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*New York Times' and Wall Street Journal's Coverage of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
(DACA): A Content Analysis*

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Honors Senior Project: HNR 499

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates how Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) has been depicted in the U.S specifically by examining the media's coverage of immigration during the Obama and Trump presidencies in two elite newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* between June 2012 (when DACA was signed into law) and October 2017 (9 months into Trump's presidential term).

The findings from the analysis indicate that the tone of the newspapers' coverage of DACA was both negative and conflict oriented. The news articles were consistently unfavorable; out of a total of 170 articles analyzed and examined, 53.83% were negatively toned compared to only 14.93% that were positively toned and 31.24% that were neutral.

The content of the news articles on eight major themes: conflict, human rights, fear, American dream, business and technology, personalization, economy, and security. The findings from the analysis indicate that conflict was the most utilized theme. Out of a total of a total of 170 articles analyzed, 94.71% used conflict as a prominent narrative.

INTRODUCTION

DACA is an immigration policy made into law by executive order under the Barack Obama Presidency that allowed individuals who were under the age of 31 as of June 15th, 2012; who came to the United States before reaching the age of 16; had continuously resided in the United States since June 15th, 2007; were physically present in the United States on June 15th, 2012 and at the time of making request for consideration of deferred action with the U.S Citizenship and Immigration Services; had no lawful status on June 15th, 2015; were currently in school, had graduated high school or obtained a GED, or had been an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard of Armed Forces of the United States; and who had not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more other misdemeanors; and who did not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety, to receive a renewable two-year deferred action from deportation and become eligible for a work authorization in the United States (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services).

Since President Obama's establishment of DACA on June 15, 2012, issues regarding unauthorized immigration and a broad amnesty have been placed as one of the highest priorities within the U.S political arena. With the recent presidential election of Donald Trump, immigration policies established under the Obama administration regarding DACA have been reversed or rescinded. On September 5th, 2017, with the revocation of DACA which gave Congress six months to arbitrate the fate of approximately 800,000 Dreamers, and implementing a pair of Department of Homeland Security memos that have broadened the guidelines for deportation through the reinstatement of the Secure Communities program, the Trump administration has significantly hardened the country's policies regarding immigration.

This research paper's main focus is to investigate how DACA is being depicted in the U.S specifically by examining the media's coverage of immigration during the Obama and Trump presidencies in two different elite newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The media's coverage of immigration has become one of the most important issues currently under discussion, especially after the Presidential election of 2016. Previous studies on mass media and American politics have analyzed and identified three prominent narratives within the media's coverage of immigration-- conflict, personalization, and dramatization.

Political analysts Doris A. Graber and Johanna Dunaway argue that prominent narratives form information biases in political news coverage. According to the authors, these biases are not only important because they influence the quality of information, but they also have the net effect of removing important information, context, and perspectives from the news (351). As a consequence of the privately owned news media, which transforms political news and information into a consumer product, Graber and Dunaway argue that media news organizations make news stories more appealing to audiences by personalizing them and focusing on the human interest side of a story rather than the policy or political process of political news coverage, a tendency referred to as personalization.

Another common information bias identified by Graber and Dunaway is dramatization. According to the analysts, dramatization occurs when media news organizations strive to emphasize the most dramatic elements of a story as opposed to providing contextualized details about an event of an issue (351). Personalization and dramatization often go hand-in-hand

because human interest stories are more easily dramatized compared to political problems or complex policy processes.

Furthermore, to make news stories more appealing, media news organizations select specific news stories based on their potential for a strong audience impact. According to the analysts, media organizations place heavy news emphasis on conflict because it will likely affect people's emotions towards the political news story. The orientation towards conflict and fragmented news is widely utilized as a prominent narrative in media news organizations because audiences are more likely to remember conflict and confrontation than the underlying political news story (Graber and Dunaway 351).

In addition to three prominent narratives within the media's coverage of immigration, how the news media organizations frame political issues also largely determine the audience's perception and assessment of the political news story. According to political analyst Lance Bennett, who defines framing as the media's selection and portrayal of some facets of an event, issue, and/or political entity, frames are thematic categories that integrate and give meaning to the scene, the characters, their actions, and supporting documentation and are also used to draw attention away from other elements in a situation (42). In addition to interpreting the news by constructing a narrative that analyzes information based on the reporter's judgment by bundling key concepts, phrases, and images, frames also construct specific storylines by promoting a particular meaning, interpretation, and evaluation of an event or issue while excluding other explanations and perspectives (Bennett 127).

Analyzing news organizations, Bennett's found two types of frames that journalists predominantly use. The first is episodic framing, which is mostly used by visual media and

encompasses a highly dramatized, personalized, sensationalized and simplified interpretation of the news story. The second type of frame is called thematic framing and unlike episodic framing, it provides more in-depth social and historical background on the news story (203). Frames are important to the analysis of media and politics because they perform various functions in society. They define and simplify the event, they identify the causes of the event, convey a moral judgment on the event for the audience using specific key concepts, phrases, and images, and they give future speculation and improvements on the event or issue thus influencing what the public believes and how they feel about the specific news story being reported on.

Furthermore, examining the media's specific portrayal of immigration policies, political analysts Graber and Dunaway found that news media frame the political issue as an adversarial relationship. The media's immigration coverage focuses primarily on the presidential political initiatives, conflicts, and the public's reactions and evaluations to the political policies (350). Graber and Dunaway also note the media's framework on immigration by highlighting the dramatization and personalization of immigration policies that journalists use to emphasize the most dramatic elements of the issue as opposed to providing contextualized details about it. Rather than focusing on the details of the presidential political initiatives, the authors found that the media articles focused on the potential for a "risky showdown" as well as the issue's effect on individuals and families (351). Additionally, the authors found the media's tone of coverage relating to immigration to be written with a negative slant, thus impacting the public's evaluation of DACA.

RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

Based on previous research on media coverage of immigration, I expect the *New York Times*' and the *Wall Street Journal*'s coverage of DACA to be negatively portrayed. In addition, in the analysis, I also expect to find that the media's agenda-setting promotes a negative interpretation of immigration policies using episodic framing and conflict to influence the public opinion through emotionally charged and culturally resonant terms and phrases.

METHOD

Using both Grand Valley State University's as well as Northwestern Michigan College's online database, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* were sampled as the study's media outlets. Selecting news articles from June 15th, 2012 (the date DACA was signed into law) to October 22nd, 2017, three news articles that focused specifically on DACA were selected from each of the sixty-four sampling months. During this time frame, every other story found in both the *Times* and the *Journal* was sampled to achieve randomness in the analysis. Additionally, every individual paragraph in each news article was examined as a unit of analysis to generate a reasonable number of data points for inclusion in the study.

Furthermore, frames -- media's thematic categories that give meaning to scenes, characters, their actions, and supporting documentation to draw attention away or towards certain facets of an event, issue, and/or political entity -- were examined throughout the analysis to generate a reasonable number of content categories (Bennett 42). Additionally, narratives-- media's construction of issues, specifically, the way events are put together and presented to the audience-- were also investigated throughout media's analysis of DACA (Krippendorf 34).

Throughout the study, eight content categories were developed and applied to the analysis of the newspaper content. The first content category was *conflict*. Conflict was defined as the political and social confrontations generated by DACA. An example of conflict is made evident in the following news article from the *Times* by Michael D. Shear and Julia Preston titled “Obama Signals Deportation Policy Shifts”. In this article, the authors state: “A move by Mr. Obama to limit deportations on his own has enrage House Republicans, who in recent weeks have cited Mr. Obama's various executive actions -- as well as his State of the Union promise to use a "pen and phone" to circumvent Congress when possible -- as reasons they do not trust him enough to work with him on a broad issue like immigration” (March 15, 2014).

The second content category utilized in the analysis was *human rights*. Human rights was defined as the rights inherent to all human beings, no matter the nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language, or any other status. An example of human rights is made apparent in the news article from the *Journal* titled “The Anatomy of a Deferred-Action; How Undocumented Youth Brought Their Cause to the Country” by Miriam Jordan:

Janet Napolitano announced a surprise change on June 15. The U.S. would stop deporting many young undocumented immigrants who had been brought in as children. And it would let them work legally. Ms. Napolitano said in an interview, “I know who these Dreamers are and who they want to become. Deportation harms Dreamers from a legal perspective and harms our country from a moral perspective. The government is telling these young people that, as a country, we do not value their obvious worth, and that we intend to treat them no differently than a recent adult border crosser. This is wrong, unjust, mean and legally dubious. Losing them would represent a massive loss for our country — and the huge costs of a deportation process (October 15, 2012).

The third content category was *fear*. Fear was defined as an unpleasant emotion caused by the belief that someone or something is dangerous, likely to cause pain or a perceived threat. An example of fear in the analysis is made evident in the following news article by the *Times* titled “Advocates Struggle to Reach Immigrants Eligible for Deferred Action” by Kirk Semple. In this article, the author writes: “Advocates acknowledge that many of the early participants needed little encouragement to participate in the deferral program, even if it was a challenge for some to assemble their applications, pay the application fee and overcome fears about revealing their status to the authorities... trust is extremely critical. These are folks who don’t want to be found, they’re living underground” (December 8, 2013).

The fourth content category in the content analysis was the *American Dream*. This was defined as the belief that through sacrifice, risk-taking, and hard work, anyone can attain his or her own version of success in America, where upward mobility is possible for everyone. An example of the American Dream in the analysis is made evident in the *Journal’s* article titled “Executives Prepare Push to Defend ‘Dreamers’ Program; At Issue is Obama-era Program to Protect Young, Illegal Immigration” by Laura Stevens and Douglas MacMillan:

Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella shared his concern about the DACA program's potential repeal. An Indian-born immigrant to the U.S., Mr. Nadella credits his success in part to an "the enlightened immigration policy that allowed me to pursue my dreams." In a statement, Dr. Nadella said that Dreamers deserve to stay in the U.S. "Their contributions make America more competitive and they deserve the opportunity to work, study, and pursue the American dream (September 1, 2017).

The fifth content category in the analysis was *business and technology*. This was defined as the positive and/or negative impacts of DACA immigration policies on domestic business and technology industries such as Google, Facebook, Amazon etc. An example of business and

technology is made evident in the *Times*' news article titled "Morning Agenda: The Next Big Battle for Business is Immigration" by Amie Tsang and Michael J. De la Merced:

The White House is weighing whether to end Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, the popular program that suspended deportation of undocumented workers who had arrived in the United States as children. Right now, President Trump is leaning toward ending the program, according to Axios, late on Thursday, a big group of top business leaders posted an open letter to Mr. Trump and congressional leaders arguing against the move. "Dreamers are vital to the future of our companies and our economy. With them, we grow and create jobs," the leaders wrote. "They are part of why we will continue to have a global competitive advantage." (Sept. 2. 2017).

The sixth content category of content analysis was *personalization*, defined as the media's focus on human-interest stories rather than the policy or political process (Graber and Dunaway pg. 350). An example of personalization in the analysis is made apparent in the *Journal's* news article titled "Immigrant 'Dreamers' and Their Kin Feel Joy, Anxiety Before Obama Move; Older Sibling Are Likely to Benefit, but Not Parents" by Miriam Jordan. In this article, the author writes: "In Los Angeles, Mr. Ghica, 22, said that DACA gave him an identity, affecting his life in ways large and small. For the first time, he got a cellphone in his own name. He was able to get part-time work as a Web designer instead of doing menial jobs to pay for his studies. "It created stability," he said. "For me, it's not about achieving the American dream anymore; it's about long-term survival." (Nov. 19, 2014).

The seventh subject category was the *economy*. The economy was defined as the media's portrayal of the positive and/or negative impacts of DACA immigration policies on the domestic wealth and resources in the United States. An example of the economy is made evident in the *Times*' news article titled "Economic Tsunami: Fearing Trump, Immigrants in City are Spending" Less by Liz Robbins:

It is impossible to separate the underground economy from New York's larger economy, because the city is home to immigrants of every kind of legal status, like day laborers, taxi drivers, kitchen workers in restaurants owned by undocumented immigrants who pay taxes, and college- educated entrepreneurs who have temporary protection from deportation. If they were to leave the city, either by returning on their own to their home countries or by government order, "it could be a massive ripple effect to the economy ," Jonathan Bowles, executive director of the Center for an Urban Future, said. (Nov. 24, 2016).

The eighth and final content category in the content analysis was *security*, defined as the perceived threat to the national safety of the United States against criminal activity such as illegal immigration. An example of security is made evident in the *Journal's* news article titled “Border Surge Complicates GOP Pitch to Hispanics; Republicans Demand More Enforcement, Including Some Who Took More Welcoming Positions in the Past” by authors Laura Meckler and Kristina Peterson:

A few months ago, House Republican leaders said they were writing a bill to give legal status to these young undocumented immigrants. But now, under pressure from conservatives, GOP leaders are considering a floor vote ending the DACA program."I don't think border security alone solves the overall immigration problem, but when you have 50,000 kids who come across the border illegally and we've not been able to stop Them... that's an immediate crisis," said Rep. Aaron Schock (R., Ill.) (July 27, 2014).

Furthermore, given a large number of relevant articles, a strict coding procedure was used during the evaluation of the articles. For each individual paragraph in every article, a passage was coded only if its content had keywords in the sentence relating to the eight different categories that were being evaluated. For example, a unique combination of terms as used to code the sample of articles mentioning DACA and Security. These terms included: *border safety, authorized, protection, policy, defense, crisis, and immigration.*

Every paragraph was also coded for tone. If the passage included adverse terms such as *despair, conflict, trouble, fear, illegal, and disapproving* it was coded as a negatively toned paragraph. In the event that individual paragraphs included words such as *objective, non-partisan, fair, and unauthorized* it was coded as a neutrally toned paragraph. Likewise, if a sampling paragraph included terms such as *hopeful, optimist, confident, encouraging, and approving* the paragraph was coded as a positively toned passage.

RESULTS

During the sampling period, a total of 170 news articles were coded; a total of 90 articles were sampled in the *Times*, while a total of 80 articles were sampled from the *Journal*, with an average of three articles analyzed per month from each of the total sixty-four sampling months. The word count per article in both newspapers ranged from 359 to 2686 words, with an average of 560 per article. In addition, a combined total of 3,333 individual paragraphs were analyzed; 1,879 paragraphs were analyzed in the *Times*, while a total of 1,454 paragraphs were sampled from the *Journal*.

The most prominent content category utilized by the *Times* was *conflict*. The episodic frame of conflict made up a total 23.95% of the content coverage of the *Times*. Moreover, the second most utilized theme by the newspaper was *personalization*. This theme made up a total of 19.11% of the paragraphs analyzed. The third most prominent content category depicted in the newspaper's coverage of DACA was *human rights*, with a total of 16.13% paragraphs containing human rights as a theme. The fourth most depicted content category in the *Times* was *fear*. The newspaper's usage of fear as an episodic frame made up a total of 8.83% of the paragraphs examined in the content analysis. The fifth most prominent content category, depicted in the

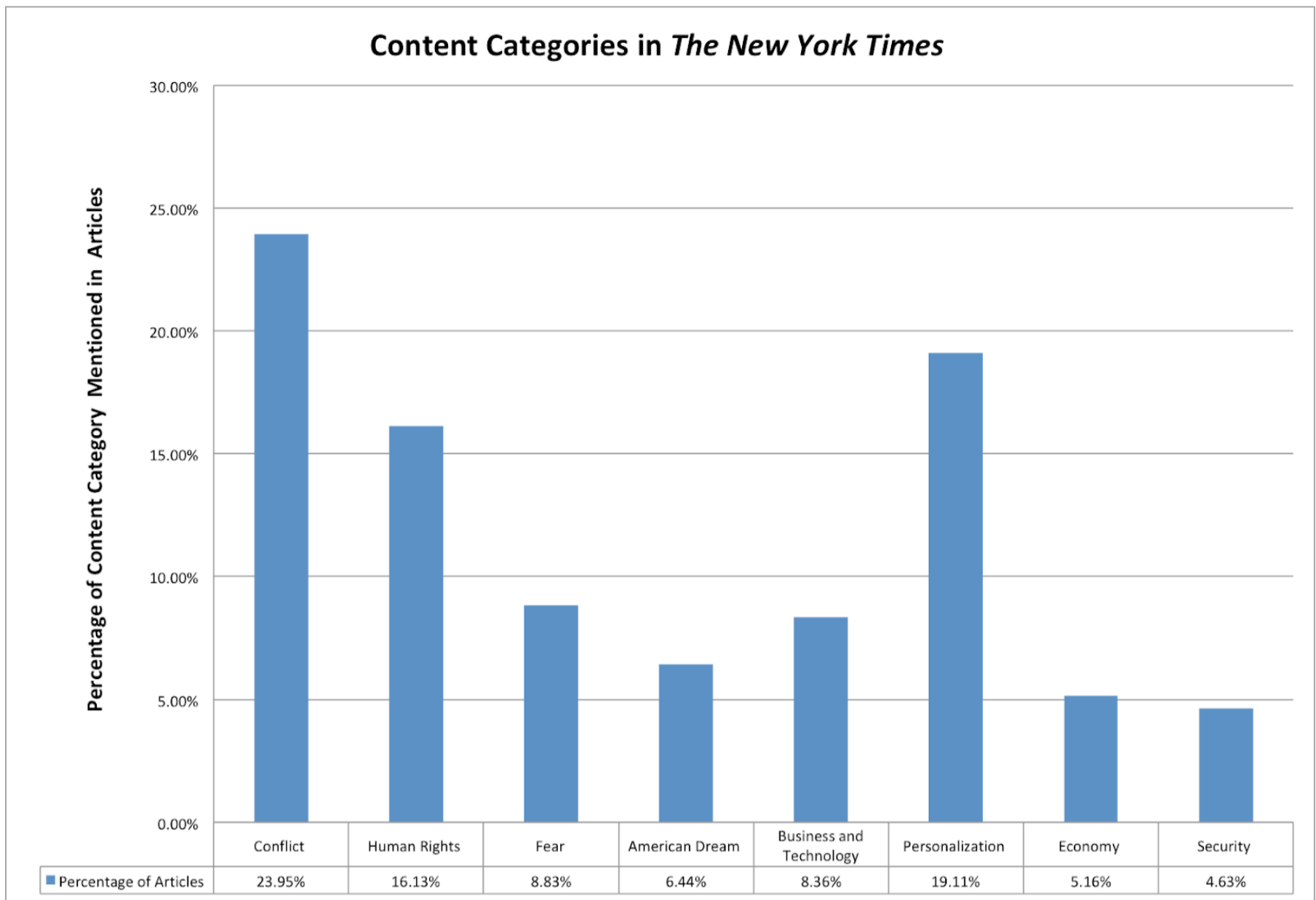
newspaper's coverage of DACA, was *business and technology*, with a total of 8.36% paragraphs examined containing *business and technology* as a theme. The sixth most utilized theme used by the *Times*' coverage of DACA was the *American Dream*. The newspaper's usage of the *American Dream* was referenced in 6.44% of the paragraphs examined. Moreover, the seventh most referenced theme in the newspaper's coverage of DACA was *economy*, with a total of 5.16% paragraphs analyzed containing *economy* as a theme. Lastly, the least utilized and referenced content category during the *Times*' media coverage of DACA was security; only referenced in a total of 4.63% paragraphs sampled.

After examining the *Journal's* coverage, the most prominent content category utilized by the elite newspaper was *conflict*. The episodic frame of conflict made up 33.84% of the paragraphs analyzed. Moreover, the second most utilized theme by the *Journal* was *human rights*. This theme made up 16.37% of total paragraphs examined. The third most referenced content category depicted in the newspaper's coverage of DACA was *personalization*, with a total of 15.68% paragraphs containing *personalization* as a theme. The fourth most depicted and utilized content category used by the *Journal* was *security*. The newspaper's usage of *security* made up 14.51% of the paragraphs examined. The fifth most prominent content category depicted in the newspaper's coverage of DACA was the *economy*. As a content category, the *economy* was mentioned in a total of 4.40% paragraphs analyzed. The sixth most utilized theme used in the *Journal's* coverage of DACA was *business and technology*. The newspaper's usage of *business and technology* was referenced in 3.03% paragraphs examined. The seventh most referenced theme in the newspaper's coverage of DACA was *fear*, with 2.89% of the paragraphs analyzed containing *fear* as a theme. Lastly, the least utilized and referenced content category

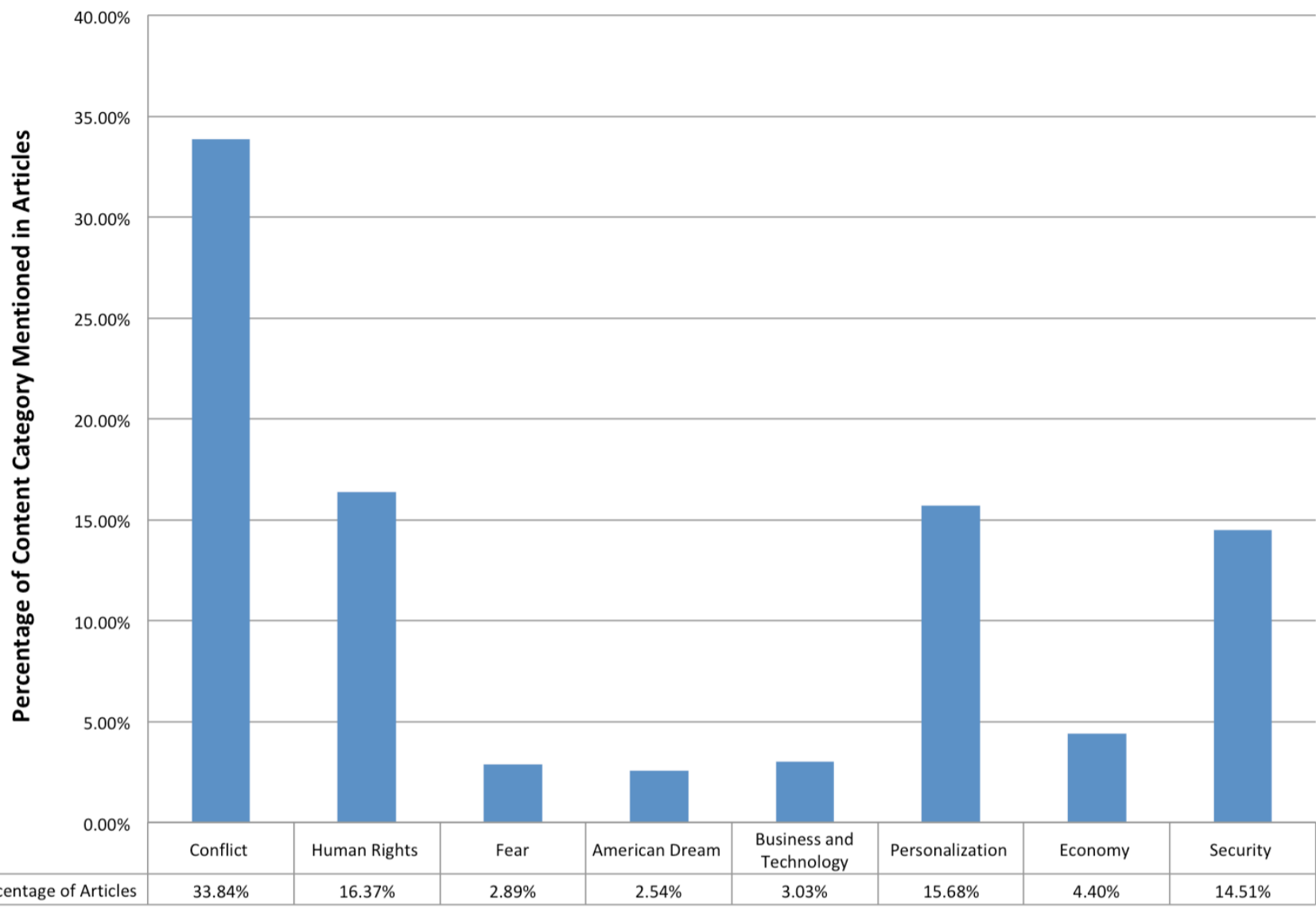
was the *American Dream*; this theme was only referenced in a total of 2.54% of all sampled paragraphs.

Furthermore, the content analysis of the *Times*' and the *Journal's* coverage of immigration also revealed a disproportionately negative coverage of DACA. Of the 1,879 paragraphs analyzed in the *Times*, the newspaper spoke about DACA in a negative tone in 53.83% of the paragraphs analyzed, compared to 14.93% that were positively toned, and 31.24% that were neutrally toned. Likewise, the *Journal's* coverage of immigration also revealed a disproportionately negative coverage of DACA. Of the 1,454 total paragraphs analyzed, the *Journal* spoke about DACA in a negative tone in 51.31% of the paragraphs analyzed, compared to 12.45% that were positively toned, and 29.23% that were neutrally toned.

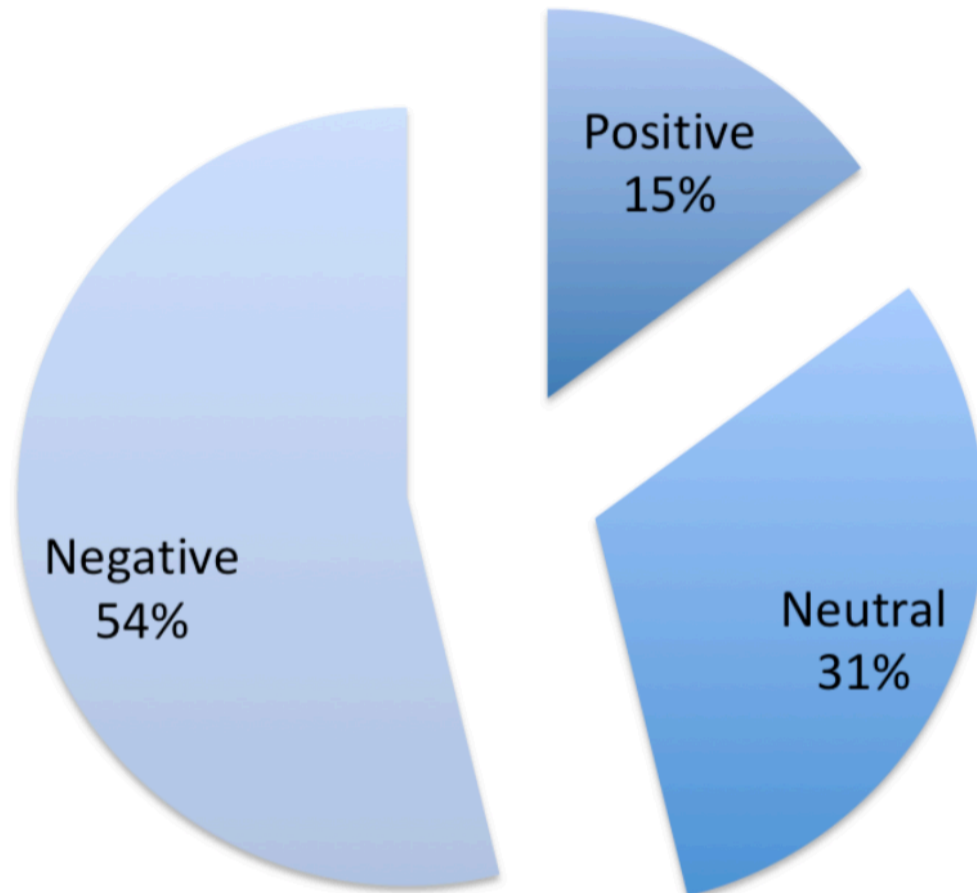
The following figures show the percentage of paragraphs for each content category and the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones attributed to the total 3,333 analyzed paragraphs in the *Times* and the *Journal*.



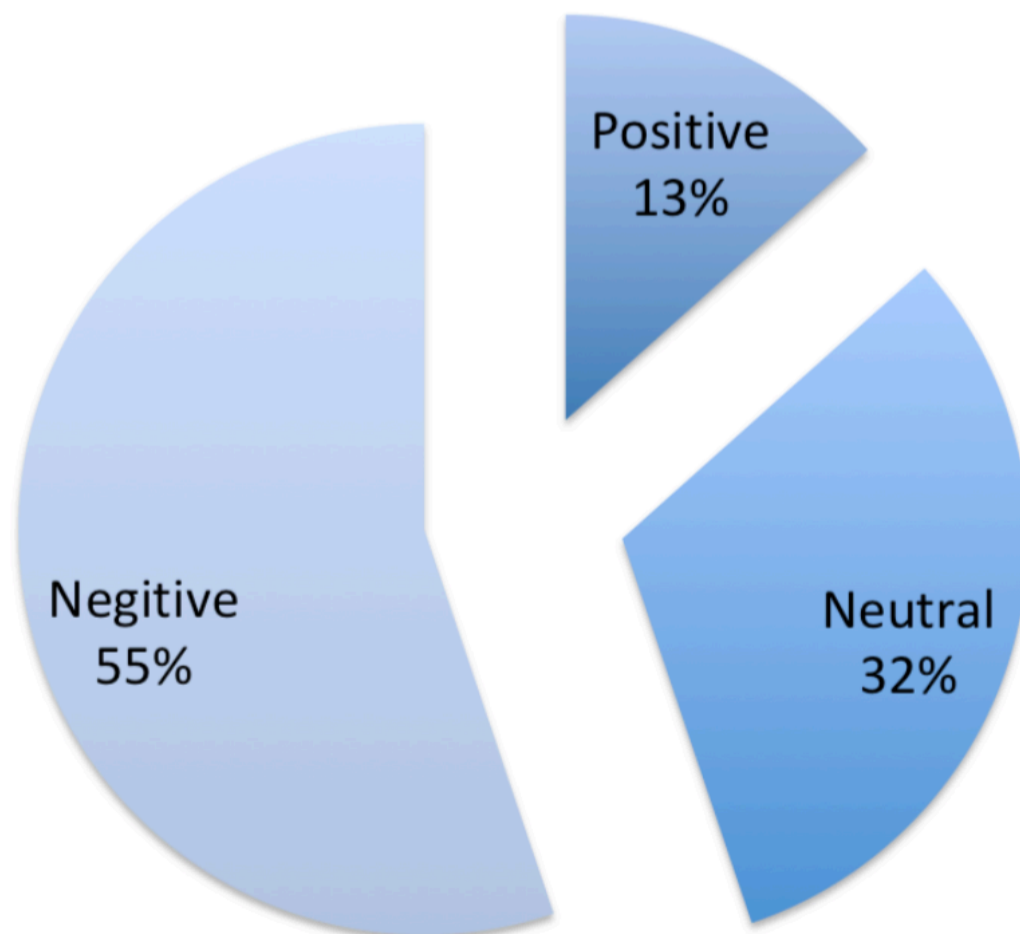
Content Categories in *The Wall Street Journal*



Tonal Coverage by Paragraph in *The New York Times*



Tonal Coverage by Paragraph in *The Wall Street Journal*



Content Category: Conflict

Conflict, defined as the political and social contentions as reactions and evaluations of immigration policies regarding DACA, was mentioned in a total of 450 paragraphs in the *Times*. Conflict was the most widely used theme in the *Times*, with a total of 23.95% of the paragraphs analyzed using conflict as a prominent frame. In addition, the most prominent type of conflict mentioned in the *Times* was the political conflict between Republican and Democratic members of the House and Senate. This type of episodic frame was made evident in the *Times*' article titled "Obama Plan Could Grant Papers to Millions, at Least for Now" by Julia Preston:

Mr. Obama said he had decided to take the measures after an immigration overhaul passed by the Senate died this year in the Republican-controlled House. His plans to act unilaterally have infuriated Republicans newly empowered in the midterm elections, who say they earned a chance at the polls to write their own immigration legislation in the Congress they will control next year. The House speaker, John A. Boehner of Ohio, said that Republicans would "fight the president tooth and nail," and that they were weighing whether to try to cripple Mr. Obama's plans with legal challenges or halt them by canceling their funding (March 15, 2014).

Similar to the newspaper's utilization of political conflicts between Congress and the President, the *Times* also greatly referenced the social contentions caused by the reactions and evaluations of immigration policies regarding DACA. The *Times* prioritized the use of conflict to develop a storyline filled with conflict and controversy using episodic framing. This type of frame was widely used throughout the study of the newspaper and was most prominently vivid in the article titled "Democrats on Tightrope In Immigration Debate" by Michael D. Shear and Tamiche Alcindor:

Activists worry that any compromise for DACA could carry a very personal price: Their own long-term safety might be secured only in exchange for an increased threat of deportation for their undocumented parents and friends who do not qualify for such protections under the program. That is a deal that many of them are not willing to

take."We are going to do whatever it takes to push both parties to pursue what we are demanding," said Cristina Jimenez, executive director of United We Dream. "We don't want a situation where my brother, who has DACA, will have relief from deportation, and we will have more enforcement and more ICE agents who end up going after my mom and my dad." (October 2, 2017).

Furthermore, not only was conflict the most widely used content category mentioned in the *Times*, but the thematic frame of conflict was also widely associated with a negative tone throughout the analysis. Conflict was associated with unfavorable expressions such as *anxiety*, *trouble*, *crisis*, *protests*, *critics*, *damage*, and *denouncement*. The most apparent example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of conflict is found in the article titled "Pooling Mayoral Power to Rally Against Trump" by David J. Goodman:

The election of Donald J. Trump has reinvigorated the coalition, giving Mayor Bill de Blasio of New York City the means to rally dissent among the big city mayors and potentially offering him a leg up on claiming the mantle of a leading Trump antagonist among Democrats. Since Election Day, Mr. de Blasio has used his perch as the mayor of America's largest city, and Mr. Trump's hometown, to cast himself as a defender of immigrants, minorities and others fearful over what the new administration's policies might mean for urban residents. Behind the scenes, his administration has tried to rally other municipal leaders to press for last-minute action by President Obama, particularly on immigration (December 30, 2016).

Comparable to the *Times*' utilization of conflict, the *Journal's* usage was mentioned in a total of 492 paragraphs. Conflict was the most widely used theme in the *Journal*, with a total of 33.85% of the paragraphs using conflict as a prominent frame. However, unlike the *Times*, which utilized both the political and social connotations of DACA, the most prominent type of conflict mentioned in the *Journal* was the political conflict between the Republican and Democratic members of the House and Senate. This type of frame was made vivid in the *Journal's* article titled "Have a Heart, Mr. President, and Defend These Immigrants in Court; States threaten to

sue over DACA, the policy deferring deportation for aliens brought here as children written” by Jeh Charles Johnson:

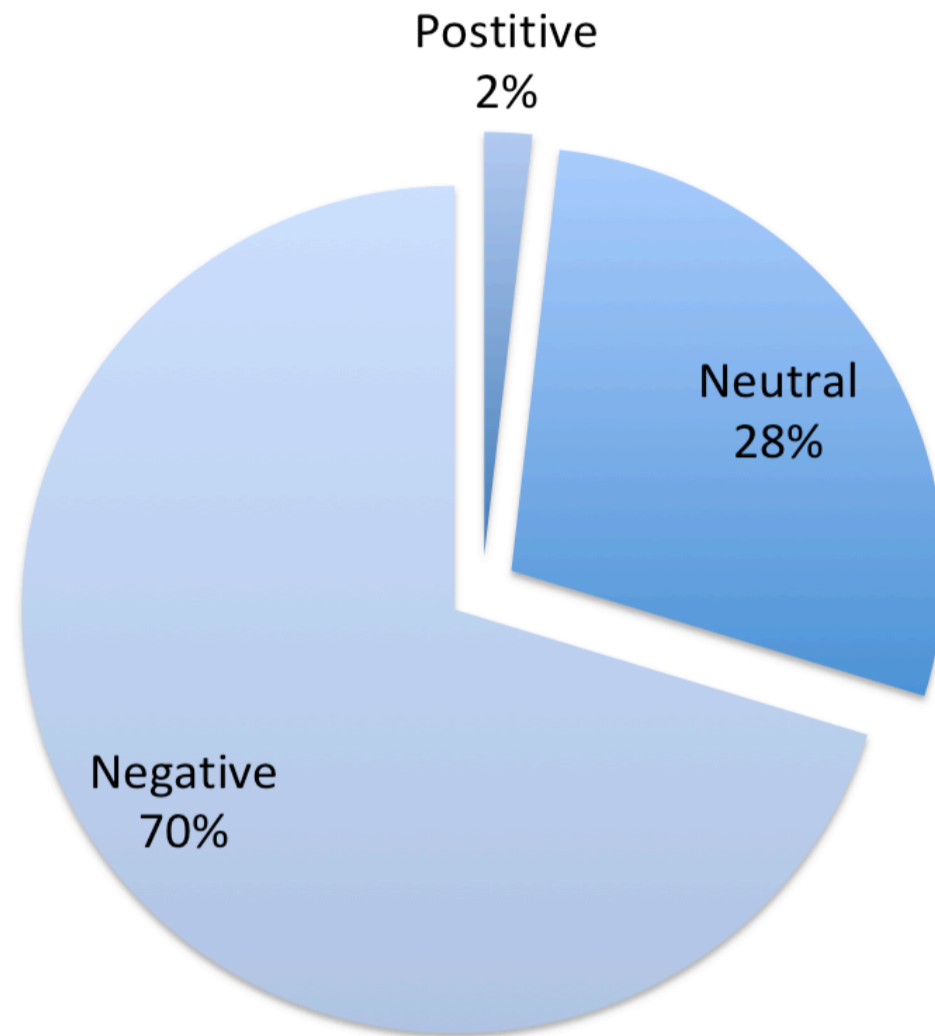
The attorneys general of 10 states have written the U.S. Justice Department in recent months, threatening to sue the federal government unless it ends the policy of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. The states have given the administration until September 5 to decide to end DACA or face a lawsuit. Thus, now is the time for President Trump to make a decision about the policy's future; he should continue DACA and instruct his attorney general to defend it in court (August 7, 2017).

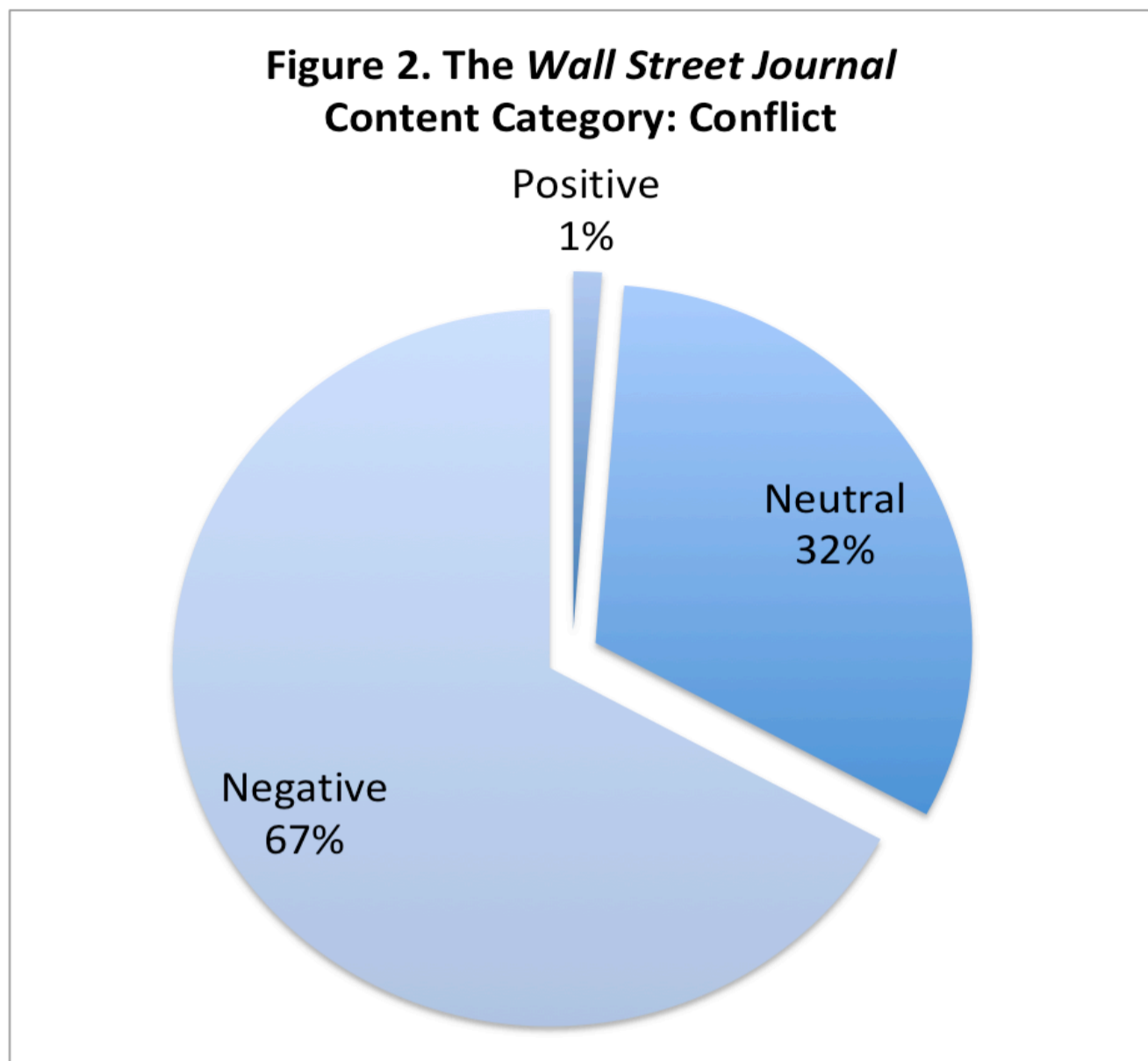
Moreover, similar to the *Times*, the thematic frame of conflict was also widely associated with a negative tone throughout the analysis. Conflict, in the *Journal's* coverage was associated with negative expressions such as *challenges*, *crisis*, *threat*, *protests*, *critics*, and *lawsuits*. The most evident example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of conflict is found in the *Journal's* article titled “Trump’s Demand Imperials Plan to Protect ‘Dreamers’; President’s new demand for border enforcement measures threatens talk in Congress to help young immigrants” by Laura Meckler:

President Donald Trump's demand that Congress approve dozens of Immigration-enforcement measures threatens to derail sensitive negotiations on Capitol Hill over DACA. Most of the demands released Sunday pleased his core supporters, but drew opposition from Democrats and even some Republicans. "The Trump administration created a crisis by terminating the DACA program," said Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D., Calif.), using the program's official name, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals . "Now it's demanding draconian changes to our immigration system in exchange for fixing that crisis. It's wrong to play with people's lives and DACA recipients shouldn't be a political football." (October 9, 2017).

Figures 1 and 2 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of conflict in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.

**Figure 1. The *New York Times*
Content Category: Conflict**





Content Category: Human Rights

Human rights, the media's portrayal of the rights inherent to all human beings, no matter the nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language, or any other status, was the second most widely mentioned theme in the analysis. As the second most mentioned content category, human rights were mentioned in a total of 303 paragraphs and comprised 16.13% of all paragraphs evaluated.

Furthermore, the usage of human rights in the *Times* was most widely written about in the context of the harm and/or good infringed upon individuals and families who are being affected by the various DACA immigration policies and proposals. More specifically, the *Times*' usage of human rights in the articles refer specifically to separation of families and the increased dangers

and risks associated with deportation. The usage of human rights as an episodic frame can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Young Immigrants Fear Deportation by Trump" by Julia Preston and Jennifer Medina:

If their work permits are canceled or expire, immigrants could face cascading consequences -- losing jobs, driver's licenses, professional certificates and the chance to pay in-state tuition for college. The impact would vary by state. In places like California -- home to half of all DACA recipients -- and New York, additional protections are enshrined in laws. But in the South and Midwest where there are fewer protections, "people might find they really stand out and are targeted," said Roberto Gonzales, a Harvard professor who has studied young people in the program. Yet there were signs that young immigrants, who have been battling for a legal foothold in the United States for more than a decade, would not go back underground quietly (November 20, 2016).

Similar to the newspaper's usage of conflict, the *Times*' mention of human rights was also associated with negative phrases. Throughout the news articles, the *Times* associated human rights with terms such as *civil rights*, *deportation*, and *fear*. The most vivid example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of human rights is found in the article titled "On Immigration, G.O.P Starts to Embrace Tea Party" by Jonathan Weisman:

Late last month, as members of Congress were negotiating with the party's most ardent opponents of immigration overhaul...the changes opponents sought were crude: raising the bar on granting asylum hearings to unaccompanied children at the border, and a more explicit bill phasing out Mr. Obama's executive order granting legal status to some immigrants brought to the country illegally as children, an order known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA. Carlos Gutierrez, a commerce secretary under President George W. Bush said: "We have destroyed tens of thousands of young lives, people who don't speak Spanish, who have lived their whole lives here, who want to be productive members of society, and now Senator Steve King is rewriting DACA? I just think that is a real shame." (August 13, 2014).

Comparable to the *Times*' utilization of Human Rights, in the *Journal*, human rights were mentioned in a total of 238 paragraphs. Human rights was the second most widely used

theme in the *Journal*, with a total of 16.37% of paragraphs using human rights as a prominent frame. Unlike *Times*, which referred specifically to the separation of families and the increased dangers and risks associated with deportation, the most prominent types of human rights mentioned in the *Journal* were those associated with constitutional rights. The usage of human rights can be seen in the news article titled “Tech Executives React to Trump's Immigration Order in Their Own Words; Leaders break with weeks of cautious engagement with new administration” by Greg Bensinger and Rachael King:

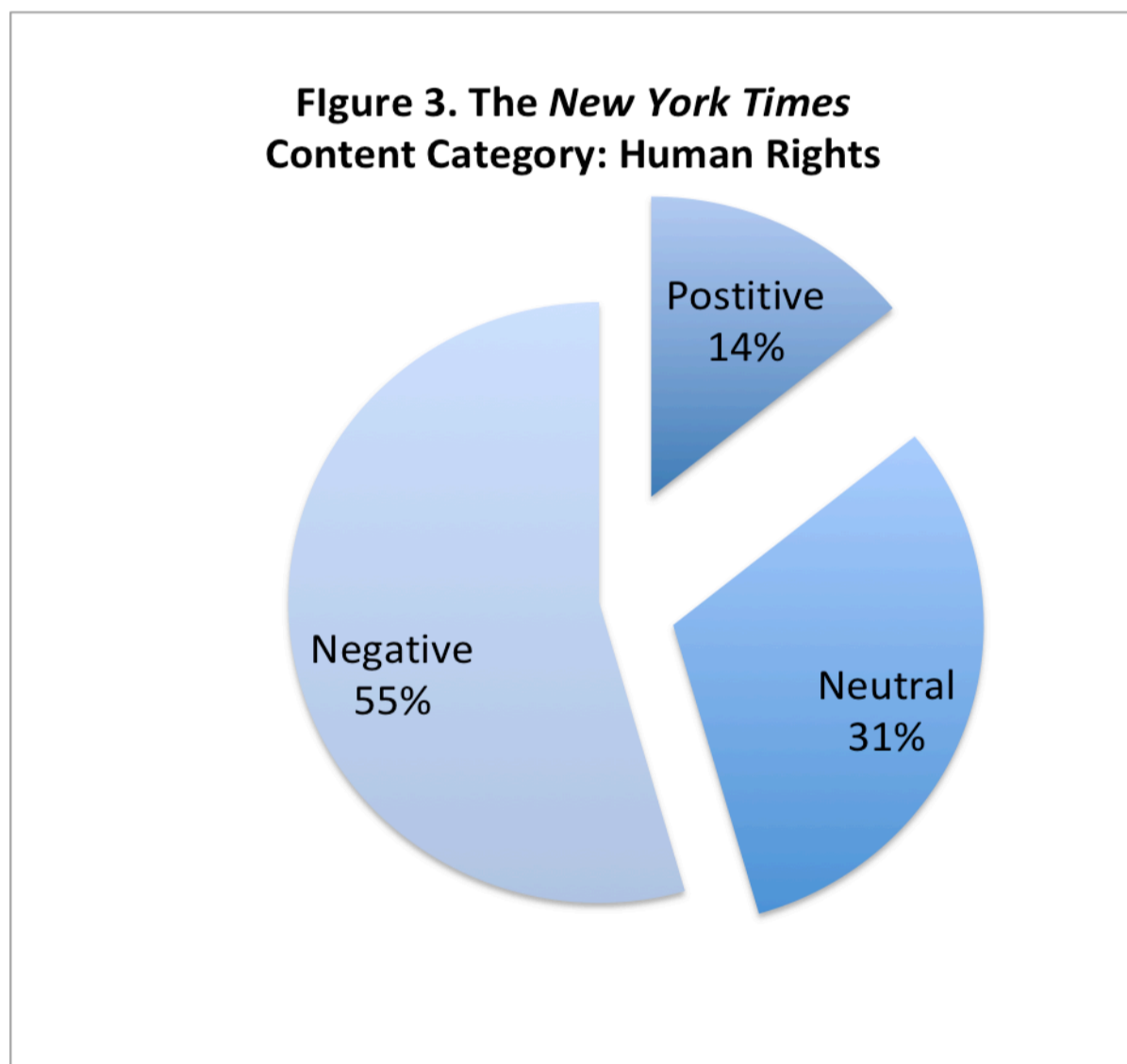
The tech community is powerful. Large tech companies in particular have enormous power and are held in high regard. We need to hear from the CEOs clearly and unequivocally. Trump's actions are hurting employers and employees around the world, and are so un-American it pains us all. Worse, these actions will make America less safe (through hatred and loss of allies) rather than more safe. A very sad week, and more to come with the lives of over 600,000 Dreamers here in a America under imminent threat. It is time to link arms together to protect American values of constitutional freedom and opportunity (January 29, 3017).

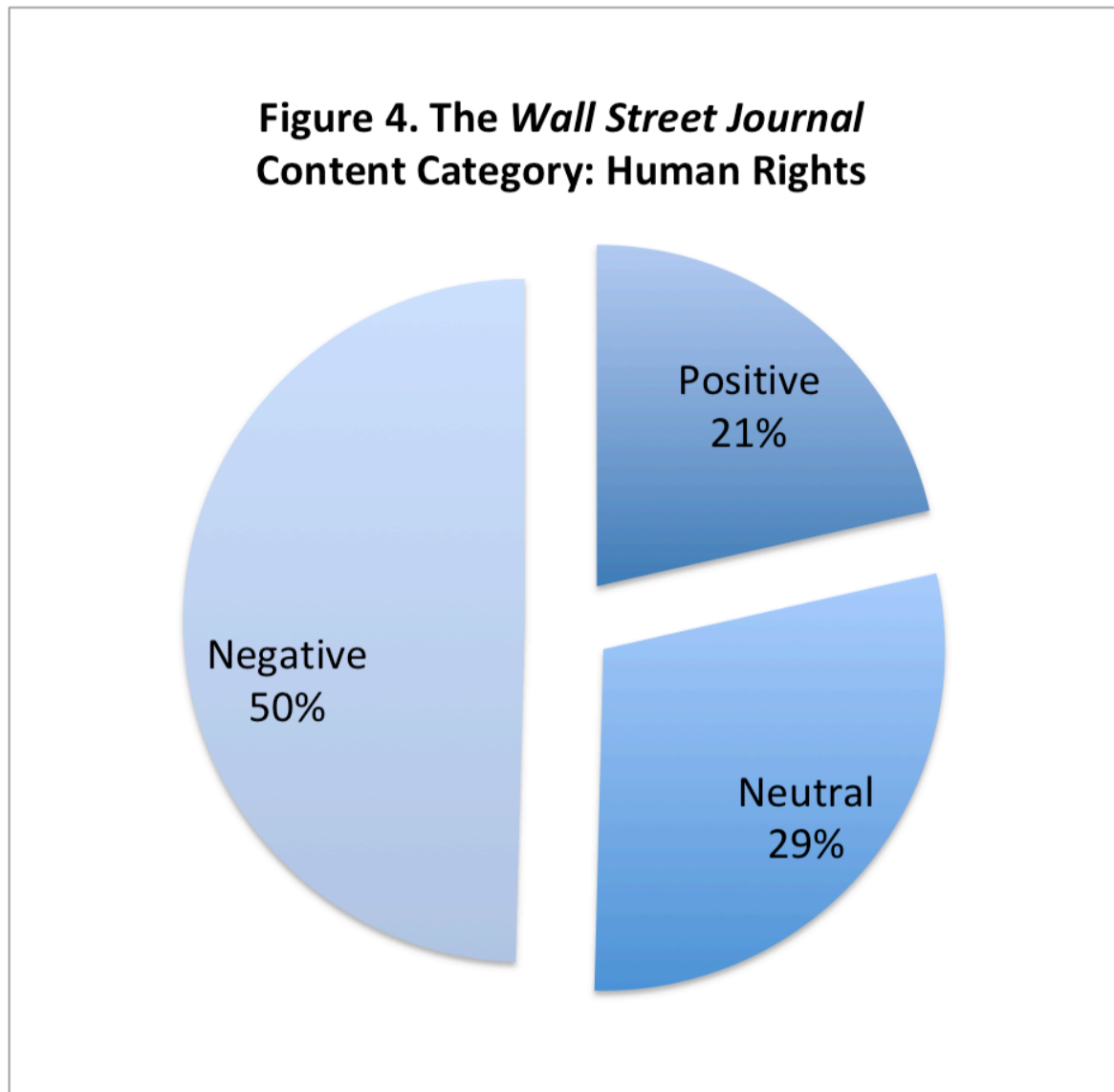
Moreover, similarly to the *Times*, the thematic frame of human rights was also most widely associated with a negative tone throughout the analysis. Human rights, in the *Journal's* coverage of immigration and DACA, was associated with negative expressions such as *deportation, violation of liberties, crisis, victims, and critics*. The most apparent example of the negative connotations attributed to the frame of conflict is found in the article titled “Young Immigrants Fear Deportation Under Donald Trump; President-elect may end program that aids undocumented immigrants brought to the U.S as children” by Miriam Jordan:

Some Democrats have called on Mr. Obama to protect DACA in the wake of Mr. Trump's victory. The president said last week that he would "urge the president-elect and the incoming administration to think long and hard before they are endangering that status of what, for all practical purposes, are American kids.” The uncertainty has left in limbo the

large pool of young DACA recipients, who are in their late teens to early 30s. If they renew and Mr. Trump scraps the program, they will have wasted money. If they don't reapply, and Mr. Trump allows the program to survive even temporarily, they would jeopardize their jobs and legal status to remain in the country (November 20, 2016).

Figures 3 and 4 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of human rights in both the *Times* and *the Journal*.





Content Category: Fear

The media's usage of fear, which was defined in the study as the unpleasant emotion caused by the belief that someone (the presidency) or something (new immigration policies) is dangerous, likely to cause pain, or a threat, was the fourth most mentioned theme in the *Times*. The theme fear received the least attention in the media's coverage of immigration with a total of 166 paragraphs mentioning fear in their coverage of the issue; forming a total of 8.83% of all paragraphs evaluated in the *Times*.

The usage of fear as an episodic frame throughout the evaluation of study was most widely written about in the context of *deportation*, *insecurities*, and *discrimination* perceived by

the undocumented individuals and families who were affected by the newly implemented immigration policies. The usage of fear as a frame can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Staten Island's Latino Immigrants 'Hope for the Best but Prepare for the Worst'" by Liz

Robbins:

More than 100 people attended an emergency meeting there for Spanish-speaking immigrants. Many of them were undocumented: Mexican parents and their United States-born children; business owners; day laborers; transgender residents... Cesar Vargas, a Mexican-born Staten Island lawyer and immigrant activist who was one of the organizers handed out an eight-page emergency worksheet to be prepared in case someone in a household was detained by immigration officers: contacts for lawyers, pastors, relatives in and outside the country; homes that would take in children; places to have furniture donated; and any visa or previous deportation records. (November 16, 2016)

Furthermore, throughout the analysis of the article, the *Times*' mention of fear when reporting about DACA was crudely associated with negative terms such as *petrified*, *undocumented*, *ICE*, *deportation*, and *Trump*. The most vivid example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of fear is found in the *New York Times*' article titled "Undocumented in Trump's America" by Jose Antonio Vargas:

But with the election of Donald J. Trump as president, Mr. Roa and 750,000 other immigrants in the program, who came to the United States as children, have been swept up in a wave of anxiety, worried about losing the progress they have made and being forced back underground or even deported. Mr. Trump has promised to "immediately terminate" Mr. Obama's executive actions on immigration, including the youth initiative (November 20, 2016).

Similar to the *Times*' utilization of fear, the *Journal's* frame of fear was mentioned in a total of 42 paragraphs. Fear was the seventh most referenced theme in the *Journal*, with a total of 2.89% of the paragraphs analyzed using it as a prominent frame. Comparable to the *Times*, the

most prominent type of fear mentioned in the *Journal* referred specifically to deportations, insecurities, and discriminations perceived by the undocumented individuals and families who were affected by the newly implemented immigration policies. The usage of fear can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled “Young Immigrants Pause on ‘Deferred Action’ Offer” by

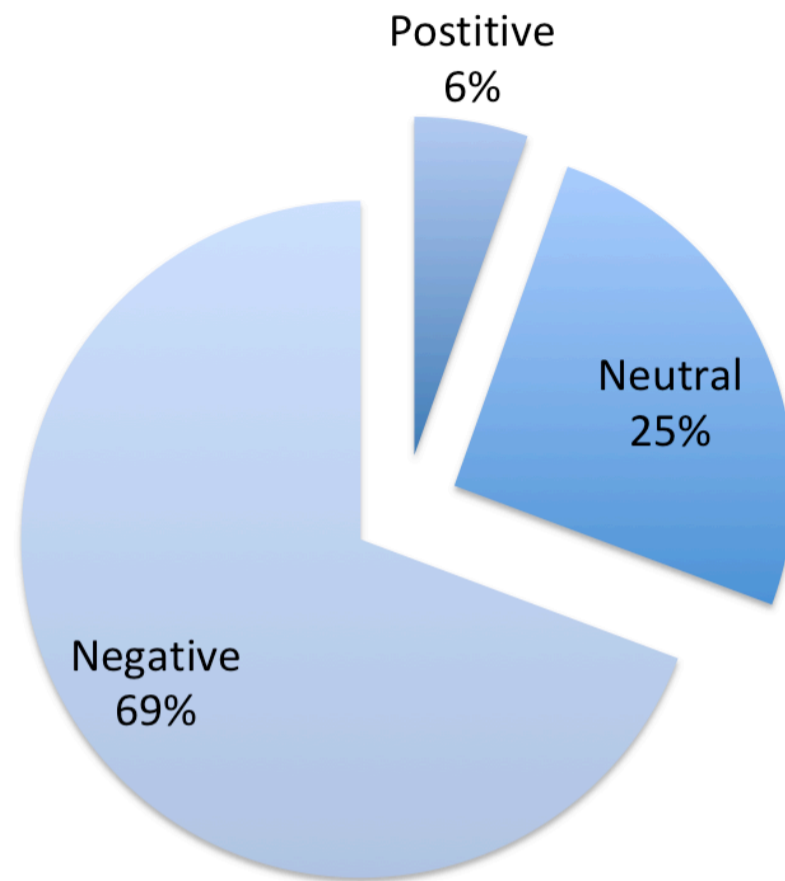
Miriam Jordan:

The flow of applications for a program allowing undocumented immigrants to remain in the U.S. and work legally has been slowed by concerns about what they must disclose and uncertainty about who will be the next president. Immigration attorneys say the outcome of the election is a source of concern for potential applicants, because the Republican candidate has taken a tough stance on illegal immigration (September 9, 2012).

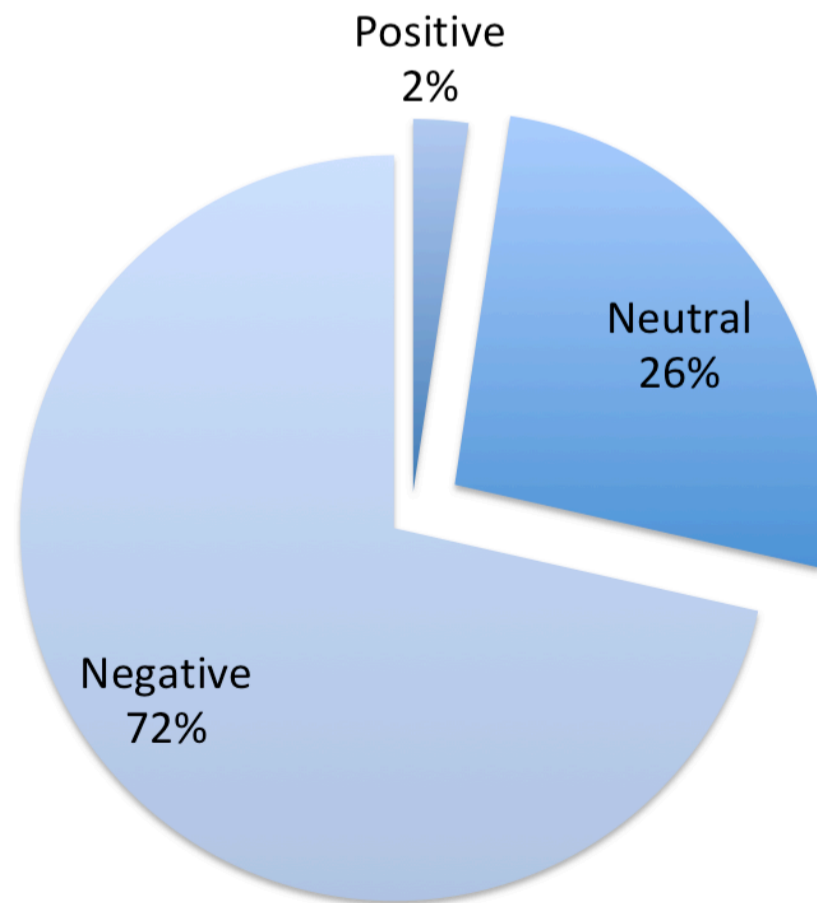
Similar to the *Times's* association of fear with a negative tone, the *Journal's* coverage was also associated with negative expressions such as *petrified*, *undocumented*, *ICE*, and *deportation*. The most vivid example is found in the *Journal's* article titled “Young Immigrants’ Applications Fall in U.S” by Miriam Jordan. In this article, the author writes: “The Department of Homeland Security saw a rush in applicants who stepped forward with all their documents in order," said Emily Creighton, a Council staff attorney. But ‘there are many more who are still afraid to come out of the shadows or who lack access to legal resources’” (March 14, 2013).

Figures 5 and 6 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of fear in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.

**Figure 5. The *New York Times*
Content Category: Fear**



**Figure 6. The *Wall Street Journal*
Content Category: Fear**



Content Category: The American Dream

The American Dream, which was defined as the belief that upward mobility is possible for everyone through sacrifice, risk-taking, and hard work, was the sixth most widely mentioned theme in the analysis of the *Times*. The American Dream was mentioned in a total of 121 paragraphs and comprised 6.44% of all paragraphs evaluated in the *Times*.

Moreover, the usage of the American Dream as a frame was most widely written in the context of a set of ideals such as the opportunity to a better life, education, and employment from those individuals who were beneficiaries of DACA. The most apparent usage of the American Dream can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Once Accepted, Soon Rejected? New York's Young Immigrants Uncertain Under Trump" by Liz Robbins:

Vanessa Luna was a junior when, in 2012, President Obama gave Ms. Luna -- and hundreds of thousands of other young people like her-- temporary permission to stay and work in the United States... Ms. Luna said she would be devastated if DACA is canceled. but "it would ignite more of a fire inside of me," she said, referring to her ambition for a better life and to remain a teacher in the United States (December 16, 2016).

Furthermore, unlike previous content categories analyzed, the *Times*' mention of the American Dream was associated with positive terms such as *democracy*, *liberty*, *opportunity*, and *equality*. The most evident example is found in the *Times*' article titled "'Dreamers' to Stay in U.S for Now, but Their Long-Term Fate is Unclear" In this article, authors Michael D. Shear and Vivian Yee write:

Born in Mexico, Mr. Robles-Shanahan and his two siblings followed their parents to the Chicago area in 2004, when they were children. He and his brother were arrested and detained by immigration officials while traveling to Boston by train in 2010, but were given a temporary reprieve from deportation. Joining the deferred action program two years later, he said, allowed him to obtain financial aid from his college, teach for a year through a fellowship, earn a master's degree in public policy, get a white-collar job and buy a house for his mother. "DACA changed a ton of stuff for me and my brother,

exponentially," he said. "It was like a switch" (June 17, 2017).

Although the American Dream was referenced the least in the *Journal's* analysis of DACA, similar to the *Times*, the *Journal's* most prominent mention of the American Dream was in the context of a set of ideals such as the opportunity to a better life, education, and employment from those individuals who were beneficiaries of DACA. In the *Journal*, the American Dream was mentioned in a total of 37 paragraphs and comprised a total of 2.54% of all paragraphs analyzed.

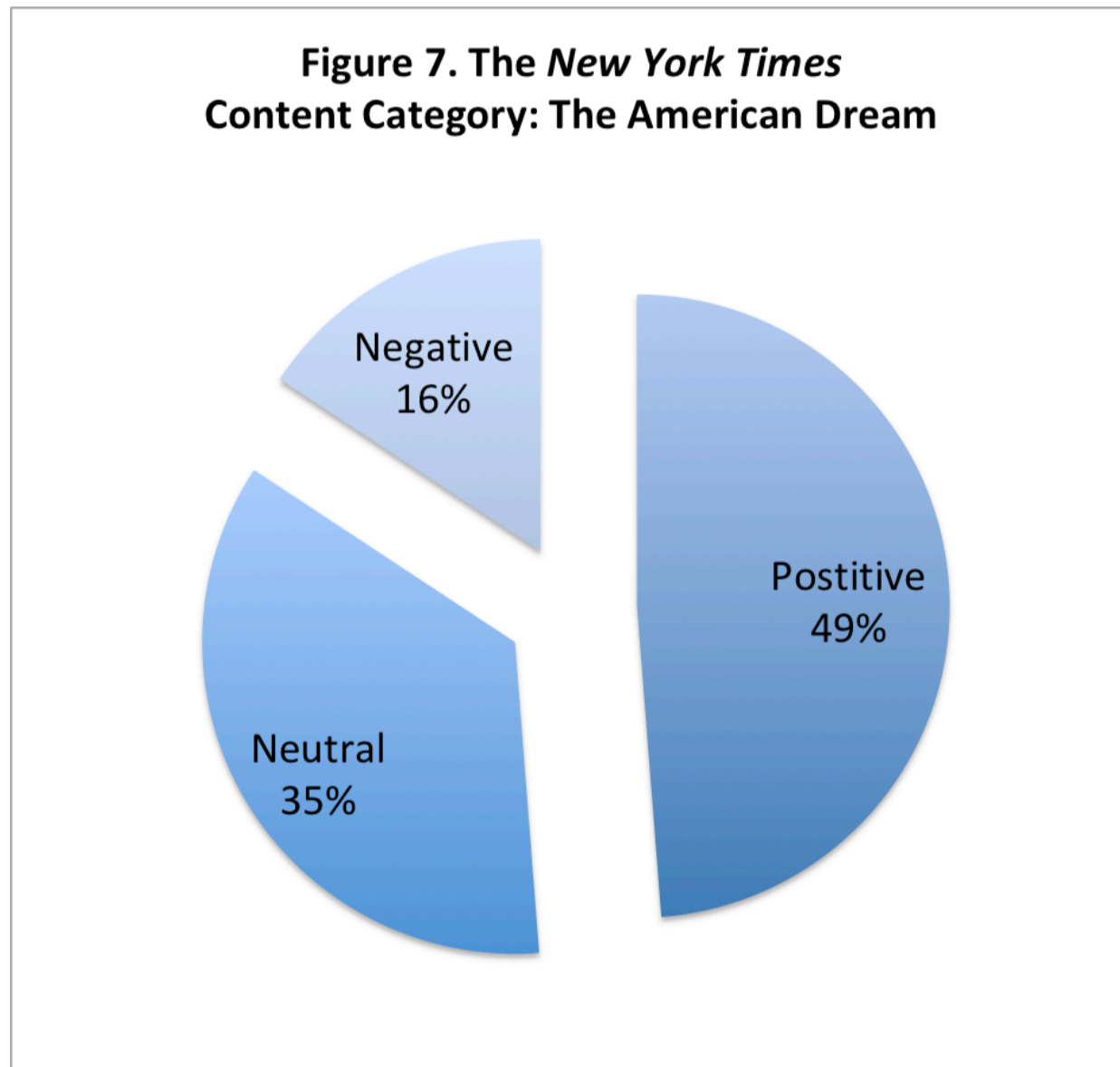
The usage of the American Dream can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled "Immigrant 'Dreamer' and Their Kin Feel Joy, Anxiety Before Obama Move; Older Siblings Are Likely to Benefit, but Not Parents" by Miriam Jordan: "In Los Angeles, Mr. Ghica, 22, said that DACA gave him an identity, affecting his life in ways large and small. For the first time, he got a cellphone in his own name. He was able to get part-time work as a Web designer instead of doing menial jobs to pay for his studies. "It created stability," he said. "DACA gave me hope" (November 19, 2014).

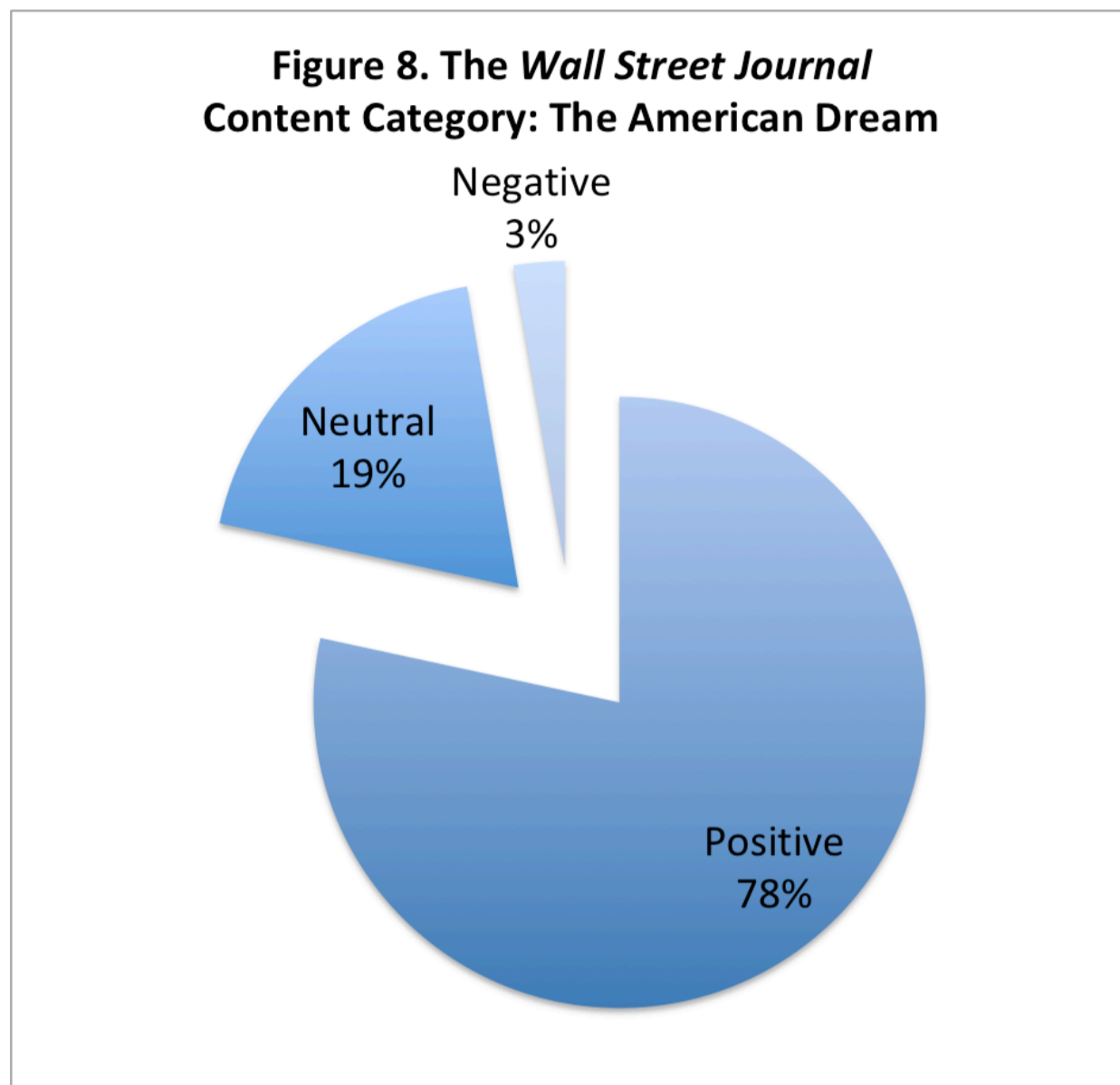
Furthermore, comparable to the *New York Times's* association of the American Dream with positive terms such as *democracy*, *liberty*, *opportunity*, and *equality*, the *Journal* also utilized positive terms in their reporting of DACA. The most evident example is found in the article titled "Immigrants benefit From White House Initiative; Advocates Urge Obama to Expand Eligibility, While Critics Say It Undermines Law" by Miriam Jordan:

For two years, UC Berkeley-educated civil engineer Mario Lio had to work as a math tutor and restaurant worker to make ends meet. Today, he is a project engineer for a Bay Area firm that helped build the new Levi's Stadium for the San Francisco 49ers. The reason, he says, is DACA--Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals... When Mr. Lio,

25 years old, qualified for the program. Through the program, he received a Social Security number and driver's license. He then got a job in his field of study. "I became a new person in some ways," says Mr. Lio (September 4, 2014).

Figures 7 and 8 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of the American Dream in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.





Content Category: Business and Technology

Business and technology was also a key theme used in the *Times* regarding the issue of immigration and DACA. Business and technology, defined as the impacts of DACA immigration policies on U.S domestic and foreign business and the technological industry, was mentioned in 157 paragraphs out of a total of the 1,879 paragraphs evaluated. U.S Business and technology was the fifth most referenced frame in the *Times* with a total of 8.36% of the paragraphs analyzed using it as a prominent theme. Moreover, the business and technology frame was mostly discussed in reference to the negative impacts that rescinding DACA could have on

the business and technology industries. The usage of the frame can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Program That Lifted 800,000 Immigrant 'Dreamers' Is at Risk" by Miriam Jordan:

John Rowe, a former chief executive of the energy giant Exelon, who has mentored Ms. Rojas, the DACA recipient, at the Illinois Institute of Technology, said, "The program has been instrumental to advance talented people like Jessica." Now a co-chairman of the Illinois Business Immigration Coalition, Mr. Rowe organized a letter to Mr. Trump supporting the program that was signed by 132 chief executives from across the country. "To cancel this program is bad business, bad politics and un-American," he said in an Email (August 28, 2017).

Similar to the previous themes mentioned in the study, the *Times*' mention of U.S business and technology was negatively associated with critical terms such as *economic recession*, *vital contributor*, and *global competitive disadvantage*. The most vivid example is found in the *Times*' article titled "Morning Agenda: The Next Big Battle for Business is Immigration." In this article, authors Amie Tsang and Michael J. De la Merced write: "Late on Thursday, a big group of top business leaders posted an open letter to Mr. Trump and congressional leaders arguing against the move. "Dreamers are vital to the future of our companies and our economy. With them, we grow and create jobs," the leaders wrote. "They are part of why we will continue to have a global competitive advantage.'" (September 2, 2017)

Comparable to the *Times*' utilization, in the *Journal*, the business and technology frame was mentioned in a total of 44 paragraphs and was the sixth most referenced theme in the *Journal*, with a total of 2.89% of the paragraphs analyzed using the frame. Similar to the *Times*, the most prominent type of reference made to business and technology in the *Journal* was the negative impacts that rescinding DACA would have on businesses and the technological industry. The most evident usage of this frame can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled

“Executives Prepare Push to Defend ‘Dreamers’; An Obama-era program to protect young, illegal immigrants” by Laura Stevens and Douglas MacMillan:

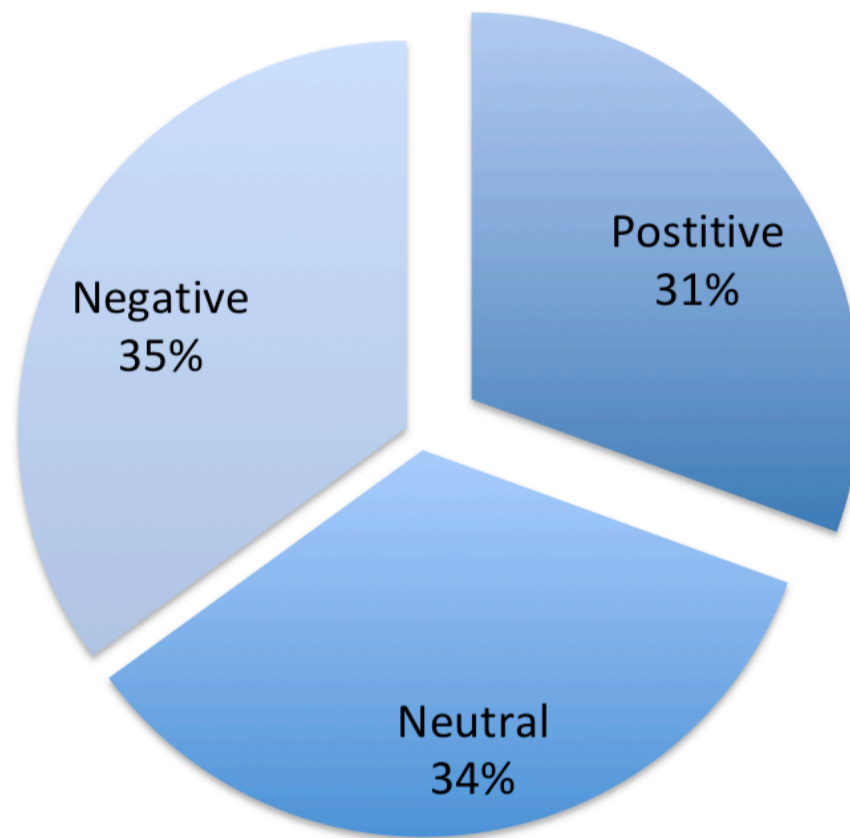
Technology giants and CEOs, in particular, have pressed Mr. Trump to support immigration policies that help more foreign workers stay in the country. The leaders of Apple, Alphabet Inc.'s Google, and other tech and business giants in February filed a joint amicus brief opposing Mr. Trump's decision to rescind the Obama-era regulation that would have Dreamers... their contributions make America more globally competitive and they deserve the opportunity to work, study, and pursue the American dream, an Uber spokesman said (September 1, 2017)

Similar to *Times*' association of business and technology with negative terms such as *economic recession*, *vital contributor*, and *global competitive disadvantage*, the *Journal* also attributed negative terms in their reporting of DACA. The most apparent example is found in the article titled “Tech Executives React to Trump's Immigration Order in Their Own Words; Leaders break with weeks of cautions engagement with new administration.” Author Alejandro Lazo, states:

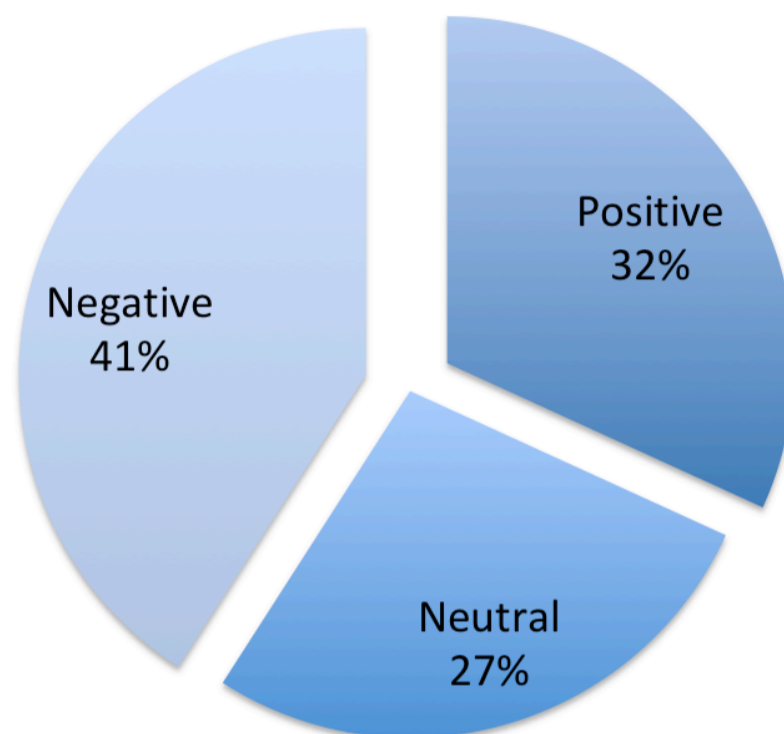
Technology industry executives expressed personal dismay and concern for their companies in reacting to President Donald Trump's executive order on immigration. Leaders from companies including Apple Inc. and Microsoft Corp. framed the order as one at odds with a nation that welcomes foreigners and an industry that counts foreign-born executives in its upper ranks. “In my conversations with officials here in Washington this week, I've made it clear that Apple believes deeply in the importance of immigration--both to our company and to our nation's future. Apple would not exist without immigration and Dreamers, let alone thrive and innovate the way we do,” said Apple CEO Tim Cook (January 29, 2017).

Figures 9 and 10 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of business and technology in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.

**Figure 9. The *New York Times*
Content Category: Business and Technology**



**Figure 10. The *Wall Street Journal*
Content Category: Business and Technology**



Content Category: Personalization

Personalization, defined in this study as the media's focus on human interest stories rather than the policy or political process (Graber and Dunaway 350), was the second most widely used theme in the analysis of the *Times*. Personalization was mentioned in a total of 359 paragraphs and composed 19.11% of the paragraphs evaluated in the newspaper. The *Times* used the frame of personalization as an emotional factor to influence the public through emotionally charged stories and commentary using culturally resonant terms and phrases to frame immigration and DACA. The most evident use of personalization can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Brooklyn Lawsuit Could Affect the Fate of Millions of Immigrants Nationwide" by Alan Feuer:

Ruben Rivas, 27, a Mexican immigrant, said he had vacillated from fear to sadness to denial. In 2012 Mr. Rivas, the son of undocumented immigrants who spent their lives working minimum-wage jobs, graduated from San Jose State University with

a degree in business finance. He applied that year for DACA, never stopping to worry about offering the government details about his life. Now he works as a financial consultant and co-owns a small income tax firm. "The first thought I had is that I have done everything right and it is all going to be taken away from me," he said of his fears for the future of the program. "It feels a little bit like a betrayal. I've been here since I was 4 years old. I'm an American (October 10, 2016).

Throughout the article, personalization was crudely associated with negative terms such as *resistance*, *discrimination*, *separation*, and *fear*. The most vivid example is found in *The New York Times*' article titled "Ruling Sends Migrants Back Into the Shadows" by Julia Preston:

For Yeni Bentez, a Mexican immigrant in Wisconsin, this week was when "everything just fell apart." Mr. Bentez who came here with his family when he was 10 and grew up in Florida without immigration papers, has protection from deportation and a work permit under President Obama's program for unauthorized immigrants, known as Dreamers, who came to the United States as children. "I'm back to this sense of insecurity, of being afraid every day, every hour, every minute," said Ms. Bentez, who has a college degree in engineering but is working in a factory. "It really is taking a toll on me." (February 21, 2015).

Similar to the *Times*' utilization of personalization, the *Journal* mentioned personalization in a total of 228 paragraphs, the third most referenced theme with a total of 15.68% of paragraphs. Comparable to the *Times*, the most prominent type of personalization in the *Journal* referred specifically to the human interest stories and the negative impacts that rescinding DACA could have on the the lives of Dreamers. The most vivid usage of personalization can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled "Young Immigrants Fear Deportation Under Donald Trump; President-elect may end program that aids undocumented immigrants brought to U.S. as children." by Miriam Jordan:

Maria Xirun Tzoc, brought to the U.S. illegally when she was 4 years old, played Christian music during her drive to work the morning after the election. "Mr. Trump, please don't take away DACA," she prayed. Without DACA, I'd lose the job I love," said the 21-year-old Guatemalan, who helps patients navigate insurance and check in at

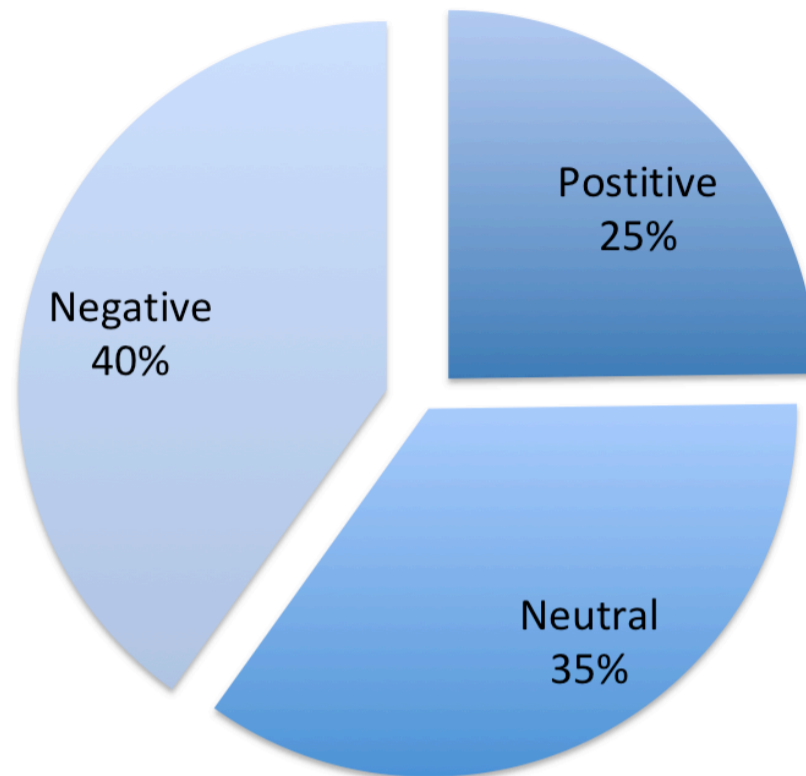
Children's Hospital Los Angeles. "I could get deported." "I'm scared, but I need to have faith. I pay all my taxes; I love what I do", she said. (November 20, 2016).

Furthermore, similar to the *Times*' association of personalization with a negative tone, the *Journal's* usage was also associated with negative expressions such as *resistance*, *discrimination*, *separation*, and *fear*. An example of the negative connotations attributed to the frame of personalization is found in the *Journal's* article titled "Battle Shapes Up in Congress Over Fate of Immigration Program; Trump signals he will end Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals; debate is over whether to pass a law that would keep its protections in place" by authors Laura Meckler and Michael C. Bender:

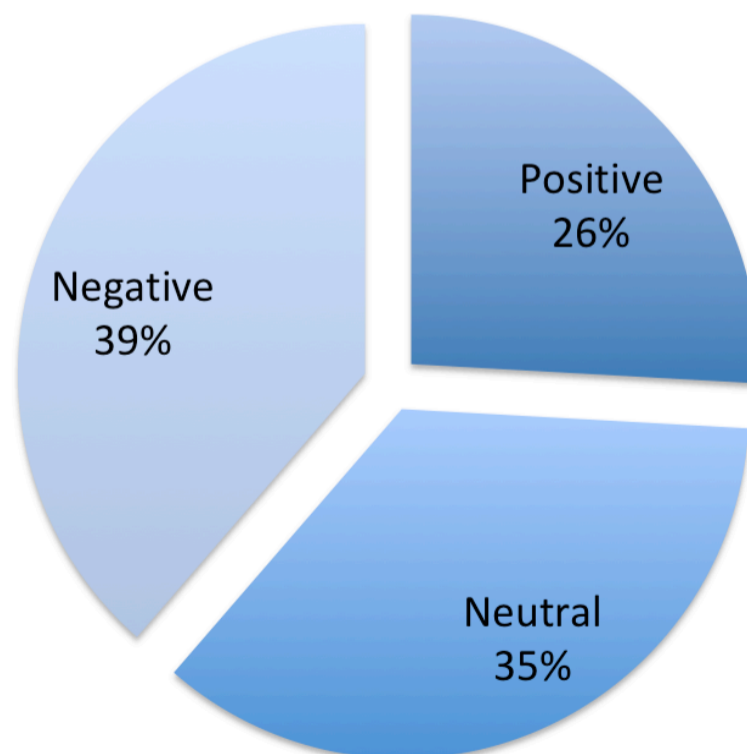
Pressure to keep DACA has come from corporations, educational leaders and the young people themselves, who have found themselves in a state of limbo since Mr. Trump campaigned last year on a promise to end the program. "If I lose my DACA , it's basically going back into the shadows and not being able to do anything. It's pretty nerve-racking," said Eduardo Vazquez, 18 years old, who said he came to the U.S. from Mexico when he was 2 years old with his mother. He is now a freshman on a full scholarship at George Mason University in Virginia but said his aid depends on having legal status. If he loses DACA , he said he feared he would have to pay tuition as if he were an international student (September 4, 2017).

Figures 11 and 12 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of personalization in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.

**Figure 11. The *New York Times*
Content Category: Personalization**



**Figure 12. The *Wall Street Journal*
Content Category: Personalization**



Content Category: Economy

The economy, defined as the media's portrayal of the positive and/or negative impacts of DACA immigration policies on the domestic wealth and resources in the United States, was mentioned in a total of 97 paragraphs in the *Times* and, was the seventh most widely used theme making up 5.16% of the paragraphs evaluated. It also was mostly written in the context of the negative impacts that rescinding DACA could have on the state and federal economies. The usage of U.S economic interests can be seen in the *Times*' news article titled "Economic Tsunami': Fearing Trump, Immigrants in City Are Spending Less" by Liz Robbins:

It is likewise impossible to separate the underground economy from New York's larger economy, because the city is home to immigrants of every kind of legal status, like day laborers, taxi drivers, kitchen workers in restaurants owned by undocumented immigrants who pay taxes, and college- educated entrepreneurs who have temporary protection from deportation. If they were to leave the city, either by returning on their own to their home countries or by government order, "it could be a massive economic ripple effect," Jonathan Bowles, executive director of the Center for an Urban Future, said. (November 24, 2016)

In line with the previous themes mentioned in the study, the *Times*' mentions of economic impacts were negatively associated with critical terms such as *economy*, *catastrophic*, *contributions*, *conflict*, and *loss*. An example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of the economy is found in the *Times*' article titled "Storm Complicates a Decision on Whether to Keep 'Dreamers' Program." Author Julie Hirschfeld Davis writes:

Four hundred business leaders also released a letter on Friday urging Mr. Trump not to end the program. They argued that denying Dreamers work authorization could result in the loss of \$460.3 billion from the United States economy and \$24.6 billion in Social Security and Medicare tax contributions. "Dreamers are vital to the future of our companies and our economy," wrote the executives, who included Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, Meg Whitman of Hewlett-Packard and Mary Barra of General Motors, a

former member of Mr. Trump's business advisory council. "They are part of why we will continue to have a global competitive advantage (September 2, 2017).

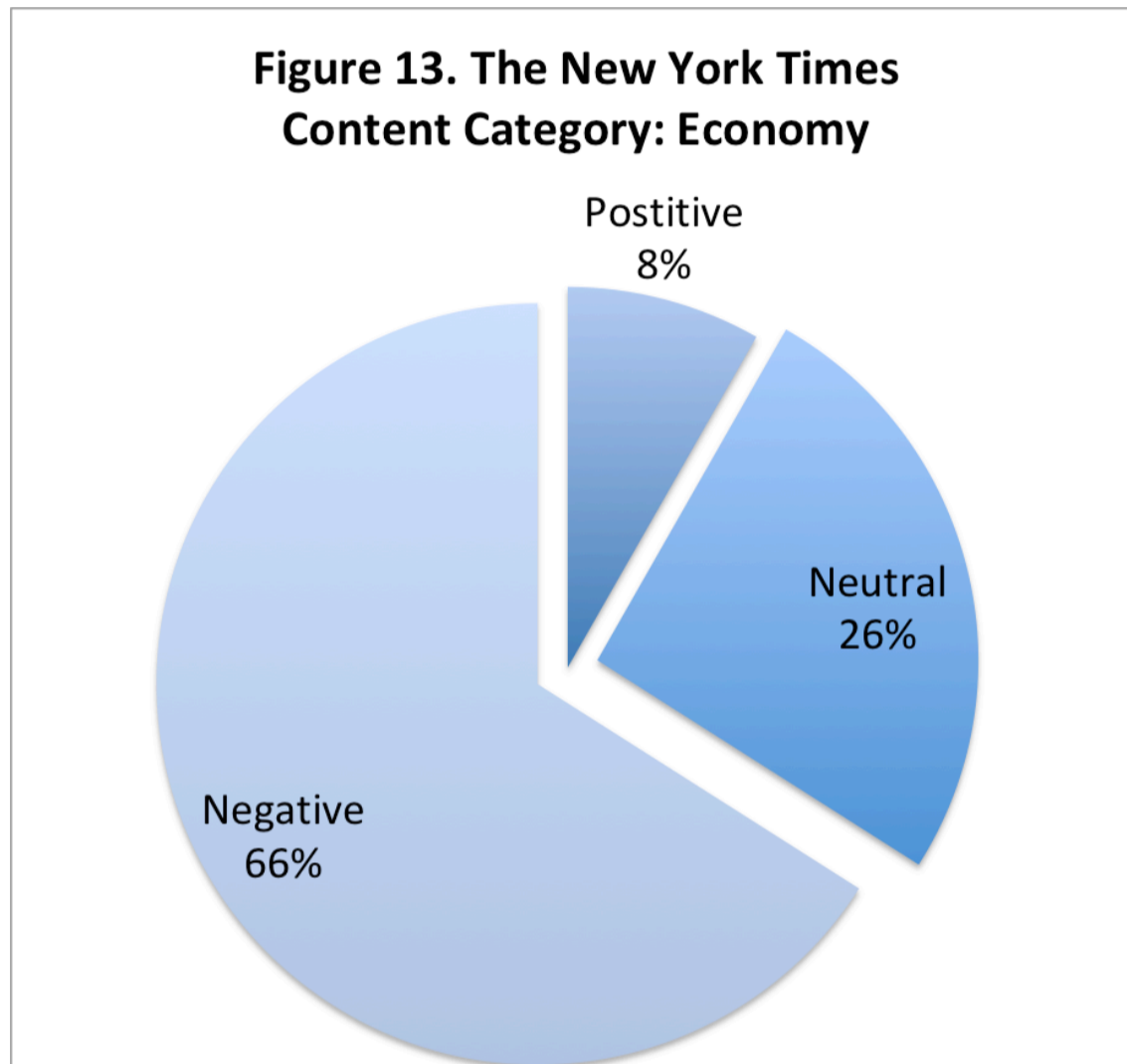
Similar to the *Times*' utilization, the *Journal* mentioned the economy in a total of 64 paragraphs, the fifth most referenced theme, making up 4.40% of the paragraphs. The *Journal's*, references to the economy were also about the negative impacts that rescinding DACA could have on the state and federal economies. The utilization of the economy can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled "End of DACA Moves Labor Force in Wrong Direction, Big Employers Say; Immediate impact because 'dreamers' are tiny fraction of U.S workforce" by Eric Morath:

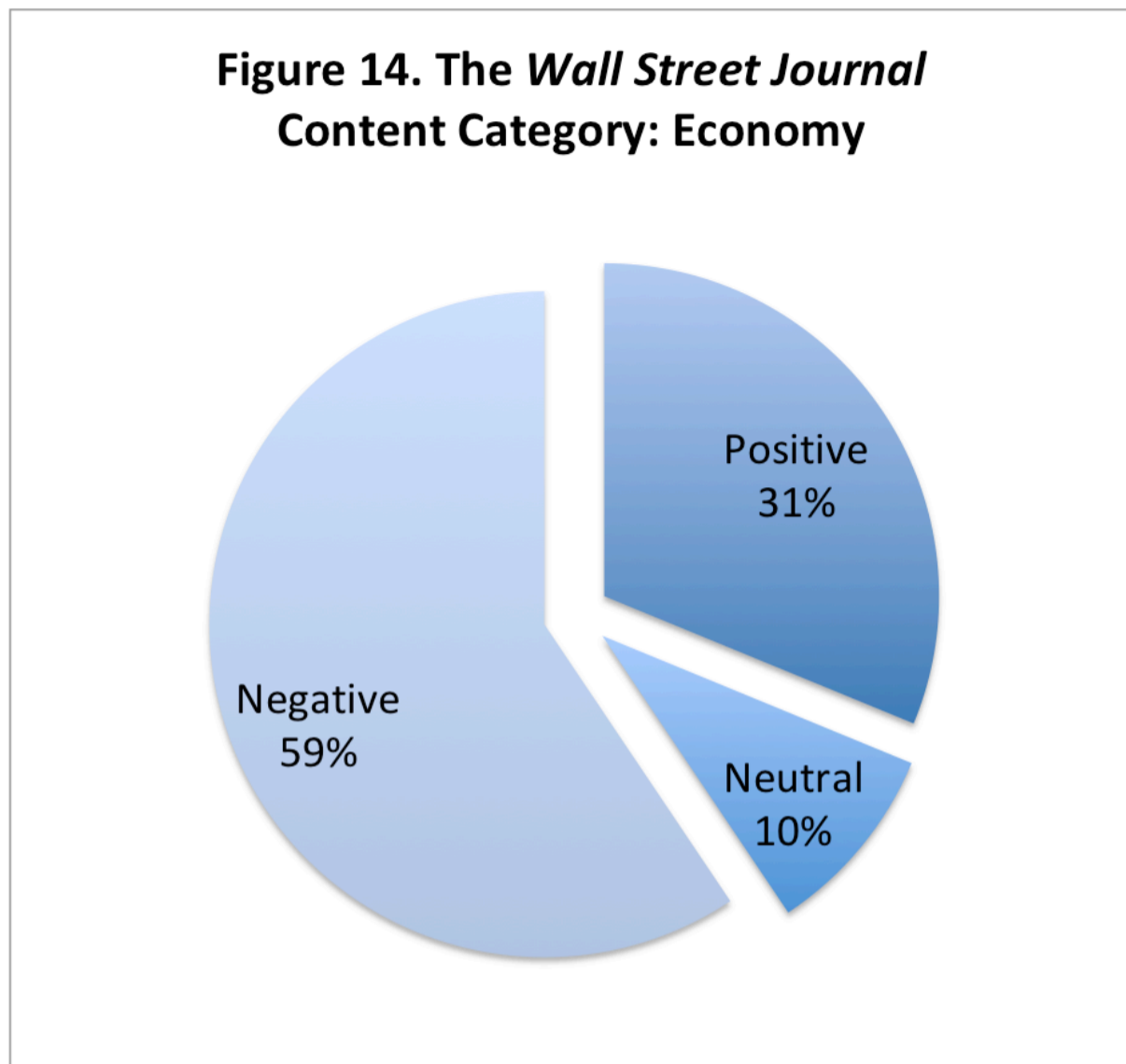
In the longer run, the U.S. economy needs a ready supply of labor in order to grow. Growth in economic output and incomes is a function primarily of the size of the labor force and the productivity of the workers in creating goods and services. Demographic change suggests that DACA holders will be increasingly relied upon to fuel the workforce as population growth among native-born Americans slows and baby boomers retire (September 5, 2017).

Again in line with the *Times*' association of the economy with negative terms such as *economy, catastrophic, contributions, conflict, and loss*, the *Journal* also utilized many negative terms in their reporting of DACA. The most evident example of the negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of the economy is found in the article titled "A Bad GOP Dream; State AGs try to bully Trump into deporting the so-called Dreamers." In the article, Alejandro Lazo states:

Mr. Brannon adds that deporting the Dreamers would cause a catastrophic \$60 billion loss or even more to the U.S. economy, as the legal reprieve allows many to enter the labor force. The cost of granting DACA status is de minimis; applicants pay processing fees and are ineligible for food stamps or Medicaid. The better solution is for Congress to rewrite national immigration laws to recognize reality, including that deporting people brought to the country as five-year-olds is political suicide (July 19, 2017).

Figures 13 and 14 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of the economy in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.





Content Category: Security

Security, defined as the perceived threat to the national safety of the United States against criminal activity such as unauthorized immigration, was mentioned in a total of 87 paragraphs in the *Times*, the least widely used theme with a total of 4.63% of the paragraphs analyzed using security. The most prominent type of security mentioned in the *Times* was the domestic protection against criminals, terrorists, and others who pose a threat to the United States. Security was made apparent in *Times*' article titled "Trump's Immigration Order Expands the Definition of Criminal" by Jennifer Medina:

President Trump signed two sweeping executive orders on immigration on Wednesday... but the most immediate impact may come from language about deportation priorities... it offers an expansive definition of who is considered a criminal -- a category of people Mr. Trump has said he would target for deportation. "This is the largest expansion of any president in terms of who is a priority for removal," said Steve Yale-Loehr, a professor of immigration law at Cornell University. "Every administration has to prioritize who they will go after with their limited enforcement resources. This goes further than any other president. To make it simple: If someone is here illegally they are targets for removal, including DACA recipients." (January 27, 2017).

Additionally, the thematic frame of security was also most widely associated with a negative tone throughout the analysis. Security, in the *Times*, was associated with negative expressions such as *safety law*, *criminal*, *deportation*, and *unauthorized immigration*. The negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of security is found in the *Times*' article titled "17 States Suing on Immigration" by David Montgomery and Julia Preston:

In presenting the lawsuit at a news conference, Attorney General Greg Abbott of Texas said "Texas was uniquely qualified to challenge the president's DACA executive order" because the state had suffered the brunt of illegal immigration and drug-related cross-border crime. Mr. Abbott said the president's responsibility to enforce the laws was a "fundamental promise to the American people," and he said any changes to immigration laws should be made by Congress, not by "presidential fiat. The states' lawsuit argues that DACA will promote a surge of illegal crossings which will cause Texas an extra \$1.3 million a week on troopers and the national guard (December 4, 2014).

Unlike the *Times*' utilization of security, in the *Journal*, security was more widely used. Security was the fourth most referenced theme, mentioned in a total of 211 paragraphs, and 14.51% of all paragraphs analyzed. Comparable to the *Times*, the most prominent type of reference mentioned in the *Journal* was domestic protection against criminals, terrorists, and others who pose a threat to the United States. The most evident usage of security, as an episodic frame, can be seen in the *Journal's* news article titled "Conservatives Fight Provision to

Encourage some Immigrants to Enlist; Amendment would push Pentagon to allow immigrants brought to U.S. as children to serve in military” by Kristina Peterson:

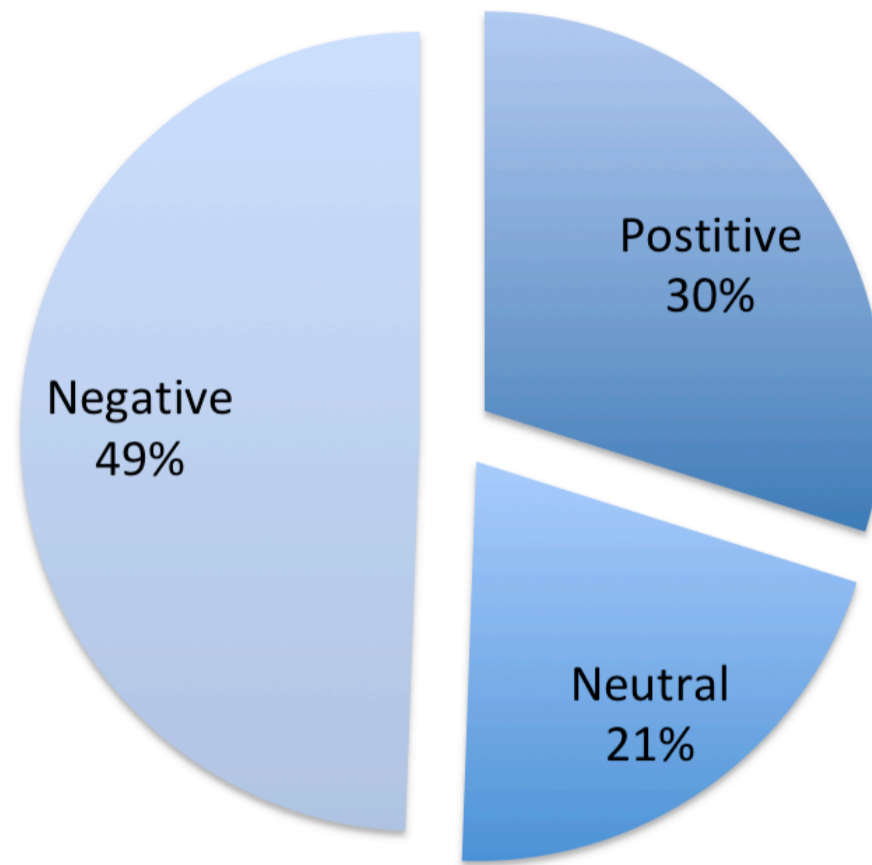
More than two dozen Republicans said in a letter to House Rules Committee Chairman Pete Sessions (R., Texas) this week that they will seek to remove the provision. The group, led by Rep. Mo Brooks (R., Ala.) said the amendment runs counter to previous House votes to end the president's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, or DACA, which shelters many young people from deportation. "Especially in this time of increased terrorism, our national security should not be threatened by allowing such controversial language on a program we have rejected three times as unconstitutional," the GOP lawmakers wrote, warning that its inclusion "is a severe threat to the passage" of the defense bill (May 7, 2015).

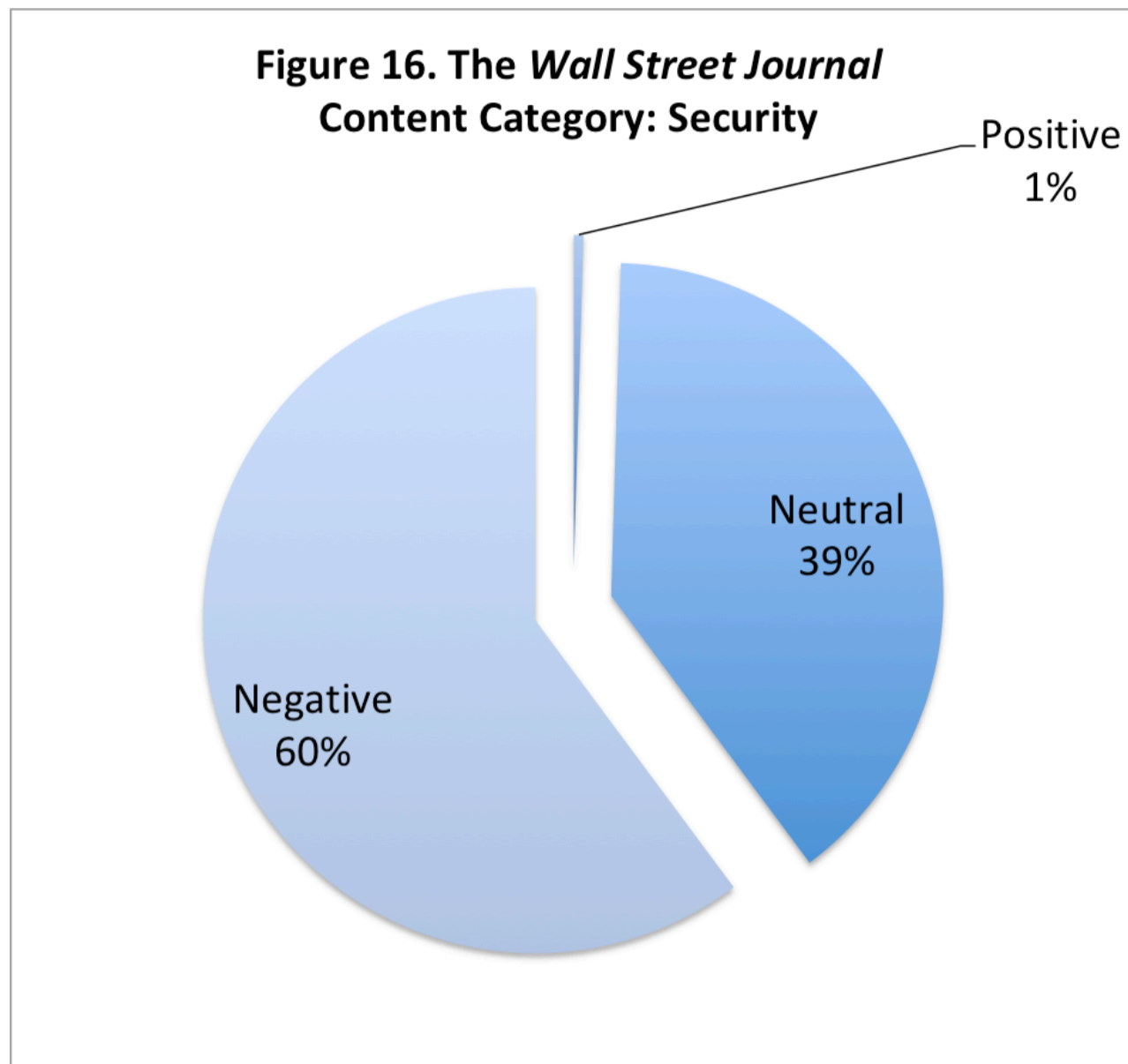
Similar to the *Times*' association of security with negative connotations such as *safety*, *law*, *criminal*, *deportation*, and *unauthorized immigration*, the *Journal* utilized many negative terms in their reporting about DACA. The negative connotations attributed to the thematic frame of security is found in the *Journal's* article titled “Congress Will Fight Obama’s Power Grab; The president’s amnesty plan for millions of unlawful immigrants clearly violates the Constitution” by Bob Goodlatte:

The president justifies DACA by saying that he is simply prioritizing immigration enforcement... the Constitution is clear: It is Congress's duty to write the nation's laws and, once they are enacted, it is the president's responsibility to enforce them. Article II, Section 3, of the Constitution requires the president to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed." This clause compels the president to enforce all constitutionally valid acts of Congress, regardless of his administration's view of their wisdom. That is a duty, not an option. (November 18, 2014).

Figures 15 and 16 display the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative tones in the content category of the economy in both the *Times* and the *Journal*.

**Figure 15. The *New York Times*
Content Category: Security**





SUMMARY

Based on the findings from the analysis of the media's coverage of immigration and DACA, a strong conclusion can be drawn--- the media coverage of DACA is both negative and inflammatory. During the time frame of June 15th, 2012 (the date DACA was signed into law) to October 22nd, 2017, news articles relating to DACA were consistently negative; out of the 190 articles examined, 53.54 % of the content of the news articles was negatively toned compared to only 13.80 % of the articles that were positively toned and 32.66 % that were neutrally toned. More surprisingly, however, was the *Times*' and the *Journal*'s emphasis on conflict. The two elite newspapers' focus on the political and social opposition and resistance against immigration

policies were mentioned at a disproportionate rate. Conflict was mentioned in 84.74% of all articles analyzed.

Comparing the results of the analysis to what I expected to find, I was quite surprised to discover the coverage of immigration to be consistently negative. However, according to authors Graber and Dunaway, gatekeeping -- whose voices and what messages get into the news -- is highly negative in today's outrage media. In addition to being reactive to events, ideologically selective, internally intertextual, and personality-centered, outrage media utilizes a *hallmark discursive style* that evokes an emotional response among its audience through the misrepresentation, simplification, exaggeration, incivility, and simplification of information (Berry and Sobieraj 176).

Furthermore, authors Graber and Dunaway argue that gatekeeping is important to the analysis of media and politics because gatekeeping informs the public of important events and stories while also controlling the public's knowledge about certain stories and events not found significant enough to present--- creating constraints on news production and producing a new shift towards soft news and conflict (20).

Moreover, derived from the findings of *The New York Times*' and *The Wall Street Journal*'s coverage of immigration and DACA, and from the findings of authors Graber and Dunaway on mass media and American politics, one can conclude that similar to the media's coverage on previous topics, media's coverage of DACA should continue to be narratively packed with even more critical and conflicting content.

DISCUSSION

Although the findings of the content analysis were very surprising and important, a more comprehensive study must be done analyzing the media's coverage of DACA to find more accurate results. My recommendation for future research on this topic would include extending the analysis to other media outlets, specifically those that are editorially different. Comparing a larger pool of media outlets would give the research more validity in its findings. In addition, I would also recommend extending the time frame of the research in order to include more recent data. My recommendation for future research on DACA would include extending the content analysis until the end of Trump's presidency to find consistencies and/or inconsistencies in the media's evaluation of DACA.

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