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by

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**Examining Texas Diversity:
Identifying the Composition of Diversity and the Coverage of a
Minority-Related Issue in the Top Ten Daily Texas Newspapers**

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by

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Thesis

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Dedication

I lovingly dedicate this thesis to my father, who showed me the importance of hard work and the value of an education. Thank you for always believing in me.

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

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A newsroom may be fast-paced and exhilarating; and the prestige of reporting, editing or managing for a well-known newspaper in the United States is a dream that aspiring journalists long for. The first goal of this study is to examine the existing diversity in the top ten daily Texas newspapers. The second goal of this study is to analyze the newspapers' content, specifically relating to President Barack Obama's most recent immigration speech given in November 2014. Obama's speech expressed his interest in temporarily protecting undocumented parents of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, while making greater efforts to deport unlawful immigrants who could be considered dangerous. The social responsibility theory is consistent with this study's research question and hypotheses because it sets a standard of what the news media should owe the public, such as employing a diverse set of journalists and fairly reporting on a minority-related issue. Thus, this thesis identifies the composition of diversity in Texas newsrooms and the pertinence of understanding how a minority-related issue is covered in the top ten daily Texas newspapers.

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Introduction

A newsroom may be fast-paced and exhilarating; and the prestige of reporting, editing or managing for a well-known newspaper in the United States is a dream that aspiring journalists long for. According to an annual study from the American Society of News Editors (ASNE), 90% of newsroom supervisors are white (Li, 2013). Media Matters for America, an online not-for-profit research and information center, also suggests that white men are also more likely to appear on broadcast networks and the Cable News Network (CNN) in comparison to their minority counterparts (Li, 2013). For example, during the first six months of 2013, white men were between 58% and 66% of guests on the broadcast network Sunday shows and CNN's *State of the Union* (Savillo, 2013). These statistics suggest a lack of racial/ethnic diversity in newsrooms. However, another measure of diversity is also a news product's content, which may be analyzed to see how minority-related issues are covered in its news products.

There are several reasons that could help explain the lack of minority employment within the journalism sector (Feagin, 2000). The most recent explanation could be the Great Recession, 2007-2010. This particular recession was the worst recession experienced in the United States since the 1930s (Cadieux & Conklin, 2010). More importantly, the Great Recession could have contributed to the decline of minority journalists: "At a time when non-whites make up roughly 37 percent of the U.S. population, the percentage of minorities in the newsroom has fallen to 12.37 percent from its 13.73 percent high in 2006" (Gold, 2013, para. 2). Also, according to an ASNE study

conducted in 2012, “overall newsroom employment at daily newspapers dropped 2.4 percent in 2011, but the picture looked much worse -- down 5.7 percent -- for minorities” (Gold, 2013, para. 2).

An additional explanation could also be the changing priorities of newsrooms. For instance, an article released by *Editor & Publisher* in April 2000 provides one of the reasons behind the lack of employed minority journalists: “...statistics document yet again how badly newspapers are botching the effort to hire a journalistic work force that reflects America...we can’t help but think that this poor performance stems from treating diversity not as a day-to-day priority for newspaper managers” (para. 2). While the previous article blames newspaper managers for the lack of employed minority journalists, the *Houston Chronicle* provides another reason for the lack of minority journalists employed within the newspaper industry: “With such dramatic decreases in advertising revenue, newspapers have been forced to cut costs. With labor costs constituting 50 percent of newspaper expenses, staffing was the first to go” (Taylor, n.d., para. 3).

Moreover, it is imperative to understand how diversity in a newsroom, or lack thereof, can help determine their news products. The first goal of this study is to examine the existing diversity in the top ten daily Texas newspapers. Despite previous studies examining diversity in newsrooms and other workforce realms, this study is different from previous research studies because this study examines the racial diversity at the top ten daily Texas newspapers. The second goal of this study is to analyze the newspapers’ content, specifically relating to President Barack Obama’s immigration speech given in

November 2014. Obama's speech expressed his desire to temporarily protect undocumented parents of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, while making greater efforts to deport unlawful immigrants who could be considered dangerous. Thus, this thesis identifies the composition of diversity in Texas newsrooms and the pertinence of understanding how a minority-related issue is covered in the top ten daily Texas newspapers.

Literature Review

The Development & Implementation of the Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory is particularly useful in studying racial representation in communications. This theory was formulated during the mid-twentieth century and is commonly associated with the 1947 Hutchins Commission, also known as the Commission on Freedom of the Press (Bunton, 1998). The social responsibility theory asserts that everyone is entitled to express opinions about the media, but the press must uphold the responsibility of reporting truthfully about all people. Meanwhile, the Hutchins Commission (1947) insisted that there are five requirements that society is authorized to demand of the press:

A truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning...A forum for the exchange of comment and criticism...The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society...The presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society...Full access to the day's intelligence (p. 21-28).

From this basic premise, the social responsibility theory and the Hutchins Commission go hand-in-hand. For instance, an analysis from Bunton (1998) illustrates how all people must be an active participant in their communities, while the press must regard all people with the same amount of attention and respect.

Moreover, the social responsibility theory is the midpoint between the authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because of the media's ability to "remain independent and self-regulate their level of social responsibility," while public opinion provides an external control (Yun, 2008, p. 749). The authoritarian theory of the press is

based on the idea that truth derives from only a few elite men, and these elites control the press (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1963). Meanwhile, the libertarian theory of the press arose from the works of John Milton, John Locke, John Stuart Mill as well as Thomas Jefferson. These philosophers argued that the search for truth is a natural right, and this particular theory advocates for the press's freedom from any authority, control or censorship (Siebert et al., 1963).

Overall, the social responsibility theory fostered “the techniques of journalism” and created a sense of “increasing concern” regarding the “responsibilities of the media” (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 83). Since the social responsibility is also tied to the Hutchins Commission, newsrooms have the responsibility to present a “representative picture of the constituent groups in the society” with “a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning” (Hutchins, 1947, p. 21-28). Because of this, the social responsibility theory is consistent with this study’s research question and hypotheses. This theory shows an understanding of employing a wide range of people as reporters or a part of a managerial team, so newspapers can accurately report about a minority-related issue.

Examining Newsroom Diversity on a National Scale

Since the first goal of this paper is to examine the current racial/ethnic composition in the top ten daily Texas newspapers, a review of diversity within newsrooms on a national scale can help bridge correlations from national trends to more localized issues regarding minority employment. According to Hollifield and Kimbro

(2010), the topic of diversity is considered the “most consistent personnel management problem facing U.S. media organizations since the 1960s” (p. 228). One of the first attempts to address race relations and the news media was the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, also known as the Kerner Commission Report of 1968. This commission was created by Lyndon B. Johnson in July 1967 in order to shed light on the “urban riots” that occurred in cities including Chicago, Detroit, Newark and Los Angeles (The Learning Network, 2012).

The Kerner Commission criticized the news media for the lack of reporting on “race relations and ghetto problems, and failure to bring more blacks into journalism” (Poindexter, 2014, p. 4). Prior to 1968, the media did not communicate to the “majority of their audience, which is white, a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto” (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, p. 18). In addition, the Kerner Commission (1968) stated that the news media did not show an understanding or appreciation of black culture, thought or history. This report further detailed how blacks need to be employed in positions of “significant responsibility” within the journalism sector to change institutional policy (Poindexter, 2014, p. 4). In terms of news content, the Kerner Commission argued for the integration of “blacks and black activities into all parts of the paper” (Poindexter, 2014, p. 4). Even though this is a historical reference to a national evaluation of the news media, it is still pertinent to keep aspects of the Kerner Commission in mind when reflecting on a newsroom’s current racial/ethnic composition.

Similarly, Feagin (2000) argues that the mass media are currently controlled by whites. Whites are overrepresented in managerial jobs, on-air reporters and “experts,” while Americans of color “have only a token presence in the choice and shaping of news reports and popular entertainment” (Feagin, 2000, p. 78). In addition, ASNE provides results from their annual census (dating back to 1997), which merely examines the composition of diversity in U.S. newsrooms. This particular census relies on a “yearly response rate of 65 percent,” while “data from newspapers that returned the survey are used to project the numbers for non-responding newspapers in the same circulation range” (ASNE, 2014). For purpose of this research, some of the most prominent highlights from the past fourteen years will now be examined to reflect on the more recent configurations of newsroom employment.

The overall findings for 2004 indicate that daily newspapers in the United States “collectively improved their diversity by nearly a half of one percentage point” (ASNE, 2004, para. 1). However, it should be noted that the overall number of professional journalists who were currently employed declined by approximately 500 journalists. Even though newsroom employment dropped, newsrooms slightly gained a more diverse set of supervisors: “Twenty percent of all minorities were supervisors, the same as last year [2004] and a one percentage point increase from last year” (ASNE, 2005, para. 8). Despite minorities increasing their presence in newsrooms as professional journalists and supervisors, newsrooms have lost a net of more than 2,200 journalists since 2001 (ASNE, 2004).

Employment in newsrooms continued to shrink in size, while minorities made some slight gains. For instance, results from the 2005 census concluded that overall staffing in newsrooms decreased by 4% since 2001: “Newsrooms lost nearly 1,000 reporters, nearly 600 editors, nearly 300 photographers and artists and just over 400 copy editors, as top editors and publishers in large and small papers reduced staffs to weather the anemic economy” (ASNE, 2005, para. 5). Even though employment of white men decreased the most in 2005, newsrooms added a total of 365 Asians, 259 Latinos, 46 Native Americans and 34 African Americans during this particular year (ASNE, 2005).

Even though minorities made incremental gains in newsroom employment between 2006 and 2008, 2011 was the third consecutive year that the percentage of African American, Asian, Latino and Native American journalists declined in U.S. newsrooms. ASNE reported that American daily newspapers lost 13,500 newsroom jobs from 2007 to 2010 (ASNE, 2010). However, in 2012 the proportion of minorities in newsrooms remained stable (ASNE, 2012). According to ASNE, employees at newspapers with daily circulations of more than 500,000 increased by 0.20% (ASNE, 2012). Meanwhile, newspapers with circulations ranging from 250,000 to 500,000 had a 5.71% increase of overall employees and a 3.58% increase in minorities (ASNE, 2012).

As for 2013, the number of minority journalists in daily newspapers increased by “a couple of hundred,” while 15% of participating organizations for this annual census said at least one of their top three editors was a person of color (ASNE, 2014, para. 1). ASNE further reports that 2013 saw improvements from previous years’ employment slump. The survey concluded that there are about 36,700 full-time daily newspaper

journalists at nearly 1,400 newspapers in the United States (ASNE, 2014). Of these employees, about 4,900 (13.34%) are racial and ethnic minorities. This statistic shows an increase of about 200 people (or 1 percentage point) from the 4,700 employees recorded for the 2012 census. More importantly, it is nearly as high as the record of 13.73% in 2006 (ASNE, 2014).

Meanwhile, as a whole, the industry is falling further behind benchmark targets that were established by ASNE in September 2000. The purpose of these targets was to chart performance toward a goal of “newsroom parity” with the U.S. minority population by 2025 (ASNE, 2006, para. 6). Reports are made by editors every three years, which examines the progress toward achieving these targets. However, newsrooms failed to meet five benchmark categories from 2003 to 2006:

The benchmark for percentage of minorities working in newsrooms by this year is 18.55. The actual percentage: 13.87. The goal for minority interns is 36.35 percent of the total pool. The actual number: 30.8 percent. The goal for minority supervisors is 16 percent. The actual number: 11.2 percent. The target for the number of newspapers with no minority staffers was to reduce them to 275. The actual number: 377. The benchmark for the number of newspapers that have reached parity with their community is 348. The actual number: 145 (ASNE, 2006 para. 7).

Benchmark targets continued to fall short of their projected goals for the following three years (ASNE, 2009).

The 2009 benchmark for minority employment stood at 21.55%, while it was actually 13.41% (ASNE, 2009). The benchmark for minority supervisors stood at 19%, instead it was actually 11.2% (ASNE, 2009). Meanwhile, there were 458 newspapers in 2009 with no minorities on staff (ASNE, 2009). The benchmark regarding the number of

newspapers with no minorities on staff for 2009 estimated to be only 230 (ASNE, 2009). Overall, there were only 111 newspapers who “achieved parity” with their community, while the initial benchmark for this year was set at 522 newspapers (ASNE, 2009). Not only do these benchmarks illuminate some of the harsh realities for minority journalists, it also demonstrates that ASNE’s benchmarks underscore the difference between goals and reality. Thus, the accumulation of reports from ASNE demonstrates the flux of newsroom employment over the past fourteen years. Even though efforts have been made since the Kerner Commission to employ a more diverse group of journalists, disparities still remain regarding racial equality in newsrooms across the United States.

The Representation of Race in Mass Media

The second goal of this study is to analyze the top ten daily Texas newspapers’ content, specifically relating to Obama’s most recent immigration speech given in November 2014. Obama’s speech expressed the importance of temporarily protecting undocumented parents of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, while making greater efforts to deport unlawful immigrants who could be considered dangerous. Even though Obama bypassed “the consent of Congress” and did not guarantee undocumented immigrants “a path to eventual citizenship or be eligible for federal benefits or health care programs,” he did offer amnesty for three years to undocumented immigrants who have been in the United States prior to 2010 (Acosta & Collinson, 2014, para. 4 & 9). Since this speech was seen as a controversial, executive move relating to the immigration reform, it is pertinent to review studies that explore racial minorities’ representation in the media.

Studies regarding racial minorities' representation in the media have made an impact in the communication field since the 1970s (Greenberg & Brand, 1994). For instance, Gerbner & Signorielli (1979) examined representation of racial groups in various television genres including prime-time drama and comedies. This particular study showed that all non-whites encompassed 11% of television's prime-time drama characters (Gerbner & Signorielli, 1979). On the other hand, Seggar, Hafen and Hannonen-Gladden's study (1981) demonstrated that whites had a larger presence in prime-time drama and comedies, while blacks and other racial groups were underrepresented throughout these genres in comparison to the demographic landscape of the United States. Another content analysis examined the representation of racial groups in prime-time advertising (Mastro & Stern, 2003). This study analyzed the frequency, context and quality of more than 2,000 speaking characters of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and Caucasians in a one-week sample across six broadcast networks (Mastro & Stern, 2003). Results from this analysis demonstrated that African Americans were portrayed in a "more diverse, equitable manner," while Asian Americans, Latinos and Native Americans were underrepresented and viewed, at times, negatively (Mastro & Stern, 2003, p. 645).

The volume of research regarding the representation of Latinos is minimal when compared to African Americans (Greenberg, Heeter, Burgoon M., Burgoon J. & Korzenny, 1983a; Mastro, Blecha & Seate, 2011; Turk, Richard, Bryson & Johnson, 1989). Mastro et al. (2011) claim that "preponderance of content analytic research examining characterizations of racial/ethnic minorities in the news has focused on images

of Blacks,” so comparisons are made between depictions of African Americans and Latinos (p. 527). For example, a study conducted in 2000 examined the overrepresentation as well as underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news (Dixon & Linz, 2000a). This study showed that blacks and Latinos were more likely than whites to be portrayed as perpetrators of crime, and were not significantly seen as law enforcers on television news (Dixon & Linz, 2000a). Also, blacks were overrepresented, while Latinos were underrepresented as perpetrators of criminal activities on television news (Dixon & Linz, 2000a).

This study looks specifically at Latinos, and because Mexicans account for 64% of the Latino/Hispanic population in the United States (as of 2012), it is imperative to understand how the media portrays this minority group (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2013). Rivas-Rodriguez (2007) states that three particular adjectives could describe the news coverage of Latinos residing in the United States: “improved, unsophisticated, and scant” (p. 304). Latinos recognize the disparity in media representation. According to a telephone survey of approximately 1,300 adult Latinos, which was conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2004, 44% of respondents from this survey showed that “English-language media creates a negative image of Latinos” (Suro, 2004, p. 10). These same respondents, who believed English-language media produced a negative image of Latinos, also believed there was “too much emphasis on undocumented immigration and criminal activity like drug trafficking” (Suro, 2004, p. 10).

Two additional studies that analyzed media representation of Latinos did not make comparisons to African Americans. Instead, these studies analyzed newspaper

content from largely populated Latino communities in the United States. For example, Greenberg et al. (1983a) surveyed a two-week sample of six southwestern U.S. cities that comprised between 20% and 65% of Latino residents. Greenberg et al. (1983a) found that stories primarily about Latinos were rare in both the news and sports sections and editorial page coverage of Latinos was insignificant. Another study similar to Greenberg et al. (1983a) took three single-year samples from two southwestern cities, which showed that coverage of Latinos tended to focus on this social group being labeled as “problem people” and this coverage “dealt with judicial or criminal activities” (Greenberg & Brand, 1994, p. 287).

In regard to how the media represents immigrants, Abrajano and Singh (2008) state that the media frames immigration in a particular manner because of economic forces: “These economic incentives have caused news organization to follow a ‘crime news script’ when reporting issues, especially when news stories feature racial and ethnic minorities...illegal immigration can also be considered a crime, since illegal immigrants are violating immigration laws” (p. 4-5). Another scholar states that the media brands the topic of immigration through the use of “logical or emotional appeals” (Soderlund, 2007, p. 170). Even though this scholar says that minimal research has been conducted to see which appeal is more effective on an audience, Soderlund (2007) provides some evidence that show how people can be persuaded by a “primarily emotional message over a primarily logical message:”

...some newscasters use the phrase *undocumented worker*, while at other times they use the words *illegal alien*. The term *undocumented* conjures the image of a paperwork issue, not a legal issue, while the word *illegal*

conjugates up the idea of a criminal. The term *worker* connotes the idea of contributor to the economy, and having a work ethic, while the word *alien* implies an entity that does not belong, which evokes hostile emotions (p. 171).

Soderlund (2007) also suggests that the “use of single, personal examples” can be a more effective approach than “logical statistics with numerous occurrences” (p. 172). In addition, Poynter scholar, writing coach and author R. P. Clark discusses the importance of story mechanics and word placement: “...order words for emphasis...consider the most important element of a sentence and determine where to place that element in relation to lesser elements” (Kumok, 2011, para. 6 & 9). This statement from Clark is further explored regarding the key phrases used to describe immigrants and their placement within a news product’s content.

Moreover, research by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) claims that “of the 115 news stories in 2004 that focused on Latinos, 31 of them (27%) features immigrants and in particular, illegal immigrants (Abrajano & Singh, 2008, p. 5). Another content analysis relating to the coverage of the immigration reform, which was conducted throughout 2005 and 2006, highlights “how some of America’s largest newspapers have contributed to the evolution of the national immigration reform debate through their representation of the ‘problems’ associated with immigration and ‘solutions’ to them” (Craig, 2008, p. 4). Therefore, these studies illustrate how representations of racial groups are displayed throughout a diverse set of media platforms, and can be used as a backbone to help examine racial representation in more recent newspaper content. These studies also uncovered fluctuations of both positive and negative representations of racial minorities. In particular, some of these studies are

primary examples of how the media's framing of immigrants is crucial, since "public opinion can lead, or at least track, government policy transformations" (Soderlund, 2007, p. 177).

The Immigration Debate

Since this study's content analysis examines articles relating to the most recent immigrant speech by Obama, a historical assessment of immigration and the current conversations regarding this topic will now be appraised. Prior to the 1920s Ngai (2004) notes, immigration to the United States was not restricted through the use of numerical constraints. However, from 1880 to 1920, there was a rapid increase of industrialization and urban development that led to a vast increase in immigration (Podolsky, 2006). Prior to 1924, literacy tests were required of immigrants, who were either 16-years-old or older, to show "basic reading comprehension in any language" (U.S. Department of State, n.d., para. 2). However, according to the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Historian, these tests could not exclusively prevent "most potential immigrants from entering, so members of Congress sought a new way to restrict immigration in the 1920s" (para. 3).

One of the first immigration laws enacted by Congress took place in 1924, which was later denoted as the Johnson-Reed Act. Ngai (2004) says this policy was seen as an "emergency measure" that restricted immigration through a quota of 355,000 immigrants per year (p. 20). Not only did Congress continue the exclusion of anyone born in the "Asiatic Barred Zone," but Congress also limited each European country to "3 percent of

the number of foreign-born of that nationality residing in the United States in 1910” (Ngai, 2004, p. 20). The overall effects of this historic piece of legislation acknowledged racial differences between immigrant groups and their white counterparts (Nagi, 2004, p. 27).

The decline of immigration was apparent during the Great Depression of the 1930s (Podolsky, 2006). According to Berg (2009), this “poor economic situation” contributed to the “comparatively low level of unauthorized migration,” but unlawful immigration increased in the 1940s and reached a peak during 1954 (p. 41). Because of this, the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) was passed in 1965. This act removed nationality quotas that were first established by the Johnson-Reed Act and was the first immigration act that “gave higher preference to the relatives of American citizens and permanent resident aliens” (Center for Immigration Studies, 1995, para. 18). The Immigration and Nationality Act provided Latino immigrants a feasible migration path due to the “deep economic involvement” between the United States and Cuba as well as the “political upheavals” that took place in the Dominican Republic during the 1960s (Suro, 1998, p. 21). For instance, approximately 4.3 million immigrants, who originated from Mexico, entered the United States between 1965 and 2000, while immigrants from the Dominican Republic and Cuba each sent between 700,000 and 800,000 during this time period (History.com, 2010).

Overall, by the end of the twentieth century, the impact from the Immigration and Nationality Act was still visible in the demographics of immigrants entering the United States: “The European and Canadian share of legal immigrants fell from 60 percent in the 1950s to 22 percent in the 1970s...the Asian share of legal immigration rose from 6 percent in the 1950s to 35 percent by the 1980s and 40 percent in 2013” (FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2015, para 3).

Likewise, the topic of illegal immigration was a source of debate during the 1980s and 1990s due to the continuous increase of immigrants coming from Mexican and Canadian land routes (Podolsky, 2006, p. 321). Two additional pieces of legislation were established in order to combat immigration problems. The first was the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), which was “meant to halt illegal immigration, but it actually encouraged its growth” (Suro, 1998, p. 22). Because of this particular act, there was legalization of approximately 2.7 million undocumented immigrants (Suro, 1998). Due to Ronald Raegan’s reorganization of U.S. immigration policy, Latino immigration continued to impact the United States:

Although IRCA’s primary purpose may have been to deter undocumented migrants, it does not seem to have made much progress in meeting that goal. Rather than slowing down the rate of undocumented entry, IRCA seems only to have succeeded in transforming a seasonal flow of temporary workers into a more permanent population of settled legal immigrants. Indeed, more than any other factor, IRCA is responsible for creating a new era in Mexican immigration to the United States and thus transforming social, economic, and political conditions on both sides of the border (Durand, Massey & Parrado, n.d., para. 15).

Two other prominent pieces of IRCA centered on employer sanctions and border security: “The bill [IRCA] made it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented immigrants,

continue to employ undocumented immigrants or to hire employees without properly checking their identity and employment eligibility...specified a 50 percent increase in Border Patrol staffing along the Mexican border” (Wyloge, 2009, para. 5 & 6). Also, the second piece of legislation was the Immigration Act of 1990: “[This act] increased the limits on legal immigration to the United States, revised all grounds for exclusion and deportation, authorized temporary protected status to aliens of designated countries, revised and established new nonimmigrant admission categories...and revised naturalization authority and requirements” (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.).

More recently, unlawful immigration remains to be a topic of political debate in the United States. There were to be an estimated 11.7 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States in 2013 (Preston, 2013). Over half of these immigrants originated from Mexico (CNN Library, 2014). Obama delivered a speech on November 20, 2014, which he declared the “immigration system broken” (Doody, 2014, para. 1). Obama’s speech expressed the importance of temporarily protecting undocumented parents of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, while making greater efforts to deport unlawful immigrants who could be considered dangerous. Undocumented immigrants, who have been in the United States prior to 2010, would be able to “stay temporarily in the country for three years, as long as they pass background checks and pay back taxes” (Acosta & Collinson, 2014, para. 9). However, Obama did not guarantee undocumented immigrants “a path to eventual citizenship or be eligible for federal benefits or health care programs” (Acosta & Collinson, 2014, para. 9). His speech came

two weeks after the 2014 midterm elections (Doody, 2014). Republicans accused Obama of “overstepping his Constitutional powers by bypassing Congress” (Doody, 2014, para. 3). However, Obama believes his speech was necessary due to “Congress’ inability to pass a comprehensive [immigration] reform bill” (Doody, 2014, para. 4). Thus, the above synthesis provides context to the current concerns and issues faced by immigrants who wish to enter the United States, both legally and illegally.

Hypothesis & Research Questions

By analyzing the social responsibility theory as well as reviewing previous trends in newsroom diversity, the media’s representation of racial groups and the immigration debate, it is imperative to analyze the racial/ethnic composition of Texas newspapers and its corresponding news content. Below is one research question and four hypotheses that aim at addressing these matters.

RQ1: How does the diversity of the newsrooms of ten Texas newspapers affect their coverage of a minority-related issue?

H1: These Texas newspapers would like to increase diversity within their newsroom.

H2: The top ten daily Texas newspapers will not rely solely on wire sources when covering the topic of immigration.

H3: The top ten daily Texas newspapers’ content will use a diverse set of sources when reporting about the topic of immigration.

H4: The key phrase “illegal alien(s)” will not be used in the top ten daily Texas newspapers’ content.

Methodology

Sampling

To answer this research question and test my hypotheses, I conducted a survey that examined diversity within the top ten daily Texas newspapers. I also conducted a content analysis that sought to determine how newspaper coverage might be affected by a diverse newsroom.

The top ten daily Texas newspapers were chosen on the basis of circulation figures, as reported by Cision, a media research company that collaborates with Alliance for Audited Media (AAM) to produce the figures. As of March 31, 2014, the top ten daily newspapers and their circulations are as follow:

1. *The Dallas Morning News* (413,480)
2. *Houston Chronicle* (370,961)
3. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (173,833)
4. *San Antonio Express-News* (146,463)
5. *Austin American-Statesman* (132,873)
6. *El Paso Times* (65,002)
7. *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (41,195)
8. *The (McAllen) Monitor* (39,467)
9. *Waco Tribune-Herald* (29,117)
10. *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* (27,987)

The survey population consisted of managing editors at the top ten daily Texas newspapers. The managing editors were chosen as the primary respondents because of

their knowledge of their respective newsrooms. Managing editors were primarily recruited through email. An initial email was sent in December 2014. This initial email introduced them to the researcher as well as the study, while requesting their participation in the survey. If the researcher did not hear from respondents by the beginning of January 2015, follow-up emails were sent requesting their participation.

The content analysis examined news content about Obama's immigration speech on November 20, 2014. The units of analysis were articles published by the top ten Texas daily newspapers from November 20, 2014 to December 6, 2014. This timeframe was chosen in order to analyze the most recent coverage of this particular speech and its current implications for immigrants. The sampling of articles was chosen with the help of phrases including "immigration" and "Barack Obama." The sample for nine out of the ten publications was collected from two database systems, LexisNexis and NewsBank, which archive Texas publications' content. The *Waco Tribune-Herald* was the only publication not accessible within these two databases, so articles for this newspaper were selected from their online site, WacoTrib.com. There were 129 articles analyzed, while 13 articles (approximately ten percent of the total sample) were used for inter-coder reliability and pretesting procedures.

Coding

For this study, there were two methods of analysis. The first unit of analysis consisted of the completed surveys. The survey's data collection took place on Qualtrics, which is an online survey and insight platform. There is not a physical location for this study, instead it is completed online by the respondents. Qualtrics was not directly

involved in the research, but is merely a platform where surveys can be created, dispersed to an audience, and responses can then be collected. There were also several appropriate demographic questions included in the survey, which maintained confidentiality for each respondent.

The content analysis evaluated news stories from the top ten daily Texas newspapers. The coders for the content analysis consisted of two students who are familiar with the content analysis method. During the pretesting procedures, a simple random sample of 13 news articles allowed both coders to become familiar with the coding process for this study. The inter-coder reliability, measured by percent agreement, reached above 80 percent concerning all fifty-five variables. Meanwhile, Krippendorff's Alpha, a more conservative measure that does not give credit for agreement by chance, was also used to appraise inter-coder reliability. The values of Krippendorff's Alpha are reported below as well as in Table 1.

Measurement

RQ1 and H1 correspond to the questions and statements that appeared in the survey. This survey numerically identified how many racial minorities are employed as reporters and a part of a managerial team. This survey also asked if a newspaper had an immigration beat and what level of resources are used to report on stories relating to immigration. Additionally, this survey assessed how many journalists are fluent in Spanish. This survey also examined diversity within Texas newsrooms, taking into account several issues:

- A newsroom's attitude toward diversity
- The corporate culture within a Texas newsroom
- The respondent's role in fostering a diverse community

Within these areas of interest, there were approximately three to five statements that helped identify what is being done to ensure diversity in the newsroom. The majority of questions and statements within the survey were specifically designed for this project. However, some questions were taken from previously published surveys in regard to demographic inquiries. Respondents were guaranteed anonymity.

Meanwhile, H2, H3 and H4 relate to the content analysis portion of this study. A coding scheme was developed for the content analysis that identified the format of each news story (*alpha* = 1):

1. A hard news national story
2. A hard news local/state story
3. A hard news international story
4. A column/commentary (defined as a writer who expressed his/her opinions within their article)
5. An editorial (defined as being written by the publications' staff and expresses an overall opinion from the publication)
6. A feature article (defined either as human-interest stories or profiles on a person/group of people)
7. Letters to the editor

8. A weekly news summary
9. Opinion poll(s).

The coding scheme also identified the source of the article (*alpha* = 1) to determine if it was staff-written or derived from a wire service (*alpha* = 1). An article was not considered a wire source if it contained original content from the publication and its affiliated writers or was identified as a letter to the editor. On the other hand, articles that were considered a wire source did not contain original content from these ten publications and the articles cited an author not affiliated with said publication. The analysis also took into account that some articles were a combination of a wire source and original content.

In addition, this coding scheme quantified the amount of sources used within each article (*alpha* = 1), the different types of sources and key phrases that relate to the status of immigrants. In regard to the various types of sources, there were 18 categories which included the following: federal and national political/official sources (*alpha* = .84), Texas political/official sources (*alpha* = 1), international political/official sources (*alpha* = .76), social service/public sector sources (*alpha* = .84), legal professionals (*alpha* = 1), religious spokespersons (*alpha* = 1), health care professionals (*alpha* = 1), police/prison/law enforcement (*alpha* = 1), political analysts (*alpha* = 1), opinion polls/pollsters (*alpha* = 1), social researchers/social science studies (*alpha* = 1), business/corporate sector (*alpha* = .84), teachers/professors (*alpha* = 1), celebrities (*alpha* = 1), members of the public (*alpha* = 1) and immigrants (*alpha* = 1).

There were also five key phrases that relate to the status of immigrants and were analyzed in regard to their location within the text. These key phrases included “illegal alien(s),” “illegal immigrant(s),” “legal immigrant(s),” “undocumented immigrant(s)” and “unauthorized immigrant(s).” In regard to the terms “illegal immigrant(s)” and “legal immigrant(s),” the coders took into account various phrases (such as “immigrant(s) living in the United States illegally/legally” or “immigrant(s) residing illegally/legally in the United States”) and included them as key phrases. This analysis looked especially at key phrases that contained the word “immigrant(s).” For each key phrase that was identified, the coder then selected where it was located in the text based from six categories. These six possible categories included:

1. Headline/sub-headline
2. First sentence
3. First paragraph
4. Second paragraph
5. Upper half of the article
6. Lower half of the article

If a key phrase was considered to be in both the first paragraph and upper half of the article, the coder chose the highest level regarding the key phrase’s appearance in the text. Also, if the same key phrase appeared multiple times in one section (e.g. “undocumented immigrant(s)” appeared twice in the first sentence), the coders only recorded it as a single entity. Table 1 shows Krippendorff’s Alpha for this portion of the coding scheme.

Results

Five surveys were completed (50% response rate) and 129 articles were analyzed for this study. Results were retrieved from the survey platform and frequencies were conducted to examine all questions. Frequencies were also conducted for each publication to examine all nominal variables relating to the content analysis. Overall, the results of the survey indicate a lack of diversity of certain racial groups. The content analysis shows varying approaches news organizations take when reporting on immigration. As stated previously, results for this survey will be discussed without revealing the identities or affiliations of participants. Results for the content analysis will identify each individual publication. A more detailed account of this study's results are listed below along with several corresponding tables, which are located at the end of this paper.

Survey Results

RQ1 addressed the racial/ethnic backgrounds of reporters and managers at the top ten daily Texas newspapers. In response to this initial question, the five respondents varied in number of newsroom employees. One newsroom said there are between 0 and 20 journalists employed; another newsroom said there are between 21 and 49 journalists employed, and a third newsroom said there are between 50 and 79 journalists employed. The fourth newsroom had between 100 and 120 journalists. The fifth newsroom reported employing between 150 and 179 journalists who work directly with the creation, editing or supervision of news content.

Next, when asked how many racial minorities are employed within their newsroom as reporters and managers, the newsrooms varied. Table 2 indicates each participant's response regarding the total number of employed journalists as well as the total number of minorities employed as reporters and managers within their affiliated newsroom. Similarly, Table 3 examines a more detailed breakdown of certain racial groups employed as reporters, while Table 4 examines the breakdown of certain racial minorities that are a part of a managerial team.

Respondents were also asked the number of journalists in their affiliated newsroom who are fluent in Spanish. Results regarding this question varied. For instance, one newsroom contains between 0 and 5 journalists who are fluent in Spanish. Another newsroom contains between 11 and 19 bilingual journalists, while a third newsroom has between 20 and 29 journalists who are fluent in Spanish. Two additional newsrooms had 30 to 39 Spanish-speaking journalists and the other newsroom contained 40 to 49 bilingual journalists. Respondents were also asked whether or not their newsroom contained an immigration beat and whether or not their newspaper has a policy on words when discussing immigrants. Out of the five respondents, four respondents said they do not have an immigration beat in their newsroom. Only one newsroom contains an immigration beat. Four out of the five participants said that their affiliated newsroom does have a policy on words when discussing immigrants.

Moreover, three respondents stated that their newspaper tries to avoid using the key phrase "illegal immigrant(s)" in their news stories, while two respondents stated their affiliated newspaper uses "undocumented immigrant(s)" instead of other key terms.

However, one respondent said, “We generally won’t change ‘illegal immigrant’ in submitted or syndicate op/ed pieces.” Another respondent replied, “We don’t use the word ‘illegal’ either as a noun or in reference to individuals.” Two newsrooms stated that their affiliated newspaper has someone(s) in charge of immigration stories, while three newsrooms did not. The two newsrooms that did have someone(s) in charge of immigration stories had them reporting at a local, state and federal level.

In addition, H1 addressed whether these newspapers would like increase diversity within their affiliated newsroom. Respondents replied to statements that took into account their newsroom’s attitude toward diversity, their newsroom’s corporate cultural culture and their role within their affiliated newsroom. Four out of five respondents strongly agreed that the leadership at this company encourages diversity and that their newspaper is committed to employing a diverse group. Three out of five respondents strongly agreed that the management shows that diversity is important through its actions and their newsroom respects individuals as well as values their differences. Table 5 details a more thorough account of the newsrooms’ attitude toward diversity. In addition, results regarding the corporate culture within their Texas newsroom were varied. Table 6 outlines these disparities. In regard to the respondents’ role within their Texas newsroom, three out of five agreed that their experience since coming to their affiliated newsroom has led them to become more understanding of racial/ethnic differences. Three out of five respondents also agreed that getting to know people with racial/ethnic backgrounds different from their own has been easy at their newsroom. Table 7 shows all of the respondents’ responses regarding their role as a managing editor.

More importantly, managing editors were also asked to share their thoughts about the challenges of increasing diversity in their newsroom. All five respondents replied with varying messages. For example, one managing editor commented on the landscape of their community and the corresponding minority employment within their newsroom:

We're quite diverse in terms of minority populations, but not very diverse in our diversity, if that makes sense. We have a newsroom that reflects the population of the community, in terms of percentage of Latino employees. However, we have struggled to recruit and retain other minority populations.

Another respondent stated their newsroom challenge was “the inability to hire as many new reporters and editors as I’d like. We get a great mix of candidates, and many of our recent hires have been minorities.” The remaining three respondents had similar responses, which included issues of finding qualified applicants of certain ethnic groups and competitive pay scales.

Content Analysis Results

H2, H3 and H4 addressed how the topic of immigration is reported by the top ten daily Texas newspapers. H2 states that these ten newspapers will not rely solely on wire sources when covering the topic of immigration. H3 says that the top ten daily Texas newspapers’ content will use a diverse set of sources, and H4 believes that the top ten daily Texas newspapers will not use the key phrase “illegal alien(s)” in their news content. The results below are reported for each of the ten publications and indicate the frequency of wire sources, format of articles, numerical frequency of sources, the varying types of sources and key phrases used to describe immigrants.

Dallas Morning News

A total of 20 articles was used for this analysis from the *Dallas Morning News*. All 20 articles were original content, and 63 sources were identified within these articles. Eight articles (40%) were identified as letters to the editor and seven articles were deemed hard news national stories (35%). The rest of the articles were hard news local/state stories (15%) or editorials (10%).

From this analysis, the majority of these sources were national political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased 25 times) and Texas political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased 21 times). Adult immigrants were quoted or paraphrased six times throughout this sample, while social service/public sector sources were quoted or paraphrased on four different occasions in this sample. Business sector sources, members of the public (adult) sources, teacher/professor sources and social researchers/social science studies were quoted or paraphrased between one and three times.

In regard to key phrases identified in these articles, “illegal alien(s)” was used one time in the first paragraph in a letter to the editor (“Don’t leave out employers”). The key phrase “illegal immigrant(s)” was identified within the first sentence of a letter to an editor (5%) as well as in the upper half of articles (10%) and in the lower half of an article (5%). “Legal immigrant(s)” was not used at any time in these articles. On the other hand, “undocumented immigrant(s)” was identified in the first sentence of a letter to the editor (5%). The key phrase “unauthorized immigrant(s)” was used in the first paragraph

of an editorial (5%) and in the second paragraph of the same editorial (5%). Meanwhile, this key phrase was also identified in the lower half of two editorials (10%).

Houston Chronicle

The *Houston Chronicle* had a total of 28 articles for this analysis. Out of these 28 articles, 12 articles (42.9%) were derived from wire sources, while 16 articles (57.1%) were original content by this publication. Half of these stories were identified as a hard news national story. There were seven articles (25%) that were identified as a hard news local/state story, while three (10.7%) were identified as a column/commentary. The remaining four articles were identified as two feature articles (7.1%), one editorial (3.6%) and one weekly news summary (3.6%). In terms of sources, 174 sources were used throughout these articles. This publication was the only publication to use this many sources. Additionally, there was one article (“Obama’s executive order puts gears in motion”) that used 17 sources, which was also the highest amount of sources recorded in all ten publications.

National political/official sources were quoted or paraphrased 60 different times throughout this sample, which is the highest frequency for all source categories. The second highest frequency was Texas political/official sources, which had 34 different occasions where sources from this category were quoted or paraphrased. In addition, social service/public sector sources were quoted or paraphrased 31 different times, while legal professionals were quoted or paraphrased 15 different times. Adult immigrants were quoted or paraphrased on nine occasions throughout this sample. Religious

spokespersons, opinion pollsters, member of the public (children) and immigrants (children) were not quoted or paraphrased in this sample.

The key phrase “illegal alien(s)” was not used at any time in this sample. The key phrase “illegal immigrant(s)” was identified in the first sentence of five articles (17.9%) and used in the second paragraph of two articles and a weekly news summary (10.7%). This particular key phrase was also used in the upper half of articles (32.1%) and in the lower half of articles (17.9%). The key phrase “legal immigrant(s)” was only identified once in the upper half of an article (3.6%), while “undocumented immigrant(s)” was identified in first sentence of one editorial and three articles (14.3%). “Undocumented immigrant(s)” was also identified throughout the upper half of eight articles, one editorial and one column/commentary (35.7%). Similarly, this key phrase was located in the lower half of five articles as well as the lower half of an editorial (21.4%). Lastly, the key phrase “unauthorized immigrant(s)” was identified in the second paragraph of two columns/commentaries (7.1%) and it was used once in the upper half of an article (3.6%) as well as the lower half of three articles (10.7%).

Fort Worth Star-Telegram

The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* contained 11 pieces of news content for its sample size. Out of this sample size, 10 articles were from a wire source (90%). One article was a combination of content from a wire source and original reporting (9.1%). There were four letters to the editor (45.4%) and four articles were identified as a hard news local/state

story (36.4%). The remaining sample contained one hard news national story (9.1%) and one editorial (9.1%).

A total of 29 sources were used within this sample, with national political/official sources as the most mentioned source category (quoted or paraphrased 10 times). The only other source categories identified were social service/public sector (quoted or paraphrased 6 times), adult members of the public (quoted or paraphrased 6 times), adult immigrants (quoted or paraphrased 3 times), political analysts (quoted or paraphrased 2 times), Texas political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased 1 time) and an opinion pollster (quoted or paraphrased 1 time).

The only key phrase that was not used within this sample was “illegal alien(s).” “Illegal immigrant(s)” was identified in the first sentence of a hard news national story (9.1%) and identified in the second paragraph of a hard news local/state story (9.1%). This key phrase was also identified in the upper half of a letter to an editor as well as two articles (27.3%) and in the lower half of two articles (18.2%). “Legal immigrant(s)” was only identified in the upper half of a letter to an editor (9.1%), while “undocumented immigrant(s)” was found in the lower half of the only editorial in this sample (9.1%). Meanwhile, “unauthorized immigrant(s)” was also used in the first paragraph of the previously mentioned editorial (9.1%).

San Antonio Express-News

A total of 13 articles were included from the *San Antonio Express-News* for this analysis. The majority of articles were original content (76.9%). Two articles (15.4%)

derived from wire sources, while one article (7.7%) had a combination of both original content and content from a wire source.

In terms of type of article, only one editorial (7.7%) and one column/commentary (7.7%) was identified. There were four letters to the editor (30.8%) and four hard news national stories (30.8%). The remaining three articles were identified as hard news local/state stories (23.1%). A total of 57 sources were used in these 13 articles. There were two articles that used more than ten sources (15.9%). This newspaper primarily relied on national political/official sources (27 sources quoted or paraphrased) and Texas political/official sources (19 sources quoted or paraphrased). Legal professionals were quoted or paraphrased on six occasions, while adult immigrants were quoted or paraphrased five times throughout this sample. The source categories including international sources, social service/public sector, opinion pollsters, social researchers/social science studies and member of the public (adults) were quoted or paraphrased between one and three times in these articles.

Table 8 highlights the percentage of key phrase from the *San Antonio Express-News*. Overall, the key phrase “illegal alien(s)” was used once in the first paragraph in a letter to the editor (“Slap in the face”). “Illegal immigrant(s)” was found in the sentence of two articles. This key phrase was also identified in the upper half of four articles and in the lower half of three articles. Likewise, “legal immigrant(s)” was used only in the upper half of a column/commentary. The key phrase that was used the most was “undocumented immigrant(s).” This particular key phrase was identified in the first sentence of two articles and a letter to the editor. It was used in both the first paragraph of

a column/commentary and in the second paragraph of a letter to an editor.

“Undocumented immigrant(s)” was identified in the upper half of six articles and used in the lower half of three articles. “Unauthorized immigrant(s)” was not identified in any of the 13 articles.

Austin American-Statesman

With a total sample size of 10 articles from the *Austin American-Statesman*, all ten articles were original content. The majority of these articles were hard news local/state stories (80%) and the two remaining articles were identified as one column/commentary (10%) and one editorial (10%). This publication used a total of 41 sources, with the most frequently used source being Texas political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased 14 times). There were eight national political/official sources. Social service/public sector sources as well as legal professionals were quoted or paraphrased six times. Additionally, adult members of the public were quoted or paraphrased four times, while business sector sources were quoted or paraphrased twice and social researchers/social science studies were quoted or paraphrased once in this sample. Moreover, the only key phrases identified were “undocumented immigrant(s)” and “unauthorized immigrant(s).” “Undocumented immigrant(s)” was identified in both the first sentence (10%) and upper half of a column (10%). Similarly, “unauthorized immigrant(s)” was found in the first sentence of an editorial and in a hard news local/state story (20%). This key phrase was also located in the upper half of two hard news local/state stories (20%) and in the lower half of two hard news local/state stories (20%).

El Paso Times

This newspaper had a total of eight articles for this analysis. Out of these eight articles, over half (62.5%) were categorized as original content, while only three articles (37.5%) were from wire sources. There was one hard news national story, one column/commentary and one letter to the editor. Meanwhile, the remaining articles were either a hard news local/state story (37.5%) or an editorial (25%). Seventy-five percent of these articles also contained seven or fewer sources, but a total of 33 sources was used throughout the eight articles. Three articles did not use any sources at all. Table 9 shows the breakdown regarding the type of sources used from the *El Paso Times*. In addition, within these eight articles, the only key phrases used were “illegal immigrant(s),” “legal immigrant(s),” and “undocumented immigrant(s).” The key phrase “illegal immigrant(s)” was used in the first sentence of an editorial (12.5%) and “legal immigrant(s)” was identified in the lower half of a column/commentary (12.5%). “Undocumented immigrant(s)” was used in the first sentence of three articles (37.5%). It was also identified in the upper half of four articles, a column/commentary and an editorial (75%) as well as in the lower half of two articles and an editorial (37.5%).

Corpus Christi Caller-Times

This publication had a sample size of 11 articles. A little over half of these articles (54.5%) were derived from a wire source, while 45.4% of articles were original content from the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*. With a total of 31 sources used within these articles, there were five hard news local/state stories (45.4%), three editorials (27.3%),

two columns/commentaries (18.2%) and one letter to an editor (9.1%). The source that was quoted or paraphrased the most within this sample was from Texas political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased 10 times). Both national political/official sources and social service/public sector sources were quoted or paraphrased five times within this sample. Opinion pollsters were quoted or paraphrased three times, while religious spokespersons, social researchers/social science studies and adult immigrants were each quoted or paraphrased two times. Legal professionals and teacher/professor sources were quoted or paraphrased once by this publication.

In regard to key phrases, “illegal immigrant(s)” and “undocumented immigrant(s)” were used to describe the status of immigrants. “Illegal immigrant(s)” was located within the first sentence of an editorial from the *Washington Post* (9.1%). Additionally, this key phrase was found in the upper half of a column/commentary by conservative Jonah Goldberg as well as the upper half of the previously mentioned editorial (18.2%). Within the column/commentary by Goldberg, “illegal immigrant(s)” was also found in the lower half of this article (9.1%). Meanwhile, “undocumented immigrant(s)” was used the most from this publication as its primary key phrase. It was found within the first sentence of a hard news local/state story and within an editorial from the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (18.2%). In addition, this key phrase was located in the upper half of three hard news local/state stories, the publication’s sole editorial as well as the *Washington Post*’s editorial (45.5%). It was also found within the lower half of two hard news state/local stories (18.2%).

The (McAllen) Monitor

A total of six articles from *The Monitor* were used, and the majority of these articles (83.3%) was original content from this publication. Only one article (16.7%) was identified as originating from a wire source. Three articles were hard news local/state stories (50%), two editorials (33.3%) and one column/commentary (16.7%), while there was a total of 29 sources quoted or paraphrased within these articles. The type of source that was used the most by *The Monitor* was national political/official sources (quoted or paraphrased seven times). There was also four occasions where social researchers/social science studies and immigrant children were quoted or paraphrased. The following sources, which included Texas political/official sources, international political/official sources, social service/public sector sources, police/prisons/law enforcement sources, adult immigrants and legal professionals, were quoted or paraphrased either two or three times throughout these articles.

None of the articles used the terms, “illegal alien(s),” “legal immigrant(s)” and “unauthorized immigrant(s).” “Illegal immigrant(s)” was identified in the first sentence of an article (16.7%), in the second paragraph of an article (16.7%) and in the upper half of an editorial as well as an article (33.3%) and in the lower half of an article (16.7%). On the other hand, “undocumented immigrant(s)” was found in the upper half of an editorial and a column/commentary (33.3%) and in the lower half of a column/commentary (16.7%).

Waco Tribune-Herald

Like the *San Antonio Express-News*, the *Waco Tribune-Herald* had 13 articles for this analysis. Over half of these articles were identified as being original content (61.5%), while five articles were from wire sources (38.5%). Table 10 shows the varying formats of these stories. A total of 14 sources were identified, with the majority being national political/official sources (nine instances of being quoted or paraphrased). There were three instances of Texas political/official sources being quoted or paraphrased, while there was only one occasion of social service/public sector sources and an opinion pollster being quoted or paraphrased.

Additionally, “legal immigrant(s),” “undocumented immigrant(s)” and “unauthorized immigrant(s)” were the only key phrases identified. “Legal immigrant(s)” was identified in the second paragraph of a column/commentary (7.7%) and in the lower half of another column/commentary (7.7%). “Undocumented immigrant(s)” was identified in the first sentence of a weekly news summary (7.7%) and in the second paragraph of an editorial (7.7%). This particular key phrase was also found in both the upper half of an article, column/commentary and editorial (23.1%) as well as in the lower half of two columns/commentaries and an editorial (23.1%). “Unauthorized immigrant(s)” was only used in the upper half of an article (7.7%).

Lubbock Avalanche-Journal

All nine articles that were used from the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* were derived from wire sources (100%). There were four hard news local/state stories (44.4%), two columns/commentaries (22.2%) and three editorials (33.3%). A total of 28 sources

were used, while Texas political/official sources were quoted or paraphrased on 20 occasions. The remaining eight sources were from national political/official sources (five instances of this type of source quoted or paraphrased), social researchers/social science studies (one instance), business sector sources (one instance) and teacher/professor sources (one instance).

Table 11 indicates the percentage of key phrases from used by the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*. Overall, “illegal alien(s)” was used once in the upper half of an article within a quote from Dan Patrick, Lieutenant Governor of Texas (“GOP leaders divided on immigration crackdown in Texas”). “Illegal immigrant(s)” was found in both the upper half of an article and in the lower half of a column/commentary.

“Undocumented immigrant(s)” was used in the first sentence of three articles, a column/commentary and an editorial. It was also identified in the second paragraph of an article and in the upper half of an article as well as an editorial. “Undocumented immigrant(s)” was also found in the lower half of two articles and an editorial.

“Unauthorized immigrant(s)” was only used in the first paragraph of an editorial.

Discussion and Implications for Future Research

To answer RQ1, this study considered how newsroom diversity affects the coverage of a minority-related issue. This study found that improvements still could be made regarding the racial/ethnic composition at the top ten daily Texas newspapers. The survey also shows an underrepresentation of racial groups in these newsrooms. Table 12 showcases that five of the top ten daily Texas newspaper employs fewer racial minorities as a part of a managerial team than reporters. But this would make sense, as there are far more reporters than managers, so it would be unusual to have more minority managers than reporters. The racial minority group that is employed the most within these five newsrooms is Hispanics/Latinos. Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders, Blacks/African Americans and Native Americans are severely underrepresented as both reporters and managers. Table 3 and Table 4 further illustrate the composition of racial minorities employed as reporters and as a part of a managerial team.

In terms of H1, the five respondents replied with varying degrees regarding their affiliated newsroom's desire to increase racial/ethnic diversity. For example, three out of five respondents strongly agreed that their newsroom is making progress with diversity initiatives, and two respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that their newsrooms is making progress with diversity initiatives. Four out of five respondents also strongly agreed that the leadership at this company encourages diversity and their newsroom is committed to employing a diverse group. Two out of five respondents agreed they are satisfied with the level of diversity in their newsroom. However, two out of five

respondents disagreed that they were satisfied with the level of diversity in their newsroom, while one respondent neither agreed nor disagreed about their satisfaction regarding the level of diversity in their newsroom. In regard to the social responsibility theory, as it applies to newsroom diversity, the ten Texas newspapers say they are committed to diversity initiatives. But, certain constraints still inhibit hiring and retaining racial minorities at the top ten daily Texas newspapers.

H2 states that the top ten daily Texas newspapers will not rely solely on wire sources when covering the topic of immigration. Out of the 129 articles used for this analysis, 91 articles (70.5%) were original content from these publications and 36 articles (27.9%) were derived from a wire source. The *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* was the only publication that did not use any original content when covering Obama's immigration speech. Their wire sources were from A-J Media Austin Bureau, a professor of economics at George Mason University, *The Texas Tribune*, the *Houston Chronicle*, *The Dallas Morning News* and the *Washington Post*. It is also interesting to note, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, Latinos/Hispanics were approximately 32% of this city's total population (as of 2013). Due to this aspect, *The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* failed to cover a "representative picture of the constituent groups in the society," which is one of the five requirements that society can demand of the press (Hutchins, 1947, p. 21).

On the other hand, *The Dallas Morning News* and the *Austin American-Statesman* were the only two publications that used entirely original content. Dallas's Hispanic population in 2010 was approximately 42%, according to U.S. Census figures. These census figures also show that this percentage is higher than the non-Hispanic white

population, which accounted for 28.8% of the total population during 2010. Likewise, according to the U.S. Census, in 2010 the city of Austin had approximately 35% of Latinos/Hispanics, while the non-Hispanic white residents accounted for the majority (48.7%) of this city's population. Only two articles (1.6%) were a combination of original reporting and a wire report, and they were in the sample of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and the *San Antonio Express-News*. More importantly, since census figures say that there was approximately 38% of Latinos/Hispanics residing in Texas as of 2013, newspapers in this state should be conducting original reporting as often as they can to reflect the corresponding demographics of Texas.

Looking at the overall articles published in the ten newspapers, over half of the articles were either hard news national stories (20.9%) or hard news local/state stories (31.8%). Table 13 illustrates the format of articles for the entire analysis. The tone of this sample ranged. Hard news national stories focused more on the national implications of Obama's speech and how it affects undocumented immigrants. Both hard news national stories as well as hard news local/state stories also expressed fearfulness of a new flood of immigrants due to this speech. Hard news local/state stories provided more solutions on what undocumented immigrants should expect next in the state of Texas as well as to be wary of legal scams. These local/state stories also discussed Governor Greg Abbott suing Obama over this effective plea. Some hard news local/state stories even reached out to several undocumented immigrants to hear their stories and opinions regarding life after Obama's speech. Additionally, letters to the editor, columns/commentaries and editorial content mostly showcased their support of Obama and his controversial move, but was

cautious of how his speech could truly be enacted by Congress. However, several opinion pieces remarked on Obama's illegitimate approach to take this matter of immigration into his own hands. Based from the range of viewpoints, these ten publications successfully took control of their content, but external controls (e.g. the public) still remained through the use of publishing a wide variety of opinions about this speech. Thus, the top ten daily publications upheld the Hutchins Commission (1947) of providing "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism" (p. 23).

In relation to H3, these newspapers used a variety of sources when covering the topic of immigration. Since each publication had a varying sample size of news content, Table 14 shows the sample size, total amount of sources, means and medians of the total amount of sources. Federal and national political/official sources were used the most within this entire sample (163 occurrences where this source was quoted or paraphrased). The next source category that was quoted or paraphrased very frequently was Texas political/official sources (131 occurrences). Table 15 shows the remaining source categories and their frequency of being quoted or paraphrased throughout this sample of 129 articles. The frequent use of federal and national political/official sources, Texas political/official sources, social service/public sector sources, legal professionals and adult immigrants appropriately corresponds to the tone that this sample exhibited. For instance, the use of social service/public sector sources, legal professionals and adult immigrants illustrated a more humanitarian approach to covering this controversial topic that affects millions of lives. Consequently, in accordance with the social responsibility theory and the Hutchins Commission (1947), this variety of sources gave the

publications' audience "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning" (p. 21).

Furthermore, in regard to H4, the top ten daily Texas newspapers appear to portray immigrants not as a problem, but rather as a part of the community. It is interesting to note that the key phrase "illegal alien(s)" was only printed in three publications (*The Dallas Morning News*, the *San Antonio Express-News* and the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*). Even though these publications did print this phrase in its news product, it did not originate from the journalists in these news' organizations. Within these three publications, this particular key phrase was only used once in each publication's sample. "Illegal alien(s)" was mentioned in two letters to an editor and in a quote from the 42nd Lieutenant Governor of Texas. It is also noteworthy to mention that, even though three out of five respondents from the survey said they avoid using the word "illegal(s)" to describe immigrants, the key phrases "illegal immigrant(s)" or "immigrant(s) living illegally" was still used in a variety of contexts.

In addition, readers, journalists and social scientists sense that the placement of key phrases signal the status of groups of people. Based on this content analysis, the most frequent placement of key phrases in the top ten daily Texas newspaper was in the upper half of articles (67 occasions where key phrases were found). Table 16 highlights the frequency of key phrases used within the upper half of articles. The second most frequent placement of key phrases was in the lower half of articles (44 occasions where key phrases were identified). The third most frequent placement of key phrases was in the first sentence of articles, with 34 occasions where key phrases were identified. This

analysis can help further social science research in regard to how a minority-related issue is covered by news organizations.

Overall, the *Houston Chronicle* had the greatest breadth of stories (n=28), and range of formats (included hard news national stories, hard news local stories, columns/commentaries, an editorial, feature pieces and a weekly news summary) as well as the most sources (174 sources) used when compared to the other nine publications. *The Monitor* had the fewest stories regarding this analysis (n=6). All publications, though, effectively conveyed the main points of Obama's speech and took into account the consequences (either positive or negative) of this controversial move made by the president of the United States.

The two publications that did the best in using their staff journalists and producing all original content was *The Dallas Morning News* and the *Austin American-Statesman*. In addition, the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and *The Monitor* also produced the majority of their content in-house, while only relying on a wire source for one of their stories. On the other hand, the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* had the fewest original stories, and relied exclusively on wire sources to cover Obama's speech. In regard to these publications using a variety of sources, the following seven publications, on average, used approximately 3 sources or more for each article in their sample: *The Dallas Morning News* (3.15), *The Houston Chronicle* (6.21), the *San Antonio Express-News* (4.38), the *Austin American-Statesman* (4.10), the *El Paso Times* (4.13), *The Monitor* (4.83) and the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* (3.11). Meanwhile, the three following publications that, on average, used approximately two sources or less for each

article in their sample: The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (2.64), the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (2.82) and the *Waco Tribune-Herald* (1.08). Not only does a diverse set of sources demonstrate a publication's need to produce a well-rounded story, it also shows a publication's willingness to reach out to their community and retrieve feedback.

Lastly, in regard to the use of key phrases to describe immigrants, the *Austin American-Statesman* and the *Waco Tribune-Herald* did not use "illegal alien(s)" and "illegal immigrant(s)," which could be considered the most offensive terms used to describe the status of immigrants (as previously mentioned by Soderlund in the literature review). Even though the *El Paso Times* did use the phrase "people who immigrated into this country illegal" in the first sentence of one of their editorials ("Editorial: GOP should respond with bill on immigration"), this publication avoided using the key phrase "illegal immigrant(s)" within the rest of their sample. Despite *The Dallas Morning News*, the *San Antonio Express-News* and the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* publishing the key phrase "illegal alien(s)" once in each of their samples, it raises the question of *why* these three publications chose to print this key phrase, as it is considered offensive by many.

This study has several limitations that could be addressed in future research regarding diversity in Texas newsrooms. Perhaps the most significant weakness was the anonymity required for the survey, which precluded this study from tying responses to the content analysis. Another problem was that only the managing editors of each newspaper was surveyed. Their responses were very valuable. But, in order to provide for a more well-rounded perspective of the performance of each newspaper regarding diversity, it would be essential to survey mid-level managers and, perhaps more

importantly, reporters, photographers and other content creators. In addition to the survey, in-depth interviews could also be conducted at all levels within the newspapers to help better understand how a newspaper can improve as well as increase diversity. Even though this study only examined the top ten daily Texas newspapers, this type of study may be replicated to various types of newsrooms (both print and broadcast). Expanding this study to various newsrooms can help make connections to national trends of diversity.

Next, in regard to the content analysis, further advancements could be made for this particular analysis and the discussion of immigration. Since this paper's analysis only examined what was (or was not) in the text of news stories relating to Obama's immigration speech, future studies could examine graphics and placement of stories within each publication. Future studies could also analyze the frequency of key phrases used regarding the status of immigrants, instead of merely identifying their placement within the text. These key phrases could also be deciphered in relation to whether or not they are derived from the author of the article or another source. Overall, longitudinal studies would also be relevant to match changes of discourse regarding the topic of immigration and the landscape of employment in Texas newsrooms.

Tables

Table 1

Krippendorff's Alpha for Key Phrases in Content Analysis

	Headline/ Sub- headline	First Sentence	Second Sentence	First Paragraph	Upper Half of Article	Lower Half of Article
“Illegal Alien(s)”	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$
“Illegal Immigrant(s)”	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$
“Legal Immigrant(s)”	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$
“Undocumented Immigrant(s)”	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = .84$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = .84$
“Unauthorized Immigrant(s)”	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = .84$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$	$\alpha = 1$

Table 2

Participants' Response to Newsroom Employment

	Total Number of Journalists Employed	Racial Minorities Employed as Reporters	Racial Minorities Employed as Managers
Newsroom 1	50 - 79	11 - 19	6 - 10
Newsroom 2	0 - 20	0 - 5	0 - 5
Newsroom 3	21 - 49	11 - 19	0 - 5
Newsroom 4	100 - 120	6 - 10	6 - 10
Newsroom 5	150 - 179	30 - 39	6 - 10

Table 3

Racial Minorities Employed as Reporters

	Asians/Pacific Islanders	Blacks/African Americans	Hispanics/Latinos	Native Americans
0-5 reporters	5 responses	5 responses	1 response (20%)	5 responses
6-10	--	--	1 response (20%)	--
11-19	--	--	2 responses (40%)	--
20-29	--	--	1 response (20%)	--
30-39	--	--	--	--
40-49	--	--	--	--
50 or more	--	--	--	--
Total	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)

Table 4

Racial Minorities Employed as a part of a Managerial Team

	Asians/Pacific Islanders	Blacks/African Americans	Hispanics/Latinos	Native Americans
0-5 journalists apart of managerial team	5 responses	5 responses	3 responses (60%)	5 responses
6-10	--	--	2 responses (40%)	--
11-19	--	--	--	--
20-29	--	--	--	--
30-39	--	--	--	--
40-49	--	--	--	--
50 or more	--	--	--	--
Total	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)

Table 5

Statements Regarding a Texas Newsroom's Attitude toward Diversity

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Response Rate (Total)
The leadership at this company encourages diversity.	--	--	--	1	4	5
Management shows that diversity is important through its actions.	--	--	--	2	3	5
This newspaper is committed to employing a diverse group.	--	--	--	1	4	5
This newsroom respects individuals and values their differences.	--	--	--	2	3	5

Table 6

Statements Regarding the Corporate Culture within Texas Newsrooms

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Response Rate (Total)
This newsroom is making progress with diversity initiatives.	--	--	2	--	3	5
Employees of different backgrounds interact well in this company.	--	--	--	2	3	5
We are satisfied with the level of diversity in our newsroom.	--	2	1	2	--	5

Table 7

Statements Regarding the Respondents' Role within a Texas Newsroom

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Response Rate (Total)
My experience since coming to this newsroom have led me to become more understanding of racial/ethnic differences.	--	--	2	3	--	5
Getting to know people with racial/ethnic backgrounds different than my own has been easy at this newsroom.	--	--	1	3	1	5

Table 8

Percentage of Key Phrases in San Antonio Express-News (n=13)

	Illegal Aliens	Illegal Immigrants	Legal Immigrants	Undocumented Immigrants	Unauthorized Immigrants
Headline/ Sub Headline	0	0	0	0	0
First sentence	0	15.4	0	23.1	0
First paragraph	7.7	0	0	7.7	0
Second paragraph	0	0	0	7.7	0
Upper half of article	0	38.5	7.7	38.5	0
Lower half of article	0	30.8	0	15.4	0
Not mentioned in sample	92.3	15.3	92.3	7.6	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 9

Type of Sources Identified in the El Paso Times

	Frequency	Mean	Median
National Officials	7	0.875	1
Texas Officials	6	0.750	0.0
International Officials	3	0.375	0.0
Social Service/Public Sector	8	1	0.500
Religious Spokespersons	0	0.0	0.0
Healthcare Professionals	0	0.0	0.0
Police/Prisons/Law Enforcement	0	0.0	0.0
Political Analysts	2	0.250	0.0
Opinion Pollsters	1	0.125	0.0
Social Research	2	0.250	0.0
Business Sector	0	0.0	0.0
Teachers/Professors	2	0.250	0.0
Celebrities	0	0.0	0.0
Member of Public (adult)	0	0.0	0.0
Member of Public (child)	0	0.0	0.0
Immigrant (adult)	0	0.0	0.0
Immigrant (child)	0	0.0	0.0
Legal Professionals	2	0.250	0.0
Total # of Sources	33	--	--

Table 10

Frequency & Percent of Articles' Format for Waco Tribune-Herald (n=13)

	Frequency	Percent
Hard News National	0	0
Hard News Local/State	1	7.7
International News	0	0
Column/Commentary	4	30.8
Editorial	1	7.7
Feature article	0	0
Letter to the Editor	5	38.5
Weekly News Summary	2	15.4
Opinion Poll	0	0
Total	13	100

Table 11

Percentage of Key Phrases in Lubbock Avalanche-Journal (n=9)

	Illegal Aliens	Illegal Immigrants	Legal Immigrants	Undocumented Immigrants	Unauthorized Immigrants
Headline/ Sub Headline	0	0	0	0	0
Not mentioned	100	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100
First sentence	0	0	0	55.6	0
Not mentioned	100	100	100	44.4	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100
First paragraph	0	0	0	0	11.1
Not mentioned	100	100	100	100	88.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Second paragraph	0	0	0	11.1	0
Not mentioned	100	100	100	88.9	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Upper half of article	11.1	11.1	0	22.2	0
Not mentioned	88.9	88.9	100	77.8	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Lower half of article	0	11.1	0	33.3	0
Not mentioned	100	88.9	100	66.7	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 12

Racial Minorities Employed as Reporters and in a Managerial Position

	Employed as Reporters	Employed in a Managerial Position
0-5 racial minorities	1 (20%)	2 (40%)
6-10	1 (20%)	3 (60%)
11-19	2 (40%)	--
20-29	--	--
30-39	1 (20%)	--
40-49	--	--
50 or more	--	--
Total Response Rate	5 (100%)	5 (100%)

Table 13

Format of Articles (N=129)

	Frequency	Percent
Hard News National Story	27	20.9
Hard News State/Local Story	41	31.8
International News Story	--	--
Column/Commentary	15	11.6
Editorial	17	13.2
Feature Article	2	1.6
Letter to the Editor	24	18.6
Weekly News Summary	3	2.3
Opinion Poll	--	--
Total	129	100

Table 14

Sources for Top Ten Daily Texas Newspapers

	Total Sample Size	Total # of Sources	Mean for total # of sources	Median for total # of sources
Dallas Morning News	20	63	3.150	2
Houston Chronicle	28	174	6.214	5.5
Fort Worth Star-Telegram	11	29	2.636	1
San Antonio Express-News	13	57	4.384	3
Austin American-Statesman	10	41	4.100	3
El Paso Times	8	33	4.125	4
Corpus Christi Caller-Times	11	31	2.818	3
The (McAllen) Monitor	6	29	4.833	4
Waco Tribune-Herald	13	14	1.076	1
Lubbock Avalanche-Journal	9	28	3.111	2

Table 15

Source Categories and their Frequency in the Total Sample (N=129)

Source Categories	Frequency of Source
Federal & National Political/Officials	163
Texas Political/Officials	131
International Political/Officials	7
Social Service/Public Sector	67
Religious spokespersons	2
Health Care Professionals	1
Police/Prison/Law Enforcement	4
Political Analysts	7
Opinion polls/Opinion Pollsters	7
Social Researchers/Social Science Studies	17
Business/Corporate Sector	8
Teachers/Professors	10
Celebrities	1
Member of the Public (Adult)	19
Member of the Public (Child)	0
Immigrant (Adult)	27
Immigrant (Child)	4
Legal Professionals	32
Total Number of Sources Used	507

Table 16

Frequency of Key Phrases used within Upper Half of Articles

Key Phrases	Frequency in Upper Half
“Illegal Alien(s)”	1
“Illegal Immigrant(s)”	24
“Legal Immigrant(s)”	4
“Undocumented Immigrant(s)”	34
“Unauthorized Immigrant(s)”	4
Total	67

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