one migrant from his home in Michoacan to a job in Chicago.⁴ The series has won at least one journalistic award and was extolled in letters to the editor for putting a human face on immigration. The first two installments provide detailed information and a few photographs on the conditions in Mexico from which the protagonist, Luis Muñoz, is fleeing—informa-

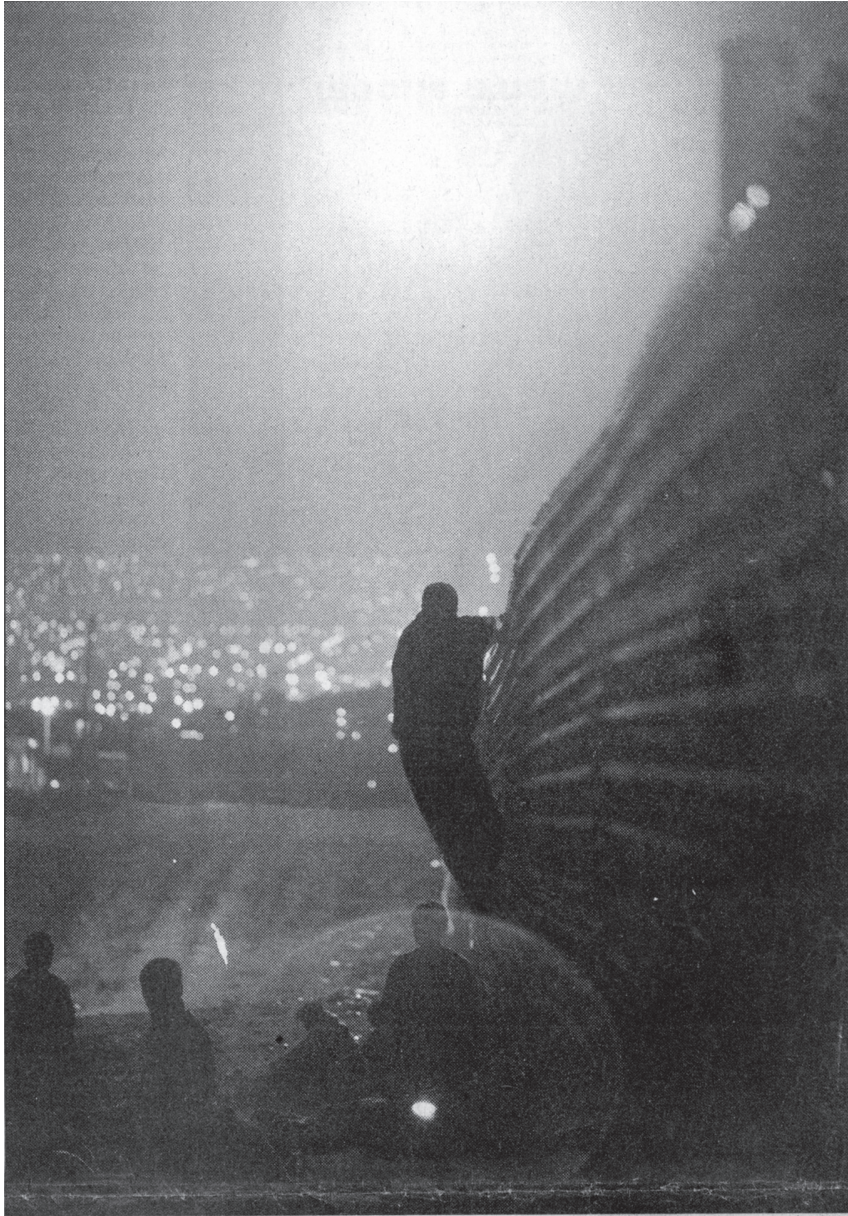


Deadly crash: Firefighter David Archibald (center) is overwhelmed at the scene after a van carrying illegal immigrants crashed in Alpine, killing two and injuring 19. Passengers were thrown out when the van flipped over.

FIGURE 3. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, April 27, 1996.

tion and images that are almost never found in other articles. But after that, the drama of crossing the border monopolizes the story. Each installment, like most front-page coverage of the border at that time, emphasizes the difficulty in eluding the border patrol in repeated attempts to cross (Figure 4). Picture after picture shows immigrants silhouetted in dark shadow, waiting by the fence, crouching in a tunnel, or crowded in a van. The illegality or criminality of immigrants' actions is constructed by their posture and positioning. The only images that counter this stereotype are toward the end of the journey, when Muñoz is shown clean and scrubbed, in a brand new suit, as he waits to board a plane to Chicago. By the closing installment he is back in worker's attire, as a dishwasher in a restaurant. It is not obvious how a viewer might interpret this sequence. Does the fact that Muñoz is able to change his appearance suggest a fluidity in roles that is rarely portrayed, or has his outlaw status been so thoroughly inscribed that his chameleon-like abilities simply reinforce the fears that the other may be unrecognizable, in disguise, and, therefore, that even more vigilance is necessary on the part of the citizen viewer?

By the middle of the decade, the word "alien" is no longer used to describe the undocumented, but the predominant image in the *Union-Tribune* until 1998 is one of chase and capture, including an imposing fence, rugged terrain, and a fearful look on a dark face staring up at a border patrol. Once Luis Muñoz reaches his destination, the story of his life in the United States, or the lives of other immigrants like him, no longer warrant coverage. The drama of the chase claims all the attention. These photographs can be read with a sadomasochistic pleasure. One can watch the border patrol track the dark, foreign aliens or secretly relish the forlorn look on their faces when caught. More immigrants always will keep coming and the journey becomes increasingly perilous, escalating the suspense. The immigrants continue to suffer more, arousing a response from the viewer, making the scene ever more gruesome. First there was a tall fence, then immigrants had to trek through winter snow or summer heat. Steep canyon slopes, dense brush, and large expanses of parched, cracked earth form the backdrop for recent photos. From a slightly more liberal perspective, from a position of compassion, the distance with which the viewer is privileged engenders an almost violent, voluptuous guilt. By claiming responsibility, "liberal" viewers claim mastery and thereby assert that if they can't remedy the situation, it must be truly helpless. Instead of suggesting the possibility of some kind of solution, the viewer is left impotent but aroused. These photographs typify the type of documentary practice that provokes frequent criticism. As Rosler (1989) states, "documentary is a little like horror movies" (p. 14). Sontag (1973) adds, "a pseudo-familiarity with the horrible reinforces alienation, making one less able to react to real life" (p. 41). Yet another image of a fatal crash after another vain, reckless attempt by smugglers trying to outrun border agents. The fetishization of the border fence is left intact in the sense that its very existence is not



JEFFREY L. BROWN / Copley News Service

At the fence dividing Mexico from the United States, a Border Patrol helicopter hovers over a migrant peering at the city lights of San Diego.

FIGURE 4. *The San Diego Union-Tribune, August, 1996.*

questioned but regarded with unconditional respect, that it has a kind of magical power to separate, divide, bestow power and privilege.

In contrast, the impact of the passage of NAFTA in 1992 is not fully evident in the newspapers until 1998, when images of cross-border commerce reach the front page. Throughout the decade, images in the business section include public and business officials, maquiladora workers, new factories, and goods crossing the border. In recent years, articles and photographs about trade and tourism have been featured in the local section and even on the front page (see Figure 2).

As border commerce becomes more newsworthy, stories about illegal border crossing decline, decreasing dramatically by 1998. There are still occasional dramatic images of dangerous terrain, such as a wide-angle shot of the bed of Carizo Wash, filled only with cracked mud as far as the eye can see (*Union-Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1998).

Coverage from Tijuana

In the eyes of the American viewer, *El Mexicano* would seem to offer little competition. Although numbers are difficult to come by, the paper has much smaller circulation, fewer resources, and fewer photographs (Iglesias, 1989). Most stories include one photograph at most, which is placed on the front page of a section. The Spanish adjective “oficialista” well describes the tendency of the paper to represent official culture, the bureaucracies of both the public and powerful business sectors. *El Mexicano* is aligned with the PRI, the ruling party in Mexico from the revolution to the recent election of Vicente Fox, despite the fact that Baja California was the first state in Mexico where an alternative party, the PAN, came to power. Since that election in 1989 Baja California has had a PAN governor. It is not as significant that the paper represents the interests of a political party as that it describes official culture in general; half of the photographs depict meetings of public figures. These photographs certainly can be read as serving to enact national culture, a significant contrast to practices in San Diego where, at least until recently, nationalist positions were reinforced by images of the fence and illegal immigration.

El Mexicano is only beginning to adopt a contemporary style of photojournalism. Whereas the photographs in the *San Diego Union-Tribune* favor dramatic content and visually compelling images, the photographs of *El Mexicano* generally evince an absolute minimum of photographic style. Most shots are taken straight-on with very predictable composition. Almost one-half of the shots on the front page and Estatil (local) section (the national/international section uses mainly agency photographs) are of officials at meetings. The shots often appear posed and leave considerable headroom, including banners advertising the particular conference or event as well as the meeting table strewn with coffee cups or water pitchers. Although color photographs were introduced in both papers in 1992, they have not affected the differences in photographic style.

In his study of contemporary Mexican photojournalism, Mraz (1996) describes the traditional practice in Mexico where most photojournalists were paid substandard salaries and supported by “el embute”—payoffs from politicians for positive representations. Both Mraz (1966) and Debroise (1994), the authors of a leading study on Mexican photography, note a marked change in the style of photojournalism practiced in Mexico City after the government engineered a coup at the leading newspaper *Excessior* and many leading journalists left to form new papers. For photojournalists, the founding of *Unomásuno* and later, in 1984, of *La Jornada* have been most significant. These papers encourage an investigative, often oppositional approach, and print images of the contrasts and contradictions in daily life and in politics. Individual photographers have developed distinctive styles, and some exhibit their work in artistic contexts as well as in the news media. However, the photographers for *El Mexicano* appear to work in the traditional way and to have been little influenced by these changes. In contrast, the images in *Zeta*, and more recently *La Frontera*, evince an appreciation for photographic style in terms of tight cropping, dramatic lighting, and candid, expressive facial gestures.

Despite the limitations of *El Mexicano*, the photographs in this paper offer a strikingly different perspective of the border region. A typical front-page photograph from *El Mexicano* shows either crowds of shoppers or lines of vehicles (Figure 5). Pedestrians, cars, and fully loaded trucks are photographed heading both to and from Mexico, and tourists are depicted visiting popular locations. Except for one image of American gang members taking over some beaches, all recorded images portrayed tourism in a positive light. Perhaps an astute reader might read an image of tourists relaxing in a lavish hotel by the beach as an ironic comment on class disparity, but direct contrast between the affluence of tourists and more impoverished surroundings generally is avoided.

Migration of Mexican citizens to the United States is covered at length in both papers but from very different perspectives. Whereas the *Union-Tribune* addresses the threat migrant workers posed to American citizens, *El Mexicano* focuses on human rights abuses of migrant workers in the United States. Furthermore, while photojournalists in the U.S. consider the migrants themselves, if stories about immigration in *El Mexicano* are accompanied by photographs at all, these are usually of public officials or representatives of nongovernmental organizations protesting human rights abuses of Mexican nationals by the INS. Except for a couple of images of migrants either stooping by or climbing over the fence, the paper includes almost no representation of undocumented workers. The occasional exceptions however, include shots of women and children that portray a very different picture of the immigrants than that shown in the *Union-Tribune*. Most noticeable is a very tightly cropped shot from 1996 showing three women and a child, with expressive faces that might elicit a compassionate response from the viewer (Figure 6). A bright-eyed, perhaps apprehensive child puts her hand to her mouth and directly meets the viewer’s glance, in contrast with the more stoic



FIGURE 5. *El Mexicano*, April 16, 1998.

expression of two of the women looking off in the distance. This photograph is particularly striking in the range of emotions depicted—from fear to anticipation to resignation.

Coverage of border enforcement in *El Mexicano* coverage was almost exclusively a reaction U.S. policies. By the fall of 1994, shortly before the California elections, all papers studied on both sides of the border were replete with articles about the campaign for governor and Proposition 187. *El Mexicano* was particularly responsive. In the last week of October in 1994, 66 articles pertaining to the border region were counted, nearly as many as were recorded in the entire 10-week period for 1992! Article after article cited public officials, business leaders, and academics who denounced what was labeled as the “racist” rhetoric of the California campaign. The paper printed three images of protest, as well as numerous photographs of officials and prominent individuals; but the power of the images paled in comparison to the indignant writing.

In 1994, as American officials direct increasing attention to the literal border, *El Mexicano* begins to include some representation of the fence itself. In this case the lack of dramatic lighting, cropping, or camera angle, while it may be congruent with the general photographic style of the paper, serves to undercut the power of the border fence or American enforcement agents. Additionally, there appears to be a deliberate effort to present images that either criticize or downplay the divisive power of the fence. Whereas the *Union-Tribune* depicts a dramatic



TIJUANA. En el segundo día de trabajo de la Reunión del Proyecto Interinstitucional para la Protección de Menores Migrantes, se plantearon algunas propuestas que deberán especificarse y delimitarse para beneficio de este sector de la sociedad.

FIGURE 6. *El Mexicano*, October 11, 1996.

vertical barrier (Figure 4) *El Mexicano* presents an almost pastoral image of a long horizontal ribbon of steel with bushy trees rising over the top (Figure 7). Interestingly, in this case the photograph contrasts with an indignant caption, “The installation of steel walls, like that being constructed in Tecate, should not be admissible in modern society” (*El Mexicano*, March 4, 1994). It could be argued that the image undercuts the caption, or simply that the photo is shot as a refusal to see the fence as a barrier.

Other images of the fence from 1994 and 1996 are photographed at an angle allowing the viewer to see over the top. One photograph suggests a contrast between innocence and oppression, showing children playing with the fence in the background. Though the use of montage is very rare in *El Mexicano*, two images of the fence are presented in an overlapping series of photographs of differing subject matter, so that the fence itself is pushed to background. The lone image of border enforcement in 1998 depicts a single INS van in a pleasant setting by the beach.

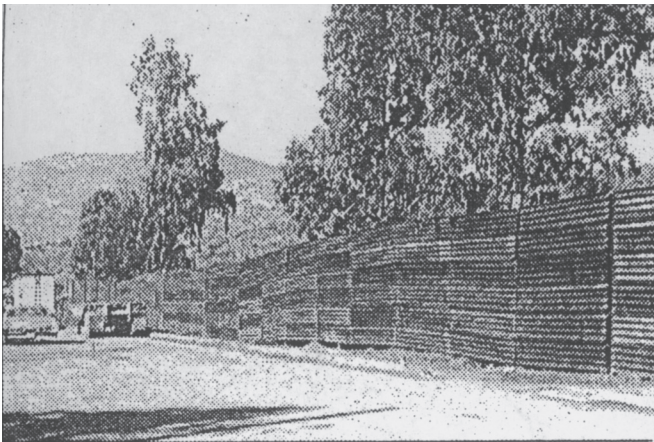
Perhaps partly in response to U.S. coverage, Mexican papers also begin to include an increasing number of stories and images of Tijuana border enforcement. But while the number of photographs concerning border enforcement rises to 38% by 1998, if one does not carefully read the captions, the images look the same—lines of cars or government officials. Only a rare photo (no more than one was recorded in a given year), shows a close-up of Mexican officials stopping motorists to search for guns or undeclared merchandise.

Views Across the Frontier

It also is informative to consider the ways in which each city represents the other. While coverage of Tijuana by the *Union-Tribune* represents a substantial percent-

age of total border coverage, *El Mexicano* infrequently covers events in San Diego and almost never includes photographs.

A close look at the human interest photos reveals increased variety in the representation of Tijuana in the *Union-Tribune*. The most notable series of images of Tijuana early in the decade appear in the September 1992 eight-page supplement of the *Union-Tribune*, “Life on the Line: 24 Hours at the Border,” that chronicles a day at the frontier (not included in the quantitative sample). The title is indicative of the limitation of the story. Although all of the photographs are taken in Tijuana, the city is defined by “the line,” the border. Instead of depicting the variety of life in Tijuana the photographs portray the aspects of the city that are already most familiar to people from San Diego—poverty, tourism, and immigration. There are numerous shots of immigrants trying to cross the fence and confronting the U.S. border patrol, as well as some images of Mexican law enforcement, several images of street vendors, and even one of the window washers who aggressively work the line of vehicles waiting to cross the border. Of the 20 photographs in the supplement only one, of two people sharing a popsicle, depicts what appears to be a pleasurable moment in the daily life of Tijuana. Similarly only one image, of a woman who commutes to work every day at the University of California Medical Center, represents the large middle-class population. But this photograph is simply of a woman in her car. While the picture is said to include her house, it is situated in such deep shadow that the viewer cannot see what a middle-class neighborhood might look like. As is so often the case with border coverage, though the text attempts to present alternative points of view,



TECATE.- La instalación de muros de acero, como el que se desarrolla en Tecate, no son admisibles en las sociedades modernas, afirmó el legislador Luis Vizcarra Vizcarra. (Foto: Armando ACOSTA).

FIGURE 7. *El Mexicano*, March 4, 1994.

chronicling five different lifestyles in detail and several more briefly, the accompanying photographs reflect entrenched stereotypes of poverty, picturesque street vendors, and illegal immigration.

In contrast, two stories in the Currents and Arts section in the *Union-Tribune* in 1996 do provide alternative representations. One article from June 4, 1996 depicts students, many dressed in brand new uniforms, standing in line, eager to attend the foremost preparatoria (high school) in Tijuana. Another extensive article from June 24, is entitled “Revolución Evolution” and details a recent study done by Tijuana university students of Calle Revolución, known to San Diegans as the main tourist drag, but also central to the history of Tijuana in many other ways. The lead photo, titled “Poet’s View,” shows the face of one of the researchers as he leans over a balcony above a busy street below. Other photographs highlight architectural details.

Perhaps most notable in the greater number of human interest photographs appearing in the *Union-Tribune* in 1998 are those covering the soccer craze in Tijuana. Though sports pages were not included in this study, sports are in fact a significant bridge between the two cities. For instance, both the *Union-Tribune* and *El Mexicano* ran photographs of the San Diego Padres’ efforts to increase patronage by Mexican fans.

El Mexicano rarely presented news images of San Diego. Even a story about a blood drive sponsored by its San Diego office appears without a photograph. The paper did include several stories about the lives of Mexican nationals and Chicanos in the United States but never pictures. Similarly, even though *Zeta* is printed in San Diego and is replete with large advertisements by San Diego merchants it very rarely runs photographs of San Diego unless there is a newsworthy event relating to Mexican interests. For instance, in 1994 a weekend boycott of American businesses was held in response to Governor Wilson’s “racist” rhetoric. *Zeta*’s coverage of this boycott included numerous photographs of empty parking lots in front of establishments that regularly were patronized by Mexican shoppers.

The general lack of photojournalistic coverage of San Diego by Tijuana papers points both to the inequities in resources and to the comparative conditions of photojournalistic practice. Frequent arguments in the recent literature about imperialism, suggesting that to look implies privilege—privilege to be curious about the other, to separate oneself from the object of the gaze, or to collect information (among others Alloula, 1986; Bhabha, 1994)—may explain this absence of coverage. As Sontag (1973) writes in her classic essay, the camera can function as a “predatory weapon” turning people “into objects that can be symbolically possessed” (p. 14). Ironically, it is the United States that both has erected the fence and holds the power to peer over the top. Certainly recent images of Tijuana present a more varied perspective, but even these photographs can be read in the context of the fence. The voyeuristic, aggressive, and acquisitive character of pho-

to journalism, and the superior position of the United States, is highlighted as long as one side can look and the other does not.

But it is important to consider the Mexican position in a more complex way. Although photographs of San Diego are very rare in *El Mexicano*, representations of Tijuana reference the United States. Canclini (1995) argues that Tijuana is “one of the biggest laboratories of postmodernity.” His research on how Tijuana view themselves included a question where they were asked to “name the most representative places of life and culture,” which his researchers later photographed. Two thirds of the images situated Tijuana in the borderlands, or as he put it, “linked Tijuana with what lies beyond it” (p. 233–235). His results are congruous with this study. Perhaps photojournalists from Tijuana have less desire to photograph on the other side of the fence because its potency as a barrier is already diminished in their imagery. Tijuana is depicted in a way that implies a regional perspective, with roughly one-third of the recorded photographs depicting tourism, commerce, and other activities that situate Tijuana in an international sphere. Canclini’s research suggests that for *El Mexicano* data it might have been useful to calculate the percentage of pictures of Tijuana that reference the border region in proportion to the total number of pictures of Tijuana. Such an analysis probably would show a regional perspective in a much higher percentage of photographs of Tijuana in *El Mexicano* than in photographs of San Diego in the *Union-Tribune*.

Furthermore, *El Mexicano* includes a view of the border region largely unrepresented in San Diego papers, that of cooperation by government officials and business, cultural, and academic leaders. The photographs may be static, but the images represent a kind of dialogue that is almost never depicted in the *Union-Tribune*. These images also serve to legitimize the official culture of Mexico. At times they even are used to support a position opposed to that of the U.S. government. For instance, the images accompanying articles protesting the building of a facility to store nuclear wastes in Ward Valley California, depict meetings of academics on both sides of the border who are concerned with the facility’s safety.

The lack of images of cooperation in the *Union-Tribune* demonstrates not only the prevailing photojournalistic preference for dramatic, often negative images, but the difficulty of conceiving of images that truly would represent a mutual relationship as opposed to a hierarchical one. The rare images of cooperation depict paternalistic exchanges such as school children bringing gifts to Mexico for Christmas or U.S. doctors rescuing Mexican children. Even in the business section there are few photographs of cooperation and exchange. When a story addresses cooperation, such as, “Face-to-Face (finally), NAFTA, Economic Turmoil, Link Businesses, People from Tijuana, San Diego” (February, 1994) it is often accompanied by an illustration, in this case a large image of two faces intertwined. The use of a drawing instead of a photograph implies that the subject is as yet imaginary, cannot be photographed, and is separate from the real. The current

governor of California, Gray Davis, has made a point of reaching out to his Mexican counterparts and contrasting his desire for cooperation with the combative style of his predecessor, Wilson. If newspapers are to represent increased ties between the two cities, photojournalists need to explore methods to visually depict collaboration and editors must be willing to print these pictures.

Toward Less Polarizing Strategies

In 1998, the *Union-Tribune* ran an advertising insert illustrated with flags of the U.S. and Mexico, proclaiming that it was, “the best newspaper on both sides of the border.” This is a claim that is hard to imagine at the beginning of the decade. Increasingly, local business leaders support greater ties to Tijuana and perceive the future in terms of regional development. Instead of fetishizing the fence, in 1998 the coverage in the *Union-Tribune* shifts toward an emphasis on regional commerce and a representation of Tijuana itself. By 1998 there are even occasional images of cars waiting to cross the border, similar to those so common in *El Mexicano*. However, if the *Union-Tribune* truly desires to appeal to readers on both sides of the border, the possibilities of alternative representational strategies, and the tendency of photographs to represent a more dichotomous perspective than the text, deserves a closer look.

Rare photographs evince the possibility of representing other viewpoints even when photographing the fence itself. In 1991, before border enforcement was so politicized, the *Union-Tribune* ran a couple of images showing all the newly painted graffiti on the Mexican side. One image reads, “If the one in Berlin fell, why not this one!” The other caption reads, “Artwork on new metal border fence urges Uncle Sam to turn his back and fold his arms as Mexicans jump fence.”

Another exceptional article is the cover story of the magazine section of the *Los Angeles Times*, “The Last Days of Rancho de Los Diablos,” from November 1994, photographed by Don Bartletti six years after he did the story about uneasy neighbors. When Bartletti began photographing in the 1980s he depicted the viewpoint he most identified with—that of the suburban homeowner. Although he says that his political viewpoint did not change, as he gained an intimate familiarity with his subject, the photos represent a more intimate portrait.⁵ In fact, Bartletti (1992) has become somewhat of an advocate for immigrant workers, touring his work in art and community settings throughout California. For this story, the cover shows two girls dressed in formal white dresses walking down a dirt road. The reader is informed that they are on their way to their quinceañera (a 15th birthday, celebrated as a kind of religious confirmation and sweet 16 party for girls in Mexico). An inside color picture shows the celebration replete with a sound system, tent, paper decorations, and a layered white cake (Figure 8). In some respects the subjects of the article are still described as other, as exotic. The writer can’t help marvel that “they” would spend limited earnings on nice dresses. But in contrast to the 1988 series, people are photographed facing the camera; they are

clean, even well-dressed, enjoying their lives. Women and children are photographed. An older couple is seen intimately sitting, holding hands, at a table bathed in a warm yellow light. Perhaps it is safe to take a close look as this settlement is about to be bulldozed. While the lack of confrontation with officials or comparison to White neighbors allows the residents to be portrayed on their own merits, enjoying their daily life, their world is depicted as entirely separate. In this respect the photographs are still one step behind the text, which includes description of children at school and adults at shopping malls.

Photographs of highways and collisions offer another opportunity to explore changing perspectives. In 1990, particularly in the *Los Angeles Times*, there were frequent photographs of silhouetted immigrants running across highways. While Bartletti argues that these images were necessary to raise awareness and encourage public officials to erect warning signs and median barriers to discourage perilously dangerous crossings, a lone photograph in the *Los Angeles Times* of a blurred car (date unknown) offers the possibility of shooting from the perspective of a immigrant running across the road. Photographic coverage of a recent story in the *Union-Tribune* (August 1, 1999) of a collision that killed both an INS official and three migrants contrasts markedly to the story of three years earlier, where an anonymous corpse is photographed covered with the yellow sheet (Figure 3; April 27, 1996). Not only is the officer's funeral covered, but a photojournalist traveled to Mexico to shoot photographs of one of the migrant's funerals there.



Ramiro, the camp's chief entertainer, shuttle driver and failed entrepreneur, croons a song of the quinceañera for 15-year-old Elva Medina, in white dress. Opposite, two young men talk by sundelight inside their shelter.

FIGURE 8. *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, November 27, 1994.

A discussion of changes in coverage also leads to a consideration of audience. When Bartletti was invited to lecture at the University of California, San Diego (April, 1999), he described his current beat as including extensive coverage of the growing Latino community in Orange County (the county situated between San Diego and Los Angeles) whose residents are viewed as the new audience for an Orange County edition of the *Los Angeles Times*. Whereas Bartletti began by exclusively photographing images of the immigrant Latino community for the consumption of a non-Latino U.S. readership, he now describes the Latino community as the audience for his images. In contrast, despite its claims to be a regional paper, through the end of the nineties, the *Union-Tribune* rarely represented the viewpoint of Mexican citizens except in Spanish language supplements. Most obviously, in the entire sample there was only one picture pertaining to Baja California politics, a subject of obvious interest to Mexican readers. Tijuana cultural life is almost entirely ignored. Poverty and disasters are highlighted as opposed to images, like those in many Mexican papers, of poor residents making efforts to improve their neighborhoods and gain public services.⁶

The inception of *La Frontera* in the fall of 1999, which brought the practice of modern Mexican photojournalism to Tijuana, provides a new model of comparison. Unlike the *Union-Tribune*, *La Frontera* makes no pretenses to be a regional paper, but instead describes itself as presenting the “identity and expression of Tijuana.” The front page is devoted primarily to local news. The second through fourth pages, however, are entitled Seccion Regional (Regional Section) and provide extensive regional coverage, defined as that area from Los Angeles to northern Baja California. Despite the claims of the *Union-Tribune*, at the turn of the century it is *La Frontera* that comes closest to presenting a regional perspective. A sampling of the regional section over one week’s time revealed numerous articles generated from major cities in the region, although only two photographs from the United States. These photographs were both of California politicians (more photographs than those of Baja California politicians that typically appeared in the *Union-Tribune* in an entire year’s sample). Also notable is the weekly section Minarete (Minaret) which included detailed coverage on the arts—rarely found in a U.S. paper. The week considered focused on beat poetry and included a lengthy interview and several photos of San Diego poet Jerome Rothenberg.

The regional section also included a seemingly typical Mexican photograph of a large group of tourists in Tijuana with the caption, “Thermic Contrast: While the Majority of Tijuanaenses Dress in All They Can to Combat the Cold, Many Tourists from the North Enjoy the Luxury of Wearing Short Sleeves and Short Pants” (January, 10, 2000). Unlike the promotional photographs of tourists in *El Mexicano*, this photograph offers the viewpoint from Tijuana. The American reader must consider what it means to be looked at, as well as to look.

If borderlands throughout the world are regions where the work of culture is taking place, it is worth considering how photojournalism can both record and impact the process. All of the journalists I have spoken to voiced interest in re-

porting less on crime, drugs, and border enforcement, and more on stories of regional interest. The views of border artists that motivated this research are no longer so distant from those of many of the journalists. Such desires require a rethinking of photojournalistic practice, a process that is beginning to occur. Much of the photojournalistic tradition is invested in dualities—capturing the dramatic, shooting the other, and amplifying the contrast. Photojournalism in the border region must depict cooperation as well as friction. The visual representation from differing perspectives must be fully considered. This involves recognizing that the text as well as the photographs must try to represent the viewpoints of a diverse readership while acknowledging the difficulty in doing so. More radically, this involves recognizing that the identities, the perspectives of the readers, are themselves undergoing change.

However, while I continue to argue for less polarizing representation, there is another side to this story. During the time period between the initial quantitative research and the publication of this article, the visual representation of *El Mexicano* has changed dramatically. In 2000 the paper is suddenly replete with large color photographs of the border fence and INS vans, albeit a fence that still tends to be shot as a long horizontal rather than as a tall vertical. While a fuller explanation must await another research article, I would propose that these photos reflect both the changing Mexican politics as well as events along the U.S./Mexican frontier. Most of these images accompany either stories about the mortality of Mexican immigrants, which is rising each year, or recent events in Arizona, where residents are accused of hunting undocumented immigrants, an issue that has received strikingly scant coverage in the *Union-Tribune*. Although the details about incidents in Arizona are new, the strident rhetoric in *El Mexicano* about the treatment of Mexican immigrants has been consistent throughout the last decade. But, with the election of Vicente Fox, the official culture of the PRI is increasingly challenged. Instead of illustrations of faces of public officials, the nationalist tone of these stories now is reinforced by depictions of the border fence. The competition from *La Frontera* and the perception that these images are more representative of “modern” photojournalism may be another factor influencing the adoption of these photographs. Whatever the explanation for their sudden prevalence in *El Mexicano*, these images serve as a symbolic representation of actual violence that, from the Mexican perspective, demands attention. Although the fence is no longer depicted in the *Union-Tribune*, it is its heightened fortification that is causing an increase in immigrant deaths as new arrivals are pushed to more strenuous terrain. At this point the U.S./Mexican border functions both as a barrier and as a bridge. As long as this is the case, there is a place for both kinds of representation as well as discussion as to whose interests are served by the differing depictions. Perhaps the most important challenge of photojournalists is to move throughout the border region, continually interrogating their biases, and fully accepting the challenge of representing the multiplicity of viewpoints they find.

End Notes

1. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between photojournalism and documentary photography. It could be argued that the work that ends up being displayed in an art context has a more self-conscious "aesthetic value." But this would include the work of many, if not most, of the most well known photojournalists. Furthermore, both Steichen and Szarkowski curators who promoted the inclusion of photography exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in different ways championed the inclusion of photojournalism and the blurring of the boundaries of high art and vernacular photographs (Phillips, 1989).
2. Untitled photography by Liliana Nieto del Rio.
3. As most of the papers were read from microfilm, a "week" was defined rather loosely as consisting of one reel, that is, one-quarter of one month. Therefore it is possible that the number of days sampled could vary slightly from one year to the next. Because most of the photographs relevant to this study appeared on the front page of a given section or in the jumps to inside pages, sampling was confined to these stories. For the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, articles beginning on the front page and the first pages of the local and business sections were tabulated. For *El Mexicano*, the front page of the paper and the first page of the Nacional/Internacional and Estatil (the state or local) sections were sampled. The business section was not included because local business stories were placed either on the front page or in the Estatil section of the paper. For both papers titles of stories were recorded and coded for subject. Photographs were coded for topic, specific content, size, and placement.
4. Only the last three days were included in the weeks of the paper quantitatively sampled.
5. Personal interview, July 1998.
6. Though I don't have quantitative data, it appears from regular reading of the paper that coverage of both culture and politics in Tijuana has increased considerably since the turn of the century.

References

- Alloula, M. (1986). *The colonial harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinners/Aunt Lute.
- Barnhurst, K. G. (1994). *Seeing the newspaper*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. (2001). *The form of news: A history*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image music and text*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Bartletti, D. (1992). *Between two worlds: The people of the border*. Oakland, CA: The Oakland Museum.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Canclini, N. G. (1995). *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Chávez, P., & Grynstejn, M. (1993). *La Frontera/The border: Art about the Mexico/United States border experience*. San Diego: Centro Cultural de la Raza and Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego.
- Chavira, R. (1977). A case study: Reporting of Mexican emigration and deportation. *Journalism History*, 4, 2, 59–61.
- Debroise, O. (1994). *Fuga Mexicana: Un recorrido por la fotografía en México*. México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
- Fox, C. F. (1999). *The fence and the river: Culture and politics at the U.S.-Mexico border*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Greenberg, B., Burgoon, M., Burgoon, J. K., & Korzeny, F. (1983). *Mexican Americans and the mass media*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hall, S. (1973). The determinations of news photographs. In S. Cohen and J. Young (Eds.), *The manufacture of news* (pp. 176–190). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hicks, D. E. (1991). *Border writing: The multidimensional text*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Holly, J. (1994). Confronting *La Frontera*: Who's watching the boom along the border? *Columbia Review of Journalism*, (May/June), 46–48.
- Huxford, J. (2001). Beyond the referential: Uses of visual symbolism in the press. *Journalism*, 2, 1, 45–72.
- Iglesias, N. (1989). La prensa en la frontera norte. *Revista Mexicana de Comunicación*, (Enero/Febrero).
- Mancillas, A., Wallen, R., & Waller, M. R. (1999). Making art, making citizens: Las Comadres and postnational aesthetics. In L. Bloom (Ed.), *With other eyes: Looking at race and gender in visual culture* (pp. 107–132). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McWilliams, C. (1943). The zoot-suit riots. *New Republic*, 21, 818–820.
- Michaelson, S., Johnson, D. E. (1997). *Border theory: The limits of cultural politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Miller, J. J. (1994). Immigration, the press and the new racism. *Media Studies Journal*, 18, 3, 19–28.
- Mraz, J. with Arnal, A. (1996). *La mirada inquieta 1976–1996: Nuevo fotoperiodismo Mexicano*. México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
- Parada, E. (1989). C/Overt ideology: Two images of revolution. In R. Bolton (Ed.), *The contest of meaning: Critical histories of photography* (pp. 221–260). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Phillips, C. (1989). The judgement seat of photography. In R. Bolton (Ed.), *The contest of meaning: Critical histories of photography* (pp. 15–46). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Rosler, M. (1989). In, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography). In R. Bolton (Ed.), *The contest of meaning: Critical histories of photography* (pp. 221–259). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Roth, L., & Berryman, J. (1989). *San Ysidro historic resources survey*. San Diego: City of San Diego Planning Department.
- Salwen, M. B., & Gonzalo, R. S. (1997). The Hispanic Americans. In B. Deepe-Keever, C. Martindale, and M. A. Weston (Eds.), *U.S. news coverage of racial minorities: A sourcebook, 1934–1996* (pp. 147–190). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- Sekula, A. (1984). Dismantling modernism, reinventing documentary (notes on the politics of representation). In *Photography against the grain: Essays and photo works 1973–1983* (pp. 53–76). Halifax: Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design.
- Solomon Godeau, A. (1991). *Photography at the dock: Essays on photographic history, institutions and practices*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sontag, S. (1973). *On photography*. New York: Delta.
- Spener, D., & Staudt, K. (1998). *The U.S.-Mexico border: Transcending divisions, contesting identities*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Turner, R., & Surace, S. (1956). Zoot-suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in crowd behavior. *American Journal of Sociology*, 67, 14–20.
- Van Slyke Turk, J., Richstad, J., Bryson, Jr., R. L., & Johnson, S. M. (1989). Hispanic Americans in the news in two Southwestern cities. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66, 107–113.
- Welchman, J. C. (1996). *Rethinking borders*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wilson II, C. C., & Gutierrez, F. (1995) *Race, multiculturalism and the media: From mass to class communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.