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Bakalářská práce

**The depiction of Mexican immigrants in the
American press**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this bachelor thesis is to analyse the depiction of Mexican immigrants in selected American newspapers and to provide the basic theoretical background of Mexican immigration into the United States of America.

The topic was chosen in order to examine the attitudes of different newspapers towards Mexican immigrants as Mexican immigration has become a widely discussed issue since Donald Trump's election as president in 2016. During the presidential campaign he publicly demonstrated his hatred for Mexican immigrants, so the author wanted to know whether the American press portrays Mexican immigrants positively or negatively.

The thesis is made up of two parts – the theoretical and the practical part. The theoretical part consists of three chapters. The first chapter clarifies two terms which it is essential to understand before starting to read the thesis itself. The second chapter deals with the history of immigration into the U.S. in general and the third chapter comprises detailed characteristics and patterns specific to Mexican immigration into the USA. This comprehensive chapter includes six principal aspects in which Mexicans differ from current and previous immigrant inflows and discusses Mexicans' integration into American society. The vast majority of information which served as the basis for the theoretical part of this thesis was found in two books; the most important being *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives* edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco who collected the results of several studies and research projects dealing with various issues regarding Mexican immigration. The second one is *Kam kráčíš, Ameriko? Krize americké identity* written by Samuel P. Huntington.

In the practical section, selected American newspapers are analysed in order to examine their approach to different topics with respect to Mexican immigrants. For this purpose, three American newspapers were selected – *The New York Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Chicago Sun-Times*. *The New York Times* represents daily broadsheets, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Chicago Sun-Times* are local newspapers. *The Chicago Sun-Times* differs from the other two in demonstrating similar features as to those of a tabloid.

The practical part is divided into three chapters, each of which is represented by one newspaper. Further, each chapter consists of four subchapters reflecting the number of different aspects analysed, namely illegal Mexican immigrants, economic perspectives, education and Mexican vs. American identity. Overall, a set of approximately 80 articles was analysed plus exclusively online sources were also used in this part. The articles were selected from the online websites of the aforementioned newspapers. All of them can be found in the Bibliography.

A table, included in this part, summarises the aspects on which the analysis has been carried out. This table lists some important findings to help the general reader understand the research easily.

2 THE EXPLANATION OF TERMS

2.1 Migration

Migration is a universal movement which can be observed all around the world. The term is used mainly in relation to people but it concerns other animate beings and inanimate objects too (Uherek et al., 2016, p. 7). This work covers the migration of people only.

Migration is understood as a movement through space for the purpose of changing a residence. This movement can be classified as temporary or permanent, legal or illegal, it can lead to a positive change or contrarily, it may be enforced. Nevertheless, there are a few cases which are not considered migration even though they involve a movement of people. We talk about short-term visits and everyday commuting (Uherek et al., 2016, p. 7). Migration is a superordinate term for emigration and immigration. Firstly, emigration is defined as leaving a native land (mainly due to a political and economic situation) and moving abroad. Secondly, immigration is a process when people from abroad settle in the state territory. Thus, an immigrant is a person who has come to a foreign country to settle there permanently (Lingea s.r.o., 2011, pp. 160, 234).

Migration has been part of the history of the world. Human migration has appeared since the very beginning of human existence; people seem to be migrants by nature (King, 2008, p. 8). Additionally, immigration has proved to be useful for each country since it broadens people's horizons and increases educational and trade opportunities. As Zdeněk Uherek (2016, pp. 90-91) points out, these aspects naturally bring a cultural change due to which the states can develop. He asserts that the culture which does not change, is dead.

However, migration seems to be one of the most discussed political problems of the 21st century as it has become more intensive and varied in the last decades. The reasons for it can be open borders, economic equality among nations, and faster, inexpensive transport consequently allowing faster and more frequent movements (King, 2008, p. 8). Such huge inflows of immigrants are globally problematic since they interfere with stability and integrity of a receiving nation (Graham & Newnham, 1998, p. 242).

2.2 The American Dream

Americans hold the view that the degree of success in life depends mostly on the skills and the character of each person. They are brought up to believe in the American

Dream which a former president Clinton described by one simple thought – if you work hard and respect rules, you should be given a chance to achieve anything you are capable of. There are unlimited opportunities, all horizons are open. Only the energy and persistence of each person determines their achievement (Huntington, 2005, p. 78).

3 IMMIGRANT AMERICA

America is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. Americans are considered to be tolerant in terms of race, ethnicity, nationality, origin and skin colour. They are judged on the basis of their performance and success, which allows that everyone can reach any target and achieve the American Dream. This is one of the reasons why many emigrants have chosen the USA as their target destination since its establishment (Huntington, 2005, pp. 9-11).

In the 18th century, the founders of America were grateful for new immigrants as they had been contributing to the development of the state. In return, America made a commitment to provide them with fertile soil, plenty of food, well-paid jobs, friendly neighbours, freedom and a hearty welcome. Thus, when the European borders opened in the 19th century, millions of Europeans arrived in America. More than half of these immigrants were of British or Irish descent and roughly one third came from Germany. One of the biggest emigrants' arrival to the USA was registered between 1740 and 1860 when almost two million Irish men and women left Ireland owing to the potato famine and poverty (King, 2008, pp. 133-138).

Apart from European immigrants, Jews from Russia reached America at the turn of the 20th century. In Russia, Jews had been victimized, anti-Jewish pogroms had been organized and as a consequence, Jews had lost their freedom. Every pogrom caused a subsequent migration flow to the West. In the course of time, America has become home for Jews not only from Russia but also from Spain and Germany (King, 2008, pp. 137-142).

At the end of the 19th century, Asian residents began to arrive in America. Chinese workers came to construct railways in the USA and along with Japanese immigrants they posed a problem on account of their perceived inability to assimilate. As a consequence of such large-scale immigration, the government adjudicated on imposing limits on immigrants in 1917 and 1924 (Huntington, 2005, pp. 63-65).

Another wave of immigrants occurred in 1965 as in this year the American government changed quotas to the benefit of immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 8). The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act stopped preferring only specific groups of immigrants and started to receive people regardless of their origin, race or religion which caused a rapid change in the structure of the American population. A new mass

immigration wave into America was predominantly comprised of immigrants from Latin America and Asia (Hamby, 2011, p. 211; Huntington, 2005, pp. 54, 152, 184). In the 1970s, 640,000 Mexicans legally reached the United States, in the 1980s the number increased to 1,656,000 and in the 1990s to 2,249,000. Since 1965 Mexicans have represented a dominant immigration group in America (Budil, 2005, p. 84; Huntington, 2005, p. 228).

4 MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

Immigration is a characteristic feature of America. The structure of the U.S. population has rapidly changed since 1945 when it consisted of 87 percent white, 10 percent black, 2.5 percent Hispanic and 0.5 percent Asian population. According to the prior course of events when the number of Mexicans in America was increasing, it was estimated that in 2050 the population will be comprised of only 52.8 percent white, 24.5 percent Hispanic, 13.6 percent black and 8.2 percent Asian (Suárez-Orozco, 1998, p. 5).

However, the aforementioned estimation has proved to be wrong, evidenced by the decreasing influx of Mexican immigrants recently. As the data suggests, between 2000 and 2006 the Mexican immigrant population in the USA increased by more than 2 million, but from 2006 to 2010 only fewer than 200,000 new Mexicans arrived in America. Migration Policy Institute states that 63 percent of Mexican immigrants settled in the USA before 2000, 31 percent from 2000 to 2009 and only 6 percent since 2010. Mexicans are not the largest group of immigrants coming to America any longer. Since 2013 Chinese people and Indians have constituted the majority of new immigrants residing in the United States. On top of that, since 2009 more Mexican immigrants have come back to their homeland than those who have arrived in the USA. More Mexicans now want to stay in Mexico predominantly because of its improving economy, worsening employment opportunities in the USA, and stricter border control (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Suárez-Orozco (1998, p. 8) rightly assumes that the enormous growth of Mexican immigrants recorded in the 1980s and 1990s will level off in the end, but it is not going to stop completely. Mexican immigrants will still represent a dominant immigrant group in the United States in the near and probably also distant future.

The latest surveys confirm this situation. According to a *Pew Research Center* analysis, Hispanics have the second highest annual influx rate after Asians. It was found out that 58.6 million Hispanics resided in the United States in 2017. Even though more Asians annually reach America, the Hispanic population is more than three times bigger than the Asian population. This fact clearly demonstrates the predominance of the Hispanic population in the United States (Krogstad, 2017).

However, the large-scale emigration from Mexico has posed an unprecedented problem for the United States in the last decades because this group of migrants differs in many aspects from previous waves of immigrants (Huntington, 2005, p. 227; Suárez-

Orozco, 1998, pp. 8-9). The concerns are understandable as Mexican immigrants represent approximately 30 percent of the foreign-born population (Jiménez & Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 337; Zong & Batalova, 2016).

4.1 The unprecedented patterns of Mexican immigration to the U.S.

Writing in his book about the American identity in 2005, the author Samuel Huntington states that contemporary immigration from Mexico has no parallel in the American history. Mexican immigrants are different from current and previous immigrant inflows and, additionally, they have not assimilated into American culture to the same degree as other immigrant communities. These circumstances consequently result in the growing Hispanization of the USA and a potential transformation of America to the society of two languages and two cultures. Huntington mentions six aspects by which Mexicans differ from previous waves of immigrants and why these make harder for Mexicans to adapt to a new environment (pp. 193, 226-227).

4.1.1 Geographical proximity

Mexico is a neighbouring country of the United States. Both states have a common border, and thus Mexicans have to overcome minor obstacles – a simple boundary line and a shallow border river – to enter the United States in contrast to the majority of immigrants who need to manage a voyage of several thousand miles. Such proximity causes low regulation and control over these immigrants as opposed to immigration from more distant countries. In addition, it is unique that the third world country (Mexico) has a continental border with the first world country (the USA). The difference between incomes in the USA and Mexico is deep which is also a reason why so many indigent Mexicans are heading to rich America (Huntington, 2005, pp. 227-228).

4.1.2 Large numbers

Since 1965 the number of Mexican immigrants in the USA has been increasing due to many factors. One of them is the aforementioned geographical proximity – the costs, difficulties, and risks related to immigration are for Mexicans significantly lower than for immigrants, coming from more remote countries. Moreover, they can keep in contact with their family and friends in Mexico because of the short distance between both states. Other factors which attract Mexican citizens are America's good economic, political and social situation and its better job opportunities (Huntington, 2005, p. 228).

In 2000, Mexican immigrants constituted 27.6% of all foreign-born population in the USA and nowadays they represent the biggest community of immigrants born abroad. Such a great number of Mexicans in America is caused not only by their preference for moving to the USA but also by a high birth rate of Hispanics (Huntington, 2005, p. 229).

4.1.3 Illegality

A significant part of the Mexican population in the U.S. is made up of unauthorized immigrants. The year 1965 appeared to be a turning point as it was almost impossible to enter the United States illegally before. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 facilitated transport and changed quotas which stimulated Mexican immigration. Between 1965 and 2000 twenty-three million new immigrants primarily from Latin America and Asia arrived in the USA and roughly two-thirds of Mexicans who settled in the USA after 1975 had crossed the border illegally. In general, the vast majority of the whole illegal immigration community in America is comprised of Mexicans which poses a threat to American social safety (Huntington, 2005, pp. 184, 230-231).

However, the number of unauthorized Mexican immigrants has decreased recently. In 2007, it was published that 6.9 million Mexican illegal immigrants resided in the USA while in 2014, only 5.8 million Mexican illegals did. Yet they still comprise roughly half of America's illegal immigrants. On top of that, Mexican unauthorized immigrants tend to settle in the United States permanently. In 2014, only 7% had stayed for less than five years whereas 78% had lived in the USA for more than ten years (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogstad, 2017).

As regards their residence, nowadays 40 percent of all authorized and unauthorized immigrants who have settled in the USA live in California and therefore it is sometimes called "the epicentre of illegal immigration". Illegal immigrants do not have compulsory medical examinations on Ellis Island as other immigrants do so their arrival is often accompanied by serious diseases like a whooping cough, tetanus or different kinds of jaundice. Additionally, an average illegal immigrant in California annually uses public services which cost roughly fifty thousand dollars. Since most of them are not taxpayers, California's households must pay off the deficit (Budil, 2005, p. 79).

4.1.4 Regional concentration

Regional dispersion of new immigrants is one of the conditions for their assimilation and it is a feature of all non-Hispanic immigrants in America. On the contrary, Mexican immigrants tend to live only in a few areas which impede their assimilation (Huntington, 2005, p. 231). About 85 percent of all Mexicans moving to the U.S. settled in California, Texas and Illinois (Suárez-Orozco, 1998, p. 11). Such regional concentration allows the preservation of their language, religion and culture. They live as they would live in Mexico which can be observed, for example, in schools or businesses. In Los Angeles, the most populous city in California, Mexicans represent a dominant group of the whole population of the city. Their schools are becoming Mexican schools as Mexican children constitute the majority of Los Angeles' pupils. Furthermore, in 2003 most of California's new-borns were of Hispanic descent (Huntington, 2005, pp. 231-232). Apart from schools, businesses in Los Angeles show a large share of Mexican immigrants too. It was found out that 81 percent of workers in businesses which were owned by Mexicans were represented by employees of Mexican descent. Another 17 percent were other Latinos and native-born Americans made up only 2 percent of them (Cornelius, 1998, p. 128). America is, therefore, experiencing the absolutely unprecedented problem as Mexicans living in Mexican communities in America are not likely to assimilate (Huntington, 2005, p. 232).

4.1.4.1 English vs. Spanish

Mexicans are very loyal to their native language but their loyalty exceeds the emotional relationship to the native language of other ethnic groups living in the United States. By means of Spanish, the values of a Hispanic culture are handed down from generation to generation which naturally sets back their assimilation. Spanish became so widespread that in 2001 the then president George Bush introduced weekly radio speeches in English and Spanish. In connection with the rise in the number and political significance of the Hispanic population, the USA is becoming a bilingual society (Budil, 2005, pp. 88-89).

In most Hispanic households, family members speak Spanish. The knowledge of Spanish is one of the things, which every Hispanic is proud of and which they avidly defend and support (Huntington, 2005, pp. 237-238). In fact, Spanish is the most common language spoken in American households excluding English. It is a consequence of the

continuous inflow of immigrants from Latin America to the United States. However, not only Hispanics speak Spanish at home but also about three million non-Hispanic citizens have a good command of Spanish and communicate in Spanish at home (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2013). With regard to Mexican immigrants, only 49 percent of them speak English fluently, whereas 80 per cent of immigrants from other countries are proficient in English. This is one of the reasons why Mexicans' assimilation is not as fast as in case of non-Mexican immigrants (Lazear, 2007, p. 107).

4.1.5 Permanence

Mexican immigration seems to have a permanent feature in America. Wayne A. Cornelius (1998, pp. 138-139) made a survey of Mexican immigrant workers in San Diego and California and his results confirm Mexicans' desire to stay in the USA permanently. About 35 percent of respondents have come to San Diego with the intention to settle there for good and almost 64 percent said that they could imagine themselves living there permanently. Most of the legal and illegal Mexican immigrants wish they gained American citizenship. As a consequence of their intention to stay in the USA as long as possible, they purchase houses and establish small enterprises – a visible evidence that they do not plan to return to Mexico.

On top of that, immigration stimulates another immigration. Immigrants help their friends and relatives to move abroad, they provide them with valuable information and help them with finding a job and accommodation (Huntington, 2005, p. 233). New Mexican immigrants are likely to settle down in places where their Mexican relatives or family already live. Their living has become more permanent and due to the migration of other relatives to their families in the USA, they return to Mexico less frequently (Cornelius, 1998, pp. 137-139).

However, only a small proportion of Mexican immigrants apply for naturalization. In 1990, only 32.4 percent of Mexican immigrants who had moved to the USA prior to 1980 were naturalized as U.S. citizens (Baker et al., 1998, p. 88). More than twenty years later, in 2014, only 27 percent of Mexican immigrants living in the USA were U.S. citizens. It is 20 percent less than the whole immigrant population (Zong & Batalova, 2016). It may be connected with the fact that roughly 40 percent of Hispanic immigrants live in the USA illegally (Huntington, 2005, p. 245). Susan G. Baker et al. (1998) state that in the 1990s and before, only about 20 percent of foreign-born Latinos applied for

U.S. citizenship; they preferred to be legal permanent residents instead. Nevertheless, the number of applications for naturalization among Latinos has increased recently. It probably results from Latinos' concerns about the loss of U.S. social benefits and from the possibility to attain dual citizenship (Mexican and the U.S.) (pp. 96-97). However, some critics argue that Mexicans' ambition to become U.S. citizens is a sign of defence, exploitation, and cynicism and bears no relation to a wish for U.S. identity (Miller, 2009).

4.1.6 Historical impact

Nowadays Mexicans reside predominantly in the U.S. states which used to belong to Mexico and which were captured in wars by the United States. These territories include Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah. Mexicans still did not forget these occasions and feel that they have a special right to these territories. Even after almost two hundred years when the states were annexed to the USA, the local society and culture preserve the Hispanic character (Huntington, 2005, pp. 234-235).

4.2 Mexicans' incorporation into American society

As Mexican immigrants make up the majority of the whole foreign-born population in America and since they integrate into American society very slowly, Mexican immigration has become one of the most heated topics in the USA. Their slow integration embraces economic, social and psycho-cultural spheres of life.

4.2.1 Economic integration

The difference between the U.S. and Mexican economy is significant and therefore, most of the Mexicans who have migrated to the USA have done so for economic reasons. Mexican immigrants have started to arrive in America in larger numbers since Mexico faced crises in the 1980s and 1990s (Cornelius, 1998, p. 136). They have come mainly to look for better-paid jobs because Mexico has a higher rate of unemployment and substantially lower wages than America (Peters, 1998, p. 64). The purchasing power of Americans is four times higher than that of Mexicans. The average hourly wage in California, the most popular state with Mexican immigrants, is around eight dollars which correspond to the daily wage in Mexico (Budil, 2005, p. 83). Mexico's unemployment is related to the growth of the Mexican population since the 1980s. The number of employable citizens has increased and Mexico has failed to provide a sufficient amount of employment. Moreover, there is not any Mexico-based organization which would help and encourage unemployed Mexicans to seek employment locally. Mexico's

inability to offer formal employment to the majority of its economically active population forces them either to leave for the United States or to stay back to work in the informal sector of the economy (Peters, 1998, pp. 60-69).

As regards Mexican immigrants in America now, they make up the most employed group among the foreign-born population and native-born Americans as well. In 2014, roughly 69 percent of Mexicans (at the age of 16 or older) were employed in the civilian labour force which is about 5 percent more than other populations in the USA. Most of them worked in service, construction, manufacturing, and transport. On the contrary, a minority was employed in management and business unlike native-born Americans and other immigrants. In addition, Mexicans have much lower earnings in comparison with other immigrants and native-born Americans. In 2014, an average Mexican immigrant household in the U.S. earned approximately less than \$14,000 compared to other populations of America. Mexican immigrants also more often live in poverty. In 2014, 28 percent of Mexican households were indigent in comparison with 18 percent of other foreign-born families and only 10 percent of U.S.-born families (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Not only do a lot of Mexican immigrants live in poverty, but they also tend to stay on welfare benefits. In 2001, 34.1 percent of Mexican immigrants received such benefits as compared to 22.7 percent of other foreign-born population and 14 percent of the native-born population. Generally, immigrants of Mexican descent rank among the most socially supported population in the USA (Huntington, 2005, pp. 241-242).

4.2.1.1 The demand for Mexican immigrants

At the same time it must also be asserted that emigration from Mexico to America has not been a one-sided need only. In the 1980s, the manufacturing sector in the USA rapidly grew which led to the demand for a cheap labour force that would be willing to work overtime for less money and that would not be required to have any special skills. America began to need Mexican workers and gradually, roughly 50 percent of all Mexican immigrant men and women were employed in the manufacturing sector (Baker et al., 1998, pp. 90-91). Another reason why American firms sometimes favour Mexican immigrants is that a significant number of Mexican immigrants in the workplace guarantees stability as they do not change jobs frequently. Besides, employers spend less effort and money on looking for new employees owing to referrals by current Mexican

immigrant workers who want their family members to find a job (Cornelius, 1998, pp. 126-128).

Wayne A. Cornelius (1998, pp. 119-121) researched Mexican workers in San Diego County and California. He surveyed predominantly small companies and found out that only approximately 10 percent of production staff changed every year. Such stability is highly appreciated by employers. On the other hand, most of their Mexican workers are unskilled or low-skilled and yet, they are not employed only to do work which requires little or no experience. Apart from farms and restaurants, they are hired to work with the most advanced technologies in the manufacturing sector. It results from Mexicans' ability to learn fast. The employers included in this research emphasized that the training of new production workers took only around one week. After eight days they were capable of doing their work properly. The only types of work which they were excluded from were jobs where there is a need for the English language since Mexicans are not proficient in it.

Cornelius (1998, pp. 121-127) characterizes the firms in San Diego whose staff consists mainly of Mexican immigrants. Such businesses tend to be small (with about 30 employees), less profit-making and often owned by immigrants. The jobs usually done by immigrants are not sought-after by U.S.-born people as the conditions seem not to be beneficial to them. Apart from the fact that the firms pay low wages for work which can be dangerous, uninteresting and with no chance of promotion, they also do not guarantee employer-sponsored health insurance. Therefore, there is a small percentage of native-born Americans in the workforce composition of given firms. On the other hand, such conditions are acceptable for legal or unauthorized immigrants who represent about 65 percent of their workers and who perfectly fit the firms' demand. They are not required to have high skills, high levels of educational attainment or to be fluent in English. They have other qualities which the firms look for, namely reliability, punctuality, diligence and the readiness to work overtime, at night or at weekends. Additionally, the firms do not have to spend any money on advertising during recruitment because of social networks among immigrants. The majority of job vacancies is filled by relatives of current employees which significantly facilitates the process of hiring.

On the other hand, the economic engagement of Mexicans in the USA has serious disadvantages. In case of Mexicans, a big part of their money earned in the USA is sent

to their families in Mexico; after 2000, the sum was about ten billion American dollars. Mexicans appear to be significantly more loyal to their former homeland than to the United States. (Budil, 2005, pp. 80-86). In 2001, Mexican government admitted that the amount of money received from Mexican emigrants considerably climbed. After oil production, remittances may become the second biggest income source of Mexico (Huntington, 2005, p. 287). This tendency continues until now. In 2014, Mexico received remittances in the total amount of \$24 billion from all Mexican-origin emigrants. It comprises roughly 2 percent of Mexico's GDP (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Such financial support of emigrants also implies their gratitude to the Mexican government for enabling them to retain Mexican citizenship even after becoming American citizens (Huntington, 2005, pp. 286-287).

4.2.2 Social integration

The comprehension of American social system is necessary for Mexican immigrants in order to avoid their segregation and isolation. Unfortunately, Mexicans and other Latinos are strongly marginalized which affects predominantly children in schools. Their segregation is related to the poor knowledge of the language, worse work opportunities, discrimination and different customs. Hence, they are likely to remain in Mexican communities where everything is familiar, rather than strive for integration into American society. Trueba (1998) is convinced that: *“the single most important characteristic of Latino immigrants, and particularly of Mexican immigrant families, is their enormous capacity to survive and adapt in the face of arduous life circumstances, poverty, and segregation”* (p. 265). To avoid poverty, Mexicans tend to take jobs which are exacting, low-paying and time-consuming; thus due to lack of time, they do not manage to acquire language knowledge. As a consequence, their children are obliged to carry out parents' duties since they have significantly better command of English (Trueba, 1998, pp. 254-260).

4.2.2.1 Intermarriages

One of the issues of Mexican immigrants' assimilation is their incorporation into American socio-cultural environment. In the past, intermarriages among new Mexican immigrants or their offspring and non-Mexicans facilitated the process of Mexicans' integration into American society. Nowadays, however, the tendency seems to be different. In many cases, it happens that a non-Hispanic wife, together with children from

such marriages, can find herself Hispanic. Even bad or no command of Spanish is not a barrier to integrate into Hispanic society. (Huntington, 2005, p. 246)

Currently, intermarriages are more frequent due to several factors. Males and females are not separated any longer. In the past, there were occupations meant for women where no men were allowed to work and vice versa. Both sexes were prevented from meeting or working together within the workplace. Such restrictions were, finally, abolished, and thus intermarriage rates have climbed. Another factor which helped the rise in intermarriages was a great legalization of more than 2 million Mexican workers by Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). This change in policy resulted in the increased migration of Mexican women, children and whole families which helped faster incorporation into American society through mixed marriages (Durand, 1998, pp. 210-213).

Until recently, Mexicans greatly favoured marriages within Mexican communities and they were likely to look for spouses of Mexican origin rather than among native-born Americans or other foreign-born population. Jorge Durand (1998, pp. 213-220) gives an example of Ameca, a city located in Mexico. Amecans have migrated to the USA for a long time but they have always tried to find a job which would allow them to visit their families back in Ameca so that they could find a spouse there. By their tradition, when a man intends to marry, he should return to his place of origin for the purpose of finding a wife. Mexicans usually felt jealous when a member of their community had wished to marry someone who is from a different community or of a different nationality. Only recently, they have shown greater tolerance in terms of mixed marriages and consequently, an increase in intermarriages has been noted. Such change in attitude may result from the circumstance that mixed marriages are likely to stay in the USA, rather than in the community.

In sum, there is an increase in mixed marriages among Mexicans and non-Mexicans, and yet it does not need to lead to Mexicans' faster incorporation into American society. Instead, intermarriages result in their penetration of American society and culture. On top of that, research into intermarriages have concerned particularly Hispanics, and thus figures about mixed marriages regarding Mexican immigrants are only estimations based on the behaviour of Hispanics and Latinos in general. (Durand, 1998, pp. 210-214).

4.2.2.2 Health insurance

Unfortunately, a large percentage of Mexican immigrants do not have basic health insurance. In 2014, an alarming 47 percent of Mexicans in America had neither private health insurance nor public coverage, as compared to 27 percent of all immigrants and 9 percent of native-born Americans (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Generally, Latinos lack health insurance far more often than non-Latino whites. For want of insurance, they visit physicians to a lesser extent than those who have been insured. Health coverage is primarily important in case of children and E. Richard Brown et al. (1998, pp. 228-232) conducted a survey concerning access to health care among Mexican-origin children aged 0-17 years who reside in the USA. They compared noncitizen and U.S. citizen children, children who live in immigrant families where one or both parents are foreign-born or, contrarily, in families composed of U.S.-born parents. They found out that health insurance, ethnicity, citizenship status, income, family structure, occupations of family members, educational attainment of parents and duration of their residence determine if the given person either lack or have access to health services.

Brown et al. (1998, pp. 232-239) state that over 50 percent of noncitizen Mexican children are uninsured, compared to 18 percent of citizen children with U.S.-born parents and only 10 percent of non-Latino white children being citizens. Such differences are most likely due to lack of employer-sponsored health insurance. Only 20 percent of noncitizen Mexican-origin children are provided with health insurance by employers whereas 74 percent (almost four times the rate for noncitizen Mexicans) of non-Latino white citizen children whose parents were born in the U.S. have employment-based coverage. In addition, provided that the primary worker of a family has low educational attainment or the family lives in poverty, the children are likely to be uninsured. The reason why many Mexicans remain uninsured is simple; the overwhelming majority admitted that they could not afford it.

Brown's survey showed that noncitizen Mexican-origin children with immigrant parents represent a group of the American population with the highest uninsured rate. Uninsured people are not provided with the access to health services if needed; thus the United States should make health services and insurance more accessible so that both

immigrants and non-immigrants would be able to afford it, Brown (1998, pp. 243-244) opines.

4.2.2.3 Education

Mexican immigrants are significantly less educated than the rest of American population. In 2014, 29 percent of non-Mexican immigrants and 30 percent of native-born Americans had an academic degree while among Mexican immigrants it was only 6 percent (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Although the education and knowledge of Mexican immigrants are not increasing as fast as in case of other American population, recent Mexican immigrants have higher educational attainment than their preceding generations (Myers, 1998, p. 187). As Huntington (2005, p. 240) affirms, the second generation of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. has a substantially higher education than the first generation but the third and fourth generations evince a small improvement or even deterioration in comparison with the preceding generation.

Mexicans are less educated because they already come with low levels of education. Moreover, they also fail to attain a higher education in the USA. To prevent their children from being uneducated or poorly educated, many Mexicans decide to reside in the United States and yet they are not able to pay for a better education due to low earnings (Trueba, 1998, p. 263).

Mexicans find education of their children very important. If they see that the education provided in the USA is unsatisfactory, they send their offspring back to Mexico so that they can gain a better education. However, such behaviour does not support their incorporation into American society as in Mexico they do not adjust to English language and American social system (Trueba, 1998, pp. 265-266).

4.2.3 Psycho-cultural integration

When Mexicans abandon their homeland and settle in the USA, they must adapt to the utterly different culture. Leaving their family and home behind is not easy, and thus the first months of their residence in the United States may be psychologically difficult. Their culture is made up of a specific ethnicity, language and religion which is all lost when moving to a different country (in case of Mexicans migrating to the U.S.). To overcome initial feelings of hopelessness and homesickness, Mexican immigrants tend to seek something which would remind them of their native home. Just as Italians build Little Italys and the Chinese live in Chinatowns, Mexicans are likely to unite in Mexican

communities abroad. Such “little Mexicos” preserve their native lifestyle, which in turn makes them forget their current hardships (Ainslie, 1998, pp. 285-290). Even in the United States, they still retain Mexican culture – they celebrate Mexican feast days, Mexican festivals, read the press in Spanish and listen to Spanish-language broadcasting (Gutiérrez, 1998, pp. 315-317). These circumstances, however, apparently impede the process of their adaptation to American culture.

Furthermore, their adjustment to new social beliefs and behaviour has been slowed down owing to discrimination, limited access to public services and reduced availability of different job opportunities. Such social inequalities have subsequently intensified Mexicans’ segregation from the white-majority population (Gutiérrez, 1998, pp. 311-312). Gradually, the Mexican diaspora in the USA has become very large and as a consequence, their culture and lifestyle have significantly influenced American culture, social life, and landscape (Gutiérrez, 1998, pp. 313-317).

5 THE DEPICTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

This chapter will analyse the depiction of Mexican immigrants in the American press. Three US newspapers were selected for this purpose – *The New York Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Chicago Sun-Times*. The United States publishes an immense number of newspapers so to provide valuable results each of the selected newspapers differs either in the style of writing (language and an attitude) or in contents or both. *The New York Times* is a respected broadsheet paper with the worldwide influence which delivers information in formal language. Formal writing is also characteristic of *The San Diego Union-Tribune* which, however, covers predominantly news from the region of San Diego. Finally, *The Chicago Sun-Times* is narrowly focused on news related to Chicago and is rather informal in terms of writing.

With regard to the selection of the press, specialized newspapers, newspapers from localities with a small number of Mexican immigrants among residents as well as tabloids dealing primarily with celebrities could not be included in the study due to the lack of articles, concerning Mexican immigrants. Contrarily, nationwide newspapers, which are represented by *The New York Times*, discuss this issue in detail so do newspapers from localities with a large share of the Mexican-origin population (*The San Diego Union-Tribune*, *The Chicago Sun-Times*).

Within the study, more than 80 articles were examined and the main attention was paid to the following topics – illegal Mexican immigrants, economic perspectives, education and Mexican vs. American identity. The first section deals with the depiction of undocumented Mexican immigrants staying in the territory of the United States. It is analysed if journalists of given newspapers adopt rather positive or negative attitudes and in which contexts illegal Mexicans are mentioned. The second section covers economic perspectives, i.e. to what extent Mexicans contribute to the U.S. economy or if they are perceived as a redundant labour force. Moreover, reports dealing with current cooperation between Mexico and the United States are included. The third section discusses Mexican immigrants' progress in educational attainment and possible ways of its improvement. Lastly, the fourth section analyses their strong loyalty to Mexico and the Mexican identity maintenance. Concrete examples of preserving their culture are given and it is shown how journalists react to the fact that Mexicans influence and modify American society.

Furthermore, this section also covers Mexicans' incorporation into mainstream American culture.

5.1 The New York Times

The New York Times (hereinafter *NYT* or *The Times*) is an American broadsheet daily newspaper headquartered in New York City that has become one of the most influential papers worldwide. It gained a favourable reputation since it delivers news in a neutral, formal and unbiased way. On top of that, *The New York Times* is widely respected for publishing not only American news but international news as well (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).

Owing to the fact that *NYT* targets the general public, it strives to communicate verified information and provides its readers with as many various viewpoints on a given issue as possible.

5.1.1 Illegal Mexican immigrants

The Times depicts undocumented Mexican immigrants rather neutrally without tendencies to judge them. It often refers to the findings of the research organization, the *Pew Hispanic Center*; thus particularly facts and data concerning Mexican immigration are published.

The Times states that Mexicans represent more than half of the overall 11 million undocumented population in the USA and shares both positive and negative attitudes to Mexican illegal immigration. On the one hand, liberals and advocates of Mexican immigrants assert that the majority of undocumented immigrants are hard-working taxpayers who contribute to the U.S. economy and respect the law; but on the other hand, conservatives and Trump's supporters perceive Mexican illegals as those who steal jobs from American workers, commit crimes and harm the U.S. economy. These are often arguments for their deportation (Yee et al., 2017).

Apart from verified data, *The New York Times* also reports concrete stories of Mexican undocumented immigrants. One article covers students who remonstrated against a deportation of a young illegal Mexican. The report shows personal feelings of illegal immigrant students brought to the USA at a young age who defend themselves and claim that they are true Americans (Preston, 2009).

With regard to illegal immigrants being criminals, *NYT* reports detailed news about their cases. Especially Donald J. Trump often comments on them in a very hateful way, he calls them “disgraceful” and adds, “*We must get the Dems to get tough on the Border, and with illegal immigration, FAST!*” (The Associated Press, 2018). However, *The Times* cites him unbiasedly without either support or disapproval.

5.1.2 Economic perspectives

The New York Times deals particularly with the poverty of Mexican immigrants and with Mexico’s economic prospects. It is stated that a large share of Hispanic children live in poverty due to mass dismissals during the Great Recession (Tavernise, 2011) and owing to low-paying jobs of their parents. Additionally, a few economists comment on current Mexico’s economy, provide related research findings and present some ideas for its betterment (Preston, 2012).

In the articles, *NYT* strives to deliver neutral information and uses verified data and authentic interviews with Mexican immigrants. On the other hand, there are some pro-immigrant signs when expressing hope for mutual cooperation between the USA and Mexico (Zedillo & Gutierrez, 2016) and for the legalization of undocumented Mexican immigrants which would apparently guarantee higher wages (Kitroeff, 2013).

5.1.3 Education

Whenever education of Mexican immigrants is discussed, *The New York Times* tends to impart facts about a current situation. It reports that Latinos lag behind other population of the USA but adds that the educational attainment of the latest generation is higher than that of their predecessors (Leonhardt, 2013). However, in spite of the fact that Mexicans want their children to attend a college and realize the importance of education (Gonzalez, 2013), a large share of them drop out of school for several reasons. They either start working to help their family or a higher education is needless for their future occupations (Berger, 2010). On the other hand, Ginger Thompson (2009) writes that some teachers strive to come up with a new educational system that would prepare Mexican immigrant children for a college.

As for negative opinions, *The Times* cites parents of white children who complain about low-educated Mexican children and argue that the quality of education is decreasing since teachers adjust to the needs of immigrants (Thompson, 2009). Furthermore, Tyler Cowen (2006) criticises the predominance of uneducated men among

Mexicans and recommends to tighten border controls and let only Mexicans with higher education reside in the USA.

Overall, *The New York Times* remains either neutral or slightly anti-immigrant when speaking of education.

5.1.4 Mexican vs. American identity

With regard to assimilation, *The Times* highlights Mexicans' progress in the English language. The number of Mexicans who speak English proficiently is increasing which is accompanied by rising consumption of English news (Vega, 2013). Moreover, it is stated that a high percentage of Mexicans hold American values. Nowadays Mexican couples often have illegitimate children (Leonhardt, 2013) and, additionally, they started to prefer having fewer children which resemble the American standard (Bernstein, 2007). Furthermore, young immigrants who were raised in the USA claim that they consider themselves to be Americans even though their parents remain loyal to Mexico and feel like foreigners in the U.S. (Preston, 2009).

However, Tanzina Vega (2013) points out that more Mexicans remain bilingual and preserve both Mexican and American identities which leads to worries about the United States becoming a bilingual and bicultural country (Swarns, 2004).

As usual, *The New York Times* remains unbiased and reports only facts and verified information. It depicts Mexican immigrants neutrally giving various viewpoints on the issue. However, altogether positive news dealing with their successful assimilation to American culture predominate.

5.2 The San Diego Union-Tribune

The San Diego Union-Tribune is based in San Diego, the second biggest city in California. It is the most popular local newspaper in the region particularly for its trustworthiness and broad coverage. It shares accurate local news and targets general readers from the region (The San Diego Union-Tribune, 2018).

San Diego has a large proportion of Mexican immigrants among its residents; thus Mexicans represent a big theme for *The Union-Tribune's* journalists. As they publish predominantly articles, regarding the surroundings of San Diego, Mexicans are often included in reports. The language of writing is formal but more journalistic than in case

of *The New York Times* – *The Union Tribune* shares more subjective opinions, commentaries and stories but still provides factual and verified news.

5.2.1 Illegal Mexican immigrants

As for undocumented Mexican immigrants, *The Union-Tribune* is based on facts and findings of the *Pew Hispanic Center* just as *The Times*. It states that the inflow of Mexican illegal immigrants is decreasing, concluding from the lower apprehension rate of Mexicans at the U.S. border. Concrete numbers and data are shown as well as comparisons with previous years (Hall, 2014). Additionally, costs and benefits of undocumented immigrants are assessed, referring to several studies, every one of which came to a different conclusion. Some scholars assert that the deficit in taxes is balanced out by the circumstance that Mexicans do not avail Social Security tax payments due to the absence of genuine identification numbers. By contrast, some researchers opine that the costs significantly predominate while putting emphasis on costs of health care, education, and food programs (Bennett, 2006). Matt Chandler, a spokesman of the Department of Homeland Security, advises to “*crack down on employers who hire illegal laborers, boost the number of deportations, install more fencing and other border infrastructure*” (Lee, 2010). Steven A. Camarota argues against legalization as the costs of illegal immigrants would consequently treble because legalized immigrants would take advantage of social security benefits from the government. On the other hand, Gordon Hanson calls his assumptions “*unrealistic*” (Bennett, 2006) so both attitudes to this theme are shown.

The San Diego Union-Tribune remains neutral with regard to the style of writing but seems to be slightly pro-immigrant when speaking about the selection of news. Its reporting often covers stories of undocumented immigrants who have been treated unexpectedly fairly or, contrarily, advocates those having struggled with anti-immigrant policies or behaviour. For instance, it reported news about two illegal immigrants who have been appointed to serve in the government. The mayor of Huntington Park believes that their presence is seminal for the future as they represent and defend interests of the undocumented in the community. On the contrary, Daniel Stein made a negative comment on the appointment, noting that it is “*the evolution of a breakdown in national immigration controls and the sanctity of American citizenship*”. Nevertheless, the article ends with a promising message from one Mexican appointee who states that legal status

is not important as everyone should be involved in the city's development (Armario, 2015).

Regarding supportive news, *The Union-Tribune* lambasts the cancellation of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program which allowed young illegal immigrants to stay in the United States. Sandra Dibble (2017b) emphasizes how absurd it is as these Mexicans were raised in the USA and now should be deported back to Mexico where everything is unknown to them. Additionally, Donald Trump is harshly criticized not only for DACA cancellation but also for building a wall along the US-Mexico border. Joan B. Anderson (2018) asserts that it will not lower the influx of illegal immigrants due to the persisting demand for cheap workforce and adds: “*There is no wall so high you can't fly over it, so low you can't dig under it or so wide you can't go around it*”.

5.2.2 Economic perspectives

Unlike *NYT*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* focuses more on the economic impact of Mexican immigrants and economic reasons for leaving Mexico. It remains unbiased while writing about Mexicans' high unemployment and concentrates predominantly on the provision of information about the current situation based on research findings.

Mexican immigrants are depicted exclusively as hard workers who have low-wage occupations so they are obliged to hold more than one job (Taxin et al., 2013). *The Union-Tribune* delivers figures from surveys with reference to unemployment, stating that Hispanic immigrants (along with Mexicans) lag behind the white majority (Holland, 2014).

With regard to Mexicans' economic motivation of moving to the USA, it is said to stem from poverty and insecurity in Mexico. One article is devoted to unaccompanied children who strive to cross the border because of these reasons and whose number is increasing (Sherman & Caldwell, 2014).

On top of that, *The Union-Tribune* puts great emphasis on the continuation of U.S.-Mexico cooperation since Mexico is an indispensable customer on the U.S. export market. In return, as Mexico increases demand for American goods, the USA offers more and more job opportunities, so it is a “*win-win*” situation (García de Alba, 2011).

Altogether *The Union-Tribune* portrays Mexican immigrants as a workforce which significantly contributes to the U.S. economy and insists on the development of the partnership between Mexico and the USA.

5.2.3 Education

As for education, *The Union-Tribune* discusses reasons for the education gap between Hispanics and other U.S. population and subsequently gives possible ways of solution.

It is reported that many children do not attend a college because their parents simply cannot afford it. It may be prevented by providing scholarship which is already happening in some cities (Walsh, 2003). Next, their parents usually have very low levels of education which were attained in Spanish so their children cannot expect any help from them. Thus, Peter Rowe (2017) opines that in such cases teachers should help and support Mexican children instead. On top of that, Cipriano Vargas (2017) points out that recruitment of more Latino teachers would contribute to bigger achievements of Latino students. He insinuates that American teachers are not emphatic enough to understand Latino's struggles, and thus many students finally drop out of school as they cannot handle it.

Furthermore, teachers are blamed for the achievement gap because they place lower demands on Mexican immigrant children. They are said to underestimate them so the children cannot keep up with their white peers and are likely to be less successful (Mendoza, 2013).

Within the research of this section, it was found out that *The San Diego Union-Tribune* remained rather pro-immigrant as mainly teachers were criticised for failures of Mexican immigrant children and no analysed article contained negative attitudes pointed against Mexicans.

5.2.4 Mexican vs. American identity

With reference to the assimilation of Mexican immigrants, opinions in *The San Diego Union-Tribune* differ. Unlike *The Times*, negative attitudes concerning this theme predominate in *The Union-Tribune*. For instance, Michael Miller (2009) opines that Mexican immigrants reside in the USA only for the purpose of finding well-paid jobs. According to him, they take advantage of the American benefits but do not consider

themselves to be Americans and keep staying loyal to Mexico. Miller sees them as “parasites” since they “*are not willing to give as much as they take*” (Miller, 2009). By contrast, Sandra Dibble (2017a) is very emphatic while writing about young Mexicans who were brought to the U.S. at an early age and who filled the identity gap after visiting their native country – Mexico.

The Union-Tribune also gives concrete examples of the Mexicans’ influence on the American culture. For instance, Americans celebrate Mexican holiday Cinco de Mayo (Alamillo, 2015) or eat Mexican food in Mexican restaurants (Taxin et al., 2013). On the other hand, American values influence Mexican immigrants as well which is proved by the increasing number of illegitimate children and decreasing importance of family cohesion among Mexicans (Chavez, 2009).

5.3 The Chicago Sun-Times

The Chicago Sun-Times is a daily newspaper headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. According to the newspaper itself, *The Chicago Sun-Times* includes: “*hard-hitting investigative reporting, in-depth political coverage, insightful sports analysis, entertainment reviews and cultural commentary*” (The Chicago Sun-Times, 2018).

Pew Research Center discovered that a large percentage of undocumented immigrants living in the USA (Mexicans represent a large share of them) stay in Illinois (Krogstad, Passel, & Cohn, 2017). To be more precise, Hispanics represented 32.6 percent of the Chicago’s population in 2017 (Spielman, 2017); hence the newspaper includes a lot of news about Mexican immigrants and the U.S. immigration policy. In addition, it focuses predominantly on local news from the region of Chicago.

Regarding the language, *The Sun-Times*’ journalists write in news style, using phraseology and pejoratives with a tendency to express their own subjective opinions. Therefore, it has similar features as tabloids but is more respected for including various themes in its reporting and for not spreading untruthful information.

5.3.1 Illegal Mexican immigrants

The Chicago Sun-Times is rather pro-immigrant and often criticises the immigration policy of Donald J. Trump. One of such contributors is Linda Chavez whose turn of phrase is forthright, sarcastic, ironic and slightly vituperative. While writing about the wall along the US-Mexico border, she notes that Trump keeps dividing the United

States and stimulates supremacist behaviour. She calls Trump “*a hapless and the most feckless president in recent memory*”, referring to his strategy when he “*always whips up the crowd by invoking Mexican ‘rapists’ and drug dealers*” (Chavez, 2017). She also questions his belief that birthright citizenship is attracted predominantly by illegal immigrants. She ridicules it by making readers imagine “*hordes of pregnant Mexican women camped out on the border just waiting to cross and give birth to newly minted American citizens at U.S. taxpayer expense*”. Afterwards, she supported her exaggerated statement by facts and research findings proving that the vast majority of illegal immigrants had been living in the U.S. for more than 2 years before having a baby (Chavez, 2016b).

Neil Steinberg (2018) also writes about illegal immigrants. He admits that Mexican undocumented immigrants are generally perceived as criminals so some people want to “*keep these damn foreigners out of the country*” and yet, it is proved that the number of crimes committed by native-born Americans is bigger than that of illegal immigrants. Steinberg says that people’s hatred comes from their cowardice and adds that nowadays “*hating immigrants is a fashion*”.

Moreover, *The Sun-Times* reports lots of stories, describing struggles of Mexican illegals and in most of the cases, it expresses sympathy with them. Many journalists of *The Sun-Times* believe that the attitudes to Mexican undocumented immigrants need to be changed. “*We all live on the same planet. We should not see each other as aliens or foreigners, but as humans*” (Caneva, 2018).

5.3.2 Economic perspectives

The Chicago Sun-Times usually deals with the news from the surroundings of Chicago so when writing about the economic potential of Mexican immigrants, it covers particularly Mexicans living in Chicago.

As for their employment, it is stated that even though Latinos represent a third of the population of Chicago, they are highly under-represented in the decisive bodies of the city (Hinton & Esposito, 2017). Another article reported that Mexicans’ incomes are much lower than incomes of the white population, and thus the city takes measures to equalize the racial disparity so that there are fair job opportunities for everyone (Spielman, 2017). It is already happening because the number of Hispanic applicants for the Chicago Police Department has increased which is, according to Fran Spielman

(2016), a good sign. On top of that, it is pointed out that a large percentage of Latinos are business owners who have become relevant employers of the city who significantly contribute to the U.S. economy (Hinton & Esposito, 2017). Actually, most journalists are very supportive and emphasize Mexicans' successes instead of setbacks.

Their support of immigrants consequently leads to the criticism of Donal Trump's policy. *The Sun-Times* asserts that his plan to deport the majority of illegal Mexican immigrants would harm not only the economy of Mexico but also of the United States since its agriculture and construction industry largely depend on Mexican immigrants. Their deportation would have a bad effect on the labour market in the USA (Sun-Times Editorial Board, 2016). In addition, Jesse Jackson (2016) mentions the deep relationship between Mexico and the USA and highlights the significance of their trade partnership as Mexico is an important supplier for the U.S. and vice versa. Therefore, Americans should start treating Mexico like their neighbour and stop considering it to be their "backdoor". Linda Chavez (2016a) even suggests steps which would be beneficial for both sides. Instead of walls and deportations, she advises Trump to offer legalization and make visas for decent undocumented immigrants, living in the USA for a long time since such workforce is essential for the U.S. labour market.

5.3.3 Education

Just as *The Times* and *The Union-Tribune*, *The Chicago Sun-Times* delivers general facts about Mexicans' education – that current immigrants are more educated than their predecessors but still lag behind the other U.S. population (Barone, 2016; Spielman, 2017). However, in terms of the attitude, *The Sun-Times* appears to be very supportive because it covers primarily news discussing possibilities of educational improvement for Hispanic children.

Andrea Salcedo (2017) informs about special workshops for teachers for the purpose of providing insight into lives and concerns of Hispanic children so that teachers would better understand them. Additionally, *The Sun-Times* deals with efforts to fund low-income minority children to make education more accessible (Fitzpatrick, 2017). It is stated that plenty of Mexican children are not aware of the possibility to win a scholarship so *The Sun-Times* strives to publish stories of successful Mexicans who managed to obtain a degree (Garcia, 2016a).

Furthermore, Maudlyne Ihejirika (2017), just like *The Union-Tribune*, blames the educational system for inequities between Hispanic and white populations. She claims that teachers' less rigorous approach to Hispanic children results in their inability to achieve the same goals as their white peers.

5.3.4 Mexican vs. American identity

The Chicago Sun-Times reports almost exclusively personal stories with the predominance of emotions and nostalgia for Mexico. Several articles deal with Mexican traditions brought to the region of Chicago.

As regards nostalgia, Marlen Garcia (2016b) interviewed owners of a rebuilt Mexican restaurant which reminds them of their home in Mexico. Their neighbours of Mexican origin gather there, eat Mexican food and feel like being in Mexico. Apart from Mexican traditional food, *The Sun-Times* publishes many articles, covering traditional Mexican mariachi music that is spreading across Chicago. Mariachi music is sung in schools (Rousseau, 2014) and festivals in honour of the Mexican Independence Parade which strengthens the sense of belonging to their Mexican communities (Dudek, 2017b).

It is shown that Mexican immigrants still tend to live Mexican lives even after moving to the United States and are grateful for being allowed to express their culture there (Dudek, 2017a). No negative or anti-immigrant comments were found in the articles; *The Sun-Times* is very tolerant and does not see any problems in the influence of American culture by Mexican traditions.

The afore-mentioned analysis was carried out using set of about eighty articles dealing with various Mexican immigration issues. For a ready perusal, a snapshot of the analyses is presented to aid the general reader in understanding those issues connected with Mexican immigration in the United States.

The table below provides a comprehensive overview of results obtained from this analysis (Figure 1 The coverage of Mexican immigration issues by selected newspapers.

Figure 1 The coverage of Mexican immigration issues by selected newspapers

	The New York Times	The San Diego Union-Tribune	The Chicago Sun-Times
Illegal Mexican immigrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unbiased, neutral -facts and data -their contribution -stories -criminality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -neutral or pro-immigrant -facts and data -costs and benefits -stories -criticism of Donald Trump (DACA, wall) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pro-immigrant -facts and data -stories -criticism of Donald Trump -criminality
Economic perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -neutral with pro-immigrant signs -verified data -poverty -Mexico's economic prospects -U.S.-Mexico relations -legalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unbiased or pro-immigrant -facts and data -employment -economic reasons for leaving Mexico -U.S.-Mexico relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pro-immigrant -employment, incomes, ways of solution -criticism of Donald Trump -U.S.-Mexico relations -their contribution
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -neutral or slightly anti-immigrant -facts -reasons of their low education -negative attitudes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pro-immigrant -reasons of the education gap -ways of solution -funding -need for more Latino teachers -teachers blamed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pro-immigrant -facts -possibilities of improvement -funding -workshops for teachers -teachers blamed
Mexican vs. American identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unbiased, neutral -facts, verified inf. -positive news -progress in English language -successful assimilation -bilingual country? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -anti-immigrant -predominance of negative attitudes -persisting loyalty to Mexico -mutual influence of Mexican and American culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pro-immigrant, tolerant -emotional stories -nostalgia for Mexico -Mexican food -mariachi music

Source: Self-processed

6 CONCLUSION

The main objective of this bachelor thesis was to examine the attitudes of the American press towards Mexican immigrants. To achieve this goal, the first part introduced the topic of Mexican immigration into the United States and provided the background of this issue.

Overall, Mexicans differ from other immigrants into the USA by their geographical proximity, large numbers (they represent the largest foreign-born population in the USA), illegality (many of them remain undocumented), regional concentration (they tend to live in Mexican communities), permanence (their number is stable) and the historical impact (they settle in states which used to belong to Mexico). With respect to their incorporation into the U.S. economy, Mexican immigrants tend to have lower earnings than native-born Americans and they are more likely to live in poverty. Nevertheless, they have become an essential part of the labour force in the USA due to their flexibility, reliability, diligence, social networks, and low requirements. As for social integration, it seems not to be very successful because a large proportion of Mexican immigrants lack health insurance coverage and have lower educational attainment than the rest of the U.S. population. It apparently stems from their concentration in Mexican communities which makes them segregated from the white-majority population. Moreover, they tend to preserve Mexican culture within the communities and remain loyal to Mexico.

The second part of the thesis conducted an analysis of three American newspapers – *The New York Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Chicago Sun-Times*. The analysis focused on the depiction of four topics concerning Mexican immigrants, namely illegal Mexican immigrants, economic perspectives, education and Mexican vs. American identity.

Generally, all the media apart from *The New York Times* are more or less pro-immigrant (with a few exceptions). Firstly, *The New York Times* remains neutral and unbiased in most cases. Facts and official results of research, surveys, studies etc. serve as a basis for articles and journalists avoid expressing their own subjective opinions. *The Times* strives to provide its readers with verified data and shares both positive and negative attitudes to the issues. However, it seems to be slightly anti-immigrant in the

field of education and pro-immigrant when supporting legalization and U.S.-Mexico relations or when speaking of Mexicans' successful assimilation.

Secondly, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* also delivers verified information and facts but appears to be rather supportive in reports covering Mexican immigrants. Such support is reflected in the criticism of Donald Trump's anti-immigration policies and in the tendencies to suggest a solution to problems concerning Mexican immigrants rather than blaming them for the situation. On the other hand, with regard to Mexicans' assimilation into society, *The Union-Tribune* holds a slightly anti-immigrant attitude since it harshly criticises their persisting loyalty to Mexico.

Finally, *The Chicago Sun-Times* is exclusively pro-immigrant, tolerant and supportive with regard to Mexican immigrants. Donald Trump's policy is also the object of criticism but unlike *The Union-Tribune*, it expresses sympathy with Mexicans when speaking of the preservation of Mexican identity. It tends to highlight their relevance to the U.S. economy and altogether emphasizes their achievements instead of failures. None of the researched articles in *The Sun-Times* incorporated anti-Mexican attitudes.

In the end, it can be concluded that contrary to the popular perception in the aftermath of Donald Trump's election victory, none of the three analysed newspapers was found to be solely anti-immigrant. In fact, they remain either neutral to Mexican immigrants or seem pro-immigrant.

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8 ABSTRACT

The key objective of this bachelor thesis is to analyse the depiction of Mexican immigrants in selected American newspapers. The thesis is made up of two parts. The theoretical part introduces the immigration into the USA in general and subsequently deals with the history and typical patterns of Mexican immigration into the United States. The practical part analyses the depiction of Mexican immigrants in three American newspapers – *The New York Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and *The Chicago Sun-Times*. The analysis focused on four aspects, namely illegal Mexican immigrants, economic perspectives, education and Mexican vs. American identity. Within the research, it was found out that altogether the selected newspapers adopt either unbiased or pro-immigrant attitudes towards Mexican immigrants.

9 RESUMÉ

Hlavním cílem této bakalářské práce je analýza obrazu mexických přistěhovalců ve vybraném americkém tisku. Práce je rozdělena na dvě části. Teoretická část se nejdříve všeobecně zabývá přistěhovalectvím do USA a následně pojednává o historii a typických znacích mexického přistěhovalectví do Spojených států. Praktická část je zaměřena na obraz mexických přistěhovalců ve třech amerických novinách – *The New York Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* a *The Chicago Sun-Times*. Analýza byla zaměřena na čtyři témata, totiž na ilegální mexické přistěhovalce, ekonomický pohled, vzdělání a mexickou vs. americkou identitu. Během výzkumu bylo zjištěno, že vybrané noviny zaujímají buď nestranný, nebo pozitivní přístup k mexickým přistěhovalcům.