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Tomás Rivera Policy Institute

No White House Without Us: The Narrative of Latino Empowerment in Univision's 2012 Election Coverage

“Barack Obama fue elegido como presidente, en gran medida eso se debe al apoyo de millones de votantes latinos. Diez porcentaje de los electores en todo el país fueron hispanos. Así ganó Barack Obama. Siete de cada diez latinos votó por el presidente, siete de cada diez. De hecho Romney obtuvo el voto latino mas bajo en décadas. Los latinos votaron a favor del presidente en todos los estados claves incluyendo Colorado, Nevada y la Florida, y al final de cuentas eso cierta la teoría de que nadie puede llegar a la casa blanca sin el voto latino. Romney no pudo llegar porque los latinos en su mayoría no votaron por él.”

“Barack Obama was elected president, in large measure due to the support of millions of Latino voters. Ten percent of voters across the country were Hispanic. This is how Barack Obama won. Seven out of every ten Latinos voted for the president, seven out of every ten. In fact, Romney received the lowest Latino vote in decades. Latinos voted in favor of the president in all key states, including Colorado, Nevada and Florida, and in the end this proves the theory that no one can reach the White House without the Latino vote. Romney could not win because the majority of Latinos did not vote for him.”

–Jorge Ramos, anchor, November 7, 2012

During the final 11 weeks of the 2012 election campaign, one narrative dominated political coverage on Noticiero Univision, the most-watched U.S. evening news broadcast in Spanish: Latino voters had the power to pick the next president and could then demand immigration reform, according to a content analysis conducted by the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI) at the University of Southern California.

Leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties now fulfill Univision's predictions when they frequently cite the decisive 2012 Hispanic vote as a reason for backing comprehensive immigration reform that includes legalization for unauthorized migrants. Looking forward, demographic projections demonstrate that Latinos will become an ever-greater share of the electorate over the next few decades. A close examination of Noticiero Univision's coverage of the most recent presidential campaign offers insights into how the mechanisms of American politics are changing. The TRPI content analysis suggests how the Spanish-language media play an important role in magnifying the political impact of the Latino vote and in focusing their influence on particular issues.

On Univision, the U.S. presidential race was projected through a Latino lens, which is hardly surprising. But Univision did not merely cater to its audience's partisan or ideological interests. Upholding age-old traditions of the American news media, Noticiero Univision very deliberately and systematically promoted civic engagement. Early in the campaign the Univision evening news educated Latinos on how to register and apprised them of impending deadlines in various states. Stories cast a spotlight on the protests and lawsuits over alleged efforts to suppress minority voting. Coverage of public opinion surveys consistently emphasized the critical role Latino voters could play in key swing states and in the election overall. The anchors, Jorge Ramos and Maria Elena Salinas, relentlessly urged Latinos to register and to turnout and then proclaimed the triumph of the Hispanic vote when the exit polls showed a record turnout and a 40-point advantage among Hispanic voters for President Obama's successful reelection campaign.

Noticiero Univision carried stories about the Latino vote on 45 days of the 77-day homestretch of the campaign. Stories about the process of voting, the potential influence of voting on the national outcome, efforts to court Latino voters, what Latino voters said about themselves, what pundits said about them and what polls numbers predicted about their attitudes and impact made up the critical mass of Univision's election coverage. Far from narcissism and self-congratulation, this campaign coverage portrayed Latinos as underdogs and outsiders who might just have a chance to nudge a cliffhanger in their favor if they exercised their duty as citizens.

The only topic that outweighed the Latino vote in the Noticiero's campaign coverage was immigration, and that issue was consistently framed in terms of Latino advocacy for a legalization program that would create a path to citizenship for all unauthorized migrants. Obama's positions consistently received more favorable treatment than those of Mitt Romney, the Republican challenger. While criticizing Obama for failing to enact comprehensive immigration reform in his first term, Univision's coverage portrayed the president's reelection as the best hope for an eventual legalization—as long as Latinos voted and then held him to account. Coverage of Romney on the immigration issue repeatedly highlighted his opposition to a legalization program and his support of tougher enforcement actions against unauthorized Latinos.

The sheer volume of coverage of immigration as a campaign issue created a disadvantage for Romney to extent that it drowned out the pocketbook and social issues that he preferred to emphasize. Nearly three of every ten stories about the campaign dealt with immigration, compared with two in ten on the economy or the federal budget and fewer than one in ten that focused on abortion or same-sex marriage.

Noticiero Univision pulled in more than 2 million Latino viewers on average during the 2012 campaign season, making it by far the largest single source of news for Hispanic adults, and that was twice the Latino viewership of the ABC, CBS and NBC evening news broadcasts combined, according to the Nielsen Company.ⁱ Over the course of 2012, the Noticiero scored a 3 percent year-over-year increase among 18- to 49-year-old viewers, while all of the other broadcast network news shows continued a long pattern of aging and declining viewership. Indeed, in prime time, Univision regularly outpaced the English-language networks in total viewership in the important 18-49 demographic regardless of language or ethnicity.ⁱⁱ In February 2013, Univision for the first time beat a major English-language network during a major sweeps month, taking fourth place in the 18-49 prime-time category over NBC.ⁱⁱⁱ

Univision's influence and intentions were evident on the evening of September 20, 2012, when Ramos and Salinas hosted a prime-time campaign special, "El Gran Encuentro con Presidente Obama." The anchors explained that they were holding individual forums with the two candidates because the Commission on Presidential Debates had not seen fit to invite a Latino or an African American journalist to moderate any of the four debate panels. "So, we decided to have our own conversation," said Ramos. The two forums on successive evenings gave Ramos and Salinas an opportunity to question the candidates in depth on immigration and other issues of concern to Latinos. Some 4.3 million viewers watched some or all of the Obama forum, winning the time slot for Univision, and Romney drew an only slightly smaller audience, according to Nielsen ratings.^{iv} In addition to the two forums, Univision broadcasts a Sunday morning news show, "El Punto," that was largely given over to politics during the campaign season and that produced interviews and investigative segments which were previewed during the evening broadcasts.

This content analysis was conducted as part of a broad research program at the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute on issues related to demographic diversity. The institute is affiliated with USC's Sol Price School of Public Policy. The study of Univision's campaign coverage was conducted by a team of six USC students under the direction of Roberto Suro, a professor of journalism and public policy and a director of TRPI. Zoe Stopak-Behr, a student at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, served as primary author of this report.

In order to characterize Univision's campaign coverage, the TRPI researchers analyzed the nightly Noticiero broadcasts for the 11 weeks from August 26, a day before the start of the Republican National Convention through the election on November 7 and beyond, to November 10.

Every broadcast was viewed separately by at least three researchers who each applied a coding scheme designed to assess the volume and prominence of coverage devoted to various topics related to the presidential campaign. Several different measures developed out of the analysis. For example, stories were coded according to whether they appeared among the four *titulares* that led off the typical broadcast. The titulares, or headlines, telegraphed the Univision news team's news judgment on the important stories

of the day. Meanwhile, Univision signaled whether a story was considered relevant to the election by including it in the self-contained package of campaign stories that run under its own logo, “Destino 2012.” The content analysis coded a total of 191 stories that ran as part of the election package according to whether they focused on one of the five major themes of the campaign coverage: the Latino vote, the horse race or the campaign contest in general, abortion and gay marriage, the economy and the federal budget, and immigration.

Major findings include:

- The campaign drew consistent and prominent attention throughout the 11 weeks covered by the analysis, although the volume clearly peaked with events such as conventions and debates. Election stories were among the titulares for 48 of the 77 broadcasts analyzed. A total of 191 separate campaign-related stories appeared over the course of the 11-week period.
- Roughly one-quarter of the election-related news stories analyzed, 45 of the 191, focused on the Latino vote.
- Obama’s singular initiative on immigration policy—a June 2012 executive order that held up deportations for unauthorized migrant youth, so-called Dreamers—drew extensive coverage as a campaign issue. Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA as the program was known, was the subject of 22 election-related stories in addition to appearing in the titulares eight times. As a point of reference, stories about the U.S. economy also appeared eight times in the titulares during the period under study.
- Aside from DACA, other topics related to immigration were the focus of 33 news stories in the Noticiero’s campaign coverage. Immigration is a natural topic for a news broadcast viewed primarily by the foreign born and their offspring, and Univision routinely provides extensive coverage of all aspects of the phenomena. This content analysis shows that this preoccupation with immigration carried over into the 2012 coverage of campaigns, candidates and issues.
- Combining the DACA stories and the coverage of other immigration issues shows that nearly one out of every three stories in the election coverage, 55 of 191, was related to immigration. Moreover, immigration stories appeared in the titulares that start off the program a total of 27 times, more than the 16 horse-race stories about who was leading in the campaign.

Championing the Hispanic vote

By long tradition, the news media in the United States are much more than a passive observer of the democratic process. In various eras, including our own, the expression of partisan bias is accepted practice for some segments of the media. Meanwhile, nonpartisan news organizations play aggressive roles by investigating candidates’ biographies, moderating debates, conducting public opinion polls, assessing policy proposals and much more.

The Noticiero Univision expanded a dimension of the journalistic function in the way it acted as an unabashed champion for Hispanic voters. The broadcast’s audience in

effect became a political constituency defined not by geography, ideology or partisanship. Language, and the bonds that emerge from it across generations, was the uniting factor. Ethnic media are often attached to a specific national origin group and its home-country politics, the Irish or the Cubans, for example. But Univision's advocacy was on behalf of Latinos exercising their franchise and influence in the United States, and its most basic proposition was simply increasing the number of Latino voters. Hence, the Noticiero upheld the civic traditions of the U.S. news media as an institution that neutrally facilitates the electoral process even as it clearly spoke on behalf of one segment of the electorate—its viewers.

At the simplest level, fulfilling this role produced an emphasis on the Latino angle on any campaign story. Latino surrogates spoke for the candidates almost nightly, and man-on-the-street reaction to campaign developments came from a Latino point of view. On the evening news the night that Romney was due to accept the Republican nomination, the headlines advertised that he would give the most important speech of his life, but the anchor then pointedly asked, "Let's see what Hispanic voters want to hear from him."

Univision, however, went much further than taking its audience's point of view on the political events of 2012. The audience itself became the story. Aside from the candidates, the protagonists, Latino voters were the protagonists of the Noticiero's campaign coverage.

Encouraging voters to go to the polls is a long-standing practice in American journalism. Univision undertook extraordinary efforts in 2012 to promote voting by Latinos. This was accomplished in part with thorough news coverage of the topic. For example, the broadcast devoted attention to reports by research organizations such as the Pew Hispanic Center on the number of eligible Latino voters and how many had yet to

"Es indudable que el voto latino es el mas perseguido durante la campaña por la presidencia, pero quienes no pueden convencer a los votantes de las minorías están utilizando otras artimañas para impedirles ir a las urnas o confundirlos a la hora de votar."

"There is no doubt that the Latino vote is the most sought after during the presidential campaign, but those who cannot convince minority voter are utilizing other tricks to prevent them from going to the polls or confuse them when voting."

**Maria Elena Salinas, anchor,
October 24, 2012**

register. National Voter Registration Day (September 25), not an occasion that typically receives much attention from the news media, prompted a story on the Noticiero that featured young Latinos going door-to-door to register members of their communities, "touching both their doors and their spirits."

Beyond news coverage, Univision took an active role in promoting political engagement particularly by young Latinos who were likely to be first-time voters. The network ran a voter education and registration website Liberatuvoz.com (Liberate your voice), and it provided coverage, analysis and voter registration assistance via media most appealing to young people, including public service

announcements featuring pop stars, a Twitter feed and an active Facebook presence. These efforts across multiple media platforms were highly promoted on the news broadcast and closely integrated into the coverage.

Even as it encouraged Latinos to participate in the election, Univision exercised the traditional watchdog functions of journalism by putting a spotlight on alleged efforts to suppress Latino voting. The 2012 campaign produced numerous controversies over voting rules and procedures such as measures to require voters to present government-issued photo identification at polling places. In the English-language press, these measures were often portrayed as Republican efforts to depress turnout among key Democratic constituencies. On Univision they were portrayed not only in partisan terms but also as explicitly hostile to Latinos.

Frequent reporting on alleged efforts to suppress voting by Latinos and other minorities generated a narrative of grievance and embattlement. During the final weeks of the campaign, the Noticiero repeatedly cautioned viewers that they might encounter schemes designed to rob them of their right to vote, including letters with false or incorrect information about the times and places for voting or efforts to demand extraneous forms of identification. The day after the final presidential debate, October 23, the Noticiero gave prominent coverage to a research report by the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) predicting that more than 219,000 Latinos might be deterred from voting due to recently enacted changes in balloting procedure. As the election neared, Univision reporters regularly interviewed voting rights experts, confronted potential perpetrators and offered advice as to how to detect and remedy potentially threatening situations.

The most pervasive bias in Univision's campaign coverage, however, rested with its vigorous and urgent portrayal of Latinos as the decisive segment of the electorate—if only its audience would go to the polls. For example, on October 19, 2012, an otherwise routine story about a tight race in the public opinion polls was featured after the screen-filling headline “The Hispanic Vote Will Decide.” The true significance of the 2012 election rested in the demographic growth that had created a critical mass of Latino voters in the United States for the first time. This framing was evident in the graphics used to punctuate the campaign coverage. Every segment of election stories started with a logo of “Destino 2012” (Destiny 2012) and an even more telling logo punctuated stories about the Hispanic role. Two lines of type, one over the other, “Vote Latino/ Voto Decisivo.”



From late August to mid-November, Ramos and Salinas created a narrative of empowerment. The conventions were covered as if the primary intent of the gatherings was to woo Latino voters. After Labor Day, the Noticiero's reporters walked their viewers through the voter registration process, assuring them that, “if you vote, we will be powerful.” When the debates largely

“Tanto Obama como Mitt Romney cortejan agresivamente el voto hispano que pudiera ser decisivo en esta contienda presidencial.”

“Both Obama and Mitt Romney are aggressively courting the Hispanic vote, which could be decisive in this presidential race.”

Jorge Ramos , anchor, 9 October

ignored both Latino voters and the immigration issue, Univision held its own forums with each of the candidates. The horse-race coverage in the final weeks relentlessly emphasized the role Latinos would play both in the popular vote total and in carrying swing states.

Across the 77 days of the campaign's homestretch, stories about the Latino vote were featured on 45 of the Noticiero's broadcasts. These stories accounted for a quarter of the total number of stories devoted to politics across those 11 weeks.

On November 7, when Jorge Ramos kicked off the day-after broadcast, he summed up the narrative this way: "Barack Obama was elected president in large measure due to the support of millions of Latino voters."

In acting as a champion for those voters, Univision demanded accountability on one issue above all: immigration.

Demanding Comprehensive Immigration Reform

The only topic that drew more attention than Latino empowerment in the Noticiero's election coverage was immigration. Nearly three of every ten stories—29 percent—appearing in the "Destino 2012" packages were related to immigration policy. That was only a slightly larger share than the coverage of the Latino vote—24 percent of all election stories. The next largest topic of issue coverage was the economy and the federal budget, which accounted for 20 percent of the election coverage. A far smaller share, only 5 percent, dealt with the social issues of abortion and same-sex marriage. Immigration stood out not only for the volume of coverage but also because Univision portrayed immigration as the key test of the candidates' sensitivity and reliability on Latino issues. On the Noticiero, this election was about the Latino vote and that vote was going to be decided on immigration.



During the 2008 election campaign, Obama told Ramos during an interview that, if elected, he would press for comprehensive immigration reform during his first year in office. The Great Recession, the priority given to health care policy by the new administration and Republican resistance derailed that intent. Nonetheless, throughout the first term, Ramos repeatedly referred to "la promesa de Obama" in what became shorthand for the new president's failure to deliver on an issue of top concern to Latino voters. And, during the 2012 campaign, Univision held the president to account on behalf of its heavily immigrant audience. Ramos pointedly reminded Obama about his pledge, practically nagging him during Univision's presidential forum September

"Romney prometió lograr una versión de la reforma migratoria, aunque reiteró que no daría amnistía ni licencias a los indocumentados. Obama por su parte prometió impulsar una nueva reforma que incluya un camino para la legalización."

"Romney promised to pass a version of immigration reform, although he reiterated that he would not give amnesty or driver's licenses to the undocumented. Obama, for his part, promised to push a new reform that would include a path to legalization."

Maria Elena Salinas, anchor,
October 17, 2012, on the second debate

20, “you promised, and a promise is a promise.” Obama acknowledged the anchor’s exceptional role as an advocate on this issue when he confessed his own shortcomings to Ramos in unusually personal terms: “Well, Jorge, as you remind me, my biggest failure so far is we haven’t gotten comprehensive immigration reform done.”

Yet even as Univision openly critiqued Obama’s first-term record, the president’s reelection campaign clearly benefited from other aspects of Univision’s coverage of immigration as an election issue. The Noticiero frequently reminded its viewers that during the Republican primaries Romney had favored tough immigration restrictions, calling at one point for unauthorized immigrants to “self-deport” themselves and promising to oppose the kind of broad legalization program that Obama was continuing to promise. Univision journalists depicted Romney’s positions as explicitly hostile to Latinos.

Obama also benefited when he used the power of incumbency to execute an astute pivot on immigration. It was a maneuver that made use of a new player in immigration politics—the so-called Dreamers—and that turned a potential disaster into a triumph. The turnaround would not have been possible without an assist from Univision.

“Mitt Romney ... tendrá que presentarse a los votantes y cambiar la opinión de millones de hispanos que no lo ven como un amigo. Su llamado a la auto deportación, su oposición al acto de sueño, y su dura política contra los indocumentados ha alienado a muchos hispanos.”

“Mitt Romney ... will need to present himself to the voters and change the minds of millions of Hispanics who do not see him as a friend. His call for self-deportation, his opposition to the DREAM Act, and his harsh policy towards the undocumented have alienated many Hispanic people.”

**Luis Mejid, correspondent,
August 30, 2012, during coverage of
the Republican National Convention.**

“Dreamers” are unauthorized migrants of college age who were brought to this country as children. The nickname invokes the notion that they have embraced the American dream, are striving but find themselves blocked through no fault of their own. Multiple versions of a DREAM Act (named for Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act) have been knocking around Congress since 2001 with provisions that would have created a special pathway to legal status for these young people if they met certain conditions such as enrolling in college or enlisting in the military. The legislation passed the Senate in 2006 and the House in 2010 but could not get through both houses during the same session.

Along the way, however, the Dreamers themselves became more vocal and increasingly better organized. These high achievers and native English speakers who

were innocent of any wrongdoing themselves have made for a compelling new media narrative on immigration. For Univision, the Dreamers provided a feel-good story that rendered a positive portrayal not only of unauthorized immigrants but also the Latino population in general. The Dreamers provide a powerful antidote to stories about gang bangers and dropouts. Univision vigorously embraced their story and their cause in the years leading up to the 2012 election campaign.

During his first term, Obama not only failed to push effectively for immigration reform, but in the eyes of many immigration advocates he further betrayed his promise by undertaking the toughest immigration enforcement campaign in recent history. During the four-year period, the number of unauthorized migrants removed from the country, often

after a period of detention, averaged more than 380,000 a year, up more than a third from the second term of the George W. Bush presidency, according to the Department of Homeland Security. Moreover, those numbers were accomplished in part with an unprecedented but highly controversial initiative to enlist local police in the enforcement of immigration laws through the Secure Communities program.

As the 2012 general election campaign got underway, Obama's immigration record threatened to negate any advantage he might enjoy with Latino voters because of Romney's hard line in the Republican primaries. In early June, Dreamer activists announced plans for protests against the deportations, and they started with a sit-in and hunger strike that shut down the Obama reelection campaign's Denver offices.



On June 15, the Obama announced a stopgap measure that provided a reprieve from deportation for at least some of the unauthorized youth who would have qualified for the DREAM Act. The executive order, known as Deferred Action for Childhood, granted a two-year legal stay for Dreamers who came forward, registered paid fees and qualified under various conditions. It was a far cry from the full-scale legalization expected under comprehensive reform, but nonetheless Latino leaders and immigration advocates—including the Univision news team—embraced DACA as the first positive movement on immigration in many years.

Despite its limited impact on the immigrant population (fewer than 30,000 cases had been reviewed and approved by the time of the election), DACA had a profound impact on Univision's campaign narrative. It set up a stark and immediate contrast between the two candidates, and it generated an ongoing story that kept that contrast in the news.

While Obama offered DACA as a down payment on his promise of a full DREAM Act and eventual comprehensive reform, Romney threatened to reverse DACA if elected and he reiterated his opposition to both the DREAM Act and a larger legalization. Meanwhile, the registration process for DACA got underway August 12 and received considerable attention on Univision as immigrants' rights activists around the country conducted information sessions and workshops for potential beneficiaries. The narrative of Obama immigration policy switched from families separated by detention and deportation to young people lining up to register for their new legal status. Once the campaign began in earnest with the conventions, DACA became a prominent part of the political coverage. Over the 11-week homestretch, the Noticiero broadcast 22 stories about DACA as part of the campaign coverage packages under the "Destino 2012" logo. In addition, DACA stories made the titulares at the start of the broadcast on eight evenings, roughly one out of every 10 broadcasts, during the final phase of the campaign. To the extent that Univision portrayed DACA as a Latino-friendly initiative, even simple news coverage of DACA-related



developments could be considered beneficial to the president's campaign. Moreover, Univision offered extensive coverage to polls that showed Latino support for Obama because of DACA.

When Ramos pressed questions about the political motivations behind DACA during the Univision presidential forum, Obama retorted, "I was winning the Latino vote before we took that action." Nonetheless, Obama made DACA and the Dreamers an integral part of his campaign to carry the Latino vote. The Democratic National Convention featured a speech from a Dreamer, the first undocumented immigrant ever to address the DNC. On October 7, Obama established a monument to labor leader Cesar Chavez, the first national monument ever dedicated to a Latino civil rights leader. Two days later Ramos reported that Obama had released an advertisement in which he spoke completely in Spanish voicing his admiration for the courage of the Dreamers.

Over the course of the 11 weeks between the start of the conventions and several days after the election, DACA alone accounted for 40 percent of the coverage allotted to immigration policy in the Noticiero's campaign coverage. An issue that had started out as a potential liability with Latino voters for Obama had turned into an important asset. And, on Univision, immigration was not just a bread-and-butter issue for Latinos; it was tied directly to the larger narrative of Latino empowerment.

Latino voters elected Obama

To the hosts of Noticiero Univision, the election results unequivocally supported their theory that no candidate could make it to the White House without winning the Latino vote. With 10 percent of the electorate identifying as Latino, and seven out of 10 Latinos voting for Obama, his reelection would not have been possible without the support of Latino voters. Reporting from Miami on November 7, Jorge Ramos' satisfaction with this outcome was palpable.

"Refiriéndose a los latinos el presidente Barack Obama le dijo a la publicación Des Moines Register que él cree que los republicanos están rechazando al grupo del mayor crecimiento demográfico, a los hispanos, y que eso le ayudará al presidente a ganar la reelección. El presidente agrego en la entrevista que hará una reforma migratoria el próximo año si gana un segundo periodo. Obama dijo que tendrá el apoyo de los republicanos ya que ellos también necesitan el voto de los latinos."

"Referring to Latinos, President Barack Obama told the publication the Des Moines Register that he believes the Republicans are rejecting the group with the greatest demographic growth, Hispanics, and that this will help the president to win reelection. The president added in the interview that he will do immigration reform next year if he wins a second term. Obama said he will have the support of the Republicans now that they too need the Latino vote."

Jorge Ramos, anchor, October 24, 2012



According to the Noticiero, the Republicans had clearly paid heavily for their anti-immigrant rhetoric. The fact that Romney received the smallest percentage of the Latino vote of any candidate in decades provided clear evidence of the people's will. Latino political demands had been voiced so clearly that by November 8, even high-ranking Republicans began to announce their support for immigration reform.

Reform of the national immigration system emerged as the clear next step after the election in just the manner imagined and promoted by Noticiero Univision. Having accepted DACA as a down payment on real change, Latinos had delivered on their promise to carry Obama to the White House—now it was time for the White House to uphold its side of the bargain and deliver comprehensive immigration reform. Months after the election, the strength of its delivery on this promise still remains to be seen; for their part, Ramos and Salinas' activism remains steadfast.

“Muchos inmigrantes se preguntan si con la reelección de Barack Obama hay mejores posibilidades para una reforma migratoria con legalización, gentes y jóvenes hispanos creen que es necesario pasarle la cuenta al presidente Barack Obama para que de verdad cumpla su promesa. Y a los republicanos les fue tan mal con el voto latino que muchos están recomendando a su partido apoyar esta reforma.”

“Many immigrants are wondering if with the reelection of Barack Obama there exist better possibilities for immigration reform with legalization, and Hispanic people including youth believe it is necessary to pass the bill to President Barack Obama so that he will truly follow through on his promise. And the Republicans did so poorly with the Latino vote that many are recommending that their party support this reform.”

Jorge Ramos, November 8, 2012

Methodology:

The *Noticiero Univision* is the flagship, half-hour, weekday, evening news broadcast on the Univision network, and *Noticiero Fin de Semana* is the weekend counterpart. This content analysis was designed to measure the prominence given to several major topics within the coverage of the 2012 presidential campaign on the *Noticiero*. The period of analysis was from August 26, the Sunday before the Republican National Convention, until November 10, the Saturday after the election.

The coding process focused on two aspects of the broadcast:

Every broadcast begins with the announcement of four *titulares*, or headlines, that briefly summarize the top stories of the day. The subject of those titulares were noted for each broadcast analyzed.

Political coverage within each broadcast was packaged into a segment that began with the presentation of a full-screen “*Destino 2012*” logo. Those segments were as short as 35 seconds and as long as 21 minutes (Election Day) and averaged 4 minutes and 33 seconds in length over the course of the 11-week period.

The content of both the titulares and the election coverage packages was coded for the presence of the following topics as the major focus of a news story using a simple zero-sum scheme.

- DACA and the Dreamers
- All other immigration policy issues
- The U.S. economy or the federal budget
- Abortion or marriage equality
- The Latino vote
- Public opinion polls or other horse-race stories

Every broadcast was analyzed by at least three researchers using the same coding formula, and disputed coding was then reanalyzed.

The broadcasts were primarily accessed via the Internet Archive at archive.org. The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute acknowledges the Archive and extends its thanks for providing an invaluable service.

ⁱ <http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/2012/12/03/univision-news-wraps-up-strong-november/160108/>

ⁱⁱ <http://corporate.univision.com/2012/content-types/articles/ending-another-banner-year-of-ratings-success-univision-in-2012/#.UX3JPoI-Lx4>

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.mediamoves.com/2013/02/univision-beats-nbc-in-february-sweeps.html>

^{iv} http://www.tvnewscheck.com/article/62354/univision-tops-demo-rating-with-obama?utm_source=Listrak&utm_medium=Email&utm_term=U%20nivision+Tops+Demo+Rating+With+Obama&utm_campaign=Jessell%3a+Bewkes%2c+Moonves%3a+Redo+Carriage+Fees

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The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute is an interdisciplinary community of scholars, students, practitioners and journalists from across the University of Southern California. Housed at the Price School of Public Policy, TRPI addresses the challenges and opportunities of demographic diversity in the 21st century global city.