

## FocusON Marketing

### Geoscape Unites With Hispanicize 2016

Geoscape, the leading business intelligence company focused on new mainstream consumers and businesses is uniting with Hispanicize 2016 to spearhead the creation of all marketing content encompassing research, case studies, workshops and panels at the 7th annual Latino trends event. An industry focused, weeklong track of Geoscape-curated marketing sessions will be held within Hispanicize 2016, scheduled for April 4-8 in Miami's InterContinental Hotel.

For the past 11 years, Geoscape has put on one of the most successful annual multicultural marketing events in the country, the New Mainstream Business Summit, bringing together leading name brands, agencies, technologists and industry leaders to offer a comprehensive examination of the opportunities created by America's New Mainstream which represents trillions of dollars in spending per year. Hispanicize has created a record-breaking event emphasizing influencers from the fields of marketing, social media, journalism, music and film. Joining forces brings together the range of Hispanic touch points, unequalled by any other conference.



#### Impact of the Alliance

Hispanicize event organizers say the collaboration shows the power of uniting two leading organizations encompassing marketing insights, research, digital marketing, social media and public relations.

"This incredible alliance will furnish marketing professionals with the richest Hispanic and multicultural marketing content including successful strategies, studies and experience to reach America's most profitable consumers" said Manny Ruiz, founder and creative director of the Hispanicize event.

As part of the alliance, Geoscape and Hispanicize will co-curate and produce a Hispanic Market Showcase within the event that will consist of case studies, research, live focus groups, trends, workshops and State of the Industry sessions. Almost every single session of the Hispanic Market Showcase will feature presenters from brands.

Past Geoscape attendees will notice that the standard Hispanicize registration fee of \$650 will give them access to the FULL experience of Hispanicize, including sessions from other industries, concerts, films and other special events that take place throughout Hispanicize Week.

## HIGHLIGHTS

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### The Man Who Wouldn't Sit Down

Jorge Ramos is not just reporting news, he's making it as a self-proclaimed "...reporter, an immigrant, a U.S. citizen..."

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### Modern Immigration Wave Driving Population Growth Through 2065

Immigration means population growth and ethnic shift in U.S.

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### Bernie Sanders: Undocumented Immigrants Should Benefit from Obamacare

The presidential candidate tells Latino Lawmakers that some healthcare exceptions should be made.

# [hispanic] market works

## It's Time for Adland to Take the Blinders Off

By Gustavo Razzetti, Managing Director, Lapiz

The idea of going blind is one of the things I've always feared the most. That is, until I briefly experienced it.

I was only blindfolded for 20 minutes, but it was enough to give me a new perspective. As part of an experiential workshop at Stanford University, I had to walk with my eyes closed and be led by someone else who was not allowed to talk or have physical contact with me. It was scary, to say the least.

As soon as I overcame my fear, I noticed new smells and sounds and experienced time passing. I discovered new things because I was out of my comfort zone. I embraced a new perspective.

In the marketing industry most of us are blind, but we don't realize it. We believe we are good at understanding people, but most of the time we assume everyone shares our vision of the world.

That's why I make a conscious habit to constantly push my team and myself out of the comfort zone. Instead of drinking our own Kool-Aid and seeing things as we always have, we should take measures to see things from different perspectives. It's not

easy. But the more you push people out of old habits, the more resistance you get.

### Turning outsiders into insiders

Fresh eyes are, like common sense, not so common. Involving someone who wasn't involved in a particular project or, better yet, someone with no experience in the matter can always see things that the rest of us normally are missing. Harvard Business School professor Karin Lakhanin discovered this in his research on problem solving — that the farther a problem was from the expert, the more likely that expert was to solve it.

As an industry, if we are not hitting more resistance, it is because we are not pushing hard. We tend to idealize startup culture, but are still risk averse. Nine out of 10 startups fail, according to Fortune, which is clear evidence of how hard startups are open to experimentation. Thanks to our friends at Impact Engine, we meet with different startups on a weekly basis to provide them with advice on business and marketing.

Seeing how a company is willing to go through their business model to start again, or how brands are built without conventional marketing is eye-opening.

Experimenting with new ways of working can help here. A couple of months ago, we started testing professional messaging

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app Slack to streamline our team's communication and increase collaboration. We hit a lot of resistance, especially from the more senior team members.

But as time went by, people started to feel that the experience of a mobile-based work app was more similar to what they are used to in their personal digital lives. It wasn't until this point adoption accelerated, increasing collaboration and drastically reducing the number of meetings.

Plenty of people in our industry, unfortunately, still believe that the creative department is the sole engine of creativity. And, that seasoned professionals have all of the answers. This hierarchical approach creates a vacuum that jeopardizes real creativity. Experimenting with projects where team members are chosen by skills or mindsets rather than by their specific disciplines definitely increases collaboration.

Azul 7, a human-centered design firm out of Minneapolis, has a very interesting approach to this problem. Once a team comes up with an idea, the "concept" is passed on to a different new team. The latter not only provides fresh eyes but, because they don't have emotional ownership, they have more freedom to take the original idea much further.

It's worth remembering that clients can bring a different perspective, too; they are not only there to approve the work or pay the bills. They focus on different aspects of the business and can help make ideas bulletproof. They're the ones who have the most vested interests in the campaigns. Involving clients throughout the process — sometimes in specific phases and, in other cases, from beginning to end — can drive great success.

## Provoke Weekly.

### Pick a Side – Intuition in the Time of Big Data Technology

*By Franco Caballero, Creative Strategist*

A tug-of-war drama, dare I say worthy of a Nobel Prize itself, develops and remains a burning question in modern marketing: is there a place for intuition in an age driven by big data technology?

I imagine that just like Garcia Marquez's masterpiece, it's a story that will split us. In our case, the rift is between those who venture in the allure of intuition and those that reside in the security of data. Which side should you bet on?

### Those In Favor Of Data

Less than two years ago, Andrew McAfee of the MIT Sloan School of Management essentially declared war on intuition, confidently proclaiming its inevitable demise. Citing all kinds of sources, it's hard to blame him.

The business landscape seems to support him too. Ad Age's list of largest agencies is increasingly being populated by big data companies; what would look like an investment in a toothbrush company is now really a move on the data the toothbrushes are collecting on users. And who in their right mind starts an argument these days



without citing Nielsen or Forbes or “insert data authority here”?

## Building Decks and Cashing Checks

As one of the most studied segments in the history of U.S. marketing, Hispanics opened the doors to entire industries dedicated to mass acquisition and capitalization of their behavioral data. An expertise that once belonged to dedicated Hispanic ad agencies, the new authorities are research companies like Nielsen itself, specialized competitors like the Pew Research Center and Millward Brown and an avalanche of boutique big data mining companies selling all sorts of Hispanic gold. And don't even get me started on the media.

The blanket of big data technology is a warm and cozy one, and leaves little room or desire to get out from under it.

## Those In Favor Of Intuition

We are as close to quantifying intuition, as computer scientists are to nailing artificial intelligence. However little percentage intuition has in your decisions, it still plays a role. And it's hard to find a better iconic champion of those ideals than Steve Jobs, who uttered the words: “Have the courage to follow your heart and intuition... everything else is secondary” and who led the development of products people didn't know they wanted.

But therein lies the pickle with intuition; is it an elusive magic tool only worthy of genius minds? Absolutely not. Forbes contributor Greg Satell (see the irony here of me using an authority to

support my point) wrote on the harmony with data being reliant on putting humans at the center of that data context itself; therefore facilitating idea testing, accelerating prototyping and empowering decisions.

## Intuition Favors the Diligent

The Economist has an alter ego magazine called More Intelligent Life that emulates the same force and verve of their journalism, but unconstrained by objectivity. One of their latest articles chronicles the story of one of music's most famed artist scouts. The story of the man who discovered Aretha Franklin and Bruce Springsteen is clouded with the intertwined explosion of data-driven decisions in the music industry. And yet in the end, his intuition prevails to give him one last find that made him a legend. It exemplifies how intuition doesn't come from thin air, but from painstaking years of work and experience.

## Going All Twelve Rounds

This will not be a knockout fight and it will be a rivalry for the ages. Our marketing generation will forever be divided between those who believe in intuition and those who rely on big data technology. We would be smart to integrate both; use data to inform our intuition. Still, there will be times when there won't be enough terabytes to convince us of something; and others where your hunch will leave you alone in a conference room fighting windmills. When those times come, what will you listen to?

## FocusON Journalism

### The Man Who Wouldn't Sit Down *How Univision's Jorge Ramos earns his viewers' trust.*

By William Finnegan

As a news anchor, Ramos serves as both a reporter and an advocate. “My only weapon is the question,” he says. When Jorge Ramos travels in Middle America, nobody recognizes him—until somebody does. Ramos is the evening-news co-anchor on Univision, the country's largest Spanish-language TV network, a job he has held since 1986. A few weeks ago, I was on a flight with him from Chicago to Dubuque. Ramos, who is fifty-seven, is slim, not tall, with white hair and an unassuming demeanor. Wearing jeans, a gray sports coat, and a blue open-collared shirt, he went unremarked. But then, as he disembarked, a fellow-passenger, a stranger in her thirties, drew him aside at the terminal gate, speaking rapidly in Spanish. Ramos bowed his head to listen. The woman was a teacher at a local technical college. Things in this part of Iowa were bad, she said. People were afraid to leave their houses. When they went to Walmart, they only felt comfortable going at night. Ramos nodded. Her voice was urgent. She wiped her eyes. He held her arm while she composed herself. The woman thanked him and rushed away.

“Did you hear that?” he asked, at the car-rental counter. “They only go out to Walmart at night.”

In an Italian restaurant on a sleepy corner in downtown Dubuque, a dishwasher came out from the kitchen

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toward the end of lunch to pay her respects. She, too, fought back tears as she thanked Ramos for his work. He asked her how long she had been in Iowa. Five years, she said. She was from Hidalgo, not far from Mexico City, Ramos's home town. She hurried back to the kitchen.

"We have almost no political representation," Ramos said. He meant Latinos in the United States. "Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz won't defend the undocumented."

"A Country for All," Ramos's most recent book—he has published eleven—is dedicated to "all undocumented immigrants." He was trying to explain how a journalist finds himself in the role of advocate.

"We're a young community," he said. "You wouldn't expect ABC, or any of the mainstream networks, to take a position on immigration, health care, anything. But at Univision it's different. We are pro-immigrant. That's our audience, and people depend on us. When we are better represented politically, that role for us will recede."

Besides co-anchoring the nightly news, and cranking out books, Ramos hosts a Sunday-morning public-affairs show, "Al Punto" ("To the Point"), and writes a syndicated column; for the past two years, he has also hosted a weekly news-magazine show, "America with Jorge Ramos," in English, on a fledgling network (a joint

venture of Univision and ABC) called Fusion. (When Jon Stewart asked him, on "The Daily Show," to account for his hyperactivity, Ramos said, "I'm an immigrant. So I just need to get a lot of jobs.") His English is fluent, if strongly accented. His Spanish, particularly on-air, is carefully neutral—pan-Latino, not noticeably Mexican. Univision's audience comes from many different countries, and the network broadcasts from Miami, where the most common form of Spanish is Cuban.

Ramos occupies a peculiar place in the American news media. He has won eight Emmys and an armload of journalism awards, covered every major story since the fall of the Berlin Wall, and interviewed every American

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President since George H. W. Bush. (He's interviewed Barack Obama half a dozen times.) But his affiliation can work against him. In June, when he sent a handwritten letter to Donald Trump, who had just launched his Presidential campaign, requesting an interview, it was no dice. Univision had cut its business ties with Trump, including its telecasts of the Miss U.S.A. and Miss Universe beauty pageants, after Trump accused Mexico of sending "rapists" to the United States. Trump posted Ramos's letter on Instagram, crowing that Univision was "begging" him for interviews. The letter included Ramos's personal cell-phone number, which Ramos was then obliged to change. In the weeks that followed, Trump produced a stream of provocative remarks and proposals about Mexicans and immigration, giving the national immigration-policy debate the hardest edge it has had in generations. Now Ramos really wanted to interview him.

Trump was planning a rally on Dubuque's riverfront that afternoon. Ramos and Dax Tejera, a young Fusion executive producer, met up with a local cameraman in the parking lot of the Grand River Center, where a press conference was scheduled in advance of the rally. They went inside early, past some tables where Ann Coulter, who was going to introduce Trump at the rally, was setting up to sign copies of her latest book, "¡Adios, America!: The Left's Plan to Turn Our Country Into a Third World Hellhole." Ramos, heading upstairs, said, "We had her on our show when that book came out. Trump seems to be getting his ideas from her."

In the room designated for the press conference, Ramos and Tejera considered camera angles and lighting. They staked out a pair of front-row seats.

Ramos was studying a sheaf of notes. "Normally, I'd just have a ten-second question prepared," he said. "But this is not normal. Here I have to make a statement, as an indignant immigrant. Tell him that Latinos despise him. And then I have to ask a question, as a journalist, if he'll let me." The room was filling with reporters. Ramos worried that Trump would recognize him and not call on him. "It will be important to stand up," he said. "Trump's street-smart. If you're sitting, he'll use it, the visual power imbalance, and squash you." Tejera stationed the cameraman against a wall. "TV is not reality," Ramos said, miming a frame with his hands. "It's a way of exaggerating a moment. Reality is what we're living here. What we're after is something else."

Trump arrived, with a phalanx of aides. He walked to a waist-high lectern decorated with a Trump poster and said, "Hello, everybody, how are you? Carl?"

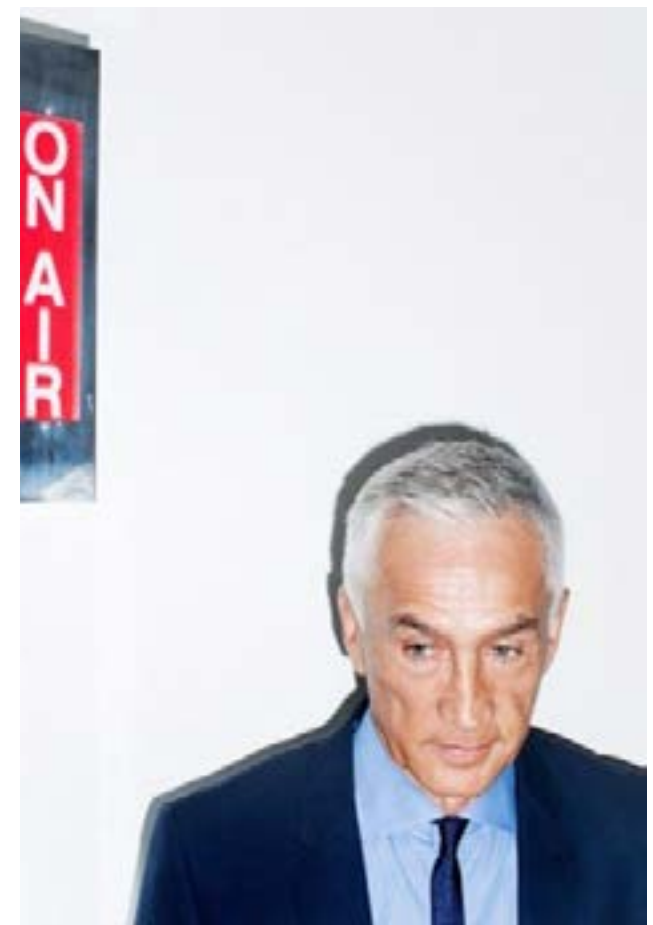
Carl Cameron, of Fox News, asked about a local campaign operative who was leaving Rick Perry's campaign for Trump's. The operative joined Trump at the lectern for a couple of questions. Then, as Trump stepped back to the microphone alone, Ramos stood up. "Mr. Trump, I have a question about immigration," he said. Trump ignored him, scanning the room as if no one had spoken, saying, "O.K., who's next?" He pointed at someone. "Yeah. Please."

Ramos persisted. "Mr. Trump, I have a question."

Trump turned and said, "Excuse me. Sit down. You weren't called. Sit down. Sit down."

Ramos remained standing.

"Sit down." The sneer in Trump's tone was startling.



"No, Mr. Trump," Ramos said, his voice level. "I'm a reporter, an immigrant, a U.S. citizen. I have the right to ask a question."

"No, you don't," Trump said, sharply. "You haven't been

called. Go back to Univision.”

Ramos: “Mr. Trump, you cannot deport eleven million people. You cannot build a nineteen-hundred-mile wall.”

Trump began scanning the room again. Reporters were raising their hands. Trump pointed at one.

“You cannot deny citizenship to children in this country,” Ramos continued.

Trump turned to his left and seemed to give a signal, a kind of duck-lipped kissing or sucking expression. A bodyguard with a buzz cut started to cross the stage. “Go ahead,” Trump muttered to him.

The bodyguard went for Ramos, who was still talking. “Those ideas—” The bodyguard, who was a foot taller than Ramos, began to push him backward, out of the room. “I’m a reporter,” Ramos said. “Don’t touch me, sir.” His voice did not rise. “You cannot touch me.” The bodyguard had him by the left arm and was now moving him swiftly toward an exit door.

While Ramos was getting the bum’s rush, Trump called on a reporter. “Yes, go ahead.”

“Thank you, Mr. Trump. Chip Reid, with CBS.”

“Hi, Chip. Yes?”

“Roger Ailes says you need to apologize to Megyn Kelly. Will you do that?”

“No, I wouldn’t do that. She actually should be apologizing to me.”

The door swung shut behind Ramos, who still held his notes.

In the hallway outside, a middle-aged white man, his face flushed with anger, approached Ramos, jabbing a finger at him. “Get out of my country,” he said. “Get out.” The man had a Trump sticker on his lapel. Ramos studied him curiously. “I’m a U.S. citizen, too,” he said, moving toward the man, as if he wanted to talk. A police officer stepped between them.

Tejera was on the phone to his boss at Fusion. Ramos, standing alone, seemed to fold into himself. His expulsion had been tense, uncomfortable, heart-pounding stuff. Everyone involved was surely agitated. But Ramos seemed calm, as if his pulse had slowed. A young woman with a news camera approached him for an interview. Perhaps later, he said. Ramos crossed his arms and stared at his shoes. He was wearing pale, low-cut boots. His feet looked very small. I later asked him what he was thinking about then. “I was trying to understand what it meant,” he said. “Trying to know if I had made mistakes. I knew it was right not to sit down. If I had sat down, Latinos would have been so disappointed.”

After about ten minutes, a Trump aide, a young woman in black, appeared and walked toward Ramos. “I’m Hope,” she said, smiling and extending a hand, which he took. She invited him to return to the press conference, assuring him that he could ask questions. He just had to wait to be called on. Ramos went back in.

While he was outside, two reporters had asked Trump about his ejection. The first, Tom Llamas, of ABC, was a young Latino correspondent from Miami. He described Ramos as “one of our country’s top journalists,” and asked Trump if he thought he had handled the situation correctly. Trump said, “I don’t know really much about

him.” He only knew he hadn’t called on the guy. “He just stands up and starts screaming,” Trump said. Anyway, he said, he hadn’t thrown him out: “You’ll have to talk to security. Whoever security is escorted him out.”

Now Trump called on Ramos, who asked his questions about the wall, birthright citizenship, and mass deportation. How was Trump actually going to do these things? Did he plan to use the Army to round up eleven million people? “We’re going to do it in a very humane fashion,” Trump said. “I have a bigger heart than you do.” The two men talked over each other, with Ramos still asking for specifics. Trump now seemed to know who Ramos was. “You and I will talk,” he said. “We’re going to be talking a lot over the years.” He meant, it seemed, when he was President. “Do you know how many Hispanics work for me?” Trump asked. “They love me.”

The exaggerated TV moment, I guessed, was “Go back to Univision.” It sounded like “Go back to Mexico.” Trump, rehashing the episode on the “Today” show, called Ramos a “madman.” He told a cheering crowd in Nashville about how he had dealt with the “screaming and ranting” of “this clown, Jose Reyes, or whatever the hell his name is.” The media critic Howard Kurtz, of Fox News, said that Ramos had behaved “like a heckler,” contravening “basic civility” by not waiting to be called on. Marc Caputo, of Politico, assailed Ramos’s open support for immigration reform, tweeting, “This is bias: taking the news personally, explicitly advocating an agenda.” Many conservative commentators, at Fox and elsewhere, agreed. A Washington Post writer called Ramos a “conflict junkie”—like Trump himself.

Ramos had his defenders. Glenn Greenwald wrote a piece for The Intercept with the headline “Jorge 7

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Ramos Commits Journalism, Gets Immediately Attacked by Journalists.” Greenwald and others pointed to a distinguished tradition of opinion and advocacy in American journalism, running from Thomas Paine through Edward R. Murrow. For those with little patience for the numbing rituals of the modern press conference, Ramos’s insistence on making unwelcome points had been refreshing, and it was Trump’s heavy-handed response that was worrisome. Certainly, the questions raised by Ramos had been unusually serious and substantial at a press event otherwise dominated by talk of poll numbers, campaign operatives, and personal spats.

Ramos’s problem with authority began, in Mexico, with priests. The Benedictine fathers who taught him at school, he said, were reactionary sadists. “They hit us with shoes. They were pulling us from the hair,” he told me, demonstrating with a twisting temple-area hair grab. He is anticlerical to this day. His father, an architect, was rigid and unyielding, and wanted Jorge, his oldest son, to become an architect, a lawyer, a doctor, or an engineer. “It was the same in the country as a whole, with each President imposed by his predecessor, not elected,” Ramos said. “I felt like I had three huge authority figures imposing their rules on me from the time I



*“When it comes to blowing leaves around uselessly and creating an insane amount of noise, this model can’t be beat.”*

was a child.” Ramos defied his father and majored in communications in college, working at a travel agency and a radio station. He got interested in journalism and, after graduation, switched to television, becoming a news writer and then an on-air reporter. His employer was Televisa, Mexico’s largest media conglomerate. Once, for a story about Mexican political psychology, Ramos interviewed people critical of the government.

But Televisa was slavishly loyal to the Mexican government, and, Ramos said, “My boss was horrified. He told me, ‘No son de la casa’—they are not our people. “He completely changed my story, and I resigned in protest. I wish I still had the letter I wrote.”

We were eating sushi in a crowded little Venezuelan restaurant in Doral, Florida, near Miami’s airport and Univision’s news studios. “Ask any immigrant about arriving here,” Ramos said, waving his chopsticks. “They can tell you the exact date, time, circumstances, everything they first noticed.” He arrived in 1983, shortly after quitting Televisa. He had sold his first car, a VW Beetle, to buy a plane ticket to Los Angeles. “I still have the guitar I carried through the airport. I was twenty-four, almost completely broke, with everything I owned in one bag. I had a student visa, and I remember thinking, This is freedom. You can carry everything you own.” He studied television and journalism in an extension course at U.C.L.A., working part time as a waiter and at a movie house. Then he got his first job in American journalism, as a reporter at KMEX, a Spanish-language TV station that operated out of an old house on Melrose Avenue. “We did three



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stories a day from the street. It was the best possible training. I did hundreds of stories there.”

KMEX was also Ramos’s introduction to the community role that the Spanish-language media fills, and is expected to fill, in the United States. The station sponsored health fairs and job fairs, and broadcast English lessons. People called the station to ask which school to send their children to, which doctor to go to. “That TV is your window into the new world you’re in, where you don’t have many friends,” a Cuban-American media consultant in Coral Gables told me. “Those stations are more than information sources. They’re certainly more than businesses. The on-air personalities become like old friends. If you get ripped off, you don’t call the cops, you call Univision or Telemundo. They have these watchdog shows—here in Miami, it’s ‘El 23 a Tu Lado’ [‘23 on Your Side’]. That’s activist journalism.”

KMEX was owned by the Spanish International Network, which later became Univision. In 1985, Ramos began hosting a morning show, in addition to his reporting, and a company executive, visiting Los Angeles, happened to see it. “Rosita Peru,” Ramos recalled. “She invited me to come to Miami to start a national morning show. I said, ‘Sure.’ I moved, and I did that show for eleven months. It was so difficult. There was no script. It was a lot of improvising on-air. Two hours a day. I wanted to be doing news. But I never even saw the people in the news operations. They would just be coming to work as I was crawling out the door.”

Univision had a Mexican flavor—it had been launched as a subsidiary of Televisa, and the bulk of its programming was, and still is, telenovelas made by Televisa. About a year after Ramos got to Miami, Televisa’s owner, Emilio

Azcárraga Milmo, a formidable monopolist known as El Tigre, made a move on Univision’s news department. The plan was to install Jacobo Zabludovsky, Televisa’s main news anchor, as the director of Univision’s news operations. Zabludovsky, a reedy government mouthpiece with rectangular eyeglasses, was one of the most famous men in Mexico, although he is now remembered for having opened a newscast in October, 1968, after the police and the military had massacred scores of protesting students in the plaza at Tlatelolco, in Mexico City, by intoning, “Today was a sunny day.”

Zabludovsky came to Miami, arriving at Univision’s modest studios in a black limousine. His meeting with the news department did not go well. There was a newsroom revolt. Besides the prospect of a journalistic calamity—the imposition of Mexican-style censorship—there was, according to Ramos, the Cuba-Mexico problem. Mexico recognized Fidel Castro’s regime—indeed, the two countries enjoyed warm relations—which made the Mexican government anathema to many of South Florida’s Cuban exiles. The Miami Herald sharply questioned the Televisa takeover of Univision’s news department. To make matters worse, Zabludovsky had accompanied Castro on his march into Havana during the revolution, providing enthusiastic coverage. The misbegotten plan to install Zabludovsky was finally scuttled when most of the Univision news department simply quit. El Tigre was soon forced by federal authorities to sell his stake in Univision under a law forbidding foreign ownership of broadcast stations.

The skeleton crew that remained at Univision needed, among other things, a nightly-news anchor. “So they

went and found the only on-air male still on the premises,” Ramos recalled. That was the skinny kid on the morning show, the güerito. “I didn’t even know how to read a teleprompter, which in those days was just a roll of paper that constantly jammed.” He got help from an experienced co-anchor, Teresa Rodriguez. “Teresa saved me. She had blood-red fingernails and she used to run her nail down the backup script on our desk, to help me keep my place.” Rodriguez went on maternity leave—she now co-hosts a Sunday-evening news-magazine show, “Aquí y Ahora” (“Here and Now”)—and Ramos ended up co-anchoring with María Elena Salinas, a dynamic newscaster from L.A. whom Ramos had first met at KMEX. The two of them clicked. Twenty-seven years later, they are still working side by side, and are the best-known newspeople, perhaps the best-known faces, among the fifty-five million Latinos now in the United States.

Salinas has also won a slew of journalism awards, including, in 2012, an Emmy for lifetime achievement and, earlier this year, a Peabody for a special on the exodus of Central American children to the United States.

Miami was quite different when he first arrived, Ramos said. “It wasn’t always easy to be Mexican here. Cubans ran the place. They understood how the system worked. They had the Cold War policy that said that any Cuban who made it to the U.S. was automatically legal. There were no undocumented Cubans. Local mass media focussed on Fidel, and people were suspicious of any other point of view. I had trouble just because I was Mexican. But then the city began to change, to diversify, first with Central American immigrants fleeing the civil

wars there. Next came the Colombians, getting away from the cocaine wars. Then came the Venezuelans, running from Hugo Chávez.”

As a Univision co-anchor, Ramos found that he had the media weight to arrange interviews with heads of state, particularly in Latin America. It was also part of his mandate. His viewers were hungry for news from their home countries. Ramos wanted an interview with Castro, but Castro granted very few, and those were given to sympathetic journalists. So Ramos contrived to encounter him outside a hotel in Guadalajara, Mexico, where he was attending an Ibero-American summit, in 1991. With his camera rolling, Ramos, calling Castro “Comandante,” asked him if Marxism was not a museum piece. Castro slowed and put his arm around Ramos’s shoulders and said he didn’t think so. Marxism was young, while capitalism was three thousand years old.

Ramos eluded Castro’s arm, acutely aware that it compromised him as a reporter and that the Cubans in Miami would never forgive him if he let it stay there—something Castro himself probably knew quite well, Ramos thought. Castro’s bodyguards moved in. Ramos quickly asked another question, about the fall of the Berlin Wall. Castro countered with a reference to the modest wall then being built by the United States along the Mexican border, and put his hand on Ramos’s shoulder. Ramos then pointed out that many people believed that it was time for Castro to hold a plebiscito in Cuba—a referendum on his rule. Castro responded politely, but Ramos had gone too far. Castro’s bodyguards edged him out of the way. Ramos lost his balance and fell down. Castro kept walking,

saying nothing, and didn’t look back. The interview had lasted a minute and three seconds.

Univision now covers Cuba as a matter of course. Ramos never did get a formal interview with Fidel, but in 1998 he went to Cuba to cover the visit of Pope John Paul II. He tried to convey the country’s complexity in his dispatches, but he ignored the advice of government minders not to give too much attention to dissidents, and he has been blackballed ever since.

María Elena Salinas told me that, in his interviews with Latin-American leaders, Ramos used to routinely ask, “Is Fidel a dictator?” She laughed. “People would say, ‘Why are you always asking the same question?’ It was because he wanted these heads of state on the record.” His other standard question with Presidents, she said, is “How much money do you have?” “He likes to ask it when they first come into office, and then a second time, a few years later, if they agree to talk again, to see how much they’ve been stealing.”

Ramos’s questions often infuriate his interviewees. In Bogotá, in 1996, he demanded that the Colombian President, Ernesto Samper, explicitly state whether or not his election campaign had accepted drug money, and showed Samper a photograph in which he appeared with two alleged narco-traffickers. Samper was annoyed. Ramos and his crew had already received death threats after a prior interview with Samper, and they fled the country on the first available flight. Ramos calls Miami *mi trinchera*—his foxhole, into which he can jump when there is trouble. As a child of Mexico, he says, he never takes for granted the protections he enjoys as an American. (He became a citizen in 2008.)

In a 1994 interview with Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the deeply feared Mexican President, Ramos asked Salinas if he had gained office by fraud, as many Mexicans believed. Ramos pressed him on regional vote totals that were mathematically impossible. He questioned Salinas closely about the murder, a few months earlier, of his anointed successor, Luis Donaldo Colosio. (Salinas moved to Ireland after his term ended, amid persistent reports that he did so to avoid murder charges in the Colosio case.) “It was unbelievable that I could sit there and confront him with the evidence of fraud,” Ramos told me, “and then ask him about the *dedazo*”—“the big finger,” with which Mexican Presidents traditionally chose their successors. “In those days, and in the country where I grew up, no Mexican journalist could even speak that word, *dedazo*, in an interview with the President and still have a job when he got home.”

One of Ramos’s models is Oriana Fallaci, the fiery Italian journalist. “I read her book ‘Interview with History’ in college,” he said. “I loved how she took on the Shah, Qaddafi, Kissinger. She saw the interview as a little war, with a winner. For certain interviews, I see it the same way. My only weapon is the question. And, living here, it’s not risky. I can make powerful people angry, and show our audience what they really are, and then go home and live a normal life.”

“Home is in Coral Gables, where Ramos lives with his girlfriend, Chiquinquirá Delgado, a Venezuelan actress, who co-hosts a Univision reality show called “*Nuestra Belleza Latina*” (“Our Latin Beauty”). He has two children from two marriages, and his younger child, Nicolas, a high-school junior, still lives with him. Delgado’s five-year-old daughter rounds out the household.

In the sushi place, our waiter, a tall young Venezuelan, told Ramos that he had decided to apply for U.S. citizenship. Ramos congratulated him. "I realized I have to do it," the young man said. "If we can't vote, then we have no way to fight back against people like Trump."

Ramos can't get over the fact that the most trusted voices in mainstream TV news, as far as he's concerned, are comedians: Jon Stewart, John Oliver, Stephen Colbert. Ramos and Oliver have joked together on-air about being immigrants, defeated by telephone voice-recognition systems that force them to adopt American accents to make themselves understood. Stewart accused Ramos of stealing his material when Ramos got big laughs on "The Daily Show" with lines about the Latino demographic boom.

When Ramos urged Colbert, on "The Colbert Report," to consider "co-responsibility" for undocumented immigration, since, as he said, "They're here because we are hiring them, and we benefit from their work," Colbert paused, seemed to go almost out of character, and finally said, "I don't have a comeback for that, so we're probably going to edit it out of the interview." Ramos thinks that the best political comedians, with their fake news and stone-faced parody, are trusted because they offer, at bottom, "transparency" about their own views, rather than simply a straight news report that viewers have come to know is often riddled with false equivalencies in pursuit of "balance." ("Others, however, insist the earth is flat.")

Ramos does not have a trust problem with his audience. Freddy Balsera, a media analyst and political consultant specializing in Latino affairs, told me, "We do polls. We ask, 'Who is the most influential Hispanic in the U.S.?'

Over and over, Jorge comes out No. 1." Sonia Sotomayor, the Supreme Court Justice, comes in first in other polls. Among institutions, Univision comes in second on the trust meter with Latinos, behind the Catholic Church.

"People grew up with Jorge," Gabriela Tristán, a Univision executive producer, told me. "You watched him with your parents, your grandparents. Him and María Elena. Whatever they say, it's the law."

Balsera thought that Ramos's run-in with Donald Trump in Iowa had enhanced his standing among Latinos. "But why doesn't Marco Rubio challenge Trump?" he said. "Or Ted Cruz? Why does Jorge Ramos have to defend our culture, our community?"

Some Latino conservatives disapproved of Ramos's dustup. Ruben Navarrette, Jr., a syndicated columnist, accused him of being "unprofessional" and "playing into every negative stereotype that Americans subscribe to about Mexicans." Then, there are the mainstream dismissals of Ramos as a lightweight, a niche performer, a "heckler." Ramos appeared on "The O'Reilly Factor" shortly after the event in Iowa, and the segment began with Bill O'Reilly asking, "Anchorman or activist?" O'Reilly urged Ramos to stop calling himself a reporter. Ramos replied, "I don't think you're the right person to lecture me on advocacy and journalism." He went on to draw a distinction between being partisan and being independent. O'Reilly is effectively a Republican Party partisan, he argued.

Alfonso Aguilar, who used to have a radio show on Univision, where he considered himself a "token conservative," deplores the liberal bias of Univision, and thinks that "Spanish-language media is not being held

to the same standards as mainstream media" when it comes to distinguishing between reporting and opinion. Ramos and María Elena Salinas are both at fault, according to Aguilar, "because you're manipulating audiences if you don't clarify." Aguilar, who worked for the George W. Bush Administration and is now the executive director of the American Principles Project's Latino Partnership, in Washington, D.C., still appears on Univision programs, including "Al Punto," but he says that Univision correspondents in bureaus across the country complain to him, privately, that they get a bad rap because of editorializing by anchors in Miami.

Ramos has had combative interviews with President Obama. During the 2008 campaign, he extracted a promise from Obama that an immigration-reform bill would be pushed forward during his first year in the White House. In a 2012 interview, Ramos, although appearing live on Univision, switched to English and said, "It was a promise, Mr. President. . . . I don't want it to get lost in translation. . . . A promise is a promise. And, with all due respect, you didn't keep that promise." Obama looked miserable; Ramos hasn't been markedly easier on him in more recent interviews. Last December, Ramos reminded the President that he had become known among Latinos as "the Deporter-in-Chief." Yet Obama, along with every other national politician with an interest in reaching Latino voters, knows that Ramos and Salinas are the gateway. Randy Falco, the president and chief executive of Univision, is a Republican. He told me that, during the 2012 general election, he pleaded with Mitt Romney to appear on the network, and that Romney obliged him only once. That appearance did not go well, and Romney did not come back. But he

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later told Falco that staying away was a mistake: had he made more appearances on Univision, he might conceivably have improved his disastrous Election Day showing among Latinos.

Ramos's daughter, Paola, who recently earned a degree from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, has a job on the Hillary Clinton campaign. She previously worked in the Obama White House, and for Jill Biden. Ramos insists that his daughter's employment does not influence his work. His Republican critics don't buy it. He did not disclose her work for the Obama Administration to his audience. He did disclose her position with the Clinton campaign. He may have to recuse himself from any Univision-sponsored campaign debates that include Hillary Clinton.

Univision, though obscure to most non-Spanish speakers, plays in the big leagues. In 2013 and 2014, for what are known as the July prime-time sweeps, its audience was larger than that of each of the four main English-language networks. Its original programming is sold throughout the Spanish-speaking world. (The U.S. now has more Spanish speakers than Spain does.) Its local stations in New York and Los Angeles are consistently near the top of the ratings in those cities. On the news side, the network is far more cosmopolitan than its English-language counterparts, starting with its employees. Patsy Loris, the senior news director, is Chilean; Sabrina Zambrano-Orr, the executive producer of "Al Punto," is Venezuelan; Teresa Rodriguez is Cuban; Isaac Lee, the president for news and digital, is Colombian; and so on. The coverage of international news, especially in Latin America, is decidedly more thorough and energetic than what the

English-language broadcast networks provide.

Fusion, which launched in October, 2013, has hired away a number of executives and journalists from the networks in New York, including Keith Summa, a longtime producer at ABC News, who, more recently, headed the investigative unit at CBS News. In the Univision newsroom, Summa told me, "It's not uncommon for me to ask, 'Who's that guy?,' and then to be told, 'Oh, he had to flee X country.' These folks come from a culture where journalism is a contact sport. Here we worry that we're going to get sued, not shot." Describing the contrast with his old workplaces, Summa said, "People would come in to us at ABC with these minute-by-minute ratings, saying, 'Oh, when the overweight person comes in, the dial goes down, and when the good-looking person is on it's up.' Is this really how we're supposed to do journalism? Also, the left-right thing that dominates mainstream political reporting isn't that relevant here. At Univision, it's more north-south. I find that refreshing. And, of course, Jorge just calls it as he sees it. He says, 'When you've got the facts, you don't need to balance with non-facts.' There's a groupthink in the Bermuda Triangle of the three big networks, but Jorge doesn't go to those cocktail parties."

Isaac Lee, who is also the chief executive of Fusion, asked me if I knew who Ramos's agent and lawyer were. I didn't. "It's him," he said. "Jorge. We negotiate his contracts right at this table. It takes fifteen minutes."

When Fusion launched, Ramos was nervous about working in English. At first, he had a nightly news show, which began an hour after his Univision newscast ended. With his Sunday-morning show and his other

gigs, the workload was unmanageable—he had so much script to write, and spent so many hours on set, that he could barely leave the studio to report stories. He soon cut back to the weekly show, "America with Jorge Ramos." Fusion's target audience was initially meant to be young, English-dominant Latinos, but such viewers didn't want or need their own network, and the target demographic was expanded to Millennials (ages eighteen to thirty-four) of any ethnicity. The Fusion cable channel offers a mixture of news and entertainment, with heavy emphases on pop culture, the drug war, sex, and viral videos—and a small number of programs in heavy rotation.

Fusion's Web site, which launched in February, has a greater range and number of offerings, but will not soon be worrying competitors like Gawker and BuzzFeed. The digital content is available on many platforms—Instagram, Snapchat, Vine, Apple TV—and the company recently hired Alexis Madrigal away from The Atlantic's Web site to be its editor-in-chief. Fusion TV is available in forty million homes, but is not carried by Comcast or Time Warner, and it does not subscribe to the Nielsen ratings service, which is probably for the best. The company lost thirty-five million dollars in 2014, its first full year in business.

"America with Jorge Ramos" stands out from everything else on Fusion, partly because its host is decades older than anyone else at the network, but mainly because of its quality. Ramos has done specials from Israel and the West Bank (about young people and the wall there), and from Puerto Rico. He is always looking for new ways to address the immigration story. The style of his dispatches, and those of the young correspondents

on “America,” is decidedly more handheld and helter-skelter, in the general vein of Vice News, than his work for Univision.

In one stunt for Fusion, Ramos swam the Rio Grande, at a not-narrow point, fully clothed, gasping for air while trying to narrate. Still, the journalistic standard remains high, from what I’ve seen, and Ramos considers it a big step that clips of his work are immediately available, without translation, to the large number of Americans (and the media élites) who don’t speak Spanish. “It’s like we were just talking to ourselves before, to fellow-Latinos, in a parallel world,” he said. “This is a breakthrough.” With technical help from digital producers, he has thrown himself into social media, generating a steady stream of tweets and Facebook posts, including popular videos (millions of views) that he writes and shoots with a single camera in newsroom hallways when inspiration strikes.

In May, Ann Coulter appeared on Ramos’s Fusion show. They taped the interview in front of a live audience, and Coulter’s eagerness to give offense was breathtaking. At one point, she said, “I have a little tip. If you don’t want to be killed by ISIS, don’t go to Syria. If you don’t want to be killed by a Mexican, there’s nothing I can tell you.” Ramos likes to say that silence is death on TV, but at that moment he said nothing. The audience, too, seemed shocked into silence. After a long, awkward pause, Coulter went on, “Very easy to avoid being killed by ISIS. Don’t fly to Syria.” Ramos finally asked, “Are you really saying . . . ? We’re talking about forty million immigrants in this country.” Coulter, arguing for an end to immigration, talked about how certain “cultures” from which large numbers of people immigrate to the U.S. “are obviously deficient,” making cryptic reference to “uncles raping their nieces.”

It was, in its way, good TV.

Ramos looks forward to the Latinization of the United States. “We were fifteen million when I got here,” he said. “Now we’re fifty-five million. By 2050, we’ll be more than a hundred million.” Converting those numbers to real political power is slow going. Univision and its smaller rival, Telemundo, along with many other organizations, sponsor voter-registration drives, but Latinos still punch well below their demographic weight in registration and voter turnout. Ramos is an evangelist for Latino political power. “Our turn is coming,” he told me. “And the attitude is changing, especially since Barack Obama was elected. I go out on publicity tours for my books, and, you know Latinos, they bring everybody in the family to everything, even little kids. So I always ask the kids, ‘Who wants to be the first Latino President?’ It used to be no hands went up, or maybe one or two. Now, with Obama, many of the little hands go up. It will happen in my lifetime. I hope to be able to cover the Inauguration. I don’t care if it’s a Republican or a Democrat. It could even be Rubio or Cruz.” Both have been on his show.

Ramos, and Latino voters generally, appreciated the effort that George W. Bush made to reach them, particularly his support for immigration reform, even though it proved fruitless. Bush received forty per cent of the Latino vote in 2004. Ramos strongly endorses the conventional wisdom that no party can now win the White House with less than a third of the Latino vote. There is, however, a counterargument. California and Texas, the big states with the largest Latino populations, will not be in play in next year’s election, and most of the likely swing states have few Latino voters. The exceptions are Florida, Colorado, and Nevada, which have forty-four

electoral votes combined. Florida, where Cubans and Puerto Ricans greatly outnumber Mexicans, is a special case, and not all electoral-vote strategists agree that Latinos will be a decisive factor in Colorado or Nevada.

Still, Ramos and his Univision colleagues find that national politicians are finally starting to come to them. Patsy Loris, who has been producing Ramos’s programs since the nineteen-eighties, told me, “It was always difficult. Every time we would ask for a sound bite in Spanish, we would get the assistant to the assistant to the assistant.” Ramos was sometimes able to get big interviews, but only in election years. “That’s changing now, thank God,” Loris said. “I think Jorge going on Fusion helps. But people who are just discovering him, they don’t realize, he’s always been exactly like this. He was never traditional. That was why he left Mexico.”

Loris’s office is along one wall of an enormous newsroom that Univision shares with Fusion and the local station, WLTV. Ramos was three doors down, banging out introductions for segments on “Al Punto,” which was taping that afternoon. María Elena Salinas was on the far side of Ramos. Along the other walls were control rooms, editing suites, and three TV studios; the rest of the open-plan floor was filled with desks where hundreds of people worked. Each desk had at least two large monitors, and nearly every chair was draped with a shawl, a sweater, a sweatshirt, or a coat—somehow, on a ninety-five-degree day, the vast space, two stories high and a hundred and fifty thousand square feet, was kept meat-locker cold. A dozen news channels were being projected on the walls.

I camped out in Ramos’s office while he finished writing intros. There was no clutter. A little corkboard

in the corner of his desk with tacked-up photographs of his kids and girlfriend. A vertical book stand in the opposite corner. A computer, before which he rolled his shoulders and clicked away. That was it. The only thing on the walls was a glass board on which a few dates and names were scribbled: "O'Reilly," "Arpaio," "Bill Maher," "DC/Papa." Those were upcoming gigs or stories. Ramos wears no jewelry, not even a watch or a ring—an uncommon presentation for a man in Miami. He keeps his hair short. He dresses simply, in jeans and an oxford shirt, tries to travel with only a carry-on bag, and hates wearing a suit—though he dons one every night for the newscast. He even somehow maintains an empty e-mail in-box. Salinas and I had been comparing overstuffed in-boxes. We both had thousands of unopened messages. Ramitos, as she calls him, had zero. Each time I e-mailed him, he answered quickly. It was unnatural.

Salinas said that, in twenty-seven years of working together, often under ferocious deadlines, she had never heard Ramos shout. "Things bother him, but he doesn't yell and get mad," she said. "I've never known anybody as disciplined as he is. Jorge can multitask like a woman. Very few men can do that. He's flexible—he knows how to pick his battles—but he's also incredibly stubborn." She shook her head. "We know each other so well, we can read each other's mind. On the air, we never interrupt each other. We know that if one of us is incapacitated—choking, forgetting something—the other will pick up."

TV news is live performance—part journalism and part theatre. The line between journalism and entertainment is blurred in other reporting genres, but TV is the closest to pure show business. In a cynical view, news is just another entertainment product among the many

that Univision sells, and Jorge Ramos is a character, a "brand," who brings profits to the corporation. Exposing corruption, confronting bigots, championing immigrants—these performances are hugely popular. "They help to protect an enormous market," Tomás López-Pumarejo, a professor at Brooklyn College, points out. And the topic of immigration is a proven ratings winner on Univision.

I have never heard Ramos say a cynical word. His zeal and outrage seem deeply felt, genuine. But I did notice, after the Trump press conference in Iowa, as Ramos was leaving the convention center, that he briefly crossed paths with Ann Coulter, who was preparing to introduce Trump at the rally. She seemed surprised to see Ramos, but unfazed. Not a word was said. They were two troupers, old pros, busy plowing their respective rows. They swerved toward each other and exchanged a quick fist bump in passing.

Later, I watched Ramos pacing on a levee above the Mississippi River in the twilight, talking on his cell phone, pondering his next move. Because of the Trump confrontation, he had already shot to the top of global "trending topics" on Twitter. He knew, as a newsman, that he shouldn't step on the story. Interview requests were pouring in; he was turning down nearly all of them. He had already done a short, straightforward standup outside the convention center—in English for Fusion, in Spanish for Univision. He decided to talk the next morning, before dawn, Iowa time, to George Stephanopoulos, on "Good Morning America." Since ABC is a co-owner of Fusion, a corporate obligation accrued there. Then, he thought, he would do Megyn Kelly's show on Fox News. She, too, had been ill used by Trump. Other

than that, he should probably let the story run on its own steam. Were these the calculations of a celebrity, a performer, or a journalist? Did those distinctions matter at that moment?

Ramos finished writing his intros, sent them to a teleprompter file, did a phone interview with a Venezuelan radio station, and announced that he was ready to leave. We took his car to a Thai place in Doral for takeout. The Univision news studios are in a light-industrial park—a huge gray featureless box among long, pastel-façaded warehouses with uninformative names slapped over doors and truck bays: Avcom Technik, Nutritional Power Center, Trans-Air Systems, Inc. "That guy I was talking to in Venezuela, Nelson Bocaranda, is amazing," Ramos said. "A great reporter. He always has sources. He even had a source among Chávez's doctors." That was a hard-news reporter talking. "But all the traditional media spaces are closed there now, so they're using the Internet to do independent journalism. It's incredibly courageous."

The Thai place was in a strip mall. Ramos greeted people at nearly every table, all in Spanish. "Miami has been incredibly generous to Latinos," he told me. "As one of my first bosses here told me, 'It's the only city in America where we're not treated as second-class citizens.'"

Over lunch, I asked Ramos to name the most edifying story he has covered. "Probably the Mexican election in 2000," he said. "I thought I was going to die with the PRI still in power." The Institutional Revolutionary Party ruled Mexico for seventy-one years, ending in 2000. "On Election Day, we started playing soccer in the Zócalo, the Univision crew, as a way of celebrating. We were surrounded by soldiers and cops. This was precisely

the regime I had been running from. All the efforts of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans had paid off.”

Unfortunately, the Mexican governments since 2000 have proved a terrible disappointment. The PRI is back in power now, and Ramos has been hammering the leadership for its corruption and incompetence. Meanwhile, he says, Mexican journalists who have exposed corruption have been rewarded by being fired, if not far worse.

Back at the studio, we ran into Chiquinquirá Delgado. She was about to go on the air, and was wearing high heels that caused her to tower over Ramos. Delgado became a celebrity as a teen-ager, when she was first runner-up in the 1990 Miss Venezuela pageant; she went on to become a model and then a soap-opera star. I asked if her life in Venezuela had required bodyguards. It had, she said. Her life here was far more relaxed. She and Ramos rode bicycles, went to the supermarket. Then it was showtime; she smiled apologetically and hurried off.

Seeing Delgado with Ramos on the set—probably the best-looking couple in Florida, if not North America—reignited my print hack’s distrust of TV stardom. Later, watching him on a Fusion set, waiting for the cameras to roll, I was struck by how physically different from the rest of us he seemed. The crew scurried around, lugging heavy equipment, muttering under headsets. We were all in shadow. The lights found Ramos’s calm, chiselled features, his clear gray eyes gazing into the middle distance. Then the technical director, a young African-American woman in a scruffy T-shirt and a backward ball cap, said, “O.K., we’re ready. Jorge, please sit down.”

“For you, I will sit down,” he said.

The sheer quantity of multitasking—there is no other word for it—in Ramos’s workday is phenomenal. He is taping, writing, interviewing, making his arguments about the lineup and the order of the evening’s segments in the big three-o’clock news meeting, or going live, non-stop, back to back. That morning, he said, he had written a column about air-conditioning and climate change—the perversity of the status conferred by rendering buildings ice cold in hot places like Miami and Puerto Rico. The column, distributed by the New York Times Syndicate, would appear in more than thirty papers in the U.S. and Latin America. “But not till next week,” Ramos said, “when this Trump news cycle will have turned.”

And now the Pope was coming to America. This Pope’s first language is Spanish. Might he score an interview?

Not a chance, Ramos said. He wished. But he had burned his bridges at the Vatican with a brutal 2013 interview of a powerful Mexican cardinal. “I was asking him about how the Church protected monsters like Marcial Maciel for so many years and we argued on-air.” Maciel was a Mexican priest who, among other depredations, sexually abused schoolboys in Italy and Spain, and was personally close to Pope John Paul II. I watched the interview, and the persistence of Ramos and the utter, teeth-gnashing rage of the cardinal were riveting. “I wasn’t able to confront those priests in school,” Ramos said. “But I can do it now.” He had definitely made himself a pariah at the Vatican, though, for years to come.

The lead story on that evening’s newscast was the resignation of Guatemala’s President, Otto Pérez Molina.

Univision had a team on the ground, and they gave the event full, in-depth treatment. No other U.S. network would come close to the quality of this coverage. I watched Ramos and Salinas trade parts, sitting for some segments, standing in front of a wall lit with graphics for others. When they weren’t on the air, they clattered away on laptops, or studied monitors set beneath their desks, which showed what the competition was doing.

There were moments of byplay between them. But off-camera, in repose, they were very different. Salinas, with her strong features and dramatic dark eyes, is leonine. She looks as if she could take down a wildebeest with a single bite. Ramos, beside her, seems almost meek, recessive. He folds his arms, cocks his head, and looks offstage, lost in thought, his motor barely idling. Then comes a director’s countdown, and he drops his arms, clasps his hands in front of him, leans forward, and seems to grow, addressing the camera, still relaxed but at the same time intense and commanding.

Another story for tonight: Donald Trump has just scolded Jeb Bush for speaking Spanish—to wit, “I like Jeb. He’s a nice man. But he should really set the example by speaking English while in the United States.” Salinas will report this item straight, near the end of the show, and Univision researchers have thrown together, on very short notice, a remarkable segment of Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, John Kerry, Hillary Clinton, Al Gore, and Marco Rubio all speaking Spanish, some more fluently than others. Bill Clinton says, in English, “I hope I’ll be the last non-Spanish-speaking President.”

The Trump news cycle will not be over soon. He has encouraged the worst instincts in white America



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to emerge and flail and flex. In Alabama, one of his supporters told the Times that he hoped President Trump would “make the border a vacation spot. It’s going to cost you twenty-five dollars for a permit, and then you get fifty dollars for every confirmed kill.” When did it become acceptable in America to talk about other human beings that way at a mainstream political rally? The silver lining of this nightmare is that Latinos are now more likely to organize, politically, in fear and anger, and to make their power felt more strongly at the polls in 2016.

Toward the end of that evening’s newscast, I left the set and crossed the newsroom to a control room. I like the buzz of the dark, busy cockpit, all the producers and technicians intent on screens and consoles, the countdowns, the collective waves of emotion—nervousness and relief—as switches are thrown, segments successfully delivered, commercials correctly inserted. At Univision, the three official languages—Spanish, English, and Spanglish—fly around in quick, gaudy combinations. When a correspondent starts tripping over her words, a hush descends, and, when she finally makes it out of the sentence, there’s a general sigh. “Yeah, what she said.” But tonight, before I get to the door, I catch a segment up on a wall screen about that day’s ugliness. The story seems to be from North Carolina. There are posters, painted by children. The posters say “Go Home” and “America Is for Americans” and “If We Don’t Take Out the Trash, Who Will?” Nobody in the newsroom seems to be reacting to the story. Everybody has work to do. But I find myself too ashamed to open the control-room door.

## FocusON Mobile

### Five Things Every Marketer Should Know about Mobile (from a former TV sales guy)

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*David Lawenda, VP of Global Marketing Solutions-US, Facebook*

Having worked for some of the biggest names in broadcast & cable television, I, like many of my fellow marketers, fell in love with the medium... and its ability to showcase a brand with all the sight, sound, and motion. Video is a powerful communicator, and no banner or pop-up ad I’ve ever seen has delivered the impact of a :30 commercial.

This notion was challenged when I joined Facebook less than two-years ago. In that short time frame, mobile media has exploded... and I, like many of my fellow marketers, find myself glued to my iPhone



throughout the day (and nights!) in ways I could never have imagined.

For all of us, mobile is the most significant thing to happen in our lifetime. This is a good thing, and like all the disruptive media that came along before it, the smart will thrive if we harness the brand building power of this phenomenon.

1. Mobile adoption is happening fast. Very fast. Three of every 4 US mobile subscribers aged 13 and older own a smartphone, a growth rate of 340% in the last five years. 87% of young adults have it with them at all times (including sleeping with it). In a recent survey, teens ranked batteries and a Wi-Fi connection BEFORE food and water as necessary for basic survival.
2. Mobile is not a device... it's a consumer behavior. In the past few years, mobile consumers have switched or replaced many traditional behaviors, including how we get the news, navigate, shop, travel, eat, connect, or even how we hail a cab. It is our remote control for life, a life that is in our command... and on demand.
3. The small screen is now the first screen. We're in a new Golden Age of television programming and streaming video content, with the average viewer watching an hour more per day of TV content than just a few years ago. The hitch is that almost 20% of time spent watching that TV content is happening beyond the television set.

So it's no coincidence that MOBILE time spent per day has overtaken all other forms of media. The rising star in the landscape is mobile video. With

an explosive growth rate of over 367% in the last two years, it's predicted that by this time next year, mobile video will account for nearly half of all video content consumed.

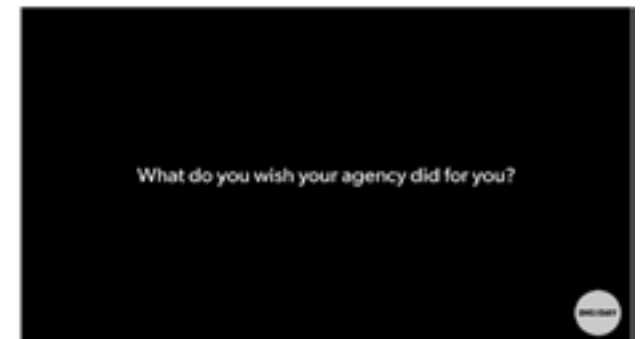
4. Think People, not Cookies. The majority of consumers consider their smartphone to be their PERSONAL device. It's YOUR telephone number. YOUR photos. YOUR Life. And unlike a computer or a TV, we don't share our phones. Because of this, mobile provides us an opportunity to shift from CPM and cookie-based targeting to People-based targeting. Imagine being able to target against an actual audience, not a piece of content. It's a marketer's nirvana... personalized marketing at scale.
5. The thumb is now in charge. Marketers have lamented to me about the fragmentation of audiences, compromised delivery predictability, and a consumer overwhelmed with choice. How do you reach them? The answer is in the palm of their hands.

It's our job to keep up with consumers and find them where they are being entertained. That's mobile - it's the promised land, given amazing growth in video consumption. Some of my most staunch TV-loving advertising clients have seen better results by investing across TV and mobile through platforms like Facebook. Instead of TV only, those campaigns are being amplified, across platforms, in a way that way outperforms any non TV+Mobile broadcast or cable campaign. Not just once or twice, but over and over again. This is only the beginning... just watch.

Yes, I drank the mobile Kool-Aid.

## FocusON Ad Agencies

### Ask A Millennial: What Do You Wish Your Agency Did for You?



It's AdvertisingWeek, so we rounded up a few millennials and asked them what they wish their agencies would do for them. Their answers ranged from better pay to mandatory breaks during the day. One, Lucy Santilli from Droga5, asked for a trip to Miami, but not, she insists, to hang out on the beach -- but for more effective training. Who says work has to be dull? See what other things millennials want from their agencies.



# FOX DEPORTES DELIVERS A STELLAR MLS RETURN



SEASON OPENERS

TOTAL VIEWERS

**+233%**

VS 2011

P18-49

**+291%**

VS 2011



[FOXHISPANICMEDIA.COM](http://FOXHISPANICMEDIA.COM)



Source: NTL Live+Same Day Program averages for 2015 (3/8/15); NHH Live+Same Day Program averages for 2011 (3/15/11-11/6/11). Subject to qualifications

## FocusON Immigration

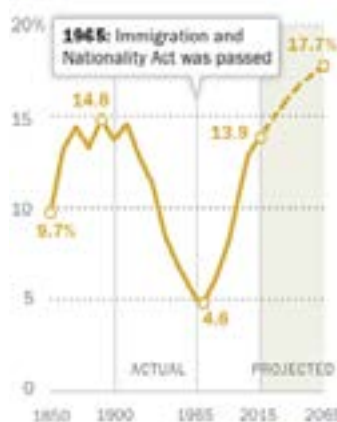
### Modern Immigration Wave Driving Population Growth Through 2065

*Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed*

Fifty years after passage of the landmark law that rewrote U.S. immigration policy, nearly 59 million immigrants have arrived in the United States, pushing the country's foreign-born share to a near record 14%. For the past half-century, these modern-era immigrants and their descendants have accounted for just over half the nation's population growth and have reshaped its racial and ethnic composition.

Looking ahead, new Pew Research Center U.S. population

#### U.S. Foreign-Born Share Projected to Hit Record Milestone by 2065



Note: Data labels are for 1850, 1890, 1970, 2015 and 2065.

Source: Gibson and Jung (2006) for 1850 to 1890; Edmonston and Passel (1994) estimates for 1900-1950; Pew Research Center estimates for 1960-2015 based on adjusted census data; Pew Research Center projections for 2015-2065

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projections show that if current demographic trends continue, future immigrants and their descendants will be an even bigger source of population growth. Between 2015 and 2065, they are projected to account for 88% of the U.S. population increase, or 103 million people, as the nation grows to 441 million.

These are some key findings of a new Pew Research analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and new Pew Research U.S. population projections through 2065, which provide a 100-year look at immigration's impact on population growth and on racial and ethnic change. In addition, this report uses newly released Pew Research survey data to examine U.S. public attitudes toward immigration, and it employs census data to analyze changes in the characteristics of recently arrived immigrants and paint a statistical portrait of the historical and 2013 foreign-born populations.

#### Post-1965 Immigration Drives U.S. Population Growth Through 2065

Immigration since 1965 has swelled the nation's foreign-born population from 9.6 million then to a record 45 million in 2015.<sup>1</sup> (The current immigrant population is lower than the 59 million total who arrived since 1965 because of deaths and departures from the U.S.)<sup>2</sup> By 2065, the U.S. will have 78 million immigrants, according to the new Pew Research population projections.

The nation's immigrant population increased sharply from 1970 to 2000, though the rate of growth has slowed since then. Still, the U.S. has—by far—the

world's largest immigrant population, holding about one-in-five of the world's immigrants (Connor, Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013).

Between 1965 and 2015, new immigrants, their children and their grandchildren accounted for 55% of U.S. population growth. They added 72 million people to the nation's population as it grew from 193 million in 1965 to 324 million in 2015.

This fast-growing immigrant population also has driven the share of the U.S. population that is foreign born from 5% in 1965 to 14% today and will push it to a projected record 18% in 2065. Already, today's 14% foreign-born share is a near historic record for the U.S., just slightly below the 15% levels seen shortly after the turn of the 20th century. The combined population share of immigrants and their U.S.-born children, 26% today, is projected to rise to 36% in 2065, at least equaling previous peak levels at the turn of the 20th century.

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act made significant changes to U.S. immigration policy by sweeping away a long-standing national origins quota system that favored immigrants from Europe and replacing it with one that emphasized family reunification and skilled immigrants. At the time, relatively few anticipated the size or demographic impact of the post-1965 immigration flow (Gjelten, 2015). In absolute numbers, the roughly 59 million immigrants who arrived in the U.S. between 1965 and 2015 exceed those who arrived in the great waves of European-dominated immigration during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1840 and 1889, 14.3 million immigrants came to the U.S., and

between 1890 and 1919, an additional 18.2 million arrived (see Table 1 for details).

After the replacement of the nation's European-focused origin quota system, greater numbers of immigrants from other parts of the world began to come to the U.S. Among immigrants who have arrived since 1965, half (51%) are from Latin America and one-quarter are from Asia. By comparison, both of the U.S. immigration waves in the mid-19th century and early 20th century consisted almost entirely of European immigrants.

## Latin American and Asian Immigration Since 1965 Changes U.S. Racial and Ethnic Makeup

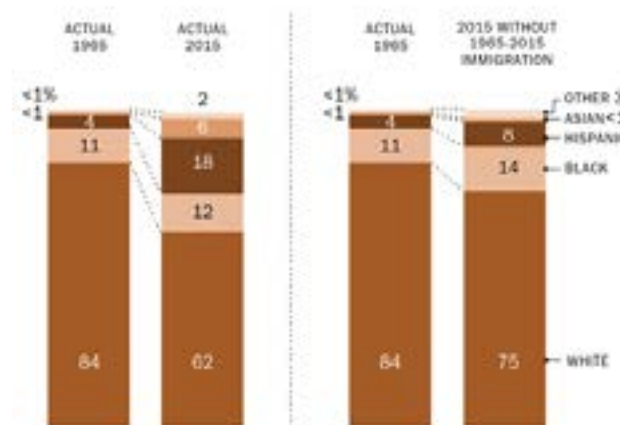
As a result of its changed makeup and rapid growth, new immigration since 1965 has altered the nation's racial and ethnic composition. In 1965, 84% of Americans were non-Hispanic whites. By 2015, that share had declined to 62%. Meanwhile, the Hispanic share of the U.S. population rose from 4% in 1965 to 18% in 2015. Asians also saw their share rise, from less than 1% in 1965 to 6% in 2015.

The Pew Research analysis shows that without any post-1965 immigration, the nation's racial and ethnic composition would be very different today: 75% white, 14% black, 8% Hispanic and less than 1% Asian.

The arrival of so many immigrants slightly reduced the nation's median age, the age at which half the population is older and half is younger. The U.S. population's median age in 1965 was 28 years, rising to 38 years in 2015 and a projected 42 years in 2065.

## Post-1965 Immigration Wave Reshapes America's Racial and Ethnic Population Makeup

% of U.S. population



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only single-race non-Hispanics. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Hispanics are of any race. Numbers for "2015 without 1965-2015 immigration" exclude immigrants arriving from 1965 to 2015 and their descendants.

Source: Pew Research Center estimates based on adjusted census data.

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Without immigration since 1965, the nation's median age would have been slightly older—41 years in 2015; without immigration from 2015 to 2065, it would be a projected 45 years.

By 2065, the composition of the nation's immigrant population will change again, according to Pew Research projections. In 2015, 47% of immigrants residing in the U.S. are Hispanic, but as immigration from Latin America, especially Mexico (Passel, Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2012), has slowed in recent years, the share of the foreign born who are Hispanic

is expected to fall to 31% by 2065. Meanwhile, Asian immigrants are projected to make up a larger share of all immigrants, becoming the largest immigrant group by 2055 and making up 38% of the foreign-born population by 2065. (Hispanics will remain a larger share of the nation's overall population.) Pew Research projections also show that black immigrants and white immigrants together will become a slightly larger share of the nation's immigrants by 2065 than in 2015 (29% vs. 26%).

The country's overall population will feel the impact of these shifts. Non-Hispanic whites are projected to become less than half of the U.S. population by 2055 and 46% by 2065. No racial or ethnic group will constitute a majority of the U.S. population. Meanwhile, Hispanics will see their population share rise to 24% by 2065 from 18% today, while Asians will see their share rise to 14% by 2065 from 6% today.

## From Ireland to Germany to Italy to Mexico: Where Each State's Largest Immigrant Group Was Born, 1850 to 2013

The United States has long been—and continues to be—a key destination for the world's immigrants. Over the decades, immigrants from different parts of the world arrived in the U.S. and settled in different states and cities. This led to the rise of immigrant communities in many parts of the U.S.

The nation's first great influx of immigrants came from Northern and Western Europe. In 1850, the Irish were the largest immigrant group nationally and in most East Coast and Southern states. By the 1880s, Germans were the nation's largest immigrant group

## Sources of Immigration to the U.S., by Era

Era and country	Total	%
<b>Modern Era (1960-2013)</b>	<b>56,520,000</b>	<b>100</b>
Mexico	16,275,000	29
China*	3,175,000	6
India	2,700,000	5
Philippines	2,350,000	4
Korea	1,725,000	3
Vietnam	1,500,000	3
Cuba	1,500,000	3
El Salvador	1,500,000	3
Former USSR	1,450,000	3
Dominican Republic	1,325,000	2
Latin America	29,750,000	51
South/East Asia	14,700,000	26
Europe, total	6,900,000	12
Africa/Middle East	4,550,000	8
Canada**	1,150,000	2
All other	1,450,000	3
<b>Southern/Eastern Europe Wave (1890-1913)</b>	<b>18,244,000</b>	<b>100</b>
Italy	3,764,000	21
Austria-Hungary	3,690,000	20
Russia & Poland	3,188,000	17
United Kingdom	1,170,000	6
Germany	1,082,000	6
Ireland***	917,000	5
Europe, total	16,134,000	88
North/West Europe	4,757,000	26
South/East Europe	11,377,000	62
Canada	835,000	5
Latin America	551,000	3
South/East Asia	315,000	2
Africa/Middle East	332,000	2
Other/Not specified	77,000	<0.5
<b>Northern Europe Wave (1840-1880)</b>	<b>14,314,000</b>	<b>100</b>
Germany	4,282,000	30
Ireland***	3,209,000	23
United Kingdom	2,586,000	18
Norway-Sweden	883,000	6
Europe, total	12,757,000	89
North/West Europe	11,700,000	82
South/East Europe	1,050,000	7
Canada	1,034,000	7
Latin America	301,000	2
South/East Asia	293,000	2
Africa/Middle East	5,000	<0.5
Other/Not specified	124,000	1

Note: Population figures rounded to the nearest 25,000 for 1960-2013; nearest thousand for earlier waves. Data for 1960-2013 include legal and unauthorized immigrants; for 1840-1913, only legal admissions are included. \*Includes Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao. \*\*Includes other North America. \*\*\*Includes Northern Ireland. Persons from Puerto Rico not included.

Source: For 1960-2013, Pew Research Center estimates based on adjusted census data; for 1840-1913, Office of Immigration Statistics, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2008, Table 2.

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in many Midwestern and Southern states. At the same time, changes to U.S. immigration policy had a great impact on the source countries of immigrants. In 1880, Chinese immigrants were the largest foreign-born group in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Nevada. But with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Chinese immigrants were prevented from entering the U.S. As a result, other immigrant groups rose to become the largest in those states.

By the early 20th century, a new wave of immigration was underway, with a majority coming from Southern Europe and Eastern Europe. By the 1930s, Italians were the largest immigrant group in the nation and in nine states, including New York, Louisiana, New Jersey and Nevada.

The composition of immigrants changed again in the post-1965 immigration era. By the 1980s, Mexicans became the nation's largest immigrant group; by 2013, they were the largest immigrant group in 33 states. But other immigrant groups are represented as well. Chinese immigrants are the largest immigrant group in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Indians are the largest immigrant group in New Jersey. Filipinos are the largest immigrant group in Alaska and Hawaii.

For more, explore our decade-by-decade interactive map feature.

For the U.S. Public, Views of Immigrants and Their Impact on U.S. Society Are Mixed

For its part, the American public has mixed views on the impact immigrants have had on American society, according to a newly released Pew Research Center

public opinion survey. Overall, 45% of Americans say immigrants in the U.S. are making American society better in the long run, while 37% say they are making it worse (16% say immigrants are not having much effect). The same survey finds that half of Americans want to see immigration to the U.S. reduced (49%), and eight-in-ten (82%) say the U.S. immigration system either needs major changes or it needs to be completely rebuilt.

The public's views of immigrants' impact on the U.S. vary across different aspects of American life. Views are most negative about the economy and crime: Half of U.S. adults say immigrants are making things worse in those areas. On the economy, 28% say immigrants are making things better, while 20% say they are not having much of an effect. On crime, by contrast, just 7% say immigrants are making things better, while 41% generally see no positive or negative impact of immigrants in the U.S. on crime.

On other aspects of U.S. life, Americans are more likely to hold neutral views of the impact of immigrants. Some 45% say immigrants are not having much effect on social and moral values, and 56% say they are not having much effect on science and technology. But when it comes to food, music and the arts, about half (49%) of adults say immigrants are making things better.

U.S. adults' views on the impact of immigrants on American society also differ depending on where immigrants are from. Some 47% of U.S. adults say immigrants from Asia have had a mostly positive impact on American society, and 44% say the same about immigrants from Europe. Meanwhile, half of

Americans say the impact of immigrants from Africa has been neither positive nor negative.

However, Americans are more likely to hold negative views about the impact of immigrants from Latin America and the Middle East. In the case of Latin American immigrants, 37% of American adults say their impact on American society has been mostly negative, 35% say their impact is neither positive nor negative, and just 26% say their impact on American society has been positive. For immigrants from the Middle East, views are similar—39% of U.S. adults say their impact on American society has been mostly negative, 39% say their impact has been neither positive nor negative, and just 20% say their impact has been mostly positive on U.S. society.

Many Americans say that immigrants to the U.S. are not assimilating. Two-thirds of adults say immigrants in the U.S. today generally want to hold on to their home country customs and way of life, while only about a third (32%) say immigrants want to adopt Americans customs. The survey also finds that 59% of Americans say most recent immigrants do not learn English within a reasonable amount of time, while 39% say they do.

The nationally representative bilingual survey of 3,147 adults was conducted online using the Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel from March 10 to April 6, 2015, before the current national discussion began about national immigration policy, unauthorized immigration and birthright citizenship. The survey has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level.

## What's the Plan B if You Get Deported? A Generational Divide

*A debate in the Estrada home showcases a generation gap in many Latino homes in California and elsewhere — driven by a national discussion over immigration and a steady move in California toward easing restrictions on people in the country illegally.*

By Cindy Carcamo, *The Los Angeles Times*

If immigration officials catch him some day and he is deported, Angel Estrada, 48, already knows whom he will call, and at what hotel in Mexico he will meet his family before attempting to rebuild his life in his hometown of Cuernavaca.

Estrada's daughter, Karla, 24, who like her father is in the country illegally, has no plans to leave so easily — or quietly.

"If they are going to deport me, they are going to have a very bad taste in their mouth," said Karla, who has lived in the United States since she was 5.



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"I'm going to call this person, this organization, this lawyer. I'll get on Facebook ... Twitter. I'm going to do a media circus. I'm going to stay in this country."

The debate in the Estrada home showcases a generational divide in many Latino homes in California and elsewhere — driven by a national debate over immigration and a steady move in California toward easing restrictions on people in the country illegally.

Angel Estrada and his wife, Gloria, came to "Pete Wilson's California," as he calls it, during a period when hostility toward illegal immigration in the 1990s prompted voters to approve Proposition 187. They were young and in the country illegally at a time when they could be easily rounded up with little protest, and so they learned to keep their heads down, to trudge along without drawing attention to themselves.

Their daughter, a recent UCLA graduate, grew up in the digital age, with immigration activists ready to wage battle on social media and via street demonstrations for people just like her. To Karla, her immigration status is not something to hide.

Sitting next to her father in the living room of their Chino home, she disagrees when her mother says in Spanish: "It scares us when she talks about it. We tell her, 'Karla, don't talk about that. Don't be so open about it, there on Facebook.'"

"My parents always say it's better to keep quiet, not say anything and just try to blend in," Karla said. "For me it's no longer about blending in. It's more like 'Yes. I'm undocumented and so what?'"

The young ones these days aren't even scared to say they are undocumented. They see it as something normal.- Angel Estrada

Karla is about the age her father was when he came to a much more hostile California. She's living through another period of strong rhetoric against illegal immigration, with Republican presidential candidates, led by billionaire businessman Donald Trump, talking about mass deportations, criminal immigrants and building giant walls along the Mexican border.

But she's also living in a state where last month Gov. Jerry Brown signed immigration-related measures that included one that removed the word "alien" from California's labor code. He also signed legislation allowing noncitizens in high school to serve as election poll workers and protecting the rights of immigrant minors in civil suits. The state also allows people in the country illegally to obtain driver's licenses.

Since the last mass legalization in 1986, there are at least two main generations of people who are in the country without legal status, said Roberto Gonzales, a Harvard sociologist.

"Compared to their parents, undocumented youth are more connected to the people and places that surround them," he said. "Relationships with native-born peers and teachers instruct them that they can achieve the American dream — to believe that, if they work hard and play by the rules, they will have opportunities to become whatever they choose."

Karla is a participant in President Obama's 2012

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, which gives a work permit and a deportation reprieve to people who were brought to the U.S. as children and stayed illegally. Even before she got her reprieve, she said, she felt that there was a large, digitally and politically savvy network of activists ready to stand with someone like her.

"I don't know why they won't fight," she said of her parents. "I would. And if they let me, I will call everyone in order to help my parents out to come back to the country."

When Angel Estrada came to California, he didn't even like to wave the Mexican flag, let alone talk about his legal status.

"The young ones these days aren't even scared to say they are undocumented," he said. "They see it as something normal."

This year, as people without legal status rushed to apply for driver's licenses, he hesitated. He wondered if the driver's license he got in the early 1990s with a fake Social Security number would get him in trouble.

At his daughter's urging, he applied, explaining his situation to a DMV clerk, who told him his new driver's license would probably arrive in the mail if he hadn't committed any infractions or felonies with his last license.

"I feel a sense of security because I know how to speak English perfectly. I have American habits," Karla said. "I have the culture. I listen to their music. I have their mentality of the ... American dream."



The passage of Proposition 187, a ballot measure intended to deny taxpayer-funded services to those in the country illegally, including children, galvanized Latinos in California to vote more, and created a generation of better-organized and politically connected activists.

In the early 2000s, the rise in human smuggling of immigrants helped build a cottage industry of lawyers who represented them after they were captured in police raids. This made it easier for some immigrants to avoid deportation, at least for a while.

Though he had come to the country illegally first in 1988, Angel Estrada left Cuernavaca for the U.S. with his family for good after their middle-class life there crumbled following the devaluation of the Mexican peso in the mid-1990s. Back then, he said, it was relatively easy to hop the border.

His plan was simple. Work, and work hard to support his family the best way he could. When his daughter started getting involved in activism, and let her studies lag, her parents urged her to stop, telling her: "You have to study because we came here to this country and we suffered during the crossing and we don't want for you to stay behind. You have to go forward."

Karla listened and began to balance her activism and her studies better, he said.

But she had no plans to stop speaking out.

Karla helped organize protests in Costa Mesa and acts of civil disobedience in Washington. By 2010,

she started to identify herself as "undocumented and unafraid."

By then, her parents wanted to see what all the hype was about, so they accompanied her to a meeting where young activists gave "testimony" about life in the U.S.

Her parents shook their heads, recalling the situation.

"It was just one sad story after another," her father said. "There was just a lot of lamenting of their situations."

His daughter interrupted: "But Papa ... they were healing circles."

Karla and her parents still disagree on some matters, particularly on the handling of the immigrant rights movement. Her father and mother cringe every time they see a Mexican flag at rallies, saying that "it's in poor taste" and a "disrespectful" act that only serves to anger politicians and Americans.

"These are extremists that don't represent me. I think they have to realize that they are in someone else's country and have to adapt themselves to this country," Angel Estrada said. "We have to behave well because the country is watching us."

Sometimes it's difficult for Karla's parents to accept some of her beliefs and actions. Sometimes, with a laugh, they hint that they are as inspired by them.

"She doesn't have any fear. That makes me feel so proud," her father said. "We created this generation. We just didn't know just how far this generation would take us."

## FocusON Media

### Reporting Is Ugly

*By Barry Petchesky, Deadspin, Pew Research*

I spent one Christmas knocking on the doors of the parents of murdered children. The families were gathered around the trees in their living rooms, sobbing loudly or sitting quietly in shock. I asked grieving mothers to describe their dead boys. What were they like? What will you miss most about them? What presents did you get them that they'll never open? I hated it. I did it because people wanted to read it, and because it was important that they did.

We have already reached the smarm phase of today's mass shooting on an Oregon college campus. Your Twitter timeline is likely filled with comments and variations on this:

These people in the replies all have two things in common: they are reporters, and they are reporting.

This is the gruesome business of newsgathering laid bare. It is invaluable and messy and it not only doesn't diverge from the most basic principles of journalism, it exemplifies them. This is a massive breaking story; the nation is deliriously thirsty for facts and details; and the reporters and producers clogging up a witness's timeline are the ones who are going to bring you that news.

Over the coming hours and days, millions of people are going to watch millions of hours and read millions of words on the Umpqua Community College shooting. They will learn what it looked like, from witnesses

who escaped with their lives; they will learn about the victims—their lives, their hobbies, their dreams—from their friends and families; they will learn about the killer's (or killers') backgrounds and motives. Many of the same people who will eagerly consume this heartbreaking and enlightening information are the ones now criticizing the reporters gathering it for them. Where the fuck does the public think this news comes from?

The public may say it doesn't want the horrible details; ratings, circulation, and traffic say the public is lying. The public may claim it values accuracy over speed, and that it is monstrous to contact witnesses this soon after a tragedy; the broad and voracious consumption of breaking reports, and the tendency to spread them as far and wide as possible, argue otherwise. The public will definitely immediately turn on CNN when news is breaking, then mock CNN for having clueless reporters uselessly speculate because there's nothing to report yet, then turn to another channel to see if they've got something to report.

No outlet could conceivably think of sitting out the race to report something like this. Before television, when getting news before competitors was a question of days, newspaper reporters knocked on doors. Before the internet, when being first was a question of hours, TV trucks camped out in front yards. Now reporters tweet because it is the fastest (and, for the moment for non-local outlets, the only) way to contact those who have announced themselves as witnesses. It's logical, it's efficient, and it's about a million times less ghoulish than what came before it.

The basic process of reporters asking strangers what they saw has been going on for a very long time now.



If there's been a change in recent years, it's that the public—on whose behalf reporters gather and distill first-hand accounts—can now see the raw process involved in informing them about what's happening in the world around them. They may not like what they see, but I guarantee that that won't change their behavior. Where it's convenient, they'll signal virtue by expressing disgust or high-mindedness; when they're done, they'll read and watch the stories.

Let me say—both objectively, and as someone who had spent that Christmas Eve trying to bluff and sneak my way into a hospital to interview the badly burned family whose home had burned down because of faulty Christmas lighting—that it is immensely less invasive to tweet at someone than to do things the way reporters have traditionally done them. The witness above can ignore the reporters in her timeline. Ten years ago, they would have been waiting for her when she got home and calling until she took her phone off the hook—and not out of any bad motives, but because they wanted to get accurate facts about what had happened.

Some reporters are assholes; this doesn't excuse them, and it doesn't absolve anyone of foregoing basic decency when going about their jobs, but by and large, the reporters and producers doing this don't like it any more than you do, and aren't any more crass about it than you would be. They are human. The ones contacting victims are almost always young, resting at the bottom of the journalism totem pole. Because no one wants to do this. Getting facts is shit work. I was fresh out of school when door-knocking was my daily routine, and it devastated me. More than once I got home, exhausted and sick-mad at the world, and just cried. And then I went in the next day and did it again. Because I didn't have much of a choice—not if I wanted to keep my job and graduate to a place where some other poor kid would have to do the door-knocking instead. Reporters don't contact victims and bystanders because they get off on it; they do it because they're a small part of a long-established news ecosystem that begins and ends with an audience that understandably wants to know what the facts are, which is to say that it wants to hear what victims and bystanders saw.

I got out of tabloid reporting because I couldn't take feeling awful anymore. One former co-worker said she got out of it the moment she realized she had been doing it long enough to stop feeling awful. But there are reporters wired for this stuff—the cruel, cold, invaluable business of reporting on a tragedy. It's because of those reporters that we're going to know anything about the terrible thing that happened in Oregon today, and if you think a public that knows what's happening in the world a good thing, you should be glad they're doing the ugly work.

## FocusON Sports

### Coca-Cola, Visa, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch Call on FIFA's Sepp Blatter to Resign

By Andrew Das

Four of the top corporate sponsors of FIFA, world soccer's governing body, took coordinated aim at the organization's president, Sepp Blatter, on Friday, calling for him to resign and labeling him an obstacle to reform.

Mr. Blatter immediately rejected the demands of the four companies — Visa, Coca-Cola, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch InBev — suggesting that FIFA saw the public statements as little more than an idle threat.

"Every day that passes, the image and reputation of FIFA continues to tarnish," Coca-Cola said in a news release, a sentiment that was quickly amplified in similar statements by the other sponsors. "FIFA needs comprehensive and urgent reform, and that can only be accomplished through a truly independent approach."

Anheuser-Busch InBev called Mr. Blatter an "obstacle" to reform, and McDonald's cited diminishing public confidence in his leadership. Visa said, "We believe no meaningful reform can be made under FIFA's existing leadership."

"Mr. Blatter respectfully disagrees with its position," Richard Cullen, Mr. Blatter's lawyer, said in response



to Coca-Cola's statement, "and believes firmly that his leaving office now would not be in the best interest of FIFA nor would it advance the process of reform and therefore, he will not resign."

The four sponsors that called for Blatter's resignation are some of FIFA's most prominent and longest-serving benefactors. Coca-Cola and Visa are two

of FIFA's five official partners, its highest level of sponsorship, and each has paid tens of millions of dollars to be associated with soccer's biggest events. Like Coca-Cola, a World Cup sponsor since 1982, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch InBev have relationships with FIFA that go back decades.

Mr. Blatter has been FIFA's president since 1998, but

after several top soccer and marketing officials closely linked to FIFA were arrested in May — and only days after he won a fifth term as president — he announced that he would give up his office. He called for a special election to choose his successor; that vote will be held in February.

Top sponsors initially reacted cautiously to the scandal and to Mr. Blatter's announcement that he would step down, releasing statements that blandly called for more transparency and higher ethical standards. A few statements did not even mention Mr. Blatter.

FIFA was aware of the sponsors' unhappiness about being connected with yet another ethical scandal involving world soccer's leadership and said it would meet with the companies' representatives privately to discuss their concerns. That meeting took place in August; Coca-Cola, Visa, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch InBev were among the companies represented.

Last week, however, Swiss authorities announced that they were investigating Mr. Blatter directly for "suspicion of criminal mismanagement and suspicion of misappropriation" of funds. On Sept. 25, a group of officials from the office of Switzerland's attorney general arrived at FIFA headquarters in Zurich and, over the next few hours, interrogated Mr. Blatter at length, searched his office and took boxes of documents.

"Given the events of last week," Visa said Friday, "it's clear it would be in the best interests of FIFA and the sport for Sepp Blatter to step down immediately."

Anheuser-Busch InBev went further in calling for Mr. Blatter to step down, saying that "we believe his

continued presence to be an obstacle in the reform process."

The pressure from corporations could make it harder for Mr. Blatter to hold on to FIFA's presidency until the special election in February. It is unclear what the companies can do other than express their displeasure through public statements like Friday's announcements and in private meetings with FIFA's leadership. Contracts bind the companies to FIFA for years, and their long partnerships are a testament to their eagerness to be associated, if not with FIFA, then at least with global events like the World Cup.

In rejecting the calls for his resignation almost as quickly as they were announced, Mr. Blatter might have been signaling that he was prepared to call the sponsors' bluffs. He also may be counting on FIFA's ability to replace them if they withdraw their financial support in the future. When two major corporate partners, Sony and Emirates, publicly ended their sponsorship agreements with FIFA last year, the blow was softened by a deal already in place with the Russian energy giant Gazprom.

Still, keeping his post is not entirely Mr. Blatter's decision. FIFA's ethics committee could suspend him, at least provisionally, as a result of the Swiss attorney general's accusations. That was what the committee did to the officials indicted and arrested in May. And last month, Mr. Blatter's top deputy, the FIFA general secretary Jérôme Valcke, was relieved of his duties after he was accused in an unrelated ethics investigation.

*This story was first published in The NYTimes.*

## FocusON Entertainment

### Cisneros Media Launches MOBIUS.LAB Productions

Cisneros Media Distribution, a global distributor of entertainment content, today announced the signing of a deal with Getty Images Latin America for the development and worldwide commercialization of programmable content, exploiting the international agency's vault of millions of images and thousands of hours of audiovisual material, including 4K videos.

The landmark co-production agreement led Cisneros Media Distribution to establish a new creative unit, MOBIUS.LAB Productions, dedicated exclusively to the creation and production of content and innovative formats in a variety of lengths, considering audiences' habits of multiple-screen viewing. CMD will showcase over 20 different shows currently being developed by MOBIUS.LAB Productions at the upcoming international market, MIPCOM 2015.

"Any event taking place around the globe is immediately captured by Getty Images' award-winning photographers and cinematographers. The material will then be curated by a handpicked creative team that will develop and produce arresting content in all formats, genres and lengths in accordance to clients' needs for any technological platform," emphasized Marcello Coltro, EVP, Content Distribution of Cisneros Media. "MOBIUS.LAB, a brand inspired by the mathematical infinity concept of the Mobius strip, is the pillar of our strategy based on the production process trend formed by the Multi-Channel Network industry,

anticipating the sharing-generation entertainment needs of the Millennial cyber-audience and introduces new ways to connect with the traditional viewers by crowd sourcing ideas among our clients.”

“We are excited about Cisneros Media Distribution’s vision for MOBIUS.LAB,” said Marina Engels, Managing Partner of Getty Images Latin America. “Their creative vision and executional capabilities, combined with Getty Images Latin America’s unrivaled editorial and stock footage, photos and music should work to produce some exceptional and dynamic content.”

MOBIUS.LAB Productions will generate programs showcasing Getty Images’ extraordinary archive of 80 million still images and illustrations, over 50,000 hours of stock film footage, including 4K videos, and an extensive music library - all with global rights, including the United States general market. The content will follow three production lines: thematic, formats and pick-and-produce. These three concepts will be customized to cater to a client’s individual needs and delivered within a thirty-day time-frame.

For example, under the pick-and-produce production line, there will be a menu entitled “The Year in Focus,” which will enable each client to select from a vast library of material on the important events that happened during 2015. Categories will contain world events, politics and socio-economic affairs, pop culture, arts and entertainment, sports, travel, food, educational, and ‘in memoriam’.

MOBIUS.LAB Productions is a new and infinite chapter of the content generator #YourStoryHere, which was launched by CMD in January of this year.

## FocusON CubaNear

### U.S. Airlines ‘Eager’ to Begin Scheduled Service to Cuba

By *Mimi Whitefield*

Five or six major U.S. airlines are “eager” to begin scheduled service to the island, but after a second round of talks between the United States and Cuba on civil aviation matters this week, there’s still no timetable for when such service could begin, a U.S. State Department official said Thursday.

The U.S. and Cuba held talks on civil aviation matters Monday and Tuesday in Havana and had “a good, candid exchange of views,” the official said. The first round of aviation talks was held in Washington in March and it’s possible there will be a third round in coming months.

“U.S. carriers are generally eager” to reach an informal arrangement that would allow scheduled service to begin “as soon as possible,” said the official, who declined to be more specific.

The move is part of the Obama administration’s goal of providing broader travel between the United States and Cuba as the two countries work toward normalizing relations. Diplomatic ties were restored and embassies were reopened on July 20.

The official said that Cuba has made it clear it wants reciprocity — meaning it also would like its airlines to offer scheduled service to the United States.

However, that desire could be complicated by civil judgments in U.S. courts against the Cuban

government. Filed by those who claim they or family members have suffered abuses at the hands of the Cuban government, the suits have been piling up — as have the judgments, to the tune of several billion dollars. The plaintiffs have won their cases by default because Cuba has chosen not to defend itself.

If Cuban aircraft fly to the United States, there is a danger the planes could be seized to satisfy judgments. “Yes, that is a theoretical possibility,” said the official. “The topic has come up.”

Once we get the green light to offer regularly scheduled service, we are ready to go.

Martha Pantin, American Airlines spokesperson.

The U.S. negotiators have been careful to make their Cuban counterparts understand there are “executive limitations” in helping on such matters, said the official. “I believe the Cuban side is very clear on what those limitations would be.”

Cuban leader Raúl Castro flew to New York last week to attend the United Nations General Assembly aboard a Cubana de Aviación plane, but it was a charter rather than a regularly scheduled flight.

“Nothing that I’ve heard indicates there’s been a solution to this,” said Washington attorney Robert Muse. “I’ve heard rumors of possible work-arounds, for example, [the Cubans] leasing a plane from a third party. But at the end of the day it seems that plane would also be subject to seizures and attachments.”

While the legality of using third-party aircraft was debated, such planes would likely be grounded, Muse said, delaying and complicating air travel between the

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two countries. "Miami would be particularly vulnerable to this because the bulk of these lawsuits emanate from Miami-Dade County," he said.

Another scenario is that the "U.S. government could always file a statement of interest and seek to have the suits vacated," Muse said. But that, too, could be a long process.

The State Department official said the two sides also discussed aviation safety and security, the U.S. regulatory environment and its impact on Cuban airlines flying to the United States, and the aviation infrastructure in Cuba.

The island currently has 10 international airports. As travel to Cuba increases, the official said, the Cubans

are "mindful" of the infrastructure challenges and are working on them.

Meanwhile, several commercial airlines, including JetBlue and American Airlines, have been leasing their planes to U.S. charter companies that fly to Cuba under license from the U.S. Treasury Department.

Having a leased JetBlue or American plane on the tarmac in Cuba is like an advance calling card for commercial airlines interested in flights to the island. "They would also like to provide scheduled service themselves," said the official.

"Once we get the green light to offer regularly scheduled service, we are ready to go," said Martha Pantin, an AA spokesperson.

American Airlines planes are used on some 22 weekly charter flights to Cuba, surpassing any other carrier, she said. They serve Camagüey, Cienfuegos, Holguín, Havana and Santa Clara from Miami and Tampa, and American plans to begin charter service from Los Angeles to Havana in December.

Working with charter companies, JetBlue also has leased its planes for several Florida-Cuba routes, and it will begin a second flight from New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport to Havana on Dec. 1.

Reaching an arrangement for scheduled service wouldn't necessarily mean the end of Cuba charter service, said the official: "In no way are we trying to limit or restrict charters." The intent, the official said, is to provide more choices to consumers.

*This article was first published in The Miami Herald.*

## FocusON La Politica

### Bernie Sanders: Undocumented Immigrants Should Benefit from Obamacare

By Ed O'Keefe and John Wagner

Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders supports allowing some of the nation's undocumented immigrants to obtain health-care coverage under the Affordable Care Act, he told Democratic lawmakers on Thursday.

The Vermont senator, who is running a competitive race against Democratic presidential front-runner Hillary Rodham Clinton, made the comments during a 45-minute meeting with members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, according to attendees. The 26-member group is comprised entirely of House and Senate Democrats.

Aides later said that Sanders believes that in certain cases, undocumented immigrants should be able to purchase health insurance through the exchanges set up under Obamacare, using their own money. The senator has not advocated allowing the undocumented immigrants to receive federal subsidies, his aides said.

The meeting, held in the Longworth House Office Building, was Sanders's first formal meeting with his Latino colleagues to talk about his presidential campaign, and the exchange came the same morning that his campaign announced raising \$26 million during the third quarter, nearly beating Clinton's fundraising haul.

Clinton enjoys a wide lead among Hispanic Democrats

and on Thursday announced the formation of "Latinos for Hillary," which will focus on building Latino support for her campaign.

Sanders's support for expanding the Affordable Care Act could put Clinton in a tough spot.

Federal law bars undocumented immigrants from enrolling in health-care exchanges. But on Wednesday, Rep. Luis Gutierrez (D-Ill.), a vocal immigration reform supporter, and other Democrats introduced a bill that would extend Affordable Care Act coverage to undocumented immigrants.

Gutierrez said Wednesday that expanding the law would create younger and healthier patient pools, likely leading to lower insurance costs for Americans already enrolled in insurance exchanges.

Sanders endorsed the concept during the meeting in response to a question from one of the caucus members, attendees said.

The meeting on Thursday comes as Sanders is trying to step up his outreach to both African American and Latino voters, two groups he hasn't had to court during his long representation of a state that is about 95 percent white. Both will be key constituencies once the Democratic Party's nominating process moves beyond Iowa and New Hampshire, states with predominantly white populations.

During the meeting, Sanders conceded that he has work to do on his outreach to Latinos, attendees said. To that end, he told the group that he has hired two Latino Democratic activists to help work on Hispanic outreach.

The first is Chuck Rocha, a consultant who has experience working on political campaigns and with labor unions and

served as the national labor director for the Democratic presidential campaigns of Dick Gephardt in 2004 and John Edwards in 2008. The other is Arturo Carmona, the executive director of Presente.org, a Latino advocacy organization based in Los Angeles that has been sharply critical of the Obama administration's immigration policy.

When President Obama announced last year that he would wait until after the midterm elections to make promised changes to immigration policy provoked raw anger, Carmona told The Washington Post that "for Obama, politics comes before Latino lives." He said Obama had "raised the hopes of millions of Latinos across the country by promoting anticipation for an executive action, only to smash them for perceived political gain."

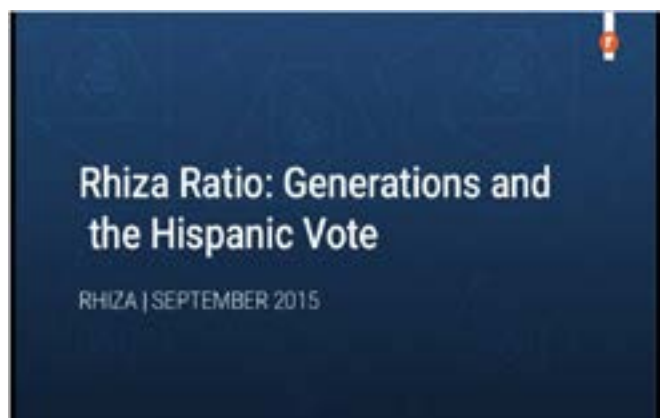
Rocha and Carmona didn't immediately return requests for comment on Thursday.

Sanders also recently hired Lilia Chacon, a former broadcast journalist from Chicago. She is both serving as Sanders's Iowa press secretary and helping with outreach nationally to Latino voters.

On the campaign trail, Sanders's hour-long stump speech now includes a section about immigration reform, in which he says he will press to bring 11 million undocumented workers "out of the shadows." Among other things, the senator has pledged to expand Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program to include many parents, with the goal of keeping families united.

As part of his outreach efforts, earlier this week Sanders fielded questions in Spanish on the Facebook page of Univision.

## Rhiza Ratio Takes a Granular Look at the Hispanic Vote In 2016



With heightened awareness of the importance of the Hispanic vote in the 2016 presidential election, the latest round of the Rhiza Ratio takes a granular look at this segment of the voter population. Specifically, the Rhiza Ratio examines party affiliation, media habits and policy preferences—including gun control based on age.

The following data intersections were discovered using Rhiza's platform, with data culled from the L2 Nationwide Voter File which includes anonymized voter registration data, and the Simmons Local Survey and Scarborough GfK/MRI Attitudinal Insights.

Data: L2 Nationwide Voter File, published July 2015

Simmons Local Survey, published 2014-07

Scarborough GfK/MRI Attitudinal Insights, published 2015

### Political Party Preferences By Generation:

- Hispanic voters aged 45-59 have the highest proportion of Republican affiliation compared to other age groups. Of those registered Hispanic voters ages 45-59, 18.4% are Republican. This age group has the smallest proportion of non-partisan affiliates at 20.8%.
- Overwhelmingly, respondents in each age group reported Democratic as the leading party affiliation, with 52.6%, 55.5%, and 57.4% of 18-29, 30-44 and 45-59 year-olds, respectively, reporting in this manner.
- Hispanics ages 18-29 reported the lowest proportion of Republican Party affiliation at 10.2% of voters in that age group.

### Policy Stances By Generation:

- Hispanics ages 18-29 are the largest Hispanic age group inclined to support gun control, and approximately 37% are more likely to hold this policy position compared to the national average.
- On the Affordable Care Act, Hispanics ages 18-29 are the highest supporters, with about 76% of those in that age group more likely to support the legislation compared to the national average.
- On the issue of gay marriage, Hispanics ages 30-44 are 48% more likely to support gay marriage policies compared to the national average, closely followed by ages 18-29 (43%). Hispanics ages 45-59 represent the largest age group to oppose gay marriage, although these respondents are still 12% less likely to oppose such policies compared to the national average.

**HispanicMarketWorks.Org**  
2120 W. Flagler St. Suite 301, Miami, FL 33135  
Tel: 305.785.2784 - Fax: 305.728.7001  
[www.hispanicmarketworks.org](http://www.hispanicmarketworks.org)

Publisher: Arturo Villar  
[avillar@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:avillar@hispanicmarketworks.org)

Social Media Director: Betty Fuentes  
[bfuentes@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:bfuentes@hispanicmarketworks.org)

Web Master: Pete Pekovsky  
[ppekovsky@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:ppekovsky@hispanicmarketworks.org)

PDF Creator: Liz Vidal  
[lvidal@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:lvidal@hispanicmarketworks.org)

Office Manager: Beatriz Cruz  
[bcruz@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:bcruz@hispanicmarketworks.org)

Staff Writer: Nicole Arguelles  
[narguelles@hispanicmarketworks.org](mailto:narguelles@hispanicmarketworks.org)

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