THE ROLE OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE JOURNALISTS IN SERVING A TRANSNATIONAL AUDIENCE

by

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Comparative research across the world has shown that journalistic roles are informed by the socio-political systems in which journalists operate. While the literature surrounding the discourse of journalistic roles continues to grow to incorporate journalistic cultures that are not necessarily rooted in Western notions of democracy, there is still insufficient research that acknowledges the growing presence of transnational communities, a byproduct of an increasingly globalized world. Studying Spanish-language media organizations in the United States is an effective way to understand the ways in which Latinx American journalists navigate and consolidate multiple journalistic cultures. This research explores the cognitive roles of eight journalists in six Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon. Results show that while Spanish-language journalists tend to conform to values present in Western journalistic cultures, they also adapt their roles to more effectively serve the Latinx American community.

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Introduction

In an increasingly digitized media environment, journalism is undergoing unprecedented change at an unprecedented speed. Journalists are adapting and innovating in new ways, challenging traditional conceptions of what it means to be a journalist (Reuters, 2016). It is within this dynamic and liquid media scape that the discourse of journalistic roles is situated, working to define journalistic cultures that are informed by both cultural and professional values (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018).

As the media landscape continues to evolve, so too does the racial makeup of the United States. The emergence and proliferation of Spanish-language media organizations parallels a rapidly growing Latinx American community (United States Census Bureau, 2017). Reaching a socially and economically disadvantaged, though culturally vibrant community, Spanish-language journalists in the United States operate within a journalistic culture that does not necessarily reflect that of Latin America (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Further, they serve an audience that continues to encounter cultural and linguistic barriers to information (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016). It is this audience and multicultural perspective that informs the discourse of Spanish-language journalistic roles.

Because the discourse of journalistic roles exists within the framework of societal and cultural values (Mellado et al., 2016), the role of Spanish-language journalists is defined by the transnational Latinx American culture. Studying journalists' professional roles is essential to understanding journalism's identity and place in society (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018).

An exploration of journalistic roles within Spanish-language news organizations will, therefore, not only reveal important values for this growing sector of media, it will also clarify journalism's role in reaching and addressing the complex transnational values that characterize the Latinx American experience.

Journalistic Roles

Because the field of journalism is rapidly adapting and changing, so too is the discourse surrounding journalistic roles. Journalists' professional roles are informed by journalistic cultures, which are "a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful" (Hanitzsch, 2007). These roles embody a set of normative and cognitive beliefs as well as perceived and actual practices of journalists. Engaging in this discourse and studying journalistic cultures is important because it provides a more encompassing perspective of the diversity of journalistic practices.

The discourse of journalistic roles is defined and continuously reevaluated by a set of culturally negotiated professional values and conventions. While journalists themselves are the central agents in defining journalistic roles (Zelizer, 1993), they do so within the context of the broader society, utilizing hegemonic cultural values to define their space. Therefore, the discourse of journalistic roles is contingent upon national and cultural values. Further, this discourse is complicated by globalization and the increased presence of multicultural communities.

Journalistic cultures have been examined and mapped on to a variety of frameworks (Donsbach and Patterson, 2004). Within the context of cognitive roles, Hanitzsch (2007) presents three theoretical dimensions: 1) interventionism, which refers to journalists' willingness to engage in and pursue certain agendas, 2) power distance, which encompasses journalists' relationship with governing bodies in society, and 3) market orientation, which refers to journalists' conception of their audiences as either

consumers or citizens. The extent to which journalists are willing to promote certain values, challenge those in power, and prioritize economic incentives varies across mediums, markets, and cultures. Therefore, mapping journalistic roles on these dimensions can reveal an important and comparative discourse that is situated within the broader field of journalistic cultures.

Because journalistic roles are intimately related to the political systems, cultural value sets, and media environments in which they operate (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018), a large portion of the literature is dedicated to cross-cultural studies. These comparative studies are essential to understanding the ways in which the professional ethics of journalists are determined by socio-political frameworks (Weaver, 1998 and Berkowitz et al., 2004). In a report comparing journalistic cultures across 18 countries, researchers identified a consensus about the traditionally held professional values of journalism in countries as diverse as Brazil, Germany, Tanzania, Uganda, and the United States; values like objectivity and impartiality are present in newsrooms around the world. However, the report also found considerable differences in journalistic practices and orientations across countries, particularly concerning the perceived importance of analysis, partisanship, entertainment, and a critical attitude towards the powerful (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Mapping journalistic cultures of the various nations on a vector map, Hanitzsch et al. (2010) defined a core of western-oriented journalistic cultures consisting of the United States, Germany, and Austria. These cultures exhibited values such as non-involvement, detachment, monitoring the government, as well as providing information to motivate audiences to participate in civic activity. This is core is made up of the countries that are most inclined to follow universal ethical rules and

least willing to use questionable methods of reporting. Mexico and Brazil were closely oriented towards these cultures as well. On the other side of the framework were countries such as China, Russia, and Uganda where journalists operate within a political climate that is often hostile to press freedom and perceive themselves more in a cooperative and supportive role in their relationship to the government and official policies.

Although the United States is situated within the core of western-oriented journalistic cultures, as the dimensions are broken down further, the United States tends to occupy only a middle ground on the map. For example, when it comes to the importance given to objective, factual, and credible reporting, journalists in the United States are less likely to prioritize objectivity because they "exhibit a remarkable tendency to let personal evaluation and interpretation slip into the news coverage" (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Similarly, the United States is situated in the center of the map regarding the inclination of journalists to motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion, despite its lively discussion of public and civic journalism. Indeed, the United States demonstrates the melding of multiple journalistic cultures. The country no longer represents the epitome of objective journalism (Weaver et al., 2007); globalization is among many potential contributing factors to this shift as multiple cultures interact on a subnational level.

While cross-national studies are important in that they incorporate journalistic cultures from around the world, the vast majority of published literature is primarily concerned with Western notions of journalism and from a notion of mass democracy that "historically was intimately linked to the emergence of a mass press" (Hanitzsch

and Örnebring, 2018). In Latin America and other countries with transitional democracies, hybrid media systems and the lack of clear-cut journalistic traditions complicate the study of journalistic roles (Mellado et al., 2016). Further, as societies grow increasingly multicultural, it is necessary to employ this discourse from a perspective that considers the intersection and consolidation of multiple sets of cultural values.

Spanish-Language Journalism

Latin American Journalism

Because journalists' professional roles are informed by the socio-political systems in which they operate, and because many Spanish-language journalists began their careers in Latin America, it is necessary to analyze Latin American journalistic cultures in order to understand Spanish-language journalists' roles. Due to widespread political instability, the Latin American journalistic experience is informed largely by systems of social inequity, human rights violations, widespread corruption, and rising rates of crime and violence (Mellado et al., 2016). Broadly, the press has played a key role in Latin American countries that are recovering and transitioning from political traumas (Waisbord, 2000) and the socio-political instability has certainly influenced the priorities of the press. In a study that compared journalistic cultures across Mexico, Chile, and Brazil, researchers found that journalists are more willing to support public policies that generate social development and well-being than other legislative missions (Mellado et al., 2012), reflecting current debates on policies that deal with poverty and inequality in these three countries. Further, dictatorships and authoritarian regimes have had a lasting influence on many media structures. For example, Chile's journalistic culture is highly interventionist, paralleling the overtly partisan press that operated under Pinochet's regime (Mellado et al., 2017); similarly, Brazilian journalists' prioritization of neutrality reflects the violence inflicted on journalists during a military dictatorship (1964 to 1985) and with the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018 (Monnerat and de Assis, 2018).

Despite similarities in politically turbulent media landscapes and socio-economic development across Latin America, the socio-political systems within which journalists operate are diverse. For example, Cuba has a state-media system with propagandist roles and interventionist-type missions (Oller et al., 2016), whereas journalists in Ecuador, a country undergoing extensive media reform in response to antagonist press-state relations, tend to embody the "service" role (Mallado and Lagos, 2014). In a study that compared the journalistic performance across five Latin American countries, researchers found significant differences: "There is no clear, prevalent regional model of journalism. Despite their highly instrumentalized nature and political parallelism, Latin American journalism tends to be highly disseminative and more passive than interventionist in nature" (Mellado et al., 2016).

Because 85 percent of Oregon's Latinx population is of Mexican heritage, it is worth analyzing the Mexican journalistic culture specifically. Like many other Latin American countries, Mexico has a hybrid media system that is functioning within a period of political transition, consolidating a past authoritarian regime that lasted for 70 years with an emerging democratic one (Baker Institute). This period was characterized by a state-run media system and attacks on press freedom that have contributed to Mexico's situation as Latin America's most dangerous country for reporters (Reporters Without Borders, 2019). That said, the Mexican journalistic culture has shifted significantly in the last two decades, informed by the institutionalization of transparency in the press and a willingness to motivate audiences to participate in civic activity and public discussion (Mellado et al., 2012).

Mexican journalists generally embody the Western journalistic culture, prioritizing values such as autonomy, objectivity, and the "watchdog" role of the press. These values are inherent in the civic media organizations that serve to bridge communication gaps between the government and citizens (Hughes, 2006). However, one study found that these roles, in practice, are frequently informed by existing practices culturally stemming from the country's authoritarian days. For example, within the context of objectivity, content analysis revealed a tendency to privilege elite sources, rather than focusing on investigation and contextualization (Márquez Ramírzez, 2012). Nevertheless, the hybrid system is characterized by a more active and adversary approach to journalism than other countries in Latin America.

The Latinx Community

The intersection of cultural values and notions of democracy is epitomized in the Latinx American experience. There are 40 million native Spanish speakers and an additional 11 million bilingual speakers from more than 20 different nations in the United States (Johnson, 2016). This is the largest ethnic or racial minority in the country, constituting 17.8 percent of the nation's total population (United States Census Bureau, 2017). Further, the Latinx community is rapidly growing. In the United States, the Census Bureau projects that the Hispanic population will reach 119 million by 2060, making up 28.6 percent of the nation's population.

The Latinx community in Oregon has also grown significantly in the last two decades. Twelve percent of the state's population is Latinx, which is a 72 percent

increase since 2000. While the growth in the Oregon Latinx population has been widespread, it has primarily occurred in Oregon's western counties (Figure 1). The largest number of Latinos reside in Washington County, where the population has grown from around 50,000 in 2000 to almost 90,000 in 2014. Over 85 percent of Latinx Oregonians identify as Mexican. Demographically, the Latinx community in Oregon is significantly younger than non-Latinx Oregonians, with the median age at 24 compared to 41. This has potential political implications. Millennials, who have proven to be an important and politically mobile population (Cilluffo and Fry, 2019), represent 50.1 percent of the eligible Latino voter population (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016).

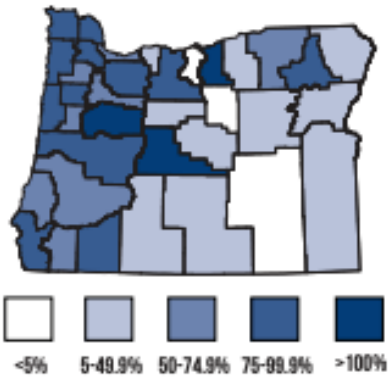

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Figure 1: Percentage change of Latinx population in Oregon by county (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016)

While the Latinx population has grown steadily across the state, the most significant changes have occurred in Oregon's western counties.

The Latinx community in Oregon is a disadvantaged population. Among other factors, linguistic and cultural barriers to information contribute to lower graduation rates and a median family income that is more than $10,000 below non-Latinx families. Over one quarter of Oregon's Latinos and over one-third of Latinx children live in poverty. Nearly one-third of Oregon's Latinos still lack health insurance, fewer Latinas receive adequate parental care than white women, and the Latina teen pregnancy rate is double the rate for white teens (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016).

Spanish-language media

The primary news organizations serving this population are within the Spanish-language media. Spanish-language journalists in the United States are informed by

Latin American journalistic values and function within the context of Western notions of democracy. Although the Latinx population in the United States is the fastest-growing ethnic group, Spanish-language media is largely invisible to the majority of Americans. That is not to say that Spanish-language media has not thrived on a national level. Univision, the largest Spanish-language television network, is now the fifth most watched network in the United States (Johnson, 2016). There are Spanish-language newspapers in almost every large American city and content producers like Netflix and HBO are increasingly licensing and creating content in Spanish. The most common medium is radio, with more than 500 stations broadcasting in the Spanish-language (Stroud, 2018).

Current statistics regarding the number of Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon are not readily available. The instability inherent in serving a small percentage of the population makes the collection of long-term statistics difficult (Mellado et al., 2016). Nevertheless, Spanish-language media plays a vital role in serving Latinx Oregonians because news "is central to the public life of citizens, and to defining how citizens speak as part of constituting collective interests" (Paz, 2018). Spanish-language news organizations in the United States define their audiences based on shared cultural value sets and foster imagined communities by establishing communicative circuits. For example, Spanish-language journalists are likely to utilize hidden transcripts like colloquialisms, idiomatic expressions, and sayings that echo Latin American journalistic cultures (Paz, 2018). For Latinx populations in the United States that are working to navigate complex and dynamic identities, these communicative circuits are essential: "The very act of migration implies the

confrontation of a new set of norms and expectations that shape how immigrants see themselves and, consequently, how they act. The Spanish-language media reflects the immigrant experience and reinforces ties to the home country" (Suro, 1994).

This concept of imagined communities is an important discussion within the discourse of journalistic roles, particularly when analyzing journalists' relationships with their audiences. In a study that explored bilingual journalism in different linguistic regions of Spain, researchers found that although "editors would never make face-to-face contact with each member of their ethno-linguistic group, they nonetheless spoke of a kinship, a common bond. They longed to see their region and its language succeed" (Lewis, 2008). Further, although language is intrinsically political - particularly in the Spanish case - the study found that utilizing tailored bilingualism in journalistic settings is less rooted in progressing political agendas, and more about its cultural significance. Applying this concept of conceived cultural communities to Spanish-language journalism in the United States, it is evident that Spanish-language journalists' relationship with their audiences fosters a cultural mission in their professional roles. Spanish-language news organizations are also important in their capacity to cultivate politically engaged audiences. One study exploring the role of exposure to Spanish-language media and its potential to mobilize audiences found that engagement in stories about immigration created a politicized immigrant identity among Latinx immigrants, which resulted in greater political participation and civic engagement (Garcia Rios and Barreto, 2016). Further, the study found: "How you get your news not only shapes how you see the world, but, as social identity theory suggests, also affects

how Latino immigrants see themselves and act politically" (Garcia Rios and Barreto, 2016).

It is important to recognize that Spanish-language media is not simply a mirror or translation of its mainstream counterparts. It speaks to a different audience, composed of multiple generations of immigrants from Latin America, and therefore reflects the experiences of this community. Due to the economic incentive to keep their audience in the United States, "many Spanish-language media organizations follow the civic journalism model and are likely to offer 'advocate style' news coverage that promotes immigrant interest and encourages political participation by their audience and legalization of their migrant audience" (Rodriguez, 1999). For example, Spanish-language news media are more likely to include things such as contact information for immigration lawyers and toll-free hotlines than English-language news media. But the advocate style of news coverage is not only a product of economic incentives; rather, it is also rooted in a markedly more personal relationship between the journalist and her audience (Alexandre and Rehbinder, 2002). In Oregon, Spanish-language news organizations face a smaller Latinx population than the rest of the United States - 12 percent compared to the nationwide 18 percent (Garcia). With an audience that is only a tenth as large as the mainstream audience, they face limited resources compared to their English counterparts. The KUNP news desk in Portland, for example, consists of 5 members, in contrast to the nearly 50 employees of the KATU news team that operates out of the same room. With smaller newsrooms, Spanish-language journalists in Oregon necessarily take on multiple roles, working to accommodate an increasing demand for multimedia and an online presence (Reuters Institute, 2016).

Scope of Research

The purpose of this study has two aims: 1) To explore the ways in which Spanish-language journalists' cognitive roles are informed by multiple cultures and 2) To better understand the extent to which journalists' conception of their audience dictates their orientation within the professional field.

The design of the study will primarily consider cognitive roles, though the ways in which role orientations dictate role performance and vice versa are interconnected. Journalistic roles can be divided into two discursive fields: 1) role orientations, which refer to a journalist's position in society in relation to institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs and 2) role performance, which refers to journalistic roles as dictated through self-reflexive interpretations and journalistic practice (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018).

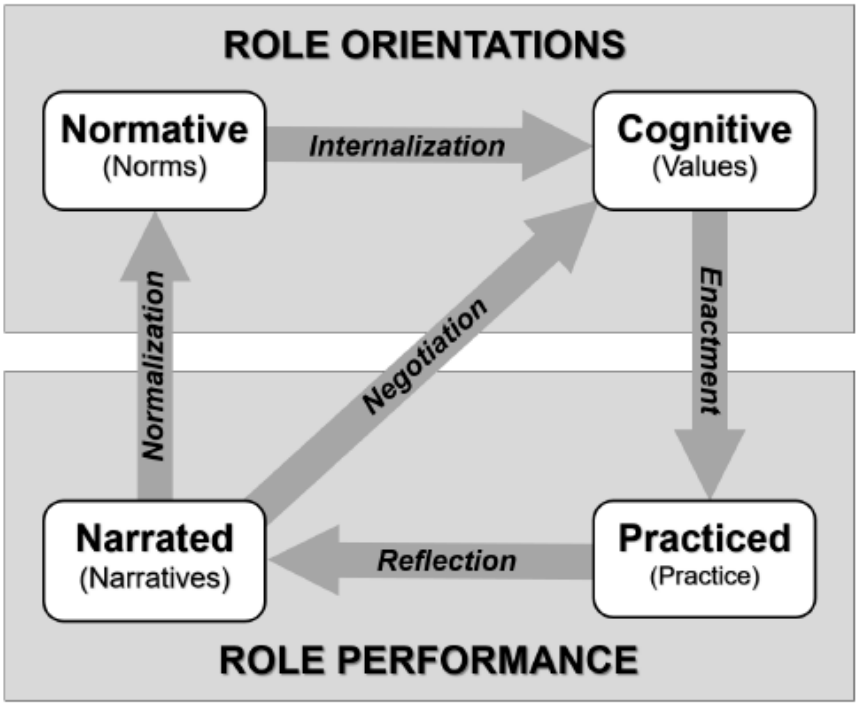

Figure 2: Process model of journalistic roles (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2017)

The study of journalistic roles can be divided into four distinct, though intimately related dimensions that define the way in which journalistic roles are understood.

These two discursive fields can then be divided further. Normative journalistic roles refer to journalists' conceptions of the expectations that the general public and the professional community hold, and which influence their professional approach to journalism (Donsbach, 2012). The subjective internalization of these expectations is defined as cognitive roles. Cognitive journalistic roles "encompass the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs journalists as individuals embrace as a result of their occupational socialization" (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018). The process of internalization that connects normative and cognitive roles reveal that society's collective understanding and definition of journalistic roles contributes to journalists' conception of self and, therefore, serves to reinforce professional identity.

Practiced journalistic roles capture the behavioral aspect of professional roles and are indicated through the tangible professional conduct and performance of journalists. Practiced journalistic roles are usually studied utilizing news content analysis. Narrated journalistic roles "denominate subjective perceptions and articulations of the roles journalists carry out in practice. Narrated roles are filtered through journalists' cognitive apparatuses and are ultimately reinterpreted against normative expectations and cognitive aspirations" (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018).

Indeed, each of these categorizations are interconnected; however, the scope of this research will focus primarily on narrated roles within the context of cognitive aspirations through the process of role reflection. Role reflection "is a retrospective mechanism that puts journalistic practices - as well as their observation, interpretation, and categorization - into a coherent narrative" (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018). Because the scope of this research is limited to subjective narrated accounts, role reflection is an effective way to better understand the ways in which narrated accounts can be indicative of professional and societal standards.

Here, it is worth noting the limitations of research that does not incorporate content analysis: "Self-reports of journalists on their performance are little more than a mere approximation to journalists' real practice: rather than capturing journalists' actual practices, they rely on recollections and enunciations of their performance in retrospect" (Hanitzsch and Örnebring, 2018). Role reflection is limited to journalists' self-reports and does not incorporate the extent to which their professional roles materialize in actual news content.

Nevertheless, analyzing narrated roles is important and can indicate how journalists' conception of their communities informs their performance. This is especially important in better understanding how journalists in the Spanish-language media consolidate multiple cultures and define their roles to their Latinx audience.

With this, two related research questions are posed:

RQ1: To what extent do Spanish-language journalists in the United States define their professional roles in relation to Western-oriented journalistic cultures?

RQ2: How do journalists' conceptions of their transnational audience influence their values and cognitive journalistic roles?

Methods

Data was collected for this study utilizing qualitative in-depth interviews with eight journalists from six Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon. The journalists' responsibilities and roles within each organization varied, as well as the size, circulation, and medium of each organization. Years of experience ranged from 2 to 28 years, with a median experience level of 13 years. With the exception of two interviewees, all subjects began their journalistic careers in Latin America and noted that, to varying extents, their perceptions of their roles were influenced by their journalistic foundations in a different country.

Name	Position	News Organization	Medium	Location
Antonio Sánchez	Anchor	KUNP - Univisión	Television News Broadcast	Portland, Bend, and Eugene
Iván Garcia	Executive News Producer	KUNP - Univisión	Television News Broadcast	Portland, Bend, and Eugene
Carlos Tovias	Program Director	KRYP 93.1 El Rey	Radio	Portland
Rocío Rios	Editor in Chief	*El Centinela*	Catholic Newspaper	Portland
Gustavo Gutierrez Gomez	On-air personality	KPCN 95.9 Radio Movimiento	Radio	Woodburn
Josue del Castillo	On-air personality and Program Director	KGDD 93.5 La GranD and KSND 95.1 La Pantera	Radio	Portland and Monmouth
Alfredo Flores	Managing Editor	Caminos Magazine	Magazine	Rogue Valley
Claudia Montoya	Reporter	Caminos Magazine	Magazine	Rogue Valley

Table 1: Journalist and News Organization Profiles

For this research, eight journalists were interviewed from six Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon.

Antonio Sánchez and Iván Garcia work at KUNP, which is the Univision broadcast station in Portland, Oregon. Univision is the largest Spanish-language television network in the United States. KUNP is owned by the Sinclair Broadcast Group and operates in the same building and studio as the Portland ABC affiliate,

KATU. Sánchez is the only interviewee who was born in the United States and did not begin his journalistic career in Latin America; however, he has worked in the Spanish-language for the entirety of his career. He is the main anchor for the two shows KUNP broadcasts every weekday. He is responsible for writing the show as well as translating and producing content for the website and social media. Garcia began his journalistic career in Mexico. He is currently the executive news producer and is responsible for directing the show and selecting what segments will appear in the broadcast. Neither Sánchez nor Garcia were willing and/or permitted to comment on the significance of working in a Sinclair news organization and whether or not their content was influenced by this situation.

Carlos Tovias is the program director at KRYP FM 93.1 El Rey. He began his career in Mexico and has worked in radio in the Spanish-language for 19 years. As the program director, he is responsible for producing and organizing all of the content on the show, which is a Mexican music station that broadcasts regional music like Banda, Ranchera, Mariachi, and Norteña genres. Josue del Castillo is the on-air personality of KGDD 93.5 La GranD and producer of KSND 95.1 La Pantera. He was born in Mexico and has been working in media for the past 28 years. In addition to hosting LaGranD, he is responsible for putting together La Pantera's show. Both LaGranD and La Pantera broadcast regional Mexican music; however, La Pantera incorporates more news and political commentary in its broadcasts. KRYP, KGDD, and KSND are all owned by Bustos Media, a media corporation headed in Portland.

Gustavo Gutierrez Gomez is the host of Charla Informativa, a weekly show that is featured on KPCN 95.9 Radio Movimiento. KPCN broadcasts out of Pineros y

Campesinos Unidos del Noreste (PCUN), the largest farmworker union in Oregon. Gutierrez Gomez was born in Mexico and began his journalistic career in the United States. As the host of Charla Informativa, Gutierrez Gomez is responsible for writing the show and recruiting guests from the local community to speak on the show. He is also the community relations manager for the city of Woodburn, which, among other duties, includes sending out a weekly newsletter in Spanish to the Latinx population.

Rocío Rios is the former editor in chief at *El Centinela* paper. Rios was a journalist in Columbia before moving to the United States, where she began working at *El Centinela* almost 20 years ago. Besides Sánchez, Rios is the only interviewee who was not born in Mexico. As editor and the sole employee, Rios was responsible for doing all of the reporting, almost all of the photography, design and layout, and online content for *El Centinela*. *El Centinela* is a monthly newspaper and the Spanish voice of the Archdiocese of Portland. It is owned by the Oregon Catholic Press. Although it is a Catholic paper, content in *El Centinela* ranges from community news to political opinions and discourse.

Alfredo Flores and Claudia Montoya work for Caminos Magazine, a monthly publication that serves the southern Oregon region. Flores founded the magazine with his brother eight years ago. As managing editor, he is responsible for forging relationships with local businesses and community members, as well as overseeing the content published. Montoya is a reporter for the magazine. She focuses on local and community-oriented news and regularly publishes editorials addressed specifically to the Latinx population in southern Oregon. Both Flores and Montoya were born in

Mexico and began their journalistic careers working for Mexican media organizations.

Interviewees took part in one-on-one interviews that were conducted over the course of two weeks in March and April of 2019. With the exception of del Castillo, all interviews took place in person.

Interviews varied in length, from 15-45 minutes and were not limited to the scope of pre-written questions (see attached). The format of an in-depth interview was effective in that it fostered conversations where both interviewer and interviewee were free to determine the depth and extent of certain answers. Further, the flexibility of the in-depth interview allowed the researcher to better understand the lived experiences of the interviewees. The sample for in-depth interviews was constructed utilizing the snowball method and was largely determined by accessibility and professional connections. Beginning with Gutierrez Gomez, journalists were asked to provide possible names for subsequent interview subjects following their interview.

Following each interview, recordings were transcribed and categorized utilizing inductive qualitative data analysis.

Results

Defining audience

Many respondents defined their audience within the context of the immigrant experience. More specifically, they recognized their audience's need for resources. Antonio Sánchez and Iván Garcia both described KUNP's audience as in need of cultural and linguistic assistance in finding resources. According to Garcia:

> There are so many resources to help them, to make the process easier. But it's so hard to know where to look. And so we need to help them because they need to know where to look in order to be successful in the U.S. (Garcia)

Sánchez specifically referenced a KUNP broadcast that featured a segment in which a representative from the Mexican consulate presented the various services they offered to newly arrived immigrants, including legal and psychological services. Respondents frequently cited segments and articles that spoke directly to an audience in need of information. In this way, journalists recognized that the immigrant experience goes far beyond crossing the border; it is characterized by a significant cultural shift that makes simple acts, like filing taxes and enrolling in school, logistically difficult. Additionally, four respondents acknowledged the fact that a large portion of their audience is undocumented, which presents further barriers to information.

The mobility of the Latinx population produces a multigenerational audience and respondents were aware of this factor when defining their audience. When identifying which generation they intended to reach, respondents gave different answers. Respondents from KUNP defined their audience almost exclusively as newly arrived immigrants, even though two-thirds of Oregon's Latinx population was born in

the United States (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016). Sánchez explained that this conception of audience is largely a result of language; once Latinx immigrants are proficient in English, which he identified as an inevitable aspect of the immigrant experience, they are likely to switch to mainstream, English-language broadcasts because they are more abundant. Because of this, his audience is constantly changing, though their needs remain the same.

> We are targeting that audience, usually the newcomers, the people who do not know how this society works… We have to keep with that certain segment of the population where a lot of Latinos lose the language and we have to still inform people because there are newcomers and people who still cannot speak the language for one reason or another. (Sánchez)

Other respondents explained that although their audience is multigenerational, there is a consistent desire to remain connected to Latinx culture. This was a common theme for the two radio stations. Both primarily focus on broadcasting Latinx music, which they consider to be the cultural glue that is consistent among all generations. According to Josue del Castillo and Carlos Tovias, this connection to culture is independent of linguistic and generational factors.

> We have got listeners, first and second generation, even third generation of Latinos, and the third generation, they have grown up listening to our kind of music and news, but they most of the time, just speak English. But they are Latinos and they know about the music and still identify with that culture. (del Castillo)

> They were born here but feel Mexican as well. They still watching novelas and enjoying the same brand of beer and same parties… They are like okay, 'I am proud of where I am from' and *they feel connected even though they weren't born there* [emphasis added]. (Tovias)

The desire to remain rooted in Latinx culture was a theme throughout the interviews. Alfredo Flores explained that this was a priority for his audience because

"So many people come here and see a different world. Different politics and faces or whatever. So they want that connection. They want to feel like someone understands where they come from" (Flores).

Rocío Rios explained that she primarily considers her audience to be second generation. But this conception was less a cultural aspect than a religious one. She explained that as a Catholic publication, her audience is made up of an older generation because members of the younger Latinx demographic do not attend church as much as their parents do.

Also in line with the immigrant experience, respondents identified a Pan-Latino audience. Although 85 percent of Oregon's Latinx population is Mexican (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016), respondents noted that recognizing the cultural diversity of Latin America is an important contrast from mainstream news organizations.

> It is important to say like 'I know that not everyone is from Mexico. I know you all have your own cultures.' The mainstream media clumps them all together, but it is a very diverse group… So we need to acknowledge those different nationalities because that is where our audience comes from. (Garcia)

> Radio here in America in Spanish, you're not only talking to Mexicans. You're also talking to a lot of people from Central and South America and even if our main people are from Mexico, they are not only from one region of Mexico… their language and the way they see things are totally different. (del Castillo)

Del Castillo repeatedly returned to the concept of respect and defined his conception of his audience in contrast to the mainstream conception of the Latinx community; he explained that as a Spanish-language journalist, it is essential to respect the identity and diversity of his audience. Carlos Tovias also cited the necessity to

respect the diversity of his audience, but explained that because of limited resources, he could only focus on the largest majority of his audience. So when tailoring the content and music of his show, he focuses solely on appealing to the Mexican population.

Lack of resources was a consistent answer among respondents to questions pertaining to the limitations Spanish-language news organizations face. Tovias explained that this lack of resources is directly proportional to the audience base; only 12 percent of Oregon is Latinx, which means the breadth of his station and subsequent potential to generate revenue is limited.

> The radio right now here in Portland, you need to understand that the population of Hispanic people is not so big. It's not the same as an English station with a spectrum of radio on 20 different formats. And the Hispanic population is so little that you can't open your spectrum to a different format because we don't have enough listeners or enough money or advertisers to pay. That's why we create a format that can include all people. (Tovias)

Further, like Tovias, many respondents noted the significance of speaking to the Latinx population in Oregon specifically. They explained that, considering the geographic location and racial makeup of Oregon, it is important to tailor content around the Oregon Latinx situation. While national debates surrounding issues like immigration and citizenship affect the Latinx population across the United States, the ways in which these legislative actions influence individuals is contingent upon region.

> Immigration here in Oregon has a totally different point of view from immigration on the border with Texas. Even if you are just talking in a Spanish radio news station, it is a different point of view and it affects in different ways. (del Castillo)

> Oregon does not have very many Latinos - it's just how it is. Especially down here. They face the same issues that Latinos, in let's say California face, but not to the same extent and so I think it is important to find what the Latino in Oregon is concerned about. (Claudia Montoya)

The tendency to consider and prioritize the local situation was a common response. Four respondents explained that their audience does not need the same 24/7 news coverage of federal issues that mainstream media provides because a majority of these issues do not directly affect them. Tovias and Rios both recognized that a large portion of their audience cannot legally participate in politics; therefore, profound coverage of elections and legislative action is irrelevant. Tovias explained, "They don't get much involved with what's going on because they can't vote. And a lot are scared to raise their voice because they don't have papers" (Tovias). For Sánchez and Gustavo Gutierrez Gomez, this contributed to a prioritization of more community-oriented content. They wanted to focus on the news that they conceived as directly affecting their audience, or potentially benefiting their audience.

> There are a lot of social services and it is very community-oriented, rather than just hard news and discovering the truth and why you lied… Our people, sometimes, are not really interested in discovering why you lied, the nitty gritty of certain things; they're more focused on general things here in Oregon and resources. (Sánchez)

The one exception to this tendency to focus on local news rather than national news was the discussion of President Trump. Every single one of the respondents mentioned, to varying extents, the ways in which the current administration has impacted the needs of their audience. Rios felt that the election of Trump eroded 20 years of progress in bridging the communication gap between two cultures. Tovias and Montoya both felt that the election instilled a certain fear in their Latinx audiences of

speaking out. And Sánchez, Garcia, and Flores all said that because of this fear, they have made their content more resource oriented.

Overall, respondents defined their audience within the context of the immigrant experience. That is, they prioritize content that will facilitate the transition between and consolidation of two cultures. Respondents recognized the citizenship status of their audience, incorporating content that is relevant and resourceful. They also defined a multigenerational group who, although a small portion of Oregon, is profoundly diverse and yearns for cultural connections to its Latin American roots.

Defining roles

After respondents described the needs of their audience, they were asked how they would define their role as a journalist in relation to this population. Again, there were many common themes surrounding the needs of an immigrant audience and the ways in which respondents described themselves professionally based on shared experiences. In this way, narrated roles were undoubtedly informed by personal and cultural connections.

A common response regarding professional roles was trust. Respondents described their ability to connect with their audience on a personal level because of a shared cultural experience and identity. Tovias explained, “I face the same problems and that is my message. We are not different, we are equal and they need to feel like I am that person that he can talk to at anytime” (Tovias). Similarly, Flores recognized this personal connection and explained that his role was to utilize this trust to serve as an

authoritative resource: “I know their needs, their problems. I know most of them they don’t have legal status to be here. I know the suffering they passed through and I know they feel I am like them- *I am an immigrant same like you* [emphasis added]” (Flores).

Because they share many of the same cultural values and are familiar with the challenges associated with immigration and adjusting to American society, two respondents explained that their role was to reach Latinx audiences in ways that mainstream media cannot. Sánchez explained that for newly arrived immigrants, serving as a familiar face who was knowledgeable and culturally competent on television was invaluable for his audience.

> People come to us with a problem, and we know we can help them out in a way. We cannot solve their problems, but we can transfer them to the right path… We do a lot more social service than other media outlets because we know that a population needs very simple information that you and I know is available, but they don’t know where to get it. (Sánchez)

Sánchez further defined his role as a form of emotional support: “I act as if I were a sociologist, a psychologist, because I am the connection to the people. People, usually minorities, are afraid of reaching out to other people, to people who don’t speak their language” (Sánchez).

Two respondents defined their role as advocates for the Latinx community. While they never actively fight on behalf of their Latinx audience, Gutierrez Gomez and Rios described themselves as bridging information gaps, offering resources and directing their audiences to the support systems necessary to thrive. Gutierrez Gomez said, “I think I am also a people connector to their communities... breaking barriers, breaking barriers of access to information and becoming culturally competent” (Gutierrez Gomez)

Rios cited articles in *El Centinela* that explicitly lay out legal requirements for immigration law or provide step-by-step directions for filing taxes. In this way, she serves as an advocate for the Latinx community by facilitating the transition between cultures and clarifying unfamiliar systems and processes.

Sánchez explained that this advocacy can complicate traditional notions of objective news. Spanish-language journalists prioritize the needs of their audiences and within a political scape that he felt, at times, villainizes Latinx communities and invalidates the immigrant experience, this can result in potentially subjective content:

> We have to be a little bit biased because we are helping people. We are not trying to give them our opinion, but we do try to help them. Sometimes I see that blurred line where I have to be objective, but sometimes it touches close to home. So how do you keep that objectivity? (Sánchez)

Addressing the question of journalists as advocates, del Castillo was the only respondent to offer a counterpoint, noting that it can be dangerous to make promises to audiences when operating within the economic needs of a journalistic organization.

> At the end of the day, yes we have a responsibility with our listeners and the things that affect our community, specifically the Latino community. But also, we are a business. And we have to be really careful in how we balance that sort of thing and how it affects our client, how it affects our company. (del Castillo)

Other respondents described a more passive advocacy role in the form of serving as the voice for an underrepresented community. Like all journalists, Spanish-language journalists are granted an authoritative voice and a platform to be heard. Two respondents defined their role as utilizing this platform to exemplify and represent the needs of their audience:

> As a journalist, *I need to speak the truth of our community* [emphasis added]. There is so much that is misunderstood, so because I have this position, I need to use my platform to speak our concerns, our challenges. And so I think that's my most important role. (Montoya)

> When it comes to having someone to represent that community and have full knowledge of that language and the ability to transmit it, you know, usually if you serve that community you should help your people and you should speak for them. (Gutierrez Gomez)

Similarly, at least two respondents explained that their role as journalists is to provide a platform for their audiences to speak and be heard. This was most explicitly embodied in the "Charla Informativa" radio show from Radio Movimiento. On this weekly show, Gutierrez Gomez invites citizens from the Woodburn area to voice their concerns or to simply express their experiences as laborers. The show empowers a community, specifically farmworkers, to engage in public conversation and provides a means for political participation for many that are unfamiliar or unable to participate in the democratic process in the United States.

This idea of offering a platform for her audience to be heard was essential to Rios's conception of her role as a journalist as well. Her personal mission of *El Centinela* as a whole is to serve as a vehicle for the Latinx population to be heard, and to see their interests represented. She explained that this was an important aspect of the publication because, an immigrant herself, one of the most important elements of being an American is having a voice in the news process.

> I am there for the community and they can tell in the content we produce and they can tell their voice has a channel to be heard… I want to reach the community and tell their struggles in their personal voice, *the testimonies of the people* [emphasis added]. (Rios)

In order to accurately reflect the Latinx experience, respondents explained that they incorporated content that was specifically relevant for the Latinx community. With the flood of information that inundates the news scape, at least six respondents saw their role almost as curators, presenting their audiences with applicable and clear content.

> It's so important to read the news. I know that and so do they. But there is so much and for someone who just got here, my God, that is a lot. So we want to make sure they are reading the news, but they don't have to read it all, only the stuff that is important to them. (Flores)

This is a particularly important role because, as mentioned above, a large portion of national news coverage is irrelevant and perhaps overwhelming for undocumented immigrants. Similarly to Flores, Tovias defined his role as facilitating the news consumption process by curating content and keeping his audience informed in an effective and efficient way.

Rios and Gutierrez Gomez described similar roles in presenting the content that is relevant to the Latinx community; however, they did so within the context of the specific Latinx communities they serve. Rios explained that *El Centinela*'s sister English publication focuses on debates within the Catholic church that are not necessarily priorities for her audience.

> We represent their culture first. We bring news about immigration that is very important to them. And we are the source of information for them… The pro-life conversation, for example. It is a conversation for Latinos but is not a priority. Immigration is a priority. I need to feed my children. I need to work at night. I need to send money to my country… And that is why our newspaper is very important because our news is related to *who we are and how we learn* [emphasis added]. (Rios)

Likewise, Gutierrez Gomez said that he includes information on resources for farmworkers that other publications in Woodburn do not. He noted:

Catering to a Latinx audience, two respondents also defined their roles within the context of Latin American journalism. Tovias explained that while news is important in Latin America, it is presented in a different way. Based on his journalistic experience in Mexico, he felt that rather than purveying information in a linear structure, journalists in Latin America serve to foster conversation and commentary. This was certainly a theme present in the roles described by other respondents. Del Castillo noted the conversational aspect, explaining that his show is "energetic and optimistic, but with a lot of sarcasm and irony of everyday events and our community. That is important because they do not want to hear news. They want conversation" (del Castillo). Montoya also noted the more communicative approach to news coverage that characterizes Latin American journalism.

> So much of Latino news is like that commentary, you know, that critique… We only have one issue a month so we aren't trying to report news. But we want to deliver news in a way that, you know, we can get them talking about it, get them thinking about it. (Montoya)

Because many members of the Latinx audience may be unfamiliar with the political process in the United States, this seemed to be a critical role; by offering criticism and fostering conversation, Spanish-language journalists invite their audiences to participate in political discourse in a manner that is familiar and accessible.

Similarly, in the same way that Spanish-language journalists build on journalistic cultures from Latin America, they also offer a community of shared values that embodies a transnational existence. This role is perhaps best embodied by Rios, particularly because her audience is Catholic, which she felt is one of the main communities of shared values for Latinx populations in the United States.

> In the U.S., [Catholicism] makes a community. It is the link for this community of immigrants; we all are Catholic. The same way we speak Spanish, the same way we belong to a minority, we have this color, we are Catholics. In our culture, the Catholicism is fundamental of who we are. (Rios)

Serving as the Spanish voice of the Archdiocese of Portland, Rios defined her role as a journalist as unifying the community and reminding her audience that they are not alone. She explained further, "We need a place that we feel like we belong to. We need the faith to help us see the adversities. And we need the church to *connect us to people going through the same thing* [emphasis added]" (Rios).

Other respondents, particularly those working in radio, described a similar role of fostering communities of support and shared values through the transmission of culture. One common theme was the role of offering a certain nostalgia for Latin America. Not only does this role function to establish a personal connection between audience and journalist, it also works to cultivate a community within the United States that respects and appreciates Latinx culture. Gutierrez Gomez noted, "I believe that people who listen to radio, specifically radio in Spanish, it's because of nostalgia or because of the attachment with the culture or the language" (Gutierrez Gomez). Likewise, Tovias explained that he works to communicate his shared perspective.

> I miss the ice cream and the square of the city and my grandma's cuisine - it's, I don't want to say, heritage, but it's like 'remember that?' - they are nostalgic about their former country, the former tradition and *I want to share my nostalgia with them* [emphasis added]. (Tovias)

Another way in which respondents defined their role as establishing communities of shared cultural values was through the presentation of a high level of Spanish. Rios identified this as a distinguishing factor in *El Centinela*:

> Spanish publications in this country need to show a quality in the language… You see the other ones in town do not have the quality of Spanish of mine. It's a bad written newspaper, it's a Spanglish, it's very coloquial the way the articles are put in the paper. (Rios)

Some respondents noted that the lack of an academic level of Spanish in the United States can contribute to a reluctance to engage in the news and a disconnect from Latinx culture. Gutierrez Gomez even said that those publications that rely on Google translate and non-native speakers to speak to the Latinx population are destroying Latinx culture. In this way, journalists serve almost to preserve a certain cultural standard.

This role as a cultural vanguard was also embodied in the necessity to communicate and share the elements of Latinx culture that make it unique. At least two respondents noted that Spanish-language journalists have a duty to both the Latinx community and to society as a whole to communicate the beauty and complexity of Latinx culture.

> We want to represent how beautiful this community and their culture is. We can write about negative things, but this community is very rich and it is very important to talk about their beauty too… We have a lot of value and the secular media sometimes does not show that beauty. I want to be sure that people see it locally here. (Rios)

> My favorite part about writing for [Caminos] is just being able to focus on what is special about the Latinx community. There is so much culture, so much vibrancy. And I think it is so important to share that with them. (Montoya)

Overall, respondents defined their roles as Spanish-language journalists within their conception of their audience. Speaking to an audience that is potentially unaware or unfamiliar with American socio-political systems, they serve as trustworthy advocates, bridging information gaps and directing their audience to necessary

resources. By presenting a platform for the Latinx community to be heard, their role as Spanish-language journalists is undoubtedly rooted in their intent to foster civically engaged communities. On a more cultural level, Spanish-language journalists also serve to define communities of support and shared values, preserving Latinx culture in the United States and embodying a transnational existence.

Discussion

In their research, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) map journalistic roles onto two domains: the domain of politics and the domain of everyday life. Each domain is then broken down into a series of specific roles that fit into a higher-order structure of the main functions of journalism. Because this framework is one of the most comprehensive and up-to-date methods of mapping out journalistic roles, specifically working to incorporate non-Western journalistic cultures and to adapt to an increasingly digital world, it will be utilized to analyze the results of this study.

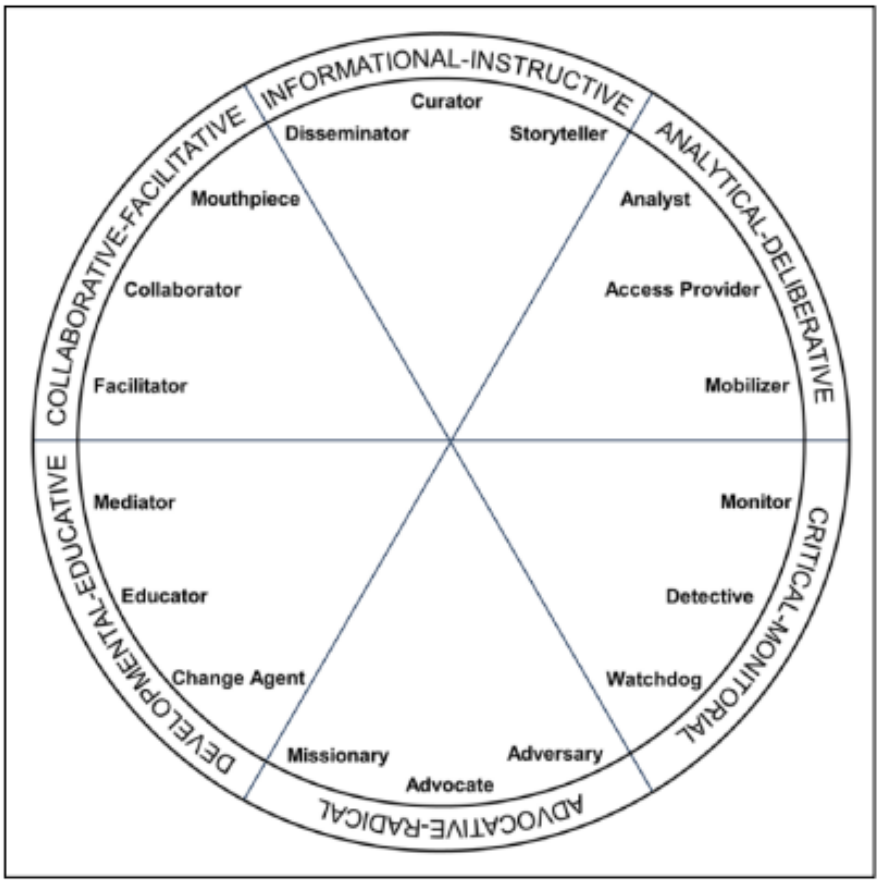

Figure 3: Journalistic roles in the domain of political life (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018)

Within the domain of political life, specific journalistic roles can be mapped onto six functions of journalism that account for various cultural value sets.

In the domain of political life, journalism addresses its audiences in their capacity as citizens, serving to provide the information necessary to participate and engage in political life. In contrast to previous literature that defined a limited set of roles in the context of Western political and socio-cultural value systems, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) distinguish 18 roles that "account for the universe of politically oriented roles of journalists in Western as well as in non-Western societies."

In the domain of everyday life, journalists provide help, advice, guidance, and information about the management of self and everyday life. This domain marks a shift in the media in general, as media organizations have expanded their scopes. From a capitalistic perspective, "Audiences are addressed less in their role as public citizens concerned with the social and political issues of the day, but rather in their role as clients and consumers whose personal fears, aspirations, attitudes, and emotional experiences become the center of attention" (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018). Within this domain, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) define three interrelated spaces of everyday needs.

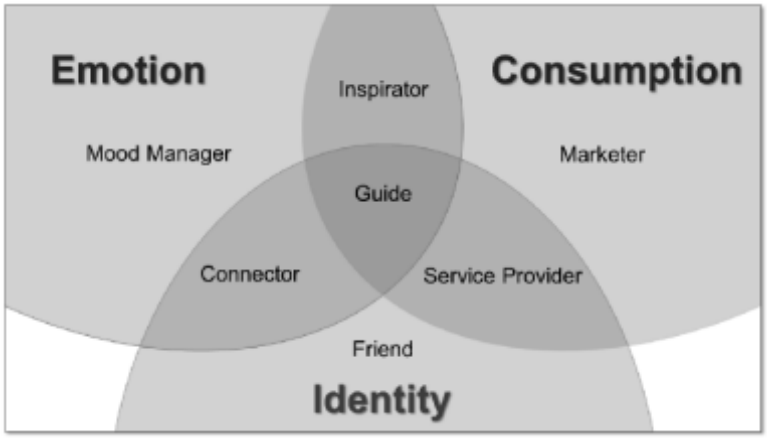

Figure 4: Journalistic roles in the domain of everyday life (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018).

Expanding upon previous literature, this model documents journalism's increasing role in the development of identity. It demarcates three interrelated functions of journalism in the domain of individualization.

Based on the results from the interviews, Spanish-language journalists in the United States embody roles in both domains.

Political domain

Every respondent said they serve, in varying capacities, to help their audience become more civically engaged and overcome barriers of information that keep their audiences from thriving in the United States. In this way, they are all situated towards a higher level of interventionism and feel a certain political responsibility to the Latinx community, though they do not necessarily desire to influence public opinion. All of the roles that respondents assume from this domain are in line with Western-concepts of democracy and empowering audiences to be civically engaged; however, the ways in which Spanish-language journalists embody these roles are undoubtedly informed by the needs and desires of the Latinx community in the United States. So while the motivations are the same, Spanish-language journalists leverage their shared experiences and cultural values to foster a more civically engaged and culturally competent Latinx community.

Advocate. The advocate is a role within the *advocative-radical* function in which the journalist serves as a spokesperson for specific groups of people and their needs, particularly serving the socially disadvantaged. While none of the respondents were directly engaging in legislative and social reform, they advocate for their audiences by facilitating the cultural transition. Many respondents provided examples of content that clarified routine tasks like paying taxes and getting healthcare. Two respondents more explicitly advocated for the needs of their audience members who are undocumented by not only providing, but encouraging their audiences to seek out legal services that would help them become permanent citizens. Respondents that prioritized

this content recognized the disparities between, for example, graduation rates and median family income, and tasked themselves with providing their audiences with the resources that could potentially mitigate this divide.

This perceived role demonstrates a higher level of interventionism than is characteristic of Western journalistic cultures (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). As Sánchez explained, the line between objectivity and subjectivity may be obscured in serving as an advocate; however, the role of empowering audiences to be more civically engaged is characteristic of Western journalistic cultures. Further, the advocate role parallels a tendency in Latin American journalism to support public policies that generate social development and well-being, a tendency that is largely rooted in the developing characteristics of many Latin American countries (Mellado et al., 2012). In this way, empowering members of a community that may have precarious citizenship status reflects multiple journalistic cultures.

An important aspect of the advocate role, according to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018), is that journalists identify with the group they represent. Because all of the respondents identify with the immigrant experience, they serve as a trustworthy and knowledgeable resource of information. Although they never explicitly promote a political agenda, the polarizing nature of immigration and citizenship status can result in personalized and subjective content. In this way, Spanish-language journalists differ from journalistic cultures that prioritize objectivity because of the personal connections they have with the experiences of their audience and their desire to establish a permanent and thriving Latinx community in the United States.

Access provider. The access provider role is a part of the *analytical-deliberative* dimension, which encompasses journalism's ability to engage audiences in political discourse and empower them as citizens. As an access provider, journalists provide audiences with a platform and forum to express their views. Respondents embodied this role in their desire to offer a platform and space for their audiences to engage in political discourse. The access provider role was most directly embodied in Gutierrez Gomez's show where he invites Latinx community members to discuss and engage in current events. Many other respondents described their roles in less direct, though similar ways. For example, Rios and Montoya utilized the phrase "voice of the people" when describing their publications. So while they are not explicitly engaging audiences in discourse, they see their role as delineating a space where this engagement is legitimized.

This is certainly an important role for Spanish-language journalists serving a population that may not be able to participate in the political process. In 2011, the Pew Hispanic Center estimated that there were 160,000 undocumented immigrants in Oregon. Therefore, respondents defined the access provider role as essential because a portion of their audience cannot participate in the political process in the same way as mainstream audiences. When discussing the needs of the undocumented population, many respondents explained that there is a tendency among this population to remain silent out of fear of deportation. A 2017 survey found that, while a large portion of Latinx community is talking about the immigration policy debate, Latinos are overall less likely to participate in protests or demonstrations over immigration since Trump

took office out of fear of deportation (Lopez et al., 2017). In this way, journalists serve to alleviate fears and provide a safe space to participate as civically engaged citizens.

Curator. While the access provider role functions to give audiences a space to participate in the political process, the curator role works to provide audiences with the information necessary to participate. Respondents embodied this role in consolidating the copious amount of information from mainstream stations and presenting the news that was the most relevant for the Latinx community. Again, they are removing barriers to entry by making the process of reading and engaging in news less overwhelming, and making sure their audiences are aware of the news that affects them directly.

That said, a common theme throughout the interviews was the tendency to prioritize community-oriented and local news, over federal and national news. Respondents explained this was largely the result of serving a population that cannot always participate in political processes in the traditional way. This parallels the Mexican journalistic conception of audience in many ways; Mexico has a strong "parochial culture", where citizens are "only remotely aware of the presence of central government" (Mellado et al., 2012). Some respondents said they refrain from presenting national news entirely unless it is related to immigration. While it is understandable that consolidating information can facilitate the process of engaging in news - so as not to overwhelm audiences - it is also possible that this may limit the Latinx community's potential to fully engage in the political process. Within the context of a journalists' power distance, this may unintentionally inhibit the Latinx audience's ability to challenge those in power on a national level.

Storyteller. This is similar to the curator role and it is situated within the same function. The storyteller also strives to provide audiences with information that will empower them to participate in politics, placing "the news of the day into larger narratives that often extend over time, taking into account the past, the present, and the (envisaged) future" (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018). Respondents employed their shared cultural values to deliver news in engaging and relevant ways so as to empower audiences to be active citizens. For example, Montoya explained that when she is clarifying systemic differences, like education, she will do so within the context of Latin American education systems. By placing content in relation to that which is familiar, she breaks down barriers to cultural competency.

Similarly, many respondents explained that they utilize conversation and commentary in order to share current events because this method of communication parallels journalism in Latin America. At least three respondents noted that they employ commentary when delivering news because that was the format in which they began their journalistic careers in Mexico. In one study that analyzed a Spanish-language news organization's use of "chisme", or gossip, in Israel, researchers found that "the intimacy that surrounds chisme carves out a distinctly Latino public voice, juxtaposed and related to the more distanced impersonality of mainstream Israeli news" (Paz, 2018). This is certainly evident in responses from Spanish-language journalists in Oregon. By presenting information in a familiar format, Spanish-language journalists are more effectively giving their audiences the information necessary to be engaged citizens. Additionally, they are defining a specific cultural space for Latinx civic participation.

Both the curator and storyteller roles function within a Western journalistic culture. While Spanish-language journalists are not explicitly challenging those in power and influencing public opinion, they are providing their audience with the tools to do so. Because Oregon's Latinx population is young and growing (The Oregon Community Foundation, 2016), providing the Latinx community with the information necessary to participate in the political process in a comprehensive and culturally relevant way can have a potentially significant and lasting impact on Latinx political mobility in Oregon.

Everyday domain

Because all of the respondents placed a heavy emphasis on a shared set of cultural values with their audiences, it is not surprising that many embodied roles within the everyday domain as well. Those journalists within organizations that prioritized entertainment and lifestyle (KRYP 93.1 El Rey, KGDD 93.5 La GranD, and Caminos Magazine) especially exemplified this domain. These respondents defined a responsibility to their audiences of preserving and elating Latinx culture. This domain echoes discourses surrounding journalists' conceptions of their audience and their utilization of mass media to construct imagined communities (Lewis, 2008).

Another function within the everyday domain is that of a marketer. As hosts and producers of music stations, del Castillo and Tovias both said they prioritized entertainment; however, their responses were almost always rooted in cultural motivations rather than economic. The one exception was del Castillo's reluctance to

serve as an advocate for his audience because he did not want to make deceptive promises and lose listeners.

Friend. "As a companion, and sometimes even therapist, the friend helps audience members navigate the difficult task of identity work and the complex world of social relationships" (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018). Sánchez repeatedly used the word "psychologist". Beyond providing resources, he offered emotional support, assuring his audiences that they are not alone. This role wasn't unique to Sánchez; however, it was especially relevant for him because he conceives of his audience almost exclusively as recently arrived immigrants. Defining his audience in this way necessitates an even greater need for emotional support.

The theme of shared identity and shared lived experiences was present throughout. Many respondents described their role as establishing a community of support and a sense of belonging. This was epitomized in Rios's role as the voice of the Catholic church. The church by itself is important for the Latinx community in the United States and as the voice of the church, Rios served to solidify a foundation of shared values.

Beyond Sánchez and Rios, there was an overall sentiment among respondents that it is their duty to legitimize Latinx culture in the United States and define a community of support in which their culture is welcomed and thriving. The function of "identity" is particularly applicable to a transnational community. In a globalized society where personal identity is no longer exclusively rooted in social origin and social background, there is a need for "orientation and for the management of self and

everyday life, and for developing a sense of identification and belonging" (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018). Serving an audience who is adapting and consolidating two or more cultures, Spanish-language journalists are invaluable in defining, solidifying, and legitimizing a Latinx American identity.

Conclusion

Hearkening back to the initial research questions, it is evident that the way Spanish-language journalists conceive of their audience informs the ways they narrate their roles.

In general, respondents conceived of their audience as first or second generation Latinx immigrants, in need of cultural orientation and resources. As immigrants that shared the experience of adapting to a new socio-political sphere, Spanish-language journalists defined themselves more as bridges between information gaps rather than purveyors of news.

Within the political domain, respondents embodied roles from the advocative-radical, analytical-deliberative, and the informational-instructive functions of journalism. Each of the identified roles were intimately related. They all tended to fall into the realm of Western notions of democracy, perhaps with the exception of the advocate role; however, they are informed by the specific experience of the Latinx community in the United States. While respondents identified closely with their communities and strove to offer support and resources, they occupied a somewhat passive role; rather than actively pushing for social and political change, they instead gave their audiences the resources to do so.

The everyday domain was an important aspect of Hanitzsch and Vos's (2018) research because it defined a function of journalism that incorporates the important cultural aspect of a journalist's role. While this has been an under-articulated role in the literature - perhaps a result of the biases of the Western journalistic field (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2018), journalism's role in addressing audiences in the context of individualization

is essential for Spanish-language journalists. Serving a transnational audience that is working to preserve Latinx culture as permanent residents in the United States, Spanish-language journalists serve an important role in validating a multicultural identity. Within this domain, journalists identified with the identity realm, providing content that solidified a community of support and belonging.

Beyond incorporating the cultural aspect of a journalists' role, this research addresses subnational journalistic cultures. Cross-national studies reveal the relationship between journalistic roles and the political systems, cultural value sets, and media environments in which they operate; however, they discuss journalistic cultures that are confined to national borders. As the shifting journalistic culture in the United States demonstrates, journalistic values are dynamic, evolving as audiences transform and as multiple cultures interact. Studying Spanish-language journalists in Oregon reveals a subnational journalistic culture, one that is informed by Latin American and Western-oriented values and that serves a transnational audience.

While this research fills a certain gap in the established literature, it is also limited in its scope. Drawing conclusions based solely on subjective narrations of professional roles is inevitably problematic, especially because research has found that cognitive roles as narrated through role reflection do not necessarily materialize in news content. Further, the sample size of the study was small and it is important to recognize the presence of other Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon that may hold different journalistic values. Similarly, respondents came from a variety of organizations, each with diverse business models and circulation sizes that make a comparative analysis difficult. For example, KUNP, which is a Sinclair station - the

largest television station operator in the United States that has faced scrutiny for the conservative slant of their content - operates under a news organization that differs significantly from the family-owned structure of Bustos Media. In order to draw a more comprehensive conclusion of the impact of circulation sizes and media ownership on journalistic roles, it is necessary to interview more Spanish-language journalists. This research also opens the door for further studies examining Spanish-language journalists in regions of the United States that have larger Latinx populations or Latinx populations that are perhaps more directly affected by national debates surrounding immigrant rights. This research also presents a discussion surrounding the journalists around the world that are serving transnational audiences.

The Latinx population in Oregon is growing faster than the national average (United States Census Bureau, 2017) and the proliferation of Spanish-language media organizations in the state reflects this trend. As the population continues to expand, Latinx communities necessarily confront two sets of cultural values, embracing their Latin American origins while also participating as engaged citizens in the United States. Because understanding these cultural values is essential within the discourse of journalistic roles, it is worth analyzing the ways in which transnational identities inform Spanish-language journalists' narrated roles. Although narrated roles only reveal a limited segment of the discourse of journalistic roles, it is nevertheless an important first step in better understanding how the Latinx community can thrive in a new set of cultural values and how the media can provide the necessary resources to do so. Spanish-language journalists tend to conform to values present in Western journalistic cultures, but they have successfully adapted their roles to more effectively serve the

Latinx American community. Indeed, in an increasingly globalized society, journalists are adapting their conceptions of self to assist transnational audiences in the navigation of identity politics; for this reason, it is important to dedicate further research to the proliferation of subnational journalistic cultures from a perspective that acknowledges and seeks to understand the journalists and audiences living between two cultures.

Research Plan

IMPORTANT: When completing this outline, please use the **Research Plan Guidance** for the content necessary to develop a comprehensive yet succinct Research Plan. Using the guidance to complete this outline will help facilitate timely IRB review.

Study Title: The role of Spanish-language news organizations in serving Latinx audiences in Oregon

Protocol Number: TBD

Principal Investigator: Sydney Padgett

A. Introduction and Background

This study aims to determine how Spanish-language news organizations are reaching Latinx audiences in Oregon and further, the role these organizations serve in fostering a newfound cultural identity in the Latinx community. Because this ethnic demographic represents the fastest growing racial group in the state, and because much of present political discourse concerns emigrants from Latin American countries, it is important to better understand how Latinx audiences get their news and what practices Spanish-language news organizations are employing to keep their audiences politically and culturally engaged.

Oregon's Latinx population is undeniably disadvantaged. Although the state has seen a 72 percent growth since 2000, graduation rates and median family income continue to decrease. Over one-quarter of Oregon's Latinos and over one-third of Oregon's Latino children live in poverty. Indeed, as the Latinx community continues to grow and forge multicultural identities, journalists serve an important role, responsible for maintaining an economically, socially, and politically informed public in order to foster healthy and permanent communities.

Indeed, as digital media broadens the field of participation and diversifies the content, the definition of journalism and journalists is changing. Through analyzing the ways in which Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon are reaching Latinx audiences, this research will contribute to the larger discussion concerning journalistic roles and boundaries.

B. Specific Aims/Study Objectives

The purpose of this study is to better understand the role Spanish-language news organizations serve for Latinx audiences. With an analysis of the content and news practices, as well as interviews with members of various Spanish-language news organizations around Oregon, I hope to gather qualitative data on the following questions:

- How do news organizations define their audiences and what content do they see as a priority?
- How do journalists at Spanish-language news organizations define their role and how is this role distinct from other journalistic organizations?

- How does the content and commentary presented in Spanish-language news contribute to Latinx political opinions and civic engagement?
- How does access to Spanish-language news contribute to a multinational identity through the construction of community in small Oregon towns?
- What are the boundaries for Spanish-language journalists in serving a politically dynamic demographic?

C. Methods, Materials and Analysis

I plan to interview 15-20 journalists at Spanish-language news organizations in Oregon. Each interviewee will participate in a one-on-one recorded interview (see attached interview protocol) that will last approximately 20 minutes. I will interview community members from three news organizations:

- Charla Informativa: a radio show that broadcasts local and national news based in Woodburn, Oregon.
- El Latino de Hoy: a weekly newspaper that is distributed across the Willamette Valley.
- Caminos: a monthly magazine produced in the Rogue Valley.

The interviews will be recorded with an audio recorder and the files will be saved in a password-protected online file. In addition to the digital audio recording, I will be taking notes by hand and identifying any changes in emotion or interest.
Data will be qualitative.

D. Research Population & Recruitment Methods

I hope to interview 15-20 people. I will begin my interviews with editors-in-chief that I have already shared the project with, and continue to recruit the remaining interviewees via snowball method. Because the organizations are relatively small, I am expecting the remaining interviewees to hold multiple roles within the news organizations. Subjects will not be compensated for their participation.

E. Informed Consent Process

Participants will read a printed form when they agree to the interview. I will explain the form and give them a chance to read it before signing and beginning the interview.

F. Provisions for Participant Privacy and Data Confidentiality

I will collect the name and age of each interviewee for ease of transcription and record-keeping, as well as minimal demographic analysis. Research records will be kept in a password protected file and all identifiers will be removed when the study is completed.

G. Potential Research Risks or Discomforts to Participants

There is a small risk of breach of confidentiality because the files and data will be stored on a computer. I will minimize this risk by keeping my records under a

password-protected file and removing all personal identifiers after the study is completed.

H. Potential Benefits of the Research

This research will serve as a case study within a growing body of work surrounding journalistic roles and boundaries. As media grows digitalized and the definition of a journalist is increasingly obscured, it is important to offer an analysis of the evolution of specific subgroups within the media. Beyond language, Spanish-language radio stations and publications offer a diverse range of content and commentary that is not available in their English-language counterparts. Indeed, these news organizations not only play a vital role in keeping Latinx populations economically, socially, and politically informed, but also in fostering permanent and civically engaged communities. As the Latinx population in Oregon continues to grow, this research will offer a journalistic view of the shifting and diverse Latinx identity in the United States.

I. Investigator Experience

This is the first major research study I will conduct. My advisors are Lori Shontz, Seth Lewis, and Helen Southworth.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

How do Spanish-language journalists define their role in relation to the Latino communities they serve?

To note: This interview is in your hands - if you are uncomfortable answering a question or feel that your answer goes beyond the parameters of the question, please feel free to withhold or elaborate.

Is it okay if I record this interview? It will help me make sure I am being accurate.

Do you have any questions before we start?

- (Personal background) Let's first talk a bit about your background in this area. How long have you lived in Oregon? And how did you get to this particular place and this job?
- (Personal roles) Let's talk a bit about what you do at this organization. What does your day-to-day work look like?
    - Tell me about a time you reported on something that was important to you.
- (Organizational goals/mission) In your view, what does this news organization do really well?
    - What could this organization be doing better?
- (Organizational context re: language) Let's talk specifically about what it's like to do news in Spanish in Oregon.
    - What should I know about how Spanish-language news media works? If you have worked at an English-language news organization, how is it different?
    - What are the benefits of producing news in Spanish?
    - What challenges do you face?
- (Defining audience) Now, let's talk about your publication's audience.
    - When you think about the person you are writing for or the person you are producing news for, what sort of person comes to mind? Why?
    - What do your readers expect from a Spanish-language publication?
    - What sort of feedback to you get from your audiences? To what extent have you adjusted what you do based on the feedback you receive?
- Different journalists have different ideas about the role journalists should play in advocating for political and social causes.
    - When you think about your role as a journalist, what are some of the values you care about most?
    - How do you feel about the role of journalists as advocates?
- To conclude, is there anything I should have asked that I didn't?
    - Is there anything else that you want to say?
    - Do you know any other Spanish-language journalists that would be willing to participate?

Interview Transcripts

Name: Gustavo Gutierrez Gomez
News Organization: Radio Movimiento
Role: Host of Charla Informativa
Interview Date: March 20, 2019

GG: (talking about his work at Charla Informativa and a radio segment that he works on from Guadalajara once a week)

SP (01:59): Well we will include that too in your body of work and that's a perfect segway to my very first question which really just I want to hear in a more encapsulated way: What do you do at the radio station both in Woodburn and for this outside source? What is your day to day look like?

GG(02:22): My main priority is Woodburn. I mean that's specifically paid for my job. The one I do in Mexico is for my own time. There are a lot of differences in the focus of them. The one I work for and for every day is it's basically learning every day about anything and everything. Because even though we do have the E Blast, and we do not have a lot of time but you might ask me about that, but lots of communication topics with the city about what we want to but in the E Blast and what it doesn't like in the E Blast. I get a feeling they might be wanting to and they want someone like me but I knew it but I don't know why. It could be state related. It could be something like that you got to feel like (??). But because 52 percent of the population are Latino, I mean, people call me all the time and meet with me. You know I just met with someone from McClaren (?) Center, which I don't even know what it is it's like a detention center for youth. A patient center here in Woodburn called McClaren (?). My hearing was on this call my client and they've been data the people calling there is like a jail but it's pretty young people from 12 to 25. Oh yeah. I don't know how to call. Anyway the point is this happens to me every day because a lot of the people around us want to reach our community, the Latino community, and they want to get some feedback. So then, as I'm telling you, like everything I'm working with I think when it comes to that E Blast and then when it comes to the radio, it's a lot more information that comes to me that I add to my E Blast so my E Blast changes from the English version. So mine has the same things that the English version has but also information that pertains to more to farmworkers and our Russian community and our population overall. So my E Blast will look a little different, so when I am taking in this information, I am meeting new people and I am also inviting them to the radio. So that way the the radio has that extra piece, you know, which is someone connecting themselves straight to the community. Does that answer the question?

SP (04:57): Yeah definitely. That's really interesting. I was just noting the content difference in the E Blast between the Spanish and the English version. All right. Well moving on to the next question then. I guess I'll ask this specifically just in the context of Charla Informativa. But in your view what do you think that the radio station does really well and then what do you think that you guys could be doing better?

GG (05:25): OK I think the radio station, and specifically this show, Charla Informativa, does really well is to create a platform for communities to talk straight to our resources. I mean does that really well. What can we do better? Well we don't have resources. So what we can do better. We can do segments, we can do a more robust program because we have not utilized personal media as much as I wish or segments as much as I wish because we always had like 30 seconds segments talking about all this stuff within the radio show. I believe 40 seconds segment. I guess we can do more production. We have the capacity to do more production, either video or audio and then you will have a lot more robust content on social media.

SP (06:32) Yeah that's definitely a common theme that I've been hearing chatting with other journalists is just a lack of resources and time to be able to do more. All right. Well next I kind of want to transition into, and you were already mentioning this a little bit, but what specifically it's like to be doing news in Spanish in Oregon. What do you think that I should know about Spanish language news media and why is it important to have a Spanish language news source?

GG (07:02): I love it. OK. What is the importance? OK that's two things. Why. Sorry. Wait can you repeat?

SP (07:10) No that's okay. I guess if you could identify some of the differences, what's distinct about Spanish language media to English?

GG (07:18) OK well I am going to tell you why I think it's important and that might get you to the answer. Why I think it's important is that there is a misunderstanding out there, and I usually don't generalize, but after working in this country for 16 years, I can say there is a misunderstanding when it comes to other languages, not just Spanish. Like a lot of the people I work only speak English and they don't get all the languages. And the interesting thing is when they ask for translations or even when they make decisions you know where they feel like google translate or any of those things, they're totally destroying, and I am saying them because it's not me, they're totally destroying cultures. Entire cultures. And the interesting piece is that's the thing. The importance of the Spanish media is that there are many countries, I don't know how many, 20 something, I read someplace 20 something countries and many more, and they speak the language, Spanish. Each of those countries have their own traditions, their own food. You know their own engineering manufacturers (?). I mean you know their own heroes I mean their own villains. These countries have their own history. Everything comes with a history. So when we're in that country where we are not that and we have people who come from all places around the world. When we don't have the opportunity to actually talk to our community or have a media to our community in the language, it doesn't matter where they came from, in the language, we're basically ignoring everything about them, just because it's not about that language. And people think that translating will do, but it's a lie because a lot of these people like myself with English as a second language, so we may not have enough vocabulary we even understand what they're trying to convey to us in English. And when we translate it with tools and not a

firsthand person, you might lose the meaning because culturally you may not even be appropriate. So that's my perception. So I think what I'm seeing with other Spanish media I think there are so few of us, we are trying to juggle different things. And I think that's not good either. There's like TV jobs who does a lot of social media and they're trying to do TV sports to keep connected to young people and they're trying to do politics. Everything has to do with police, the fire department, the government. I don't think one can do it all. It just gets really convoluted because in the end, they're losing their image. And that has been happening with with a couple large, you know there's a couple of people who cover a lot of the media in Oregon. Actually there's three. There's Telemundo which is I think is Univision plus media and TV jumped to do a social media and then we have the radios, we have like two or three radio stations. And the issue is that. I think that in my perspective, the mass media is, what they're doing on the radio what they're going for social media and TV. It's a lot.

SP (11:33) I mean it seems like they all are. They all are trying to embody this role and serve what the mainstream media is serving but trying to do so with so many more limited resources and just not yet know what they have.

GG (11:50): Yes exactly. I was talking to someone who was saying that we should have a half. We should have a center thing like where everything comes from and we should be hiring from that half. And I was like, I never thought about that but yeah-all in Spanish.

SP (12:02): Well then you can better like delegate different specialties within that hub too.

GG (12:09): Exactly that's what they were saying. Yeah we will. We will search for comment from people who are already doing things in this language. I think it's a great idea that way. I mean we all on the same page because I think that's one of the downsides. I'm always focusing on just government. So I'm not really off as I'm not doing any of the other things like I'm not doing any commentaries. Ok you call that. I don't. I don't do personal perspective, I allow others to speak. My perspective is just what's going on.

SP (13:16): Could you actually go into that a little bit more. I know that you've already explained this to me but can you explain again what exactly you cover in your show and what a typical show looks like?

GG (13:39): From the city, basically Parks and Rec programming. And then we have you know library events and then we have events from Chemeketa and they're like you make it up with other nonprofit organizations and that's when you want something with one or the Chamber of Commerce you know. So it's more about what's happening in our community for the most part. When it comes to the Mexican consulate, you know usually you won't see that on the English E Blast but You'll see it on the Spanish version. When it comes to the farm workers there are some organizations that help the farmworkers you might not see on the English one but you'll see on ours because that

pertains to our audience. So you'll see that is the main agenda. The main body off the radio show and you'll see the E Blast comes once a week. So you'll see on Tuesday comes the Spanish one on a private company. On Friday and we show you'll see mostly the Spanish one I think you'll see some of the English one that's coming up, it depends on what's the news. Usually city council meetings, you know public meetings, other county stuff. So that's how it gets together.

SP (15:00): And what about the radio station?

GG (15:04): Well the radio station is just a channel for us because the radio station is called Radio Movimiento and the radio station has their own agenda. They've got it all focused. So our program, Charla Informativa, it's part of their programming. Originally, they didn't even want me there. No they really like our show and Now they invited me to stay because they don't have any other show that connects the community to the government or government agencies or even business owners. And I do. So the other shows are a lot more social justice kind of thing and they're a lot more like, they do have a comment that is that they think they get their own opinions. They're very opinionated so they're a little bit off, sometimes they are way off because a lot of times their shows talk about what's going on national but that makes a lot deeper into what I talk about because what is happening nationally really does not affect our people right away. It will take time to hit us. But what's happening locally I think for people right away and also the shows around me that, that radio stations do not do that. You don't focus on local people usually talking about federal stuff all the time.

SP (17:01): I got it all right. Well I have about 2 more remaining questions. The first I want to focus on your audience. When you think about the person that you are writing for or that you're producing news for what sort of person comes to mind and why?

GG (17:27): Well for me the person that comes to mind is the labor worker, who is either working at the farm or working inside a restaurant or someplace like a banquet room or even in factories where these people are working with their hands. That's why I believe that people who listen to radio, specifically radio in Spanish, it's because of nostalgia or because of the attachment with the culture or the language, they will listen for radio, usually the people who are working at different shifts and they're working usually inside. They're not, you know, they're labor workers certainly in their hands. So they can use you know they use their ears to listen to the show. That's the people I'm thinking of. I think you know I'm thinking about cooks you know prep cooks. I'm thinking about labor workers some of them I'm thinking about people who are in line listening to the radio either with headphones or speakers. Those are the people. You know.

SP (18:38): Got it. Yeah that definitely makes sense. And I guess in your mind what do you think they expect from you or why are they listening your radio station?

GG (18:49): Well I never really ask anyone but the people who follow us, they have told me they like the way we disseminate the information in the language that is, how

can I put this in words, even just making full sentences. I've actually been having that whale (??) of having a conversation. Like they like they have told me that they like the way it flows because it is natural and goes farther the proper word, if that makes any sense. What happens when you get information in Spanish, a lot of times its chopped up in bits and pieces I think and it's not cohesive, it doesn't make any sense. And sometimes people put words that don't even exist in. So when it comes to our show, people have told me that they like it because it, the older people like the people over 65, they tell me they love it because they haven't seen a radio show like that in many years because they said it reminds them of people who first came from California and Texas where they were very eloquent in Spanish and then the other people have told me that they really like that because they haven't heard anything like it in this country. You know my array of my vocabulary goes fast so Spanish is very fast language and a lot of the people here destroy the language by going very slow. I have no idea why they do it. They do it because somehow that tries to help people, but it makes us sound very stupid. But you know they do it because a lot of times they don't even know it's funny. Which is fine. I'm not against them. I mean they they know enough Spanish that they have to be thinking about it. So they're not doing nothing wrong but that's the feedback I got. That is why they like it. I have people who have criticized you know people get criticized because of speed but 98 percent of people like that. So we keep going with the same.

SP (21:26): So almost like a cultural connection as why people are seeking out your radio station.

GG (21:33): I believe it is cultural. Yes.

SP (21:38): For my final question, I want to get really into the meat of it and talk about what you think that your role is. And this is definitely applicable to what you do in this city as well. But when you think about your role as professional, so as a journalist, as a community outreach director, whatever it may be, What are some of the values that you care about most?

GG (22:02) Well for me I care about fairness, equity, inclusion. Integrity. I care about, you know, naming things the way that a name like saying what is real, you know. It's up to the people to decide what they want to do with information.

SP (22:28): So more of a disseminator of information?

GG (22:33): Yeah I think I am also a people connector to their communities, you know. Because I've been living in the United States for 16 years so I don't already understand some of this stuff. So I can see the differences and You know how all of them are like but at the same time how different we are from each other. So I usually try to in every show, even though it's in Spanish, you know I will try to convey what is the difference. I've got a lot of things. Like if we talk about bilingual education, we're going to be talking about education, but it's not the same education you grew up with. So when I'm talking to people, I am telling them the difference. So those are the things that I explain

to people and I think that is, you know, breaking barriers, breaking barriers of access to information and becoming culturally competent.

SP (24:28): Yeah. Absolutely. A lot of the responses-

GG (24:33): (Identifying words that don't directly translate over)

SP (24:58): That definitely makes sense. And those really are all the questions that I have for this interview. But are there any questions that you think I should have asked or anything else that you would like to add?

GG (25:15): Well the need is huge. So I don't have another word like a think the need for any language besides English, it's big. When it comes to having someone to represent that community and have full knowledge of that language and the ability to transmit it, you know, usually if you serve that community you should help your people and you should speak for them. So I think they need the need for full knowledge of the language it is really big. And the other thing is you know as a minority, usually they will want you to certain degrees or a certain education, but when it comes to serving your community, we don't require that from them. If it makes any sense, but I don't mean them. I mean like overall when we're hiring people, it's an optional thing to have Spanish. It's an optional tool. Another thing is in French and so for me it was not an option to get a degree in English, even though I have one in Spanish so why isn't it an option for someone who was born and raised here to speak the language a large majority are speaking? Those are some of things I question, you know.

SP (26:56): Well yes that is all that I have. Thank you so much Gustavo.

Name: Antonio Sánchez
News Organization: KUNP
Role: Anchor
Interview Date: March 22, 2019

SP: Do you have any questions before we begin?

AS: Nope, not really.

SP: To begin, I'd love to talk about your background as a journalist. How did you get to this position at Univision?

AS (04:17): Well, I graduated from San Diego State University. After there, I always knew I wanted to be a journalist. Why? I don't know. It was just a passion. I liked news and I liked stories and knowing about accidents and what not. So that was one of the things when I started going to college, I decided and I knew I wanted to be in journalism. But then again, my other passion are languages. I speak Spanish and I speak

French. So my other intention was if I don't make it in the field I can be an interpreter, a translator. And that's my other profession. I have a BA in Spanish and BA in French as well as in Journalism. I always knew that journalism is a tough world so you have to be prepared to have a second degree or a second job if need be. So that's the other thing. I am studying currently law interpretation and that will give me a job if tomorrow I decide to quit the journalism world, I can always become an interpreter for courts.

SP: Are you planning on staying in broadcast for a lot longer?

AS (05:48): As long as I can, yes, because that's my passion. But like I said, as much as we want to do what we love, sometimes we need stability and we need to root ourselves somewhere and broadcast is very difficult and sometimes it doesn't allow for that. And nobody is going to follow you. If you have a significant other, it is very tough that the other person will leave everything to follow you every two or three years. So it's not a lot. I think it is a lifestyle for some of us, but if you think about it in the long run, you either have to settle for a market that you know you're going to stay or leave the business and a lot of people leave the business. It's like an athlete, a short lived career. The adrenaline is addictive, you know, you want to know what's going on and why is this happening. So yeah, that's my background. I stared in print. I graduated from San Diego State. I went back to school to a community college where they had broadcasting as an associate degree and I decided that I needed to do something more within journalism so I decided to go back to school and finish a BA in broadcast journalism from San Diego city college. And there I discovered this is my passion, my real passion. And here I am, 15 years into this career, I am still in the business and doing what I like.

SP: Well let's talk about that a little more. What does your day to day look like at KUNP?

AS: I always have to be on top of what's going on. And working in a media environment, we get news every single day, every single minute. So I have to be on top of everything. So normally, I wake up around 5 in the morning and I have to turn on the news and see what's happening out there. I have to check my emails. That's before I come in. I come in at 8, so after I come in, I already know a little bit of what's going on for that day **(8:18**) and then we get to the newsroom and we have an editorial meeting and that's where we decide what we want for that show. And of course everything can change last minute because of breaking news and what not, but we have to be ready to change whatever we have to make it fit what's the current event. So it's always this ambivalence of not knowing what's going to happen. Because we can plan something, but by the time we've hit the air it could have changed. So we start doing the skeleton and we know some of the stories that we want, but then we also have to leave a space for breaking news or any last minute event. And so have the editorial meeting and I start writing the entire show and while I am writing, I am also writing for the website, and while I write for the website, I let my producer, Ivan, start stacking the show and making the rundown. And then after that, I wait for him to approve my stories online so that I can put them on Facebook and share them on social media and I can keep our viewers informed in all platforms. So it's a never ending job. And we usually don't get

a lunch break. Theoretically, we should. But it's very difficult in a business where if you step out of your desk, something could be breaking. So the law says you're entitled to lunch and breaks. They tell us all the time, take your lunch break. But it's impossible. Especially when it comes to a small group. I mean, we have to be on top of everything, we have to keep our audience informed. And a lot of people within the Spanish language community, we rely a lot more on Facebook than Twitter, where usually the main stream will check twitter and get updates, but our population relies a lot more on Facebook so we have to be on Facebook. We usually don't really deal with Twitter. Sometimes we deal with it on a personal basis, but it's not a medium that our audience will consult for news. So Facebook is a very important outlet for us. And so, we do that, and we have to record some briefings, some news breaks and we go back to the desk and we check our rundown one last time and look at what stories are new, what stories need to be kicked out, what stories do we have to keep, and what stories we have to update. And now we record our newscast and after the newscast, we have a post editorial meeting where we discuss what went wrong, what happened, what we could have done to improve it. You know, there's always mistakes on the air. The important thing is for the viewer not to notice them. And that's a goal. So we finish our shift around 5ish. But it's always uncertain, especially when there's breaking news. Sometimes we have to work on weekends. Sometimes we have to work odd hours. So it's never ending. It's part of our responsibility of being journalists. We have to be there, especially in a community like Oregon, where of 3 million, about 10-15 percent is of Hispanic descent. It's minimal and they are segregated in certain areas (14:20). But of those Latinos, how many speak Spanish? So we are targeting that audience, usually the newcomers, the people who do not know how this society works. Our newscast is usually more of a community based content. Because it is information that you and I will take for granted. We need something and we just Google it and we get the resources. But a lot of people who just come to this country or maybe learning English or they just moved here because their sons brought them here, they don't speak the language and they don't understand the culture but they need the resources. And a lot of people don't understand social media or the internet. So they watch us as their content for information. So we are there. So that's how different it is from the mainstream to a very minority broadcast. So we do a lot more social service than other media outlets because we know that a population needs very simple information that you and I know is available, but they don't know where to get it. So let's say this community interview that we just did (referencing a segment of the broadcast), it's for people who are, we interviewed the consulate for services that they may not know. A lot of people are here, whether it be legally or illegally, and they dream of retiring in their home country. So they don't know that they can actually purchase a property from the US in Mexico. So there are a lot of social services and it is very community-oriented, rather than just hard news and discovering the truth and why you lied. It is usually not our focus, unless we were a very big organization, we would probably target those angles, but we can't because our people, sometimes, are not really interested in discovering why you lied, the nitty gritty of certain things; they're more focused on general things here in Oregon and resources. Especially now, immigration is a very big topic, it has always been a big topic, but especially since the Trump administration. There is a lot of tension between, and a lot of rumors, and so people are so frightened that they rely on us because they

believe in our truth and our information is unbiased. And that is the great difference between a mainstream broadcast and a minority broadcast.

SP: I will definitely go back to these discussion of your audience, but right now I am curious about KUNP as a whole. What do you think you all do well as a broadcast and what do you think you can improve on?

AS: Well definitely like I said, we do very well in targeting our community because they trust us and it is our responsibility to be there for them. We get very simple questions on Facebook, a lot of people communicate with us via Facebook, they send us private messages asking us questions that are very simple and we just have to send them to the right link and connect them to the right people. And they feel we are their 411. So that is our mission, that is our goal. To be direct to our people and explain everything in very simple terms. What we could do more, or better, (18:12) there are a lot of things, because our group is small. We try to do a lot with so few people. We are everywhere and sometimes things will escape us because we are so spread through everything – social media here there – that sometimes there is information that we don't pay attention to that ends up being very important because we are tight. We are dividing so many roles. Let's say I have about five roles. So I am dedicating 20 percent at each role. So it's challenging, because of the size of the newsroom in a Latino broadcast.

SP: You already touched on this a bit, regarding difference between reporting for a mainstream versus minority broadcast, but I am curious what is, in your opinion, the main difference between journalism in Spanish and journalism in English?

AS (19:38): The great difference is that usually Spanish language news stations will only have two newscasts, whereas the mainstream, they'll have five all day long. So it's very difficult to hire people who are qualified because a lot of people speak Spanish, but it is not an educated Spanish so you cannot have them on the air. So it is a challenge to find that many qualified people. And the more, as we grow as a society, we tend to lose language and the first thing that goes is the Spanish language. So you may be Latino at heart, but if you cannot speak the language, our pool is limited. So it is tough to find people who are qualified and who are journalists who are bilingual. And so that's a challenge in itself. Our main target is usually the newcomers, because the people that come here will lose their language and just focus on English language TV stations and content. So that's the difference. We have to keep with a certain segment of the population where a lot of Latinos lose the language and we have to still inform people because there are newcomers and people who still cannot speak the language for one reason or another. Languages are very difficult. You can claim, why don't you learn a certain language? You can try but it has to do a lot with your brain. The desire is there, it's just your brain is not receptive to a different language, so what do you do? You have to have information. Overall in the US, Spanish speaking is the unofficial second language. English isn't even an official language. So there is a need for that information out there.

SP: Moving on, I want to get into this discussion of journalistic roles and what you consider to be your role as a reporter. What are some of the values you care about most or feel are the most important to maintain as a journalist?

AS: As a minority journalist, I think my reward in being a journalist is I act as if I were a sociologist, a psychologist, because I am the connection to the people. People, usually minorities, are afraid of reaching out to other people, to people who don't speak their language. So they see us on television and they think we know everything, we are their 411. So the first resource they seek is us. So we have to be informed in telling people okay, I am not an expert but this is the person you need to talk to. And that usually doesn't happen in the mainstream. You know, you need a psychologist, well you go seek a psychologist, but imagine now having to find someone that speaks Spanish and if you don't know how to use the internet, they see you on the television every day and they think 'he's my friend so I'm going to reach out to him'. And we see all of these people and my reward as a minority journalist is (TIME STAMP 23:39) seeing a solution. People come to us with a problem, and we know we can help them out in a way. We cannot solve their problems, but we can transfer them to the right path. And that is our reward when people come to us again and say 'thank you. Because I came to you I discovered this' 'thanks to you, I was able to get help'. That's the reward. It's not salary. It's not the awards. It's the solution that we bring to people.

SP: That was something I definitely noticed in the cast, the discussion with the consulate and sharing those ideas and the package on mental health. In that way, it seems like you are an advocate in sharing ways to improve or grow.

AS: And sometimes, I personally can feel, even though we strive to be unbiased, (24:50) there's that thin line where We have to be a little bit biased because we are helping people. We are not trying to give them our opinion, but we do try to help them. Sometimes I see that blurred line where I have to be objective, but sometimes it touches close to home. So how do you keep that objectivity? Because sometimes people come to me with a problem and expect to me solve it but I am not a priest. I am not a magician. I just happen to read the news and research and know a lot more than you in resources, so here's my advice. Even though we cannot give advice because we can't get involved in the story. But people always call us with problems that they can solve themselves as if we are their therapists. Among Latino communities, mental illness is frowned upon. A lot more than the mainstream. Now there are so many resources. But in the Latino world, we don't express that type of illness. So it's very tough. It's like you said, we are advocates. You don't have to tell your family about your mental illness but you can call this number to chat about your issues. So we are a lot like advocates and a lot community organizations come to us because we are like the middle man.

SP: Great. To conclude, is there anything else I miss out on?

AS: No, I think you covered it all.

Name: Iván Garcia
News Organization: KUNP
Role: Executive News Producer
Interview Date: March 22, 2019

SP: Thank you for taking the time to chat with me. I have a few questions that will explore your role at KUNP and as a journalist. Do you have any questions before we start?

IG (00:23): Nope. I am looking forward to it.

SP: To begin, can you explain what you do at KUNP?

IG (00:32): Well okay here at KUNP I am the Executive News Producer. I put together all of the shows. I go through content after our daily editorial meetings and I put together the rundown. I have to decide what is, you know, the most important or relevant. But I also have to keep in mind what will fit in the show and what it is lacking, like for example, we might have too many packages on crime so we put in something else about the consulate to balance it. And I direct the show and I make sure everything goes good when we are on camera so it is a lot. I really like this. I do this since I was in Mexico and I think it is really interesting to do it in the US now. It is different too.

SP (01:04): Okay awesome. I definitely want to explore that more as we continue. Right now, I want to learn a little more about Univision in Portland. What do you think you all do well and what do you think needs improvement?

IG (01:20): What do we do well. Well I think we are good at reaching our audience. And good at representing their needs. Our audience is really unique. It is a lot different than the mainstream audience so we always keep them in mind when we put our show together. Like when we bring people on like the consulate, we do it because we want to share those resources. So many people don't know it's here and don't know they want to help but we see that and we know it so we put it in there. There are so many resources to help them, to make the process easier. But it's so hard to know where to look. And so we need to help them because they need to know where to look in order to be successful in the US. And I think in general we are good communicators. We put that stuff out there but we do it thinking about them, you know. And what else I don't know.

SP: In your opinion, what needs improvement?

IG (03:42): Oh yes. Well we have five people and we do a lot. We need more people. The need is big and I think we should do more but because there's just so much – we work so much – we can't do it all. Like our Facebook. We know that our audience sees us on Facebook and they see that platform and look for resources but Antonio does almost that whole thing and he is also looking for content and translating and it is just

too much so we can't put it all in there. So I think we can improve on that. If we had more people, then we can do more.

SP: That is definitely a common theme I heard from the journalists I spoke with – this lack of resources and a want to do more.

IG (05:01): I think it's a big thing for all broadcasts just this need for more personnel. We are in Oregon so there really is not a lot of Latinos – I think it's like 10 or 15 percent. But they need a lot more than mainstream audiences so we should have more people. I don't know. It is hard because I see KATU and I know they work just as hard so I think it is just something that everyone struggles with. And another thing. We need to find Latinos that have journalism experience but so many they don't know they don't speak this level of Spanish to be on air and to be working you know in a newsroom. So we need more people that are qualified.

SP: Well to touch on that a little further, can you talk about the differences between KATU and your news desk?

IG (05:45): Sure well let's see. They have more people – I say this. They have more people to focus on things like crimes and all of that reporting the cold hard news you know. And we have that too, but they focus on it a lot more, like what is happening in the community and what are the city councils doing. They have more shows so they do what they need to to fill it all you know. And I guess that is a big difference.

SP: So rather than focusing on crime and local happenings, what does your broadcast usually look like?

IG (06:10): Yes well our broadcast looks a lot more like, I don't know, I don't want to say a Mexican broadcast because, well that is different. It is a lot more focused on the people, on the needs of our audience. We have segments like you saw. We have things that are communicating directly to the people and yes communicating directly to the people is important. I think it is important as a Spanish show to speak directly to our audience because that is what they need and that is what they are used to. It is a cultural thing and we know that, we know what is going through their minds. So we give them the news that they need. You know I think a lot of mainstream will have these segments that are so, I don't know. I think they are very focused on what is happening and not what needs to happen. Does that make sense? We are looking at the future.

SP: You keep using this phrase, 'communicating with your audience.' I think that is super interesting. Can you go into that a little bit? What does your audience look like and what do they need from you?

IG (07:09): Well okay sure yes let's see. What does our audience look like? They are usually Latino immigrants or maybe they are the kids of immigrants. And they are working and trying to survive but they are still unsure. I think that with immigrants, and you know I know because I immigrated and my parents immigrated and everyone

around me is from Latin America. It is hard to stay connected. And to, I don't know, kind of to be a part of America and American society. So they are looking at us and they see the same color as them and they feel like they are familiar with it, with us. So a lot of it is just turning on the news and they want to feel like someone is communicating with them that knows the language, that knows their culture. And so, I'm sorry what was that last part? You had a second part of the question.

SP: It's okay. You kind of already touched on it but what do you think this audience needs from you?

IG (08:00): Oh yes. They need resources. Immigrants from wherever. And we get immigrants from all over the place but mainly Mexico. That is a challenge. It is important to say like 'I know that not everyone is from Mexico. I know you all have your own cultures.' The mainstream media clumps them all together, but it is a very diverse group and they don't see it so reflected when they are kind of, limited. It really is just a cultural thing and you just cannot forget that part and it so important. And so we need to acknowledge those different nationalities because that is where our audience comes from. So they want that cultural understanding and to know like 'hey, this guy that is on the news he speaks Spanish and I know he is aware'. And I think they just need those things explained, those differences.

SP: Is that something that you see as your role here? Clarifying those cultural differences?

IG (09:03): Well yes and I also think we talk about just confusing things for people that just came here. You come to the US and things are crazy and you have this president that says all of this and makes them feel like they no are not wanted so they are overwhelmed. So to be that guy. You know Antonio does such a good job because he has a friendly face and Andrea too. They are like two parts of an important cast that is talking to the Latinos. And it can be hard as a Latino journalist that receives all of this messages, and we receive so many messages on Facebook and on Twitter or whatever. It's hard to help everyone and to hear everyone because there are just us five.

SP: Antonio had mentioned this as well, that it can be hard to be an objective journalist when you are working to help an audience in need.

IG (09:51): Yes totally. We want to do everything we can and it is because there are such a small amount but they need help. And that is another thing like this is only some small part of Oregon but there is a greater need for resources and a more, you know, rounded show. So why do we not have more people on our desk?

SP: Right, that's tough. Well to move on to one of my final questions. When you think about this audience, how do you define your role to them? What are some of the values that are important to you as a journalist and a producer?

IG (10:19): Okay well that is interesting yes. At the end of the day, we are communicators. It is our job to communicate what is important and what our audiences need to hear. I don't like to say 'bridge' a lot because I think people use that wrong. But we really are just, you know, making things easier to understand. We are giving them those packages, that information that is helpful. And that really is all we want to do at the end of the day. We want to help and we want the Latinos that just came here to be successful and to work out all of that stuff which is challenging. Like at school for example, we see parents of students that are struggling and they say 'you know I think my son is smarter than this why is it like this' and so we can direct them to where they need to be. And especially now with Trump. These Latinos need resources but it can be scary, I think they are fearful. They don't want to ask for help, they don't want to raise their voice. And that is a big problem that I think we can help. So yes. Does that answer your question?

SP: Yes absolutely. I think it is really important to talk about Trump when talking about Latino audiences. Those are all of the questions I had. Is there anything else you would like to add?

IG (12:01): No I think you go it all. This is an important group I am really happy with what we do here.

Name: Carlos Tovias
News Organization: KRYP 93.1 El Rey
Role: Program Director
Interview Date: April 5, 2019

SP: To begin, can you explain what you do at El Rey and what your role is for the station?

CT (00:15): Here I am the program director for KYP (?) and I have been doing this for the past 19 years. I am doing all of the content for the station. I oversee the content, the production, everything. That's my main job. To do everything I can to keep the station alive.

SP: That is definitely a common theme I have heard speaking with other journalists. Everyone is forced to work with few resources and wear many hats.

CT (01:18): You see journalists and you see the media. I mean how many newspapers have closed? Now everyone is going online. Here in radio, we have a small staff doing more. The salaries are not super attractive, plus Portland is getting more expensive. It's getting difficult to find people to fill positions. But working in journalism and radio, you just know that it's not to get rich.

SP: Which is crazy because you could really argue that we need journalists now more than ever.

CT (03:19): It is really crazy and the problem is that the new generation of journalists doesn't want to do the same old investigative stuff that the older generation of journalists did. And the media, the businesses, they don't invest in long-run investigation. The companies don't want to waste time. We need to fill the space and everything needs to be fast.

SP: Okay well moving on to the organization as a whole, what does the content of your shows look like?

CT (05:23): The radio right now here in Portland, you need to understand that the population of Hispanic people is not so big. It's not the same as an English station with a spectrum of radio on 20 different formats. And the Hispanic population is so little that you can't open your spectrum to different format because we don't have enough listeners or enough money or advertiser to pay. That's why we create format that can include all people. And my format is just to entertain. I'm not educating nobody. And the way we do it is take note from twitter or the news and just talk about.

SP: I see. So more commentary based?

CT (07:08): We run a little bit of news, but it's not news. It's just happened in the world, it's needs to be huge big national to give it attention. We don't go so deep. And the news we choose on our specific show is more that affects the Hispanic population or it's gossip. We do not have the resources, and I do not think they care, talking about anything that doesn't affect them.

SP: Okay, well how do you feel about the content of your show? What are some things you think the organization does well and some things that it can improve upon?

CT (8:10): One of the things specifically for my format is just to entertain. I know to play music and that's it. I talk about what my listeners like to hear: sports, soccer, immigration, and something that happened that is like 'oh did you hear about that accident?' More like gossip things because they are so entertaining. It's not that I don't want to educate or inform. No, it's just music format and we keep that track. We don't go different routes and it's just entertainment. We don't have a department of journalism, or people that do reporting. We don't have that. We have just traffic reports and that's it. It is important but we don't have the resources to do it. And sometimes, people don't want to listen. It's different listeners that listen to my station.

SP: Okay. I do want to get at that a little more later. But right now, I was wondering if you could touch on some of the main differences between broadcasting in Spanish and English?

CT (10:17): The difference is usually the budget. It's hard for any radio station. Making TV and radio news is expensive. The way they balance the budget is different now. Now, if you are a mainstream station, you have more range to do money for marketing and hiring. And it's very difficult because the advertising has lower options and we competing against digital and everyone is competing against the same company. Now the difference between the mainstream station and the hispanic station depends on the ratings. If you have ratings, you churn out more. I don't have more ratings because my listeners are only 12 percent and still I am competing with the mainstream station on the market. It's about the money, it's not about the quality of my station. It's about the number of listeners that limit the amount I can advertise.

SP: Okay well that is a good segway into my next question. When you think about your audience and the person that is tuning in to listen to you, who do you think of and why?

CT (13:09): A few things. One - my average age for my listener is 35 - that is my peak - the average age is 35 and I see that guy is married with kids working in construction maybe in services maybe in administration - but its there its 39 years old its not to old its not too millenium it's a mix - its male 50's 60's (check) then female then the rest of the population its 1849- 1825 its my average people that listen to me then 39 plus. I need to see that the majority, of the spanish people - I need to think how my format reaches the mexican population - I don't want to not include people from Columbian, Venezuelan, from other nationalities - but because of resources, my main focus has to be the Mexican people. Then I think of the regions north, south, pacific , central, north east and second generations - people that were in california kids that were here - that they share the same culture extension from their parents - the other thing is that no more my listener is hanging out with them. It's not that in the hispanic world you can't hang out with the business owner with the latin culture movement - or with the latino millennium hipster thing or with the business owner or latino chamber of commerce - its different you need to go to people that is working in the fields in construction - you need to hangout with them in a natural and organic way - for example I play soccer with these people - people who work more in the field and I listen to them the life, the family, the issues, I need to know what's going on what matter to them it's different from another part of the population in the united states and in portland - you need to go with them to know what they are like or not like.

SP: I guess to get a little more specific - what is the information that you think they need, what are they hoping to hear?

CT: The arguments for me you know for example that if you want to be apart of that clan part of my friends is that we talk about soccer all day - if you want to be apart of that union, they know about soccer they talk about soccer, and I feel like oh let's talk about soccer. It's my convo with them, it's all my close friends talk about and then have a lot of people talk about business talk about things and when you're on air I always think about I am talking to my friends and I say aye tomorrow is the game next weekend is the champion leagues - or did you see the new soap opera or man the gasoline is getting more expensive or like lets make some specific food - you need to

have this bridge between you and them outside the studio because you need to live with them you need to hangout with them - it's a personal relationship because they want to say "hey1 my people from …. I miss the ice cream and the square of the city and my grandma's cuisine - it's, I don't want to say, heritage, but it's like 'remember that?' - they are nostalgic about their former country, the former tradition and I want to share my nostalgia with them. The new generation the kids talk about hip hop about the rapper that was killed, the new avengers film, they know what's going on - the artists - they dress like from kids around here, they wear expensive shoes expensive clothes its same but they are hispanic and you need to talk about them as well.

SP: I've heard a lot of journalist wanting to distinguish between the different generations of people within their audience how they have different interests.

CT: I never underestimate nobody because I mean I am a generation X I enjoy my generation x I hang out with millenials and I hang out with gen z and the kids are more instgram play fifia - different games, different technology different channel but it doesn't matter for me because my station needs to be open because sooner or later I need to reach that generation with my music with my content sooner or later because every single year the station is to be like never get old - stay in the same line people you want those people those kids to go through when they get older and more mature - And it's very funny because now my music the new generation of artists born in cali born in US I reach that generation in an organic way and they look more like them than their parents. For example my parents wear sombreros,my generation wears them but the new generation of music doesn't - and that kind of thing is because the kids don't wear them anymore - they put in the hats different - they like acting more like them and their generation then my parents and the older generation.

SP: Do you think that's a product of millennials or just a generation that was born in and US and raised in this culture?

CT: I see when my own kids - they still hangout with parents and huge families they are still enjoying the same things I did - they were born here but feel mexican as well, they listen to the oldies - but they still watching novelas and enjoying the same brand of beer and same parties it's just different but they like feel like I am part of my community and i love all of it still cause i grew up with that - it's just probably my kids side - they don't speak very good spanish but they enjoy the food and hanging out with grandma and they are like oh I wanna go to mexico and go back to mexico city and they feel like they are part of that and they are like okay, 'I am proud of where I am from' and they feel connected even though they weren't born there - they don't wanna lose it, they feel connected.

SP: yeah I was just curious I think that's gonna be a big part of what I end up researching. This idea of consolidating an identity between two cultures in the US as generations continue.

CT: my generation for example - the gen x kids are more snapchat more instagram but now I see my generation is more into it - the new journalism is very exciting for me because I feel more connected when the journalist don't wear a tie - I like that it's more normal - back in the day you're in front of the camera you're always wearing a tie - nobody wears a tie anymore even my job. I don't wear a tie and it's just different - because you see somebody like 'he looks like me' enjoying the life. And the news the handsome guy or blonde lady reading the teleprompter I don't like that and the news the …. New format to make news for example around the investigation with comedy is very attractive for everybody and the hispanics are doing that - the hispanic hosts are doing the same as the united states - inserting comedy into investigation and emems and the kids are enjoying it more and the parents are as well. And I think that now with the technology you can send that info to everybody and everybody is very involved on twitter and instagram and they are involved because it's there because its easier

SP: Maybe reading more quantity but not necessarily deeper.

CT: I seen this with the new generation of kids, 5, 6, that spectrum, they are reading more the small kids than I did when I was a kid. I don't know if its the education system but I think they are reading more than back in my day. Idk if its there are more books, but they are more interested in more books, Is it a trend??

SP: My last question, the meat of what I want to figure out - now that you have analyzed and explained the audience that listens to your station - what and how do you define your role to them - what are the values you think are important to have?

CT: The thing that I always analyze - when I started working in radio in mexico 20 years ago, the old generation always said you need to inform you need to educate you need to entertain you need to do this with the public you need to be that specific role, the people that listen to me they don't want to be educated they want to be entertained with music and that's it. Be informed? I guess, but it's not important to them, they have more questions, more doubts (no clue at 27:16) because I am not a teacher to educate people on the radio I don't want to educate - if you want to educate you have to go around to educate - for example hey guys I know a program for state that you can save money for your college fund - its more like sharing an experience, it's more like aye be careful with this - this is my experience and I share that with you, it's more personal. It's more about sharing your experience on the air. (citing example from Cumbia queen that died) It's like remember? It's more compassion to inform. You wanna say in a joke for example this is prostate cancer month aye man go to the doctor - you need to go around to educate - sneak in information - you are not reading the news like the bbc - I am not the bbc I am not public radio I am here to entertain and be compassionate about all that goes on.

SP: And I am sure it's a different relationship with your audience than a traditional news reporter.

CT: Because they know me more and for me I like to be around them because they know me. I am not different from them, maybe I am not from the same neighborhood or city but I am with them I know their needs their problems I know most of them they don't have legal status to be here - I know the suffering they passed through and I know them they feel I am like them- it's more like be compassionate. The radio is not a huge start - its the soul for people that are here - it's not like 'oh we are like this big flashy network where I make millions of dollars and I wear expensive suits' - its just I am an immigrant same like you.

SP: I love that and I think that's an attitude every journalist should have.

CT: It's just that I am facing the same problems - I have the same debts, I face the same problems and that is my message. We are not different we are equal and they need to feel like that person he can talk to me anytime.

SP: Awesome. Those were all of the questions I had, but is there anything else you would like to add?

CT: The thing of hispanic journalism - the hispanic people work a lot of hours, they don't have chance to see the news and the news they put it from attract that population is that remember like - (citing yellow journalism) - the people like that - or this happened! Used to be combined with super dramatic stuff - which can be more attractive from a kind of pop - and then there's the other news that affects the hispanic people like immigration, like injustice, social injustice, housing, everything that affects more of the hispanic population or like the ice agents that go up to your door. Another thing, the local station does, everything that affect more the hispanic population, the ice agents. The other thing is that the tv station sometime they don't have enough manpower to cover all the sources. And they don't have the power or resources - and sometimes people don't really care and it's not important - it doesn't affect them so they don't really care, They don't get much involved with what's going on because they can't vote. And a lot are scared to raise their voice because they don't have papers.

SP: That's super interesting. That is the first time I even thought about citizenship status and their ability to participate.

CT: They don't exist, they don't complain about it. They keep low profile.

Name: Rocío Rios
News Organization: El Centinela
Role: former Editor in Chief
Interview Date: April 5, 2019

SP: To begin, what was your role at El Centinela and what are you doing now?

RR: I am still the editor because we don't have a new editor. I am the former editor of Spanish Catholic newspaper, el Centinela, one of the publications from the Oregon Catholic Press. The sister English publication is the Catholic Sentinel and I just retired after almost 20 years doing this job.

SP: Looking at the organization as a whole, what do you do there and what does your day to day look like?

RR: I became the newspaper. I used to be a reporter in Columbia but I took the job at el Centinela and I have to do everything in the sense of going out, do the interviews, come back to the desk, write the stories, edit the stories, proof the stories, copy edit the text, lay out the newspaper. I have to learn how to write about different topics too. And which content should go in print. We have a website and I am in charge of the website too. Social media, take the photos. For the past two years, we have to launch the video, video section for the website and the social media. And I was in charge of the videos as well.

SP: We had already discussed this earlier, but what is one story that you really enjoyed covering?

RR (03:08): All the stories but I will say the top that always got my attention was immigration. Because I always thought every immigrant here has a story to tell and the faith component was very important in the sense that through the fate, the fate is the strength that helps families and children go through the challenges they face when they are undocumented. And most of the community in Oregon is undocumented. We need to be very aware of it. And the newspaper became kind of the source of information for them. Some of the legal requirements for immigration law are there. But at the same time, I want to reach the community and tell their struggles in their personal voice, the testimonies of the people. And I have many stories that we published, but one of the ones I will always remember: there was a rally in downtown after May day, and this rally was planned to acknowledge the parents, the fathers that had been deported going back to their countries and left their families behind. And unexpected deportation. This is before Trump time. And I show up to downtown to cover the story when suddenly I see in the stairs of the federal building, and I see the bed of shoes aligned in the stairs. And in front of every pair of shoes, there is a name. The shoes were beat up, dirty and wrinkled. I asked 'whose shoes are these' and they said these are the shoes of the parents that have been deported. In this shoes, you see the father that walked through the desert to come to the United States, that works in the field picking at the produce, a man that was painting. I put those shoes in the front page and I started talking about these men that you don't see, but through the shoes you see. I think it is a powerful thing.

SP: That is so powerful. It reminds me of the demonstration at the capitol after Hurricane Maria with all of the shoes, but specifically to tell an immigrant story with shoes is so interesting. Well this brings me to my next question, but what is the significance of writing for a publication that has a Catholic focus?

RR: (07:20) Well it is very important here in the US because it makes a community, the link for this community of immigrants, we all are Catholic. The same way we speak Spanish, the same way we belong to a minority, we have this color, we are Catholics. In our culture, the Catholicism is fundamental of who we are. In my country, everyone is Catholic. In the United States, it is not like that but the church is very keen to open their doors to a stranger. Bishops of the United States talk about it: we need to welcome the stranger like Jesus welcomed the stranger. And it is part of their mission to make us feel welcome, that's why we have services in Spanish and Hispanic ministers working with the Hispanic community. We need a place that we feel like we belong to. We need the faith to help us see the adversities. And we need the church to connect us to people going through the same thing.

SP: Shifting back to the organization and the paper, what are some of the things the paper does well and what are some things it can improve on?

RR (09:39): Okay we do a very good job reaching our community. I am there for the community and they can tell in the content we produce and they can tell their voice has a channel to be heard. This past week, when I said I would be leaving, one community member said 'Rocío, you have been the immigrant advocate for this community'. What I think is the challenge, and it's a big challenge, is at some point you think 'okay they understand who we are', I am talking about the Anglo community, in the community, in the church, in the leadership, but there is a moment that things switched again and we had to start at 0. Trump became the president of the United States and in his campaign, he said, all the Mexicans that cross the border are criminals and rapists. The moment he said that, I am not Mexican, but I felt 'you are talking to me too'. That was a shift in the understanding of who we are as a culture and I felt that I went back 20 years in this kind of work to plant the seed and make people understand who we are. Things switched and that's been hard. That's a challenge that the Anglo community does not understand and it's a constant fight to go through this think that we can do as much as we can, but I have been here for 20 years and it feels like I am at the beginning as an immigrant again.

SP: What do you think the paper can do in helping to progress and move forward this ideology?

RR (13:00): One of my goals in the last few years is to create a bridge. This is the Anglo community and this is the immigrant community. We have a publication in Spanish. We have a publication in English. We go to the church, we celebrate the mass for the Anglos in English, but we go with the hispanics and we celebrate in Spanish. We are divided. And I talked to the managing editor and said it's up to us to build a bridge. The same way we are working here in this newsroom, you do your thing and I do my thing, we need to start building a bridge.

SP: Right and it must be so difficult to navigate those individual voices. But that is what journalism is all about, right? Building those bridges.

RR (14:48): Yes right. I love to see the news hour and the special report they have, and I thought, if the Anglos have this news that is real news, and they put immigrants as part of their main stories, we here locally in our papers should be doing the same thing. Because I am the voice of my group, to my channel in the culture, but I need to have my voice in the other culture. And that is a challenge still. I think that will be the next step. And it is a constant fight. I am the only hispanic on my time, but I am always talking to them about what my community needs and how we can approach these stories.

SP: Well that kind of segways into my next question which is getting specifically at the Spanish language. What are some of the biggest differences that you have observed between the content and the voice between the two publications you work for?

RR (16:39): Well okay. The Catholic Sentinel is very fatih based publication. If you see the stories, all of the stories are really Catholic angle and the topic you hear for the Catholics in the United States. The pro-life conversation, for example. It is a conversation for Latinos but is not a priority. Immigration is a priority. I need to feed my children. I need to work at night. I need to send money to my country. Same sex marriage that is a very Catholic oriented topic, we see this topic in the English newspaper, but for us, our news is beyond that. And here I see a disconnect in the reality for us. And that is why our newspaper is very important because our news is related to who we are and how we learn. The way we live our faith is very different too (cites different church practices). All of those little subtle differences in how we live our faith is fundamental in how we approach the information.

SP: That is so interesting. I have never thought about differences between cultures in religious practices.

RR (20:51): And I am talking here about the differences between Anglos and Latinos, but I can talk about the differences between Latinos (cites different practices between Colombians and Mexicans). And the Spanish, you asked me about the Spanish content too. For me, I am a journalists with a degree in journalism and I have a masters in political science. I worked in a national newspaper in Columbia. I do believe that Spanish publications in this country need to show a quality in the language. And a quality in the language requires people with a degree in journalism. The thinking her is like, ‘oh you speak Spanish, maybe you can translate it for me and we can put it in the paper’. I always say no, this person is not a translator, and they do not have the background of a journalist and the language needs respect and we need to write a quality newspaper and publication in Spanish content in the way that people respect who we are. You see the other ones in town do not have the quality of Spanish of mine. It’s a bad written newspaper, it’s a Spanglish, it’s very coloquial the way the articles are put in the paper. Mine is very formal because it’s journalistic.

SP: I have definitely heard this from other journalists I have interviewed.

RR (23:00): And you my dear, you read English. You pick up the Oregonian, you trust the media because it is well written. You see something that is bad written in English you put it aside. The same thing as an editor, this is a quality publication. The same quality that you see in the print, you will see in the web, in the social media (talking about Pablo, the photographer, who is only a photographer not a writer, just because he speaks Spanish doesn't mean he can do it). This is a constant fight. At some point, it is hard to explain that if you wouldn't do it for the English paper, why would you do it for the Spanish paper. But this is internal in the newsroom.

SP: I have also heard that a lot of Spanish language publications face the challenge of not having enough resources to do everything they would like.

RR (25:32): Totally. In the Catholic Press, if you talk to my colleagues, it is the same experiences. They are one person. After 18 years of me doing everything, I finally asked for help. I ask for resources, but no we do not have the budget. Now that I am gone, the newspaper has no one. But that shows that they need someone with qualifications.

SP: I want to move on now to your conception of your audience. If you had an ideal audience member, who is picking up your paper and reading it, who is that member and why do they seek out your publication?

RR (27:48): Okay, we write for the Mexican immigrant community that are native Spanish speakers. I would say the parents of the second generation that are bilingual, they are our main audience. They are the ones picking up the paper in search of their culture. And our main audience represents half of the Catholic church in the diocese of Portland. They grew so much. We see the growth in the church in the same way you see the census report. The Sunday mass is filled with Mexicans and it is growing because they establish themselves and have children. We reach the community in the state of Oregon through the church, but especially in the diocese of Portland. Seeing that they are more than half of the population, now the country of origin 90 percent are Mexicans. Another 10 percent is from Central and South America. But it is the families particularly and mothers. I always write stories that catch their attention because I know they read the paper. Not all of the people, the Catholic Sentinel is a much older audience and that is interesting because seniors, they are dying, the new generation is very contemporary, but our population is more the families that are here. But at the same time, all of the leaders in our community that are bilingual like me, that run organizations like the Mexican consulate, PCUN, Capaz, we always want to be partners with them in the way we present the community with information that is important for them to get to the population. We work together to get them that information they need to be okay and to, hopefully, thrive.

SP: So when you think about your audience and this population, why do you think they want to read your paper? Why is it important to them?

RR (30:40): Because we represent their culture first. We bring news about immigration that is very important to them. And we are the source of information for them. Of course the faith is a very important component, but I will say that the source of information, or the community that channels their needs, the IRS for example, we always publish how they can find their taxes. It's like a voice of the community and we always put those resources together. I always put together a newspaper that I want to read.

SP: As one of my final questions, when you think about your audience and what they need from you, how do you define yourself as a journalist and your role to that audience?

RR (31:56): Okay, myself as a journalist, it has to be professional. I am a professional in journalism. But this particular community, working in a community newspaper that belongs to the diocese of Portland, and reaches the Mexican community - is the voice of the Mexican community through the diocese of Portland. But to the leaders in the community that wants to reach the population. We are the channels of information. And we want to represent our needs, but at the same way, we want to represent how beautiful this community and their culture is. We can writing about negative thing, but this community is very rich and it is very important to talk about their beauty. The stories are very catching, but the beautiful photos show he beauty of the community as well. We have a lot of value and the secular media sometimes does not show that beauty. I want to be sure that people see it locally here.

SP: That is so awesome and thank you. Is there anything else you would like to add?

RR (33:48): I think is very beautiful that you as a new generation of journalists are worrying about this. Especially when the second and third generations are in the classroom studying with you.

Name: Josue del Castillo
News Organization: KGDD 93.5 La GranD and KSND 95.1 La Pantera
Role: Host and Program Director (respectively)
Interview Date: April 5, 2019

SP: To begin, can you explain what you do at Bustos Media?

JC: I do so many things, for example, I am the on air personality for the morning show of La GranD network, which is a different radio station across Oregon and Washington. In addition of that, I am in charge of La Pantera, which is another network, owned by the same company. We got two different stations. I am the programmer and the supervisor for La GranD.

SP: What does that content of these shows look like?

JC (01:54): Well the morning show, It's energetic and optimistic, but with a lot of sarcasm and irony of everyday events and our community. That is important because they do not want to hear news. They want conversation.

SP: Oh okay that is super interesting. Moving on to the organization as a whole, what do you think that the organization does well and what do you think the radio station can improve on?

JC (02:38): Well this is a really unique organization because the owner - the leader and the owner - I can almost say this is a mom and pops business.

SP: Why is that?

JC: He really cares about people and he pays a lot of attention to employees and he has this open door policy. So I believe that it is unique in the way he manages the organization. Improvements? There are always areas of improvements and most of them, because we are one of the only organizations across America that has been growing up in a very nice rate. So right now, we are about 20 something organizations across four states in America. So we got a lot of room to improve. Actually, everyone here does different things because we are kind of short of people. But I mean everybody here is passionate about what we do, so that's not an issue.

SP: Okay, thank you and moving on to my third question. I want to talk a little more about what it's like to do news in Spanish. What should I know about Spanish language news and how is it different than mainstream media?

JC: You know what, that's a really good question and let me tell you my story, that's my personal take on this issue. I have been doing radio for 27-28 years and I started my career back in Mexico. When I started in 2006 in Houston, Texas, I had to learn again how to do radio. How come? Radio here in America in Spanish, you're not only talking to Mexicans. You're also talking to a lot of people from Central and South America and even if our main people are from Mexico, they are not only from one region of Mexico. There are people from all around. Their language and the way they see things are totally different. So first of all, you have to learn how to speak to Hispanic or Latino communities. That's the first thing and that's quite different. The second part is you have to learn what is going on around your radio station. What I am trying to say is the same issues, like let's say now what is hot is immigration, the same issue, Immigration here in Oregon has a totally different point of view from immigration on the border with Texas. Even if you are just talking in a Spanish radio news station, it is a different point of view and it affects in different ways. So you have to be smart enough to know what is the thing that is affecting your community and your listeners.

SP: That is super interesting, this need to cater to different audiences and putting it into context with where you are located. Do you think that it's important to have Spanish language news in Oregon?

JC (07:01): Yeah totally. The last census said we are about three hundred thousand people, Latinos here just in the metro area and surrounding areas of Portland. So I believe it is really important. Also because most of the listeners are first and second generations of latinos, we have this long tradition to listen to radio, to watch TV, to actually pay attention to news. News is a really big important thing in our life. I mean, put it in context, most of the people that online, on social media, is where people get their news, but for Latino communities, it is a little different.

SP: Absolutely. Well to build on that, I want to explore how you define and conceive of your audience and understand how it is unique speaking to this transnational group. If you were to think of the person you are reporting for, or the person that is listening to your show, who do you think it is and what does this audience member need from you?

JC (8:46): You know what, that is really interesting and let me tell you why. Adding to what I already said about transnational and different backgrounds, here in Portland, we have a different kind of listeners. We have got listeners, first and second generation, even third generation of Latinos, and the third generation, they have grown up listening to our kind of music and news, but they most of the time, just speak English. But they are Latinos and they know about the music and still identify with that culture and actually they go to the concerts and they enjoy the music. On top of that, we have two kind of different listeners. One is (white?) educated and the other is the one who works really hard on the fields. So you have to find a common ground and kind of a language to speak at the same time to each of the listeners.

SP: And what do you think they expect to hear from you and why do they choose to listen to your show?

JC (10:11): Personally, I believe that it's about trust. Trying to be real, trying to speak the truth of our community. And also I try to be optimistic and be energetic. There are so many things going on right now that the last thing you want to hear in radio is a down kind of sad person. You turn on the radio because you want to hear someone with a message and some kind of a, I don't know, something real to say, something that makes you say, 'Huh, okay that guy is talking to me', even if we are talking in general.

SP: That is super interesting. Well moving on to my final question and perhaps the most important. When you think about this audience and what they need from you, what do you see as your role to them and your role as a journalist?

JC (11:48): Right now, we are living in a society that wants the immediate answer. Do I explain myself? Everyone is looking for the last thing they immediately kind of think even in news and in music, in everything. And there is no fact check, they people don't check the facts. And in journalism and news, it is really important. So when I think

about myself and what the listeners want from me, some kind of a integrity, some kind of a - I don't want to say leadership because that sounds pretentious - but I mean, somebody you can trust and listen to and say, 'if this guy is saying it, I know he gets it and he is worried about our community so I will listen'.

SP: One thing that has come up speaking with other journalists is this concept of journalists serving as almost advocates, especially for a community that is often misunderstood. How do you feel about that?

JC (13:30): That is interesting because that's thinking so much of ourselves - I am an advocate or whatever. Because, I mean, how to explain it? At the end of the day, yes we have a responsibility with our listeners and the things that affect our community, specifically the Latino community. But also, we are a business. And we have to be really careful in how we balance that sort of thing and how it affects our client, how it affects our company. How much you are involved in something to the point that it turn out to be wrong, how it is going to affect our community. And I don't know if you know about this on air personality, Violin Soltelo (?)?

SP: I am not.

JC (14:30): Well Violin Soltelo (?) was really popular back in 2006-2008. And he was one of the advocators for immigration reform. And when that was shutting down in the government, he lost a lot of his listeners. Because people started feeling that he failed the community. But he did whatever he could do at the time. So we have to be really careful in thinking of ourselves as advocating for an idea for our community. Of course we got a responsibility and have to be side by side with our people.

SP: Thank you. I appreciate that perspective and I think a lot of journalists have to balance this challenge between revenue and their values as reporters.

JC (16:36): I mean you have to be realistic. If you are in an ideal world, yes let's fight for this let's fight for that blah blah blah. And it is nice to think about it. But you have to be real. This is America and this is a business at the end of the day and so many families work here and depend on this company. You have to be really balanced and really careful about it.

SP: I understand, that absolutely makes sense. To conclude, is there anything else you would like to add?

JC: No no I am so happy to talk to someone about this. I am very passionate about radio. Radio has been my life since forever. So thank you very much and anything else you need, email me or call me.

News Organization: Caminos Magazine
Role: Reporter
Interview Date: April 6, 2019

SP: Do you have any questions before we begin?

CM (05:24): No that all sounds good.

SP: I want to begin by asking what is your role at Caminos? What does your day-to-day look like?

CM (05:32): Well here at Caminos I write stories and editorials for the magazine. It is not a lot, I only work here part time but it is still a busy task. My day to day, well, I work my office job but when I am working on stories I travel a lot. This is pretty spread out area and we want to make sure we get it all. Especially for the Latinos in southern Oregon. They are usually in the fields or working labor jobs so that is a lot of traveling for that. But I really just go and I talk to people and I learn things. I am constantly learning new things about what is here. Like I just wrote about this taquería in Ashland that is owned by a couple from Guadalajara and it was so good, Sydney. So it is just things like that, you know, traveling and learning.

SP: I love that aspect of journalism too, that element of learning. And I will definitely have to get the name of that restaurant when we are done here. Moving on, can you talk about Caminos as a whole? What does the magazine do well and what can it improve on?

CM (06:23): I think Caminos is a really cool publication because Alfredo and Hector just, they care so much. We are different than other Spanish newspapers in Oregon. We publish only once a month. That gives us some time and deepness, you know, we can deeper. And it kind of let's us, it gives us that opportunity to go around and really find the things in the Rogue Valley that are interesting, you know that high school quarterback that is representing his community or Puerto Rican restaurant. We also get to ask different questions. Like we don't just do news but we ask questions and we want them to really think about it. We only have one issue a month so we aren't trying to report news. But we want to deliver news in a way that, you know, we can get them talking about it, get them thinking about it. What we can improve on? Well, there are always things that can be better. I think we can do better online. Our magazine is important and it is beautiful, but I think we can reach more people online. And I think that is important for the Latino audience too. They get their social media. They care about news but they get in different ways. So we can work on that to be better.

SP: Okay. Well to touch on that a little bit, who do you think your audience is?

CM (07:27): Our audience is the Latino community in Southern Oregon. They are workers and they have families here. A lot of them, they are active and they want to get

out and explore. But they work really hard and lot they don't have that opportunity. They are also native speakers. That is important because we publish a lot of stuff that they want to read but they can't because it is in English only. That is such a big part, Sydney. Just to write something in that language that they speak at home. I think it gives them some way to, I don't know, think about it and really engage with it.

SP: That definitely seems like an important aspect of Caminos, especially because it offers content that is a little different than other Spanish news organizations.

CM (08:19): You know that is true and let me tell you why. That is what is important about Caminos. My favorite part about writing here is just being able to focus on what is special about the Latinx community. There is so much culture, so much vibrancy. And I think it is so important to share that with them.

SP: Do you think that is something that your audience expects from you?

CM (08:51): Yes definitely. Well our audience expects a lot I think. I think they want to feel like someone is hearing them and someone who understands them is giving them information. They trust us, you know. A lot of our audience, you know, they been here for a while but they still struggle to understand some things. Like taxes and healthcare. You know those things that I think a lot of Anglos they don't even know. Alfredo was just working on this editorial and he was just talking about education and how education is different here and he did it by talking about Mexican school and what is different.

SP: As a journalist, what else do you think is your role to your community?

CM (09:49): As a journalist, I need to speak the truth of our community. There is so much that is misunderstood so because I have this position, I need to use my platform to speak our concerns, our challenges. And so I think that's my most important role. Just clarifying and I don't know.

SP: That is super interesting. When you say 'speak the truth,' what do you mean?

CM (10:12): Well I think our community, a lot of times the mainstream doesn't represent us well. And I say the mainstream but it's kind of more just in some news organizations. Like I saw this study that said the English mainstream, they are only focusing on crime when they talk about Latinos. And we talk about crime, but not just the Latinos. And immigration. It said that we do, or you know the Spanish media, it said we talk about the immigration from Latin America. You know, what are politicians in Mexico, in Venezuela, what are they saying. And how is it affecting the people. The people is a big part and they don't focus so much on the people. So when I say that, I think it is because there are a lot of things that the mainstream doesn't focus on. They don't really care about much. And I think that is our job then. To do what they aren't doing and to really just speak the truth. Do you understand me?

SP: Yes absolutely. Those are all of the questions I have, but is there anything else you would like to add or maybe something that I didn't ask about?

CM (11:30): No, I mean I really think this is cool. This is an important project because the Latinos they are an important population. They are changing but they are growing too. You know, I'm sure you see Latinos in your classes and that is cool that they get to be a part of this and that you guys are talking about all of this. But really, it is just a beautiful community and Oregon, it is really beautiful too. So yes, that is all.

SP: Okay, thank you so much Claudia.

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