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Master´s Thesis

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CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of International Studies

Media Portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in The New York Times and Los Angeles Times

Master´s Thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on January 2, 2019 Bc. Tereza Vicková

References

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Abstract

This Master´s thesis is analyzing the media portrait of Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto in two American newspapers – The New York Times and Los Angeles Times. In this thesis, you can find the quantitative and the qualitative analysis of the image of Mexican president in the newspapers since his election in 2012 until the end of 2017. Peña Nieto is a member of Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which was in power from 1929 till 2000. Peña Nieto is the first president after 12 years break who brought this party back to power. American presidential elections also took place during his administration and Barack Obama was replaced by Donald Trump. The thesis focus on three topics which are for many years the most critical parts of the U.S.-Mexican relationship: illegal immigration, the war on drugs and NAFTA. The analysis shows that Peña Nieto´s image is portrayed in two opposite ways depends on the topic. He is presented as a competent leader in the questions of illegal immigration and NAFTA renegotiation. On the other, his leadership failed in the matter of drug issues in Mexico. The analysis also shows that Peña Nieto´s image in the NY Times and the LA Times changed after Donald Trump´s victory in the presidential elections. The difference of his image between the NY Times and the LA Times is mainly in the intensity with which Peña Nieto is portrayed.

Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce analyzuje mediální obraz Enriqua Peña Niety ve dvou amerických novinách – The New York Times a Los Angeles Times. V této práci naleznete kvantitativní a kvalitativní mediální analýzu obrazu mexického prezidenta v období od jeho zvolení v roce 2012 až do konce roku 2017. Peña Nieto je člen Institucionální Revoluční Strany (PRI), která byla u moci od roku 1929 do roku 2000. Peña Nieto je první president, který přivedl PRI zpátky k moci po dvanáctileté pauze. Během jeho volebního období došlo také k volbám nového prezidenta ve Spojených státech a Barack Obama byl vystřídán Donaldem Trumpem. Tato práce se věnuje třem tématům, které již několik let jsou hlavními předměty vztahu mezi USA a Mexikem: ilegální imigrace, válka s drogami a NAFTA. Analýza ukazuje, že Peña Nieto je v médiích zobrazován dvěma naprosto odlišnými způsoby v závislosti na probíraném tématu. V případě ilegální imigrace a znovu projednávání NAFTY je zobrazován jako kompetentní vůdce. Na druhé straně však v otázce boje s drogami se média zaměřují na

jeho neschopnost vyřešit tuto otázku. Peña Nietův obraz se navíc proměňuje po vítězství Donalda Trumpa v prezidentských volbách. Rozdílnost toho, jak Peña Nietu zobrazují NY Times a LA Times, spočívá zejména v intenzitě, se kterou ho jednotlivé noviny popisují.

Keywords

Enrique Peña Nieto, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Mexico, USA, media analysis, illegal immigration, NAFTA, war on drugs

Klíčová slova

Enrique Peña Nieto, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Mexiko, USA, mediální analýza, ilegální imigrace, NAFTA, válka s drogami

Název práce v českém jazyce

Mediální obraz Enrique Peña Niety v The New York Times a Los Angeles Times

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Závěrečné teze student odevzdává ke konci Diplomního semináře III jako součást magisterské práce a tyto teze jsou spolu s odevzdáním magisterské práce do SIS předpokladem udělení zápočtu za tento seminář.

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Media Portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in The New York Times and Los Angeles Times

Charakteristika tématu práce (max 10 řádek):
This thesis is focusing on analyzing what is the media portrait of Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto in The New York Times and Los Angeles Times. Enrique Peña Nieto was the first member of Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) who became a Mexican president after twelve years break. The PRI was in power in Mexico since 1929 till 2000. Since Peña Nieto is bringing the party back to the top of the government it is important to know how American Media view this president. The thesis is analyzing the position of Peña Nieto in the designated newspapers on three different topics - illegal immigration, war on drugs and NAFTA. These three issues were the major political topics of the bilateral relationship between the United States and Mexico. The asymmetry of this relationship, which is analyzed in the first part of the thesis also play its role in the way how American Media portray Mexican president Peña Nieto.

Vývoj tématu od zadání projektu do odevzdání práce (max. 10 řádek):
During the work the author decided to focus only on two newspapers - The New York Times and Los Angeles Times. The major reason behind this decision is that these two media can be well compared since they are both liberal, well known newspapers with really strong audience. The author decided to not implement the conservative media in the analysis since their coverage of the issues was too different for the comparison.
The structure of the work also changed when the author decided to analyze the media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto on the three specific issues mentioned above. The reason for this was the importance of these questions in the history of Mexican-American relationship and thus its relevance for the media analysis of Enrique Peña Nieto in The New York Times and Los Angeles Times.

Struktura práce (hlavní kapitoly obsahu):
1. Introduction
2. The History of PRI and the American-Mexican relationship
3. Who was Enrique Peña Nieto before he became the Mexican President
4. Media Portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in the United States

4.1. Peña Nieto and the Illegal Immigration
4.2. Peña Nieto and the war on drugs
4.3. Peña Nieto and the NAFTA renegotiation
5. Summary

Hlavní výsledky práce (max. 10 řádek):

The medial portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto differs not only in each individual newspaper but also in each topic which I was analyzing. Peña Nieto is portrayed in the Los Angeles Times with much more intensity than in the New York Times. If he is portrayed as a bad leader in the New York Times the Los Angeles Time present him as an incompetent president who is not able to stand behind his nation.

The other phenomenon I discovered is that the New York Times focus mostly on the international topics which influence the U.S.-Mexican relationship. Compare to that, the Los Angeles Times focus also on Peña Nieto and his domestic policies. Peña Nieto is portrayed as a good leader in the international questions but his image is negatively influenced by his politics about the drugs and illegal drug trafficking in the United States.

Prameny a literatura (výběr nejpodstatnějších):

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Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS **1**

INTRODUCTION **3**

METHODOLOGY 5
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY 6

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PRI AND AMERICAN-MEXICAN RELATIONS **9**

THE HISTORY OF INSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY 10
US-MEXICAN RELATIONSHIP AND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE 21ST CENTURY 16
US perspective on Mexico *16*
Immigration *18*
War on Drugs *21*
NAFTA *24*

WHO WAS ENRIQUE PEÑA NIETO BEFORE HE BECAME MEXICAN PRESIDENT **29**

MEDIA PORTRAIT OF ENRIQUE PEÑA NIETO IN THE UNITED STATES **32**

PEÑA NIETO AND THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION 32
The New York Times *34*
Los Angeles Times *40*
Conclusion *46*
PEÑA NIETO AND THE WAR ON DRUGS 47
The New York Times *49*
Los Angeles Times *54*
Conclusion *59*
PEÑA NIETO AND THE NAFTA RENEGOTIATION 60
The New York Times *61*
The Los Angeles Times *64*
Conclusion *66*

SUMMARY **67**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **71**

PRIMARY SOURCES 71
SECONDARY SOURCES 71
Books *71*
Academic Articles *72*
News Articles *73*

Websites *75*
THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES (USED FOR THE ANALYSIS) 75
LOS ANGELES TIMES ARTICLES (USED FOR THE ANALYSIS) 81

THE LIST OF ATTACHMENTS 87

Introduction

The relationship between the United States and Mexico is one of the most important ones on the American continent. Moreover, for each country it is probably the most crucial one as well. The United States went through big political change when Barack Obama was replaced by Donald Trump in the position of the American president. This specific switch was not connected only with the political parties. It is true that Donald Trump is a member of the Republican Party but he is also a very special political figure. The importance of the U.S. presidential elections in 2016 were not only in the power switch between the political parties in the USA but also in the specific persons. Donald Trump is not a politician in the tradition meaning of that word. He is a businessman who became a President of the United States. It is expected that the new president and his government will bring some changes on both field of the domestic and international politics, however, Donald Trump was more a hurricane that a fresh wind in the leadership of the USA.

The relations between the United States and Mexico worsen after Trump´s victory. His rhetoric about Mexico was very harsh and disrespectful and his comments about the Mexican immigrants in the United States, both legal and illegal ones, were very offensive. Trump´s idea of building a wall on the American-Mexican border was not the most popular among the Mexicans but neither among the American liberals.

Not only the political relations but also the economic relations worsened. Trump was openly speaking about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) like about the worst agreement the United States had to ever sign. NAFTA is definitely not loved by all Mexicans but the potential end of this agreement caused uncertainty and insecurity in both Mexico and Canada and it is never good for the economy of the country.

Overall we can say that after Donald Trump´s victory the U.S.-Mexican relations were much tenser on all levels than during Obama´s administration. Since Donald Trump´s approach towards the foreign policy is more “man to man” rather than “nation to nation” the figure of the Mexican president plays extremely important role here.

Enrique Peña Nieto who became a Mexican president in 2012 was a controversial figure in Mexico as well. He was a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which lost its power over the country after more than 70 years in the year 2000. Peña Nieto was the person who brought the country back under

the influence of PRI. Part of the Mexican society hoped that he can be the change for Mexico since he was pretty successful in fulfilling his campaign promises when he was a Governor of the State of Mexico. On the other hand, some Mexicans saw him as a step back in the democratization of Mexico and they linked his victory with his handsome visage.

The relations between Mexico with Peña Nieto as the head of the government, and the United States were pretty good during the Obama´s administration. I decided to analyze Peña Nieto media portrait especially because of the big change in the U.S. leadership. If we will know how the Mexican president is portrayed to the U.S. readers we will be able to deduct how the media evaluate Donald Trump as a leader as well. It is true that we will be able to evaluate this only on the scale of U.S-Mexican relationship but since it is one of the most significant relationships for both of the countries it has its corresponding value. I am going to analyze the image of Enrique Peña Nieto during Obama´s and Trump´s administration. Since I will focus on some pre-selected topics and the way how Peña Nieto´s image changed based on his personal action but considering the policies of the individual U.S. President, I will be able to evaluate who the media blame for the worsening relationship between the USA and Mexico.

This thesis is focused on the media portrait of Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto in two American newspapers – The New York Times (NY Times) and Los Angeles Times (LA Times). The thesis could be divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the historical context. The first chapter is focusing on the Mexican political situation during the government of PRI and the relationship between the United States and Mexico in three preselected areas – the illegal immigration, the war on drugs and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). I included this historical part in my thesis because I believe that many potential readers of this work could find it beneficial. The knowledge of the history of PRI and the U.S.-Mexican relationship is crucial for complete understanding of the following analysis. Readers with solid knowledge of this historical context can skip the first part and focus directly on the analysis. Nevertheless, I found essential to include the historical part into my work to create a complex piece.

The second part of this thesis fully focuses on the media analysis of Peña Nieto in the NY Times and the LA Times. This part of the thesis is divided based on the analyzed topics. You can find there three sub-chapters where each of them is dedicated to Peña Nieto´s image connected with one of the issues (illegal immigration, the war on

drugs and renegotiation of NAFTA). Each topic is analyzed separately with focus on these research questions:

- What is the quantitative difference between articles posted in the NY Times and the LA Times and why?
- How is Enrique Peña Nieto portrayed in the individual newspaper and did his image change during the time? In case it did - how and why?
- What are the differences between the image of Enrique Peña Nieto in the NY Times and the LA Times?

During my analysis, I am trying to cover all of these questions so the reader would get a complete picture of how is Peña Nieto viewed in the United States. The individual results are always presented in the specific chapter, and the complete analysis is presented in summary.

Methodology

In this work, I am using mainly the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the media presentation of Enrique Peña Nieto in the NY Times and the LA Times. I will analyze how these two newspapers portrait Enrique Peña Nieto in connection with three specific issues. I selected the illegal immigration, the war on drugs and the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

I selected these three topics because of two reasons. The first reason is practical. I needed to decrease the total amount of all articles containing Peña Nieto´s name on a reasonable amount which could be analyzed. The number of unselected articles involving Enrique Peña Nieto is 716 and 1,027 in NY Times and LA Times respectively. The second reason why I chose these three topics is that they are significant for the relationship and I will explain why in the first part of this thesis. The illegal immigration and war on drugs are problems which afflict both countries for many decades. Thus it would be interesting to know how U.S. media evaluate the approach of a Mexican president towards them. The NAFTA renegotiation started to be a new issue after the election of Donald Trump as the American president. However, NAFTA by itself is a crucial topic for both countries, and since it is a current problematic, it will be interesting to compare how U.S. newspapers present Peña Nieto in traditional and more recent issues.

In all three areas, I was working only with articles published from July 1, 2012, till January 1, 2018. The starting date was the Election Day when Peña Nieto won his

presidential mandate. The ending date was used for the practical reason of schedule for creating this work.

How I mentioned, I used two analytical methods. I worked with the internet archives of both of the newspapers, and I tracked how many articles containing the key searching words were published each year. I compared and analyzed not only the annual changes for each newspaper, but I also compare them between each other. This method is based on hard data and the evidence provided by this analysis lead directly to my conclusions. I did not look only at the numbers but also on rubrics in which the articles were published. These numbers provided me with hard data of the structure of the information the audience of each newspaper received.

The second method is qualitative analysis. I read and examined all articles in both newspapers which contained the *searching keywords*[1]. To answer my research question I tried to look at what kind of language and wording we can see in the articles. I also focused on the way how the papers evaluate Enrique Peña Nieto and how they present him to their audience. I tried to uncover any changes in judgment or view during the time and the possible cause of them. I also compared if there are any differences in how similar events or issues are portrayed between these two newspapers. This method is less objective than the quantitative part since it does not provide us with any hard data. To be as objective as possible, I was always searching for continuing trends, and I proved them by links to specific articles.

Bibliographic essay

The major and most significant resources for this analysis were the internet archives of The New York Times and Los Angeles Times. The New York Times (NY Times) was founded in 1851 and its correspondents collectively won more Pulitzer prizes than any other newspapers in the United States. The NY Times focus on the foreign policy of the United States more than the average U.S. newspapers. Its circulation is the second biggest in the United States right after The Wall Street Journal. Its readers are located mostly on the East Cost of the USA but anybody can become a subscriber and have an access to the internet archive.

[1] All searching keywords which were used for specific topic are listed and explained and the beginning of the specific chapter.

Los Angeles Times (LA Times) is also newspapers with long tradition since it was founded in 1881. The LA Times focus more on the issues affecting the West Coast of the United States. The LA Times´ correspondents are also well known and a lot of them are Pulitzer Prize winners. Its circulation is lower than the NY Times but it is still the fourth biggest newspapers in the Unites States.

Both of these newspapers were mostly marked as slightly liberal. However both are still considered as objective source of information in the United States. Because I am going to focus on the portrait of the Enrique Peña Nieto, the Mexican president and also on the international relationships between the U.S. and Mexico, I believe that these two things are less connected to the U.S. party policies and thus I can use these newspapers to get an objective image of Peña Nieto in the USA.

I chose these two newspapers specifically for two reasons. First one is that their circulation and their view on political issues is normally pretty similar. It means that I will be able to well compare them and find out if there are some differences, and analyze, why they are there. The second reason is to discover if the West Coast and East Coast are covered in the similar way in both, the quantitative and qualitative aspects.

Another resources for this thesis are mostly historical books which I used in the first part of this thesis to describe the political context in Mexico and the U.S.-Mexican relationship. I worked with English language books with one exception. For the historical context of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico I used *Dějiny Mexika* from Oldřich Kašpar and Eva Mánková. This book is a Czech textbook which helped me to cover the basic history of PRI in Mexico. Another books covering the Mexican history I used are *The History of Mexico* from Burton Kirkwood, an American Professor of History.

Among the most valuable sources I used for explaining the U.S.-Mexican relationship and its asymmetry I consider a book *Myths and (Mis) Perceptions: Changing U.S. Elite Visions of Mexico* from Sergio Aguayo who is a Mexican professor focusing on international politics and human rights. Aguayo in his book used also a media analysis of The New York Times and he described the changing perceptions of Mexico in the United States, which helped me in understanding better the links to the current image of Enrique Peña Nieto.

In the aspect of illegal immigration I worked closely with Jorge G. Castañeda´s book called *Ex Mex: From migrants to immigrants.* Castañeda is a former Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs between the years 2000 – 2003. He is also a correspondent

for the LA Times. His book covers some of the most stereotypical ways how Mexican immigrants are viewed in the United States.

The question of NAFTA I described in the first part of this thesis mainly with help from a book called *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges* from Gary Clyde Hufbauer and collective. The book evaluates the first decade and provide the reader with some hard data which are compared with the expectations all three countries had before they signed the agreement.

To conclude this discussion I can summarize that the academic sources are used mainly in the first part of this thesis. The resources are used as a base for the explanation of the historical and political concept of PRI and the U.S.-Mexican relationship with focus on illegal immigration, the war on drugs and NAFTA. For the rest of the work I focus primarily on working directly with the articles from the NY Times and the LA Times and I come with my own conclusion.

The historical context of PRI and American-Mexican relations

Mexico, officially The United States of Mexico, is a federal presidential constitutional republic. The country consists of 31 states and Mexico City. Mexico City used to be officially Federal District until 2016 when Enrique Peña Nieto changed formally the Federal District to "Ciudad de México" or Mexico City how English speakers know it. Mexico has a president who is also the head of the government. The administration period for a president is six years, and the last elections run in 2018. The president is also the Commander in chief, and he is responsible for appointing his Cabinet. Every state has its own Congress and the governor who is elected by the state citizens. The federal legislative power is represented by the Congress of the Union which consists of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Overall we can see that the system is very similar to the United States one. The similarity is also in the judicial branch where the highest institution is the Supreme Court created by 11 judges. The Mexican president appoints these judges, and the Senate must approve them.[2]

It is crucial to pay attention to some historical and political aspects of the U.S.-Mexican relationship for a complete understanding of the media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in the United States. Mexican history is long, varied and sometimes pretty complicated. I will briefly focus on modern history starting by the end of the Mexican Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century. In the late 20s of the 20th century the most significant party in modern Mexican history was founded, and for more than 70 years it was ruling the country. The one-party system and the end of it in 2000 are essential aspects especially when Enrique Peña Nieto brought the party back to the power.

The relationship between Mexico and the United States went through many challenges during the past century, and the cooperation between the governments was not always ideal. However it is possible to follow one stable path, and it is the asymmetry of this relationship where the United States was always the stronger, more powerful partner. Thus it is crucial to analyze this relationship with a focus on the preselected topics to have a better understanding of what are the critical issues for the

[2] Constitution of Mexico, https://www.oas.org/juridico/mla/en/mex/en_mex-int-text-const.pdf (accessed October 13, 2018).

United States. I will focus on these most critical topics of the current relationship later during the media analysis.

The history of Institutional Revolutionary Party

The most important and significant party in Mexican history is without any doubt *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI). This party was running the country for 71 years, from 1929 till 2000. PRI was created in 1929 by Plutarco Calles, Mexican president between the years 1924 - 1928. The party was formed as *Partido Nacional Revolucionario* (National Revolutionary Party, PNR) and it was more a political platform than a party in the traditional way of meaning. It unified the government representatives as well as unions, army generals or local political parties operating on the municipal level.[3]

In 1928 a new president was elected. The winner of the elections was an important figure of Mexican Revolution - Álvaro Obregón. Obregón was already a president of Mexico between the years 1920 and 1924 but after the legislation change, he could be reelected and thus he decided to participate in the new election race and candidate again for the president.[4] Obregón won the elections of 1928 however he had never joined the function. The reason was that a Catholic fanatic assassinated Obregón on July 17, 1928. Behind this attack was a long-term animosity between the government and the Roman Catholic Church which resulted in a conflict known as *Cristero War* in 1926. Obregón was seen as an ally of the former president Calles who was responsible for the intense relationship between the government and the church. All of these aspects let to the violent attack on him.[5]

After the death of Obregón, Plutarco Calles nominated Emilio Portes Gil as a provisional president of Mexico until the new president would be elected. The upcoming period of the next six years was well known as Maximato. Officially there were three presidents during this time, but all of them were controlled by Calles who become an informal leader of the country. Calles was the representation of the more conservative voice of the party. With the upcoming new elections scheduled for 1934, Calles had to fight with strengthening critique of the left wing of PNR. To avoid any

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[3] Kašpar, Oldřich, and Mánková, Eva. *Dějiny Mexika* (Praha: NLN, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2009), 2nd edition, 242.

[4] Krauze Enrique. *Mexico: Biography of power: a history of modern Mexico, 1810-1996* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1998), 399.

further destabilization of the party, Calles nominated Lázaro Cárdenas del Rio who was well known for supporting the public education and having a good relationship with labor unions and the peasants. In 1934 Cárdenas was elected as a president of Mexico, and he started immediately to implement some new ideas. He cut off his presidential salary, moved into a different presidential residence, and he began with more socialist reforms.

Calles wanted Cárdenas to be his puppet, but it was not even close to Cárdenas agenda. Cárdenas who was fully aware of the open opposition coming from Calles started to isolate politically not only Calles but also his strong supporters. It escalated into forced deportation of Plutarco Calles into the United States in 1936.[6]

Cárdenas sparked a lot of changes in Mexican society. His government was socialistic even though he never let the communist party get to the power. He restructured the PNR and renamed it to *Party of the Mexican Revolution* (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, PRM) in 1938. The new party was divided into four sections – military, agrarian, labor, and the middle-class sector. These sectors were supported by parallel organizations like *National Confederation of Campesinos* for the peasants or *Confederation of Mexican Workers* which gathered and supported the labor sector. This innovation transformed the party from the elite party to a mass party. It broadened and strengthen the political support for the party all over the country. In 1946 the party was transformed again when the president Manuel Ávila Camacho canceled the military sector. The party was then finally and officially renamed to *Institutional Revolutionary Party* (PRI).[7]

Since 1946 the PRI was able to keep peace in a country. For many decades no big rebellion or political uprising happened. The middle class felt well represented and saw a strong opportunity to participate in the government. The members of the agricultural sector and the labor felt represented as well. For them, the PRI was a mediator for communication with the labor unions or the possibility for the land reform. The political peace was not secured only by the great political leadership. A big role also played corruption, election frauds or even repressions against the individuals or groups which did not want to cooperate with PRI. The corruption was present on all

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[5] Ibid., 399-401.

[6] Kašpar, Oldřich, and Mánková, Eva. *Dějiny Mexika,* 250-4.

[7] „Institutional Revolutionary Party“, Country Studies. http://countrystudies.us/mexico/84.htm (accessed October 17, 2018).

levels of the political representation. One of the biggest corruption scandals is connected with the oil industry in the late 1970s. The revenues of the state company PEMEX which flew from the newly discovered oiled fields went mainly to the pocket of the senior executives or PEMEX and the top politicians of PRI.[8]

The 1980s was the really important decade for the development of the Mexican politics. The PRI remained the leading party, but the opposition started to become much stronger. One of the opposition parties was the *National Action Party* (Partido de Acción Nacional, PAN). The party was established in 1939, but until the 1980s they were only the formal opposition party without any bigger influence on the political scene. The party was originally more conservative and was uniting the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the entrepreneurs. PAN was supporting smaller state interventions which later PRI took over and incorporated into their program and thus the differences between the running party and the opposition were almost invisible. PAN always wanted stronger democratization of the country and was alerting on the corruption in the government. Because of the big corruption scandals in the late 1970s and 1980s, the party started to get bigger support from the citizens and started to gain more seats in local governments.[9]

In 1982 Miguel de la Madrid was elected as a new president of Mexico. He built his campaign on the necessity of renovating and improving the character of the nation. He wanted to bring more equal opportunities and increase the power of the judicial and legislative branches. The elections in 1982 had a bigger turnout than the previous elections which proved the national interest in the claimed moral renovation of the society.[10]

However, the presidency of de la Madrid had to face many challenges. The president surrounded himself with the analysts and economists known as technocrats. But the economic situation of the country did not get better. The inflation increased between 1986 and 1987 from 100 percent to almost 160 percent, but the salaries of the people were not rising even 30 percent that fast. It brought many people to the economic uncertainty, and both the labor and agricultural workers started to think about strikes. The situation got even worse for de la Madrid when a huge earthquake happened on September 19, 1985, in Mexico City. The devastation of the city was enormous not

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Kašpar, Oldřich, and Mánková, Eva. *Dějiny Mexika,* 261.

mentioning more than 20 000 deaths, and over 200 000 people became homeless. The government was not helping the people and even refused the support offered by the United States. It led to the fact that people in Mexico City started to organize themselves. Humanitarian groups consisting mainly of students, women, and workers were distributing food and clothing and were organizing and searching shelters for homeless people. As a consequence of this dramatic situation, the opposition started to point out at the failure of the current government, and the citizens started to consider other options than PRI as a possible leading party.[11]

The elections of 1988 are one of the most controversial elections in modern Mexican history. These elections were not crucial just because of the controversy but mainly because it was the first time when the opposition parties were formally established as a real opposition. The elections had three candidates. For PAN there was one candidate, and for PRI there were two candidates. The candidate for PAN, Manuel Clouthier, was an industrialist who supported the conservative policies. He wanted to strengthen and increase the role of private sector in the nation´s economy and to end the corruption around the electoral process. Clouthier ended up on a third place after the elections with 17% of the votes.[12] The more interesting is the story around the two candidates from PRI. The first candidate and also the winner of the elections was Carlos Salinas. His competitor was Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the son of the former president Lázaro Cárdenas. Cárdenas was very unhappy with the nomination of Salinas because he wanted a different direction for the party. He created an opposition wing within the PRI which was after the elections transformed into an independent party called *Democratic Revolutionary Party* (Partido Revolucionario Democrático, PRD). The PRD was opposition to PRI mainly in the economic sphere. Salinas did not like the neo-liberal economic progress of the state which started in the 1980s. The PRD was a left-wing party which still supported bigger state interventions into the economy and a stronger welfare state.[13]

The election scandal happened on the day of the elections on July 6, 1988. Even though the ballots were collected on paper and people had to go and placed their ballots

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[10] Krauze Enrique. *Mexico: Biography of power: a history of modern Mexico, 1810-1996,* 762-3.
[11] Kirkwood Burton. *The History of Mexico* (Westpoint: Greenwood Press, 2009), 2nd edition, 200-3.
[12] Ibid., 205.
[13] „DemocraticRevolutionary Party“, Country Studies. http://countrystudies.us/mexico/86.htm (accessed October 17, 2018).

into the boxes computers were used for the final count. When PRI was receiving results and their candidate, Salinas could eventually lose this election the government announced that there was an unexpected problem with the computers and they had to be shut down. When they turned them back on they showed results that Salinas won with 50.7% of the votes. Cárdenas immediately accused the government from the election fraud. However, no recounting was possible because the PRI and PAN, which saw an opportunity to expand its influence, agreed on burning all the ballot boxes. This led to the protest in the streets of Mexico which at some places needed military intervention.[14]

The society refused to accept this behaving of the government, and they started to question the government's steps more often and even publicly. The new opposition parties were for the first time working as a real opposition.[15]

Salinas wanted to improve the image of PRI without using the old practices. Salinas who received his degree in political economy at Harvard University in the USA knew that one of the most important things to do is to improve the economic situation of Mexico. Salinas decided to abandon the revolutionary principles of PRI and focus on the necessary steps for improving the economy. He decided to change Article 27 of the Constitution and privatized the *ejidos* (communal land used for agriculture) to increase the economic productivity in the agricultural sector. He was able to decrease and stabilize the inflation on 20% rate and reinforce the financial status of the country. Although probably the most important Salina´s legacy lies in the connecting Mexico into the international trade by signing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on January 1, 1993.[16]

January 1, 1994, is not connected only with the implementation of NAFTA but also with the Zapatista rebellion against the federal government. The self-proclaimed *Zapatista Army of National Liberation* (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN) took control over three cities in the state of Chiapas. The EZLN was a guerrilla-style movement which was represented by a spokesman using a title Sub-Comandante Marcos. The EZLN wanted Salinas to step down as a president. Their major critique was focused against the social injustice against the indigenous people, the undemocratic regime in Mexico and the repercussions of Salinas change of Article 27. The southern

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[14] Kirkwood Burton. *The History of* Mexico, 205.
[15] Krauze Enrique. *Mexico: Biography of power: a history of modern Mexico, 1810-1996,* 776.
[16] Kašpar, Oldřich, and Mánková, Eva. *Dějiny Mexika,* 274-5.

state Chiapas was a predominantly rural region which was affected a lot by the privatization of the ejidos, and the NAFTA agreement could potentially worsen their situation.[17]

The EZLN took a lot of international attention. Not only because they declare war to the Mexican government on the same day as NAFTA agreement entered into the force but also because they separated from any previous and former left-wing guerrilla groups. After two weeks of fights between the EZLN and the Mexican army, the rebellion ended up by ceasefire on January 12, 1994. Even though there were still members of EZLN in the jungle and the soldier of the Mexican army were staying in the region the major fights ended. The situation for Salinas was not easy with the upcoming presidential elections in 1994. He needed to be sure that the government responds to these events in the atmosphere of democratic reforms.[18]

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León from PRI won the elections in 1994. The elections were probably the fairest elections in the recent history, and Zedillo won just over 50% of votes. The elections were observed mainly by the United States and Canada since it happened in the same year as NAFTA agreement. Three candidates (from PRI, PAN, and PRD) had a big pre-election television debate which attracted a massive television audience. That proves how much the Mexican society was following the elections. The government even hired over 1000 people to help and watch over the election process. All of these steps let to the legitimate winning of Zedillo. Nevertheless, democratically elected Zedillo had almost immediately to start to deal with the corrupt legacy of Salinas. The scandals around the Salinas family weakened Zedillo who was dealing with the economic instability of Mexico and had to reach out to the United States for financial help. In 1995 Carlos Salinas brother, Raúl Salinas, was accused of murder. Raúl connections to the president were well documented, and thus the society started to believe that the former president could also be involved. Very soon Salinas family was connected with other murders and their involvement in drug trafficking.[19]

The corruption scandal of Salina´s family threw a bad light on the whole PRI. For the first time in history, the opposition parties held a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and the mayoral elections in Mexico City were won by Cuauhtémoc

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[17] Kirkwood Burton. *The History of Mexico,* 209-10.
[18] Ibid., 211.

Cárdenas, a candidate of PRD party. Zedillo himself said that after these elections, no one can ever again refer to PRI as the "only party" or the "state party". Historian Enrique Krauze commented on this situation that people now know that PRI can lose and it will lose and lose and lose. And both of them were right.[20]

On July 2, 2000, a candidate from a different party than PRI won the presidential elections. Vicente Fox Quesada, a candidate from PAN party, won the elections with 43% of the vote followed by the candidate Francisco Labastida from PRI who received on 36% of the vote. For the upcoming twelve years, the power was taken from PRI.[21]

The power, however, has not stayed in the hands of opposition for a long time. Enrique Peña Nieto as a candidate of PRI won the presidential elections in 2012 and returned the party to the control of Mexico.

US-Mexican relationship and most important issues of the 21st century

The Mexican president, as well as the American one, are both the head of the government, and thus the new elections always bring a new pattern of the relations between these two countries. Later in this thesis, I will focus on the media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in the United States however the profile of Peña Nieto will always be connected with the relationship of these two countries.

It is a reason why understand the history of PRI in Mexico, the evolution of the political opposition and the perspective through which the United States sees Mexico is crucial for a complete picture of Peña Nieto in the American newspapers. I am going to focus on three major issues that influence the U.S.-Mexican relationship during the past 30 years. These issues are the illegal immigration, war on drugs and NAFTA.

US perspective on Mexico

It is not difficult to say who is a stronger partner in this relationship. Since the American-Mexican war United States dominates on both, the economic and the military

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[19] Kašpar, Oldřich, and Mánková, Eva. *Dějiny Mexika,* 300.

[20] W. Anderson, John. „Mexican Voters´Anger Devastates Rulling Party", *Washington Post*, July 13,1997, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/mexico/stories/970713.htm (accessed October 20, 2018).

[21] Preston, Julia. „The Mexico Election: The Overview; Challenger in Mexico Wins, Governing Party Concedes", *The New York Times*, July 3, 2000, https://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/03/world/mexico-election-overview-challenger-mexico-wins-governing-party-concedes.html (accessed October 20, 2018).

level, over Mexico. The United States is well aware of their prominent position in this relationship and the divergence between these two countries is visible on many levels.

If we look at the political level, we can see that since the establishment of PRI in 1929 till late 1980s Mexico was not necessarily the primary interest for the United States. Mexico was perceived as a country where democracy struggles and all power is concentrated in the hands of one party. The United States had not only political but also a moral problem with the corruption on all levels of the government. The economic policies differ a lot as well since Mexico until the 1980s was promoting mostly the left wing socialist policies. That was an attitude which the United States perceived as backward especially during the Cold War.[22]

The American citizens were creating a picture of the Mexican society based on the immigrants who were coming to the United States. They were mostly seasonal workers to help with the harvest, and thus the majority of them were poor rural workers without education, and they were often also illiterate.[23]

Another factor of the relationship was, for example, human rights. Mexico was not already the brightest example of democracy. The American society did have a problem to accept some governmental steps on the field of human rights. A great example is the Tlatelolco massacre in 1968 which received international publicity. The violent interventions of Mexican police and the army against students and young people who were peacefully protesting against the government set up the look of Mexico as a backward and authoritarian country.[24]

Because of this approach, Mexico often had to defeat its position not only in front of the U.S. but especially in front of its own citizens. We can observe many cases the discourse that the United States is responsible for the Mexican failure. This Mexican rhetoric goes throughout the history. From claiming that the United States started the

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[22] Aguayo, Sergio. *Myths and (Mis)Perceptions: Changing U.S. Elite Visions of Mexico* (La Jolla: University of California, San Diego, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1998), 44, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv6mtbxk?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab5e9971a0c636387622999cd55681548 (accessed October 23, 2018).

[23] Kozák, Kryštof. *Facing Asymmetry. Understanding and Explaining Critical Issues in U.S.- Mexican Relations* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta socialnich věd, Katedra americkych studii, 2008), 46.

[24] Aguayo, Sergio. *Myths and (Mis)Perceptions: Changing U.S. Elite Visions of Mexico*, 47, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv6mtbxk?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab5e9971a0c636387622999cd55681548 (accessed October 23, 2018).

American-Mexican war, it continues through accusations of the CIA being behind the Tlatelolco massacre, and it ends with blaming the USA for the debt crisis in the 1980s.[25]

Immigration

Mexican immigration into the United States is for multiple decades one of the hot topics in the political discussions. It is caused by the geographic position of both countries and easily crossable border from the landscape point of view. From the perspective of the United States, there are multiple factors of immigration which need to be taken into account. However, the most important and in current discourse the most debated topic is illegal immigration.

The position of the United States on the immigration question is very diverse throughout the whole history. By the 1940s the immigration program American Bracero was released. The program was encouraging Mexican workers to immigrate into the United States to work in several industry sectors. The program lasted for more than 20 years, and during it, the numbers of flow of immigrants increased up to the 200 000 legal workers per year. With this positive and supported effect, there was also a side effect which was a high influx of illegal workers from Mexico to the United States. The number of the illegal immigrants is estimated at approximately around 150 000.[26]

The illegal immigration is the crucial aspect of the current debate between the United States and Mexico. The end of the Bracero program and the new Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 were supposed to limit the Mexican migration into the United States. However, the legislative changes did not change the will of Mexicans to migrate for better work and the demand of the American agricultural sector for this cheap labor. The other factor was the globalization which is an international trend since the 1980s.[27]

For this work, I am going to focus on the recent history and the question of illegal immigration. The amount of illegal immigrants is increasing since the year 2000. The tracking of illegal immigration is complicated since the people who are in the country illegally are trying to avoid any official institutions and trying to stay under the radar of the offices. Notwithstanding, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) can

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[25] Kozák, Kryštof. *Facing Asymmetry. Understanding and Explaining Critical Issues in U.S.- Mexican Relations,* 46.

[26] Castañeda, Jorge G.. *Ex Mex: From migrants to immigrants* (New York: The New Press, 2007), 14.

provide us with some data. The numbers of illegal immigrants from Mexico to the United States raised from 4.68 millions people in the year 2000 to 5,97 million in the year 2005.[28] The numbers are even higher in 2014 when the number of illegal immigrants from Mexico reached 6.6 million.[29]

However, we need to consider two factors. The first one is that speaking only about Mexican immigration, in this case, is not entirely fair. The illegal immigrants who come to the country through the Mexican-American border are not always just from Mexico. The group consists not only from Mexicans but for example also from people coming from El Salvador, Guatemala or Honduras. Nevertheless, the political debate of illegal immigration in the United States very often put the whole immigration from Mexico and Central America countries into one category since the crossing point is the American-Mexican border.

The second factor is that if we look at the political debate especially in recent years, illegal immigration is becoming a bigger and bigger problem. However, by looking at the specific numbers, we can see that since 2007 the flow of illegal immigrants is decreasing. Based on the data from DHS we can see that the inflow of immigrants between the years 2002 and 2007 was 2.46 million. This digit is much higher compared to the inflow number from 2008-2014 when there was "only" 630 thousand of illegal immigrants.[30] These numbers can be influenced by new policies which were implemented by former US president Barack Obama. Obama was the president who deported the highest number of illegal immigrants from the USA. Between the period of 2008 and 2011, the government deported more than 1.1 million people from the US. The majority of these people were immigrants from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras or El Salvador. The stricter border policy combined with the

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[27] LeMay, Michael C.. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference* Handbook (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 5-6.

[28] Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population residing in the USA prepared by the office of Immigration Statistics under the Homeland Security, January 2005, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Unauthorized%20Immigrant%20Population%20Estimates%20in%20the%20US%20January%202005.pdf (accessed October 21, 2018).

[29] Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population residing in the USA prepared by the office of Immigration Statistics under the Homeland Security, January 2014, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Unauthorized%20Immigrant%20Population%20Estimates%20in%20the%20US%20January%202014_1.pdf (accessed October 21, 2018).

[30] Ibid.

deportation policy could partially lead to the effect of the lower inflow of illegal immigrants.[31]

Another recent plan of the United States was Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) which went into force in 2012. This immigration policy allowed those people who came into the United States illegally as children to apply for two years of deferred action from deportation and also made them eligible to apply for work permit and thus became legal immigrants in the country.[32] Another important immigration policy step was the 2014 Executive Action on Immigration made by President Obama. This executive action extended the DACA program and also allowed parents of the U.S. citizens to request deferred action and employment authorization. This executive act influenced around 5 million illegal immigrants.[33]

The political debate about immigration and illegal immigration started to be topic number one during the presidential campaign and especially highlighted by current president Donald Trump. The mentioned acts and Trump´s rhetoric about the Mexican immigrants will be a subject of better analysis in the following chapters focusing on the media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in the immigration question.

Last but not least important factor in immigration is the destination where the immigrants go. The highest density of illegal immigrants is in the border states such as California and Texas. The estimated number of illegal immigrants in California in 2014 was 2.9 millions of people which was something about 7.5% of the population of this state. In comparison, the number of illegal immigrants in the state of New York in 2014 was 640 thousand, about 3.4% of the state population. Moreover, the community of illegal immigrants in the New York state is most probably created by the different demographic group than in California.[34]

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[31] Preston, Julia and Cushman Jr., John H.. „Obama to Permit Young Migrants to Remain in U.S.“ *The New York Times*, June 15, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/16/us/us-to-stop-deporting-some-illegal-immigrants.html (accessed October 21, 2018).

[32] Ibid.

[33] 2014 Executive Actions on Immigration published on the webpage of the office of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, https://www.uscis.gov/archive/2014-executive-actions-immigration (accessed October 21, 2018).

[34]Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population residing in the USA prepared by the office of Immigration Statistics under the Homeland Security, January 2014, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Unauthorized%20Immigrant%20Population%20Estimates%20in%20the%20US%20January%202014_1.pdf (accessed October 21, 2018).

War on Drugs

The continuing fight against drugs and illegal smuggling and dealing of narcotics was present in the American domestic policy since the end of 19th century. The first half of the 20th century is connected with marijuana, opium and creating of institutions in the United States to fight with this phenomenon. In 1930 the first office dedicated to fighting with drugs was established. The Federal Bureau of Narcotics started a media campaign against marijuana. In 1937 the legislation changed, and the taxes imposed on marijuana were so high that the marijuana producers were de facto forced to create a black market.[35]

We can mark the Nixon administration and 1960s as a period when we really can start talking about the War on Drugs. During the 1960s the consummation of drugs in the United States increased. It was caused partially by the hippie movement and partially as a consequence of the Vietnam War. Nixon during his campaign proclaimed that he wants to follow the path of law and order and he started the fight against drugs just a few months after his inauguration. Nixon was the one who started to use the military rhetoric when giving a speech about the drug problems. He said that illegal drugs are problem number one for the United States and it is necessary for the government to start the fight on all fronts.[36]

The asymmetry of the U.S.-Mexican relationship and the superior position of the USA is well documented on the American operation *Intercept* which Nixon promulgated in 1969. The official purpose of the operation was to eliminate the illegal drug trafficking over the Mexican-American border. For almost two weeks all trade was paralyzed by tightening the border controls for not only the suspicious but for all vehicles crossing the border. The major purpose of the operation was to show Nixon´s disappointment with the Mexican lack of effort on diminishing the black drug market. Since the operation on the border was causing economic harm to close regions, it caused a strong disagreement among the whole Mexican society. Even though Mexico considered this operation as unfair, undeserved and very intimidating the Mexican government at the end promised to commit itself to a stronger and more aggressive

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[35] Kozák, Kryštof. *Facing Asymmetry. Understanding and Explaining Critical Issues in U.S.- Mexican Relations,* 250.

[36] Vulliamy, Ed. „Nixon´s war on drugs began 40 years ago, and the battle is still raging.“ *The Guardian,* July 24, 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/jul/24/war-on-drugs-40-years (accessed November 2, 2018).

policy against the drug cartels.[37] The long-term pressure on the Mexican government and a proof of the American superiority ended up by operation Condor in 1975. This was the biggest military operation which was supposed to eradicate opium fields and to cause the end of the production. It was also focused on the producers and dealers. In the long-term, we can now say that none of these operations was successful in fighting the drug market. But they were some of the key operations for the U.S.-Mexican relationship in the war on drugs.[38]

In the 1980s we could witness another example of an influence which the United States had on Mexico. The United States officially recognized the war on drugs for the first time as a focus of the national security. In 1986, Ronald Reagan, in those times president of the United States, marked drugs as a national security threat.[39] Mexico reacted to this almost immediately, and the Mexican president de la Madrid targeted illegal drugs as a security threat for Mexico as well.[40]

Drugs stayed in the high politics even during the 1990s. President Salinas started a powerful offensive against drugs, drug dealers and the illegal trafficking over the border. Salinas made the black market a problem number one for Mexico. He invested in and strengthened the position of the Mexican army in this fight. The main reason for this policy was to stabilize the relationship with the United States because of the NAFTA negotiations. The United States was afraid that the free trade zone would be a paradise for the drug cartels. The United States supported Salinas´s reforms by providing intelligence and helping with the training of the newly established institutions in Mexico dedicated to the drug fight.[41]

Big changes were expected after the victory of first non-PRI president, Vicente Fox, especially because his campaign motto was "*cambio"* which means a change. The

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[37] Craig, Richard B. „Operation Intercept: The International Politics of Pressure." *The Review of Politics* 42, Issue 4 (1980): 556-80, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1406640?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed November 2, 2018).
[38] Ibid., 582-584.
[39] Richburg, Keith B. „Reagan Order Defines Drug Trade as Security Threat, Widens Military Role" *The Washington Post,* June 8, 1986, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/06/08/reagan-order-defines-drug-trade-as-security-threat-widens-military-role/309fdc6f-e5b8-4a64-8249-7b51182b3db1/?utm_term=.90657412c9ee (accessed November 2, 2018).
[40] Cody, Edward. „De la Madrid Stands By Drug Efforts" *The Washington Post,* September 2, 1986, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/09/02/de-la-madrid-stands-by-drug-efforts/0253716b-fd51-4163-ab6b-a15756534153/?utm_term=.43798832cc3e (accessed November 2, 2018).

drug cartels during the years were connected with the government on multiple levels, and the relationship between PRI and the drug lords was almost symbiotic. Even though, there were official governmental initiatives against the cartels, the corruption and the connection of drug lords and the local authorities were huge factors for the failure of the anti-drug policy. Fox created a new investigation institution named Federal Agency of Investigation (Agencia Federal de Investigación, AFI). It was a copy of the American FBI. Fox also extended the cooperation with the U.S. agencies and changed the legislation so Mexican drug dealers and drug traffickers could be extradited into the United States.[42]

We can observe the asymmetry of the relationship between the USA and Mexico during Fox´s administration as well. Fox decided to not only reorganize the security services in the country but also to withdraw the drug question from hands of a Mexican army. This caused a wave of disagreement among the top American politician, and the U.S. government was creating a political pressure on Fox to change his decision. In the end, the military remained the major combatant of drug lords, and Fox even deepened the militarization of the drug fight.[43] In 2006 the Mexican Congress was supposed to accept a legislation change which would legalize possession of small amount of drugs for personal usage. The change was supposed to help the official state agencies to focus only on serious cases rather than the small fish. This again caused a big revolt in the United States, and Vicente Fox vetoed the proposal after the pressure from the USA.[44]

In 2006 the war on drugs took a new dimension when newly inaugurated president Felipe Calderón sent 6500 troops into Michoacán (Mexican state with one of the most violent consequences of drug wars). His predecessor Fox was already trying to resolve the Michoacán drug massacres, but he was unsuccessful. Just within two months after Calderón took over the office over 20, 000 troops were involved in drug operations all over Mexico. The operations were pretty successful if we consider that 25 of 37 drug traffickers on Calderón´s wanted list were captured, sent to the jail, extradited to the

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[41] Carpenter, Ted Galen. *Bad Neighbor Policy: Washington's Futile War on Drugs in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 189.
[42] Ibid., 186-189.
[43] Astorga, Luis. „The Limits of Anti-Drug Policy in Mexico" *International Social Science Journal,* Vol 53, Issue 169 (2001): 427-434, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1468-2451.00331 (accessed November 2, 2018).
[44] Kozák, Kryštof. *Facing Asymmetry. Understanding and Explaining Critical Issues in U.S.- Mexican Relations,* 280-1.

United States or killed during the military actions.[45] The escalation of violence around drug cartels increased during Calderon's presidency. On the other hand, he was one of the first presidents where we were able to monitor some level of success especially in arresting the most wanted and dangerous individuals.

The war on Drugs which is declared in both of the countries is unfortunately still unsuccessful in the long term. The USA is the country with one of the highest demand for illegal drugs and their neighbor Mexico serves the role of the supplier. Notwithstanding, Mexico is mainly a transiting country. It is fascinating to observe the asymmetry of the Mexican-American relationship in this case. The war on drugs is focusing primarily on the elimination of the supply side. Both Mexico and the United States invest a lot of effort and a lot of money into it. They expect that by eliminating the supply, the demand will drop. This strategy puts Mexico and its representatives on the "bad" site of the problem. Even though this strategy is not compelling enough the United States is focused on it. Of course, there are also initiatives in the USA to work with the problem of addiction actively, but the extent of these two directions is incomparable.

NAFTA

The creation of a free trade area in Northern America started in 1989 with the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA). When two years later the Mexican president Salinas and the American president George H. W. Bush started official negotiations about a free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States, Canada felt that they could lose their benefits from the CUSFTA and thus all three countries started talks about NAFTA. NAFTA came to force on January 1, 1994. Mexico and the United States already cooperated politically on many issues and extending the interconnection felt right. Moreover, the United States was and probably will be the biggest and most important trade partner for Mexico. Especially after the end of Cold War when possible trade partners from Western Europe started to focus on the

[45] Lakhami, Nina. „Mexico´s war on drugs: what has it achieved and how is the US involved?" *The Guardian,* December 8, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/dec/08/mexico-war-on-drugs-cost-achievements-us-billions (accessed November 2, 2018).

countries from the former Eastern bloc and Mexico stopped being an interesting partner for them.[46]

NAFTA negotiations were followed by the transformation of the country under the president Salinas. His neo-liberal reforms, especially in the economic sector, made Mexico ready for the possible foreign investments. Above that, the economic reforms were not the most popular in Mexico, and for many people, the impacts of them were pretty harsh. Thus locking these changes and reforms in the international treaty was a great way how to make sure that Salinas´s changes will be secured from potential future recoil.

This agreement was a big step for Mexico not only because of all the economic reason but also for the political ones. The creation of NAFTA sends a message to potential investors from other countries than just the United States and Canada. Mexico was the weakest partner of this alliance. Not only from the economic point of view but also from the political one. How I explained earlier the dominance of PRI, corruption and election frauds often raised questions about the level of democracy in Mexico. On the other hand in 1994 United States and Canada trusted in Mexico enough to tight themselves into a free trade zone with it. The whole idea of being integrated with the most importing countries in the world sent a message not only to the world but also to Mexicans. The NAFTA agreement became a confirmation of the progressive approach Mexico took under Salinas.

There was also a lot of criticism around NAFTA. One of the most persuasive critiques was coming from the agricultural sector. The Mexican farmers were afraid of losing their jobs because of cheaper agricultural products from the United States. One of the most significant topics was corn, and it remained a big topic for a long time. A lot of farmers lost their job because of cheaper import from the USA, and in 2008 the situation escalated even more. After 14 years the final tariffs on corn were lifted which was the final step of free trade plan. The farmers started big protests against NAFTA in which more than 70,000 people participated.[47]

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[46] Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Schott, Jeffrey J., and Orejas, Diana. *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges* (Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2005), 2-4, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cuni/reader.action?docID=3385457&ppg=20 (accessed November 2, 2018).

[47] McKinley Jr., James C. „Mexican Farmers Protest End of Corn-Import Taxes.“ *The Guardian,* February 1, 2008, https://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/01/world/americas/01mexico.html (accessed November 4, 2018).

The wave of criticism came right after the signing of the agreement. This was caused by the peso crisis in Mexico which took place in late 1994 and 1995. Not even a year since NAFTA came in force and there was a pesos crisis. The Mexican society immediately connected these two events. And even though the crisis was caused by bad macroeconomic policy and not by the investments or the free trade zone, Mexicans started to look at NAFTA differently. Some critics said that NAFTA should monitor better the financial institutions. But if we look realistically on the situation, no government would let the other ones talk into their macroeconomic policy. This criticism is a nice example of an already mentioned phenomenon that Mexico very often blames the United States for its failure.[48]

While Mexico was overall pretty excited about NAFTA, the United States was far more divided in their opinions. Major fear was caused by the possible jobs moving from the United States to Mexico. Mexican labor was much cheaper which could be appealing for the US companies. When there would be a free trade zone the shift of the job positions especially from the border states in the USA into Mexico was very probable. Additionally to this Mexico was promoting NAFTA by claiming that every year there will be 1 million new job positions.

One of the groups which were concerned about the impacts of NAFTA were environmentalists. The biggest problem was that the NAFTA agreement did not talk much about the environment. The free trade zone, especially among neighboring countries, would mean more intensive trade and thus a higher air-pollution. Other problematic topics were different standards of using pesticides, an increase of health protection in the United States or exploiting nature in general. The discourse in the United States was divided. Among the NGOs which were against NAFTA, we would found organizations like Greenpeace, Sierra Club or the Humane Society of the United States.[49] On the other end of the spectrum, we have an international NGOs like World Wild fund or group like the National Wildlife Federation which believed that NAFTA would actually strengthen the protection of the environment. The agreement protected the right of each country to set any standards which would follow the legitimate

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[48] Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Schott, Jeffrey J., and Orejas, Diana. *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges,* 11-12.

[49] Schneider, Keith. „Environment Groups Are Split on Support For Free-Trade Pact.“ *The New York Times,* September 16, 1993, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/16/us/environment-groups-are-split-on-support-for-free-trade-pact.html (accessed November 5, 2018).

environmental objective based on scientific resource. That means that the U.S. could set up a stricter rule on what pesticides can be used and Mexico would have to follow the rule in case the Mexican farmers would like to import their products into the United States. Because of these arguments, the already mentioned National Wildlife Federation believed that NAFTA would guarantee a cleaner hemisphere.[50]

The final voting about accepting NAFTA was very tight. American president Bill Clinton who supported NAFTA was the leader of the pro-NAFTA wing of the Democratic Party. But there were still many Democrats who were not so excited about the agreement. The final decision of the House of Representatives was 234 votes pro-NAFTA and 200 votes against. The decision in Senate was a little bit less dramatic since pro-NAFTA voted 61 senators and 38 senators were against.[51]

I will talk later about the current challenges of NAFTA in the chapter where I will analyze the US perspective on Peña Nieto and NAFTA and its future. But if we would like to assess the success of NAFTA let´s look at the situation during the first decade since it was signed. The trade between US and Mexico between years 1994–2004 multiplied. The import of the U.S. merchandise increased by 166 percent and the export of Mexican merchandise into the USA increased by 290 percent. It is evident that the trend is above average since the U.S. trade with other non-NAFTA countries increased only by 140 percent.[52]

Mexico also enjoyed a boom of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) which was one of the leading Mexican goals. The stock of FDI grew by more than 130 billion USD during the first decade of NAFTA. Mexico was able to attract not only U.S. investments but also other countries. The biggest competition for Mexico in manufacturing industry remained only China. China´s cheap manufacturing labor caused an inflow drop of 3.5 billion dollars between years 2002-2003. The trend of investing sectors was changing as well. Since 2000 the FDI flow shifted from manufacturing towards transport, communication and also financial services. On the other site, some of the expectations from NAFTA was not fulfilled at all. As part of the campaign for promoting NAFTA

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[50] From the Archives. „Nafta and the Environment.“ *The New York Times,* September 27, 1993, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/27/opinion/nafta-and-the-environment.html (accessed November 5, 2018).

[51] Cooper, Kenneth J. „House Approves U.S.-Canada-Mexico Trade Pact on 234 to 200 Vote, Giving Clinton Big Victory.“ *The Washington Post,* November 18, 1993, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/trade/stories/tr111893.htm (accessed November 5, 2018).

[52] Ibid.

Mexican leaders promised that the agreement would generate about 1 million new job positions every year. These projections were far too optimistic, and the reality was very different.[53]

The jobs situation in the United States evolved very well. The employment during the first five years since NAFTA increased about 130 thousand positions per year. It means that the predictions of some critiques were not met. Some people lost jobs because of NAFTA, but most economists agree that NAFTA affected the quality of jobs and maybe the structure of the jobs, but it had not influenced the gross number of job positions in a negative way.[54]

So during the first decade, after NAFTA went in force, we can see economic progress in both countries. Some of the industries like manufacturing or automobile industry benefited from the agreement more than the other, like agriculture for example. From the Mexican perspective, a lot of political changes happened as well, and the international cooperation between the U.S. and Mexico upgraded into a new level.

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[53] Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Schott, Jeffrey J., and Orejas, Diana. *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges,* 30-3.
[54] Ibid., 38-9.

Who was Enrique Peña Nieto before he became Mexican president

Enrique Peña Nieto was born on July 20, 1966, in Atlacomulco in the State of Mexico. His parents are not connected with politics. His mother Maria del Perpetuo Socorro Ofelia Nieto Sanchez is a teacher and his father Gilberto Enrique Peña del Mazo is an electrical engineer. Nevertheless, Nieto´s extended family is very closely connected to public life and politics. His uncles from both his mother and his father sites were governors of the State of Mexico. Alfredo del Mazo González, the uncle from the father´s site, was governor between the years 1981 and 1986. Moreover, another three members of Peña Nieto´s family served as governors of the State of Mexico. Peña Nieto has a connection with the United States from early childhood because he spent one year (1979) of high school in the USA to learn English.[55]

In 1984 when he was eighteen, he started his studies at the Panamerican University in Mexico City. He was studying law studies and received his BA in Law in 1989. Nieto also finished his Master´s studies in Business Administration from the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM).[56]

Peña Nieto´s education became recently very controversial. In 2016 Peña Nieto was accused by Mexican journalist Aristegui Noticias of plagiarism in his law thesis. According to this accusation, almost 30% of Nieto´s thesis was copied from other authors without crediting them. The spokesman of Peña Nieto, Eduardo Sanchez, claimed: "style errors such as quotes without quotation marks and missing references to authors…should be of interest to journalists two and half decades later" [57].

Peña Nieto was married twice. In 1993 he married Mónica Pretelini, and they had three children together. In 2012 Peña Nieto revealed that he had another two kids with two different women while he was still married to Pretelini. His wife died on January 11, 2007, after an epileptic episode. But within a year Peña Nieto started a new

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[55] CNN Library, „Enrique Peña Nieto Fast Facts.", December 14, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/04/world/americas/enrique-pea-nieto-fast-facts/index.html (accessed November 11, 2018).

[56] Profile of President Enrique Peña Nieto, http://en.presidencia.gob.mx/presidencia/presidente/ (accessed November 11, 2018).

[57] „Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto plagiarized thesis." *BBC News,* August 22, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-37153951 (accessed November 11, 2018).

relationship with Mexican soap opera actress Angélica Rivera. They got married during the presidential campaign in November 2011.[58]

The political beginnings of current Mexican president started with his arrival into the Mexico City. Peña Nieto joined the PRI in 1984, but his real political career did not begin earlier than in 1999. He was working for his cousin Arturo Montiel Rojas who served at that time as a governor of the State of Mexico. Montiel put his cousin in charge of multiple political campaigns, and he made him responsible for the financing. Peña Nieto started from minor jobs in the government, and he was getting slowly to more and more important roles. In 2003 he became a representative of the 13th District of the State of Mexico which was one of the most important steps which led in the end towards his victory in 2005. Peña Nieto became a governor of the State of Mexico and replaced his cousin Montiel Rojas. Peña Nieto himself marked this victory as a fulfilling of his childhood dream. [59]

Peña Nieto had a very interesting campaign. Even before the elections, he created a list of 608 promises (in Mexico known as *compromisos*), and he signed and let apostilled every single one of them in front of the public. Most of these promises were focusing on building and repairing infrastructure, improving health care and improve the lifestyle of citizens. Another promise was, for example, to provide fresh water and create better water delivery system for the State of Mexico. Peña Nieto was pretty successful in fulfilling the majority of these promises which put great light on him for his future career. He used a similar strategy for his presidential campaign, and some saw him as a politician who can deliver, just based on his governor past.[60]

During Peña Nieto´s administration as a governor, there were also some controversial issues. One of the most controversial ones was the conflict in San Salvador Atenco in 2002. The conflict was between local farmers and the government which planned to use local land for building an airport. The farmers and other community members started protests which quickly escalated into a violent conflict

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[58] CNN Library, „Enrique Peña Nieto Fast Facts.“, December 14, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/04/world/americas/enrique-pea-nieto-fast-facts/index.html (accessed November 11, 2018).

[59] Wilkinson, Tracy and Ellingwood, Ken. „Mexico´s Enrique Peña Nieto, man of mystery.“ *Los Angeles Times,* July 8, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jul/08/world/la-fg-mexico-Peña-nieto-20120709 (accessed November 11, 2018).

[60] Lindsay, James M. „Hola, Enrique Peña Nieto: President-Elect of Mexico“ *Council on Foreign Relations,* July 2, 2012, https://www.cfr.org/blog/hola-enrique-Peña-nieto-president-elect-mexico (accessed November 11, 2018).

between them and the municipal police. The farmers were holding some local politicians as hostages, and the police arrested some of the citizens. Peña Nieto, governor of that region, asked President Vicente Fox for military support from the federal government. The army was able to end the conflict pretty quickly, but the intervention resulted in the death of 2 people, many injuries and sexual harassment of multiple women. The women who were sexually assaulted, raped, tortured and jailed, in many cases accused the police of Mexico from violation of human rights. The accountability laid in this case on people who ordered the crackdown and did not stop their abuses. This accusation included Enrique Peña Nieto.[61]

In fall of 2011 Peña Nieto announced that he was going to a candidate for Mexican president and less than a year after that on July 1, 2012, he was elected as a president of Mexico with 38% of votes.[62]

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[61] Thompson, Ginger. „San Salvador Atenco Journal; Cornfields or Runways? Zapata´s Ghost Watches" *The New York Times,* July 18, 2002, https://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/18/world/san-salvador-atenco-journal-cornfields-or-runways-zapata-s-ghost-watches.html (accessed November 11, 2018).

[62] Wilkinson, Tracy and Ellingwood, Ken. „Enrique Peña Nieto wins Mexico´s presidency, early results show." *Los Angeles Times,* July 2, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jul/02/world/la-fg-mexico-presidential-election-20120702 (accessed November 11, 2018).

Media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto in the United States

In this chapter, I am going to analyze the way how The New York Times and Los Angeles Times present Enrique Peña Nieto to their readers. The chapter is divided into three sub-chapters which are dedicated to a specific topic. The first topic focuses on the illegal immigration which after the victory of Donald Trump in the U.S. presidential elections became hot topic number one. The second chapter is dedicated to the war on drugs. How was explained earlier the drug problem is one of the most important topics for both countries and thus it is essential to know how is Peña Nieto perceived in the USA. The last chapter is dedicated to the renegotiation of NAFTA since it is a very current question in the United States. In all of these chapters, I am using mechanisms of quantitative and qualitative media analysis. I will also compare the differences between the NY Times and the LA Times, and I will present them in the own conclusion for each chapter.

Peña Nieto and the illegal immigration

This chapter is dedicated to illegal immigration. How I already analyzed there are many historical and political aspects of immigration. I have decided to focus on illegal immigration and the problem with the control of the Mexican-American border. Because of this reason I used these three searching keywords: “Peña Nieto”, “illegal immigration” and “border”. I circumscribed the period for July 1, 2012, and January 1, 2018. In Tables 1 and 2 below you can see the results of the quantitative analysis for this specific chapter.

We can see a big difference in the total amount of articles published in each newspaper. While the NY Times published only 43 articles, the LA Times published almost double, specifically 87 articles. We can see that for both papers the busiest years are 2016 and 2017 with leaning preference toward the year 2017. Even though illegal immigration was always a big topic for the United States, we can easily read from these numbers that campaign and the victory of Donald Trump made the issue even more discussed than before. This assumption is logical because we know that during the year 2016 no significant changes happened in Mexico and the biggest political change occurring in the United States were the presidential elections. It would be understandable that during the campaign a lot of international issues are discussed more often than regular. However, from these tables, we can analyze that illegal immigration

became one of the key topics in U.S.-Mexican relations since Donald Trump´s inauguration.

Interesting fact we can observe is that even though the NY Times has a lower number of articles it has a higher number of "opinion" style articles in total. Over the years the NY Times published nine articles which fall into the opinion section.[63] Compare to that the LA Times which published only five articles from these sections.

In the following part of the chapter, I am going to focus on the qualitative part of the analysis. I am going to analyze the articles chronologically so we can see the direct evolvement of Peña Nieto´s profile in media. When we evaluate these numbers and the articles, in general, we have to take into consideration that articles about Peña Nieto and expected the path of his govern were published during his presidential campaign. Thus it is not so surprising that there is a lower amount of articles during 2012. It does not indicate necessarily that any of these two newspapers would not care about Peña Nieto in 2012.

Table 1: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "illegal immigration" and "border" published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

The New York Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All articles (43)	1	1	3	3	17	21
Americas	1		2	1	2	7
Art and Design					1	
Economy					1	2
Editorial					1	
Opinion		1			1	4
Politics			1	1	9	7
Sunday Review				1	1	
US					1	1

Source: The New York Times Archive

[63] Based on the division published on the webpage of the NY Times (https://www.nytimes.com) I count as „opinion style" all articles from sections Opinion, Sunday Review and Editorial. From the LA Times (https://www.latimes.com/) I count as „opinion" articles from sections Op-Ed, Opinion and Editorial.

Table 2: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "illegal immigration" and "border" published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

Los Angeles Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All Articles (87)	0	3	6	1	29	48
Business						1
Editorial					2	1
Essential Washington					10	4
Mexico and Americas			2		6	10
Nation			2	1	10	18
Newsletter						3
Op-Ed						2
Opinion						
Political			2		1	8
World		3				1

Source: Los Angeles Times Archive

The New York Times

What Peña Nieto claimed in his campaign was that he wants to keep and strengthen the good relationships with the United States. In 2014 the crucial topic for the NY Times was a massive influx of children immigrants from Central America to Mexico and then into the United States. The NY Times was writing not only about the problem but also about the way how the governments are dealing with it. In summer 2014, there were published two articles about child immigration, both coming from Randal C. Archibold. In the earlier one Archibold reports about communication between Obama and Peña Nieto. He wrote that Obama called Peña Nieto "to discuss the urgent humanitarian issue and welcomed the opportunity to work in close cooperation with Mexico to develop concrete proposals to address the root causes of unlawful migration from Central America."[64] In an article which Archibold wrote a month later, he informed the readers about Peña Nieto´s proactive steps to work with Guatemala and to protect the southern border of Mexico from this child immigrants. Peña Nieto wanted

[64] Archibold, Randal C. „As Child Migrants Flood to Border, U.S. Presses Latin America to Act" *The New York Times,* June 20, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/world/americas/biden-in-guatemala-to-discuss-child-migrants.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

to create a „guest program“ with free 3-days visa to have an „orderly flow“ of the immigrants.[65] How I already described above the relationship between the United States and Mexico is very special, and it is obvious which one of them is the more powerful country. Thus we can see the link between Obama´s communication and Peña Nieto´s fast reaction to create a plan with Guatemala to start dealing with the situation. Peña Nieto was fulfilling what he promised, and he strengthens the relations with the USA by the fast reaction on the problem which was actively addressed by the U.S. president. In this case, Archibold presented Peña Nieto as a man of action, which is one of the ways how Peña Nieto had presented himself during the campaign.

The NY Times was reporting about Peña Nieto´s and Obama´s relationship in 2015. Already the usage of the words for the title "*Mexico's Leader, Peña Nieto, Praises Obama on Immigration*" is bringing some emotions to the reader. The article itself than talked about the great relationship between U.S. and Mexico and it describes this way: "In these recent years, a level of mature and friendly relations has been constructed, first between the presidents and the governments."[66] On the other hand, the authors are bringing up Peña Nieto´s problems in the field of the domestic politics connected with slow economics and rising violence of the drug cartels. Overall Obama and Peña Nieto are showed almost as an example of cooperation in the question of immigration. The authors also informed the readers about Obama´s thanks to Peña Nieto for sharing the right message about his executive order in Mexico. Based on Obama, Peña Nieto was very helpful in explaining to the Mexican citizens that the legal status would be granted only to the people who already lived in the United States for many years.[67]

While the articles which we could put into the "News" category do report about Peña Nieto in a very great light, the articles from the "opinion" category speak about Peña Nieto very differently. Sophia Nazario, American journalist, winner of Pulitzer price and expert on Latin American studies prepared an article called "*The Refugees at our door."* Nazario is arguing that the United States outsourced Mexico to deal with the

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[65] Archibold, Randal C. „On Southern Border, Mexico Faces Crisis of Its Own." *The New York Times,* July 19, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/world/americas/on-southern-border-mexico-faces-crisis-of-its-own.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[66] Archibold, Randal C. and Shear, Michael D. „Mexico´s Leader, Pena Nieto, Praises Obama on Immigration" *The New York Times,* January 6, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/07/world/americas/mexicos-leader-Peña-nieto-praises-obama-on-immigration.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

refugee crisis instead of it. The United States paid millions of dollars to Mexico to help them with the crisis, but the government does not care if there is progress or not. Nazario reported that even though Peña Nieto presented the program with Guatemala which was put into the force to control the number of immigrants and protect them, all these promises are not translated into the actions. Nazario brought evidence of kidnapping, modern slavery, organs harvesting and another kind of violence which happened to the Central American migrants during their time on a way. She blamed both of the presidents from closing eyes in front of this problem.[68]

A similar view of this issue also brought Nicholas Kristof about eight months after Nazario. Kristof is the holder of two Pulitzer prizes, and he specialized on human rights and social justice. Kristof was looking at the issue from the perspective that the return to immigrants´ home country can very often mean death for the refugees and thus the violent and horrible conditions in Mexico are still better for them. Kristof wrote: "Obama and Peña Nieto have cooperated for two years to intercept desperate Central American refugees in southern Mexico, long before they can reach the U.S. border. These refugees are then typically deported to their home countries — which can be a death sentence"[69]. Even though Kristof did agree with the high level of cooperation between Obama and Peña Nieto he did not believe that it brought positive results.

An interesting aspect to observe is that the "News" section articles report about immigrants and speak about the proactive actions of both presidents positively. On the other hand, the "opinion" section articles are not so favorable for any of the presidents, and their authors strictly use the term refugees.

In 2016 most of the articles focused on Donald Trump and his presidential campaign. In July 2016 the NY Times informed about Trump´s radical proposals for the immigration policy. While Trump was accusing Obama and the Democrats from the impossibility to protect the US borders, Obama and Peña Nieto were presented as a coalition of two partners to defend themselves. Obama and Peña Nieto were claiming

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Nazario, Sonia. „The Refugees at Our Door." *The New York Times,* October 10, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/11/opinion/sunday/the-refugees-at-our-door.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[69] Kristof, Nicholas. „Obama´s Death Sentence for Young Refugees." *The New York Times,* June 25, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/opinion/sunday/obamas-death-sentence-for-young-refugees.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

that the number of immigrants coming to the United States to work is much lower than in the 80s, 90s or during George W. Bush administration.[70]

Donald Trump went to Mexico to meet with Enrique Peña Nieto during his campaign, in September 2016. Trump received an invitation from Peña Nieto to visit him in Mexico. The visit was pretty controversial in the media. On the one hand, the NY Times reported that Peña Nieto did a good job in standing behind Mexicans. He was able to vocalize that the comments Mr. Trump was doing about Mexicans were disrespectful and not true. He presented well the hard data that NAFTA helped both nations not just Mexicans. Peña Nieto also many times repeated words like "mutual respect" or "cooperation". Although it was not directly discussed during the meeting, Peña Nieto claimed on his Twitter that he assured Mr. Trump that Mexico would not pay for the border wall how Trump was proposing.[71] Even though Peña Nieto was presented as a pretty strong leader who was able to communicate Mexican interests, there was also news reporting about angry Mexicans. The Mexican citizens were protesting against Peña Nieto and his words that even though he and Donald Trump have different views on some topics, he believes they would be able to cooperate well in the future.[72] The Mexican citizens felt like they would be sold out by their president. The disagreement with Peña Nieto´s invitation of Donald Trump also expressed the former Mexican president Vicente Fox, who said that Donald Trump is not welcomed in Mexico, the NY Times reported just before Trump´s visit.[73]

The last article published before Donald Trump´s victory was discussing that Peña Nieto should consider stronger, "more muscular" approach in negotiating conditions of the future relationship between the United States and Mexico. The main message of the article is that the stability of Mexico is the crucial aspect of illegal immigration. Based on the article, Peña Nieto can be more radical in his rhetoric

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[70] Preston, Julia. „For Trump, an America That Is Not a Nation of Nations." *The New York Times,* July 22, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/23/us/politics/donald-trump-immigration.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[71] Healy, Patrick. „Donald Trump Gambles on Immigration but Sends Conflicting Signals." *The New York Times,* August 31, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/01/us/politics/donald-trump-immigration-speech.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[72] „Transcript of Donald Trump´s Immigration Speech." *The New York Times,* September 1, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/01/us/politics/donald-trump-immigration-speech.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[73] Rappeport, Alan. „Vicente Fox, Ex-President of Mexico, Scoffs at Donald Trump´s Visit." *The New York Times,* August 21, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/01/us/politics/vicente-fox-mexico.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

because the illegal immigration, which was so discussed during the election campaign, would get much worse in case Mexican economy would stagnate or become unstable. Thus building a wall or setting up high taxes on goods from Mexican import would, in the end, jeopardize the United States as well as Mexico and Peña Nieto can find his base for the negotiation in this fact.[74]

After Trump´s victory, the NY Times reported that Mexico is not satisfied with the results of the elections. The reason is straightforward. Donald Trump since the beginning of his campaign was very anti-Mexican. He was insulting Mexican people, he wanted to build the wall on the borders, and he also disagreed with most of the popular immigration executive orders from his predecessor President Obama. After all this critic and disappointment of Mexican people, Peña Nieto is presented as a wise leader who knew, that Donald Trump needs to be taken as a serious candidate and it was a smart idea to start building a relationship with him even before he was elected. The NY Times reported that the Mexican people were disappointed with the behaving of their president. They disagreed with Peña Nieto´s official invitation for somebody who was continuously insulting the Mexican nation. However the reporters of the NY Times comment it this way: "Now, it turns out Mr. Peña Nieto was right: Mr. Trump was not simply a candidate who could be ignored."[75]

January 2017 was like a swing for Peña Nieto. Right at the beginning of the New Year Peña Nieto announced a change in his government. Claudia Ruiz Massieu who was a foreign minister since 2015 was replaced by Luis Videgaray. Videgaray was a very controversial figure. He resigned from the government a few months earlier because he was a firm supporter of Trump´s visit to Mexico. Since the preferences of Peña Nieto among Mexicans dropped low after this visit, Videgaray´s resignation was announced. No reason was given, but it was viewed as if Peña Nieto wanted to stop any further discussion about the visit. That's why it is so compelling that Videgaray was named as a foreign minister right after Trump was elected. It shows that the NY Times presented Peña Nieto currently as somebody who wants to keep good relations with

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[74] Porter, Eduardo. „What Can Mexico Do About Trump." *The New York Times,* September 27, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/business/economy/what-can-mexico-do-about-trump.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[75] Ahmed Azam, Semple, Kirk and Villegas, Paulina. „Mexico Braces for the Fallout of a Trump Presidency." *The New York Times,* November 9, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/10/world/americas/mexico-donald-trump-peso.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

Donald Trump and the United States and he will gladly accept the subordinate position of Mexico in this relationship.[76]

This changed on January 25, 2017, when Donald Trump claimed again that he is starting to build the wall on the border with Mexico and Mexico will pay for it.[77] Trump said that even though they are not paying now, the United States will be reimbursed by Mexico soon. After this message, Peña Nieto said that he was considering the cancellation of his planned visit to the Washington D.C. After this Trump posted on his Twitter account that he is thinking about canceling the invitation. Peña Nieto could not let Trump be the one who will end this fight, and thus he officially announced that he is not traveling to Washington D.C. to meet with president Trump.[78] For the first time, the NY Times recognized Peña Nieto as somebody who stood up against the United States and as somebody who does back up its nation rather than putting himself into a favorable light of the United States. Azam Ahmed, the bureau chief for Mexico in the NY Times, said in his article: "He (Peña Nieto) wanted to give diplomacy one last try. By Thursday morning, the effort had officially failed,"[79] and he added that Peña Nieto was trapped between his people and a man who controls much of his country´s destiny.[80]

Until this moment Peña Nieto was presented in a much different light. He was shown to the NY Times readers as a leader who was trying to find a way how to get the best deal with the United States, no matter what. He did not listen to his people, and he did not react to the voices and critic coming from the Mexican society. He wanted to keep the bilateral relationship with the United States even though it could cost Mexico its dignity. But after the events around January 25, 2017, Peña Nieto is presented as a more strategical leader who wanted good for his nation, but he also has limits. And the

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[76] Semple, Kirk. „Mexico´s New Foreign Minister Was Advocate of Visit by Donald Trump." *The New York Times,* January 4, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/04/world/americas/mexico-united-states-trump-Peña-nieto-videgaray.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[77] Shear, Michael D. and Huetteman, Emmarie. „Trump Insists Mexico Will Pay for Wall After U.S. Begins the Work." *The New York Times,* January 6, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/06/us/politics/trump-wall-mexico.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[78] Ahmed, Azam. „In a Corner, President Enrique Pena Nieto of Mexico Punches Back." *The New York Times,* January 26, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/world/americas/mexico-Peña-nieto-donald-trump.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[79] Ahmed, Azam. „Mexico´s President Cancels Meeting With Trump Over Wall." *The New York Times,* January 26, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/world/mexicos-president-cancels-meeting-with-trump-over-wall.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[80] Ibid.

limit was set up by Peña Nieto at the moment he refused to visit Washington D.C. The relationship between the United States and Mexico took a new path. This opinion is supported for example in the article by the editorial board (which we could put under the "opinion" section) where is written that Donald Trump presented absurd proposals as to impose 20 percent tariffs on Mexican goods after Peña Nieto canceled his visit to the United States.[81]

The illegal immigration and the immigrants started to have a completely different dimension in the NY Times. Since Peña Nieto took a firm stand against the Trump´s Wall the NY Times started to report more about Peña Nieto´s steps on the field of domestic policy connected with this problematics. In the upcoming months, the NY Times informed their readers about the problematics with the immigration from Central America into Mexico and potentially into the United States. If we compare the article from February 2017 (*President Trump Wants a Wall? Mexico Is It)*[82] and article from 2015 (*The Refugees at Our Door)*[83] which was talking about the same topic we can see the difference in the discourse. Meanwhile, Peña Nieto is presented as incapable of actions in the article in 2015, in the more recent one he is presented as a leader who took the unpopular steps to help the United States. He was the one who deported most of the immigrants from Central America and who protected the Mexican-American border even though he was criticized for doing the "dirty work" for the United States. And even though the article from 2017 does recognize that Peña Nieto took all the immigration steps not only out of love for the United States but also because it was necessary to prevent the immigration crisis in Mexico we can still see the significant change in the way how the NY Times presented Peña Nieto.

Los Angeles Times

The LA Times, as well as the NY Times, was not speaking much about the possible changes which Peña Nieto can bring to the issue of illegal immigration right

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[81] Editorial Board. „Donald Trump´s Mexico Tantrum." *The New York Times,* January 26, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/opinion/donald-trumps-mexico-tantrum.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[82] Peter, Eduardo. „President Trump Wants a Wall? Mexico IS It." *The New York Times,* February 21, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/21/business/economy/mexico-immigration-border-wall.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

[83] Nazario, Sonia. „The Refugees at Our Door." *The New York Times,* October 10, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/11/opinion/sunday/the-refugees-at-our-door.html (accessed December 2, 2018).

after he was elected. The LA Times started to inform about the topic in May 2013 when they covered Obama´s trip into Mexico. President Obama had a speech on May 3, 2013, in Mexico in front of a young audience, mostly consisting of university students. Obama talked about his optimism in the case of immigration reform which should help to keep Mexican families together. He highlighted that this reform is only possible because of the mutual effort of the United States and the Mexican president Peña Nieto who was working on changing the public image of Mexico. The LA Times presented the relationship between Obama and Peña Nieto as great cooperation which would lead to a mutual gain in trade, improving the tensions on the border and also will decrease the level of violence in Mexico.[84]

The immigration crisis connected to the vast influx of immigrants from Central America was covered in the LA Times more than in the NY Times. The LA Times presented Peña Nieto in a similar way as the NY Times. They also focused on the cooperation between Obama and Peña Nieto. Their relationship was portrayed in the same way. The United States appreciated all the effort and all the measures Mexico did to lower the number of Central American immigrants include the information campaign that they will be most probably deported back to their countries of origins in case they will get into the United States.[85]

On the other hand, the LA Times was covering much more the local impact of this crisis and the meetings between the governor of California, Jerry Brown, and the Mexican leader. While Brown was criticizing some of the approaches towards immigration from Central America coming from the White House, he said that California welcomes even more illegal immigrants from Mexico. Brown said he does not want to use California´s case to bash the Obama´s administration, but he and California are on the inclusive side of this issue and support the trend of bringing more people in.[86] The LA Times after this informed that Peña Nieto appreciated the words of Jerry Brown and he was thankful for his words.[87]

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[84] Hennessey, Katherine and Wilkinson, Tracy. „Mexico remaking itself, Obama tells students.“ *Los Angeles Times,* May 3, 2013, https://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-mexico-obama-students-20130503-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[85] Hennessey-Fikse, Molly and Simon, Richard. „Republicans blame Obama policies for immigration crisis on border.“ *Los Angeles Times,* June 19, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-immigration-border-20140620-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[86] Megerian, Chris. „In Mexico, Gov. Brown has plenty to say about immigration crisis.“ *Los Angeles Times,* July 29, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/local/political/la-me-ln-brown-addresses-politics-

This puts Peña Nieto into a little bit schizophrenic situation. On the one hand he was presented as somebody who did cooperate with President Obama on the mutual immigration policy. They were trying together to prevent the immigrants from Central America gets into the United States. On the other hand, he thanked somebody who criticized Obama´s approach. In this case, we can already see that Peña Nieto was presented in the NY Times only on the international level, but in the LA Times, there was more space invested into covering his cooperation with the local administration as well. This was most probably caused by the fact that the collaboration between the Mexican government and the California state officials is much more intense (based on the geographical dispositions) than the cooperation on the federal levels. Put it in another context, maybe it is not more important, but it has the same importance for the LA Times readers because it influences them on a daily basis more than the readers of the NY Times.

They year 2016 was designated to the presidential campaign however there were exceptions. Compare to the NY Times the LA Times were also talking about the expansion of US refugee program for the Central American families. The United States in cooperation with Mexico agreed to accept more refugees from the Central American countries. This decision was made after Obama´s and Peña Nieto´s meeting.[88] President Obama initiated the meeting, and thus we can see that the asymmetry of the relationship between Obama and Peña Nieto was presented in the LA Times as well as in the NY Times. The difference between these two newspapers was that the LA Times focused more on the issues which would most probably affect the readers of LA Times directly since the final destination for the migrants very often could be California.

One of the hot topics of 2016 was, of course, Trump´s visit to Mexico. Before the visit, Peña Nieto was portrayed in LA Times as a strong figure who drastically refused that there would be any scenario when Mexico would pay for the wall. But contrary to this the LA Times also presented Peña Nieto as a strategic diplomat. Peña Nieto said that Mexico would not give its opinion on the U.S. presidential campaign and

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humanitarian-crisis-underlying-immigration-controversy-20140729-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[87] Megerian, Chris. „Mexico´s president thanks California leaders for welcoming immigrants.“ *Los Angeles Times,* August 27, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/local/education/la-me-pol-california-mexico-20140827-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

he instead highlighted the great relationship Mexico and United States have under the administration of President Obama.[89] The LA Times reported about the invitation for presidential candidates in August 2016. The LA Times more clearly informed that the invitation was sent to both presidential candidates, but Hillary Clinton has not accepted it. The LA Times was more direct in showing the level of hypocrisy behind Peña Nieto´s behaving than the NY Times. In of the articles the author Kate Linthicum, who works as a correspondent for the LA Times in the Mexico City, emphasized how the Mexican society saw this invitation by citing some Twitter posts like: "Peña Nieto's invitation to Trump felt like a father inviting his son's bully over to dinner."[90] Linthicum published some other articles about this issue focusing on how much the Mexican society disagreed with Peña Nieto´s decision. She did not write only about the invitation itself, but she brought up to the light also other problems of Peña Nieto. Linthicum was focusing on other controversial scandals of Peña Nieto connected to the corruption, drug violence and his inconsistency in the case of Donald Trump. Few times she focused on the fact that Peña Nieto once compared Trump to Adolf Hitler and then he decided to invite him into Mexico.[91] Overall we can say that the LA Times was focusing more on the reaction of Mexicans on the invitation than the NY Times. The NY Times mentioned the protests against the meeting as well but the form and the language how they present it was very different. The LA Times used rather authentic reactions of locals and protesters by interviewing them or by using their statements on their social media. The NY Times used more educational approach when they wrote about the protests and used for example former president Vicente Fox as a source rather than the random local person. This different attitude caused that Peña Nieto was presented in the LA Times as a "spineless politician" compared to the NY Times where he held more favorable status on the field of the international politics.

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[88] Wilkinson, Tracy and Bennett, Brian. „U.S. expands refugee program for Central American families." *Los Angeles Times,* July 26, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-refugees-20160726-snap-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[89] Tribune News Services. „Obama rejects Trump depiction of US in crisis." *Los Angeles Times,* July 22, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-obama-rejects-trump-depiction-of-us-in-crisis-20160722-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[90] Linthicum, Kate. „Donald Trump will travel to Mexico on Wednesday meet with President Enrique Pena Nieto." *Los Angeles Times,* August 30, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-na-trump-mexico-20160830-snap-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[91] Linthicum, Kate. „Trump´s Mexico visit stirs outrage: We don´t want him." *Los Angeles Times,* August 31, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-fg-trump-mexico-reaction-20160831-snap-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

The meeting itself had a similar coverage as in the NY Times. The LA Times also reported about the issues Trump and Peña Nieto discussed and also informed about Peña Nieto´s tweet that he told Trump that Mexico would never pay for the wall. But, compared to the NY Times the LA Times were more detail oriented on the Peña Nieto´s position in Mexico. The articles also mentioned Peña Nieto´s popularity crisis in Mexico connected with corruption scandals, plagiarism scandal linked to his diploma thesis or massacres by security forces.[92] In the LA Times articles we can find citation like: "Peña ended up forgiving Trump when he didn't even ask for an apology, said Esteban Illades, the editor of Nexos magazine. The lowest point of the most painful day in the history of the Mexican presidency"[93].This harsh critic of Peña Nieto in his country was not shown so strongly in the NY Times articles.

The pre-election period after the visit is also covered more in the LA Times. Even though there are more articles in this time than in the NY Times mostly they are covering the election campaign with highlighting that Peña Nieto refused any possibility that Mexico would pay for the wall on the Mexican-American border. There was an exception when the LA Times compared to the NY Times did inform about Peña Nieto´s change of rhetoric after Donald Trump´s speech in Phoenix. There he often marked Mexicans as dangerous criminals and claimed that Mexico would pay for the wall. Peña Nieto calls Trump´s ideas a threat to Mexico.[94] However, an article from Kate Linthicum again included criticism of his leadership by Mexican people.

The Trump´s victory was covered similarly as in the NY Times when they informed about Peña Nieto´s conciliatory congratulation to Donald Trump and his hopes to work together on the competitiveness and progress of North America.[95] However, the LA Times also informed about Peña Nieto´s affirmation of Mexican

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[92] Bierman, Noah, Wilkinson, Tracy and Linthicum, Kate. „Donald Trump strikes a softer tone in Mexico but holds fast to his stand against illegal immigration." *Los Angeles Times,* August 31, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-mexico-visit-20160831-snap-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[93] Tribune News Services. „Trump´s meeting with Mexico president ends in dispute over border wall payment talk." *Los Angeles Times,* August 31, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-donald-trump-mexico-president-meeting-20160831-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[94] Linthicum, Kate. „Mexican president calls Trump´s ideas a threat to the future of Mexico." *Los Angeles Times,* September 1, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-trump-mexico-20160901-snap-htmlstory.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[95] Linthicum, Kate and McDonnell, Patrick J. „Can Trump fulfill his campaign promises on immigration and trade? Mexico hopes not." *Los Angeles Times,* November 2016,

immigrants in the United States that the Mexican government is with them and it will be closer to them than ever before. The Mexican government gave instructions to its embassies in the United States to protect the Mexican immigrants and to create a 24hour hotline which the Mexicans could call in case of any harassment from the American citizens or institutions.[96] This is a similar prove we had already before that the LA Times inform not only about the issues on the federal level but also about the domestic policies in Mexico which are connected with the illegal immigration.

The January 2017 and the media presence of Peña Nieto had a little bit different process in the LA Times than in the NY Times. The change of the foreign minister was not covered in the LA Times, so the change of the media portrait of Peña Nieto was not so obvious. However, we can still see the difference in the way how Peña Nieto was presented to the readers of the LA Times. On January 12, 2017, in the article where Kate Linthicum, who was always very defensive against Peña Nieto, was a co-author Peña Nieto was presented as somebody who had a stable position and was not afraid to back up Mexican interests in negotiation with Donald Trump. The article showed that Peña Nieto suggested that if Trump would keep continuing with the wall and his rhetoric about punishing Mexico economically, Mexico could as well push back by leveraging its cooperation with the United States in other important issues like security or the illegal immigration.[97] It was a very different Peña Nieto presented by Kate Linthicum compare to her articles from August or September of 2016. Linthicum also brought to the LA Times readers a fiery address, how she called it, in which Peña Nieto demanded respect for Mexico from the United States.[98] Immediately we have here a transformation of Peña Nieto from a "spineless bad guy" into a leader who would fight for his nation.

Overall in 2017, we could see also in the LA Times the turn of Peña Nieto´s approach from the "U.S. focused leader" on the "Mexican nation focused leader". The

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https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-na-pol-trump-mexico-20161109-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[96] Linthicum, Kate. „ Mexico instructs its embassy and consulates in the U.S. to increase measures to protect immigrants." *Los Angeles Times,* November 16, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-immigrants-20161116-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[97] Linthicum, Kate and Lee, Kurtis. „Trump still says he´ll make Mexico pay for his border wall, but can he really?" *Los Angeles Times,* January 12, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-trump-mexico-wall-20170111-htmlstory.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

LA Times informed about Peña Nieto´s preferences growth after he canceled the meeting in Washington D.C. and he met with deported immigrants from the United States at the airport in Mexico City. The government even informed its citizens living in the U.S. that there would be changes in their lives connected with the new legislation in the United States and they should stay informed and in touch with the Mexican consulates.[99] In the next few months, Peña Nieto was presented as a leader who was able to keep a certain level of stability during the Donald Trump´s first 100 days of presidency. During their first meeting on July 7, 2017, during the Group of 20 summit, both presidents remained their stand about who would pay for the Mexican wall. During whole 2017 Peña Nieto remained very firm and even though Donald Trump wanted him to change his rhetoric from "We *(meaning Mexico)* will not pay for the wall" into "We *(meaning U.S. and Mexico)* will work it out," Peña Nieto remained firm in his statements.[100]

Conclusion

If we compare the ways how the Mexican president Peña Nieto is portrayed in the NY Times and the LA Times, we are going to find out that his picture differs just in some aspects. In general, we can say that the LA Times is covering more issues which are focusing on the local or domestic policies compare to the NY Times which focus mainly on the issues which influence both countries on the federal level. From the quantitative analysis, we can also see that the LA Times covers more topics in general and the topics which are covered by both magazines get more space in the LA Times, and there is a more in-depth analysis of the problem.

The quantitative difference of Peña Nieto´s image in both newspapers rests in the intensity. Both newspapers presented Peña Nieto during Obama´s administration as a president who focused mostly on the U.S.-Mexican relationship and who followed what his stronger neighbor wanted him to do. The picture of Peña Nieto changed during

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[98] Linthicum, Kate. „Read Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto´s fiery speech about Trump´s order to build a wall." *Los Angeles Times,* January 26, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-president-speech-20170126-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[99] McDonnell, Patrick J. and Duara, Nigel. „Mexican government warns citizens of new reality of life in the U.S." *Los Angeles Times,* February 11, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-mexico-deportations--20170211-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

[100] Miller, Greg. „Trump urged Mexican president to end public defiance on border wall, called N.H. drug-infested den." *Los Angeles Times,* August 3, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-trump-phone-call-transcripts-20170803-story.html (accessed December 7, 2018).

Trump´s presidential campaign when Peña Nieto was presented as somebody who did not listen to his nation and who tried to be sure that Mexico would be able to follow its path of the "good weaker neighbor" even under Trump´s presidency. The significant change of Peña Nieto´s image came in January 2017 when finally Peña Nieto started to represent Mexico and started to be more firm and stable in his proclamations about illegal immigration, Mexican wall and the level of sub-ordinance of Mexico. So how I said the picture of Peña Nieto and its evolvement was pretty similar in both newspapers, but we could see the difference in the intensity.

The LA Times always portrayed Peña Nieto on the more intense level in the specific issue than the NY Times. So during Obama´s administration, Peña Nieto was presented in the LA Times as more inferior to Barrack Obama and as more willing to follow any American policies than in the NY Times. During Trump´s presidential campaign, Peña Nieto was showed to the LA Times readers almost as a "spineless bad guy" who was failing his presidency. If we compare it to the NY Times where he was presented as an unpopular in Mexico but a legitimate leader who tries to find a way of cooperation with Donald Trump we can see the difference in the intensity. This analysis is also supported in the articles from 2017 where we could see that in the LA Times Peña Nieto´s firm position about the payment for the wall on American-Mexican border is stressed much more often than in the NY Times.

Peña Nieto and the war on drugs

In this chapter, we are going to focus on the war on drugs which was declared by Ronald Reagan in 1980s. In recent years the violence of the drug cartels intensified in some of the Mexican regions. For the search, I used two searching keywords: *"Peña Nieto"*, "*War"* and *"Drugs"*. Below you can find two tables, Table 3 and Table 4, which visualized the results of the quantitative analysis.

We should also take on mind that if we would slightly change the searching keywords we would get many different results. Originally I wanted to use this searching keywords: *"Peña Nieto"* and *"War on Drugs"*. However, in this case, the NY Times published only 17 articles including both of these phrases while the LA Times published 97 articles with these keywords. This shows us that the LA Times use the official rhetoric "war on drugs" started in the 1980s more often than the NY Times. Since I wanted to cover the whole topic in both newspapers, I decided to change the searching key words to the current ones and get more accurate results.

Based on the numbers we can already see that the topic of drugs and war on drugs was the most covered one from all three pre-selected questions. Both newspapers had similar coverage of the issue, but once again the most significant difference is how many "opinion" styled articles was published in each newspaper. While the NY Times published 27 articles from this section which is more than 25% of all articles, the LA Times articles from the "opinion" section create only 3% of the whole amount. Even though it is a trend that the NY Times publish more of these articles the war on drugs topic is the most extreme example of this.

The peak period for both newspapers was the year 2014 when they published the most articles. An interesting fact is that the NY Times covered the new president more in 2012 after his election. The LA Times did publish few articles about Peña Nieto but not such a strong piece as the LA Times. The reason can be that the LA Times had covered Peña Nieto´s campaign more than the NY Times and thus the presidential candidate and his policies were well known to the readers of the LA Times.

In the qualitative analysis, I am going to focus mainly on two things. First one is again how was depictured Peña Nieto from 2012 till 2017. The second one is that I will try to analyze if the perception of Peña Nieto in the "opinion" style articles published in the NY Times is similar or different to the regular articles about him published in the LA Times.

Table 3: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "War" and "Drugs" published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

The New York Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All articles (99)	16	19	23	10	15	16
Americas	10	13	10	8	10	11
Opinion	2	3	9	1	5	4
Politics		2				
Room for debate			1			
Sunday Review			1	1		1
US	4	1	2			

Source: The New York Times Archive

Table 4: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "War" and "Drugs" published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

Los Angeles Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All Articles (106)	3	14	31	13	20	25
Business			1			
California					1	
Entertainment		1	1	1		
Mexico and the Americas	3		10	7	11	15
Nation			2	2	7	5
Newsletters					1	2
Op-Ed			2	1		
Opinion				1		
Politics						1
World		13	15	1		2

Source: Los Angeles Times Archive

The New York Times

When the polls on July 1, 2012, started to show that the possible winner of the elections will be Enrique Peña Nieto the NY Times published multiple articles about his possible victory. For the first time in this thesis, the articles do present Peña Nieto as a member of the PRI party. It is very important because neither in the topic of illegal immigration nor the NAFTA renegotiation the PRI played any role. Peña Nieto was just a regular politician who won the presidential election. The NY Times presented him as a member of PRI connected this status with corruption on the highest level of the Mexican government. The Texas lawmakers were watching Mexico´s election with high interest because they were worried that Peña Nieto as a member of PRI could again start making secret deals with the drug cartels and follow the history of the party that "play nice with the cartels."[101] And even though Peña Nieto claimed that he wanted to bring transparency and to create democratic Mexico for all the NY Times still presented him as somebody who could easily step back into the path of PRI and its corruption

[101] Aguilar, Julia. „Texas Lawmakers Warily Watch Mexico´s Election." *The New York Times,* June 30, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/01/us/texas-lawmakers-warily-watch-mexicos-election.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

history.[102] On the other hand, the NY Times left the future open for Peña Nieto when they published opinion written by editorials that said with the certain amount of doubts that Peña Nieto had a chance to restore the reputation of PRI and to do a lot of great things for Mexico.[103] Peña Nieto´s program switched the focus from the drug cartels bosses to the drug dealers in the streets. It also did not receive big applause in the United States. The major problem was that some of the U.S. lawmakers did not see this as an efficient and fast enough solution.[104]

In 2013 in March and April, the Mexican government came up with a lot of talks about strengthening the economy, improving the telecommunication services and so on. But many criticized that Peña Nieto did not want to talk about the major problem of the country – the violence connected with the drug industry.[105] We could see that Peña Nieto´s image in the NY Times in the question of drugs and drug violence started to form and it did not do him any favor. Peña Nieto was a controversial figure in the drug-related policies. Some of the articles talked about the problems of cooperation among American investigation and intelligence agencies and Mexican police and military. Also, Peña Nieto was presented as somebody who played with the figures of homicides and kidnappings and played them the way which suited him the best. Many articles from the first half of 2013 spoke about Peña Nieto´s presentation of a lower number of drug violence victims compare to last months of Calderón´s administration. However, some of these numbers were interpreted in the wrong way, so it showed the decline while there was an increase in homicides between January 2013 and April 2013.[106]

Peña Nieto´s appearance in the NY Times was also connected with PRI during 2013. His policies about the drug cartels and the violence were unclear and hard to read.

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[102] Archibold, Randal C. „Newly elected Mexican Leader Pledges Transparency.“ *The New York Times,* July 1, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/02/world/americas/mexico-presidential-election.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[103] Editorial. „Mexico Elects a New President.“ *The New York Times,* July 2, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/03/opinion/mexico-elects-a-new-president.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[104] Aguilar, Julian. „In Mexico, a New Approach to Stanching Drug Violence.“ *The New York Times,* December 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/30/us/mexicos-new-approach-to-curbing-drug-violence.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[105] Archibold, Randal C. „New Leader Taps Mexican Discontent to Press Agenda of Change.“ *The New York Times,* March 22, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/23/world/americas/new-leader-taps-mexican-discontent-to-press-reform-agenda.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[106] Puig, Carlos. „Drowning by Numbers.“ *The New York Times,* May 24, 2013, https://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/for-mexican-government-drug-crime-figures-are-political-tool/ (accessed December 11, 2018).

This shifted his position and linked him back with PRI. He is presented many times as a president who followed the PRI´s path rather than somebody who was evolving it.

A big break in Peña Nieto´s image was the capturing of Joaquín Guzmán Loera, known as El Chapo, one of the most wanted drug lords in Mexico. El Chapo was head of Sinaloa cartels who had connections not only all over the American continent but also in Europe or Asia. El Chapo escaped from prison in 2001, and he was one of the most wanted people in the world. Capturing of a drug lord of this importance is a milestone for a Mexican president. Peña Nieto´s cooperation with American agencies in big cases like this one was recognized as the right move in the NY Times.[107] Peña Nieto´s triumph was celebrated, but it also was a moment for him to show that this was not only a one time occasion that this path will continue. But 2014 did not continue for Peña Nieto as well as it started.

During the whole year, the articles published in the NY Times were more critical about Peña Nieto. Because Peña Nieto wanted to focus on economic changes in Mexico many of these articles emphasized that the problem in Mexico is not the economy but the drug trafficking and the violence. The violence was presented in the articles on all levels – from the streets, mass graves, kidnappings, endangered journalists or murdered governors. The one thing that always connected these cases were the drug cartels. Peña Nieto was not named so often in the articles. Mostly it was the Mexican government that was blamed but since Peña Nieto was the head of the executive power he was held responsible for the action of the government. At the end of 2014, Peña Nieto was portrayed as incapable of any significant change. There were some smaller successes as arresting of El Chapo or arresting of Vicente Carillo Fuentes, the high positioned member of Juarez Cartel.[108] However, even these achievements were judged more as coincidences than the success of Peña Nieto´s administration.

Peña Nieto´s media portrait by the end of the year 2014 was terrible. He was blamed for the incapability which led to many homicides and the kidnapping and

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[107] Archibold, Randal C. and Thompson, Ginger. „El Chapo, Most-Wanted Drug Lord, Is Captured in Mexico.“ *The New York Times,* February 22, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/23/world/americas/joaquin-guzman-loera-sinaloa-drug-cartel-leader-is-captured-in-mexico.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[108] Cave, Damien. „Arrest of Suspected Drug Lord in Mexico Is Seen as Symbolic Amid Police Scandal.“ *The New York Times,* October 9, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/10/world/americas/arrest-of-suspected-drug-lord-in-mexico-is-seen-as-symbolic-amid-police-scandal.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

murder of 43 students (the Iguala mass kidnapping).[109] The popularity level of Peña Nieto dropped and the NY Times reported about it in many articles. None of the 9 "opinion" articles published that year were complimenting Peña Nieto or his government in the question of war on drugs. All of them were critical, and most of them did connect Peña Nieto with PRI history, corruption and incompetence to solve the drug trafficking problem.

The portrait of Peña Nieto did not change in 2015. There were more scandals reported than any good news. In July 2015, El Chapo, who was arrested year before, escaped from prison. The NY Times major concerned was not the escape itself but the unwillingness of Peña Nieto to respond to an aid offer from the United States. The United States offered all possible sources to recapture El Chapo. It offered drones, marshals or even a special task force. But Peña Nieto´s government did not respond to the offer.[110] This showed that the cooperation between the United States and Mexico on the level of their investigation and intelligence agencies got much worse during Peña Nieto´s administration.

In September some of the articles reminded the mass kidnapping of 43 students and how poorly it was investigated.[111] All the articles published in the NY Times threw the shadow of pessimism on Peña Nieto and the War of drugs. There were no positive articles which would mark some successes of the government or informed the readers about some pro-active steps to fight the drug cartels.

On January 8, 2016, El Chapo was captured again. But this time Mexico moved to extradite him to the United States. How I already mentioned the cooperation between the United States and Mexico was far from ideal in the case of war on drug. However, the escape of El Chapo from the most secured prison in Mexico led the officials to cooperate more with the United States. However, Peña Nieto refused to comment on

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[109] Krauze, Enrique. „What Mexico´s President Must Do." *The New York Times,* Dec 10, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/11/opinion/enrique-krauze-what-mexicos-president-must-do.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[110] Ahmed, Azam and Cave, Damien. „El Chapo Guzmán´s Escape in Mexico Adds to Strains With U.S." *The New York Times,* July 14, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/americas/mexico-hunts-joaquin-chapo-guzman-united-states-offer-help.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[111] Grillo, Ioan. „Mexico´s Fruitless Hunt for Justice." *The New York Times,* September 18, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/18/opinion/mexicos-fruitless-hunt-for-justice.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

this decision.[112] In my opinion, this shows the humiliation of Peña Nieto´s and his failure in the war on drugs. His preferences among Mexicans were low that time and his only triumph, the capturing of El Chapo, failed in 2015. The extradition of El Chapo to the United States would prevent Peña Nieto from any future scandals connected to his person.

El Chapo was not the only repeating problem during Peña Nieto´s administration. In April 2016 the NY Times informed about the Iguala mass kidnapping again. The international investigators claimed a report that Mexican government did not fully cooperate during the investigation of the kidnapping and thus it jeopardized a solving of this case. There were many protesters against Peña Nieto, and this case was representing a bigger problem of the society – the corruption.[113]

Peña Nieto´s position did not improve either a report by the Open Society Justice Initiative[114] which said that the Mexican military was using an unprecedented amount of violence against not only against the drug cartels but also against the civilians. The impunity of these actions is based on the Open Society Justice Initiative a crime against humanity. Peña Nieto refused to accept these results, but he did not release any further statement.[115]

In these cases, we can see that Peña Nieto´s portrait changed during the time. In 2012 and 2013 there was a criticism of Peña Nieto´s administration. He was focusing too much on the economy and less on the drug trafficking problem. But the articles and the way how he was portrayed were still expecting what he is going to do. There was still some "hope" that he can do something about the drug violence. However, during the following years 2014, 2015 and finally in 2016 all the "hope" was gone. Peña Nieto is portrayed as an unpopular, incapable leader in the question of war on drugs. He is almost presented as defeated one since in most of the later articles he refused to comment things. The authors were not even questioning or citing him anymore like if he

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[112] Ahmed, Azam. „Mexico Moves to Extradite Drug Kingpin Called El Chapo to the U.S." *The New York Times,* January 9, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/10/world/americas/el-chapo-mexico-extradition-united-states.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[113] Ahmed, Azam and Villegas, Paulina. „Investigators Say Mexico Has Thwarted Efforts to Solve Students´ Disappearance." *The New York Times,* April 22, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/23/world/americas/investigators-say-mexico-has-thwarted-efforts-to-solve-students-disappearance.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[114] An organization working on criminal justice reforms all around the world

would become unimportant. Not in the way that he cannot do anything but in the way that nobody expects that he will do.

The 2017 articles support my opinion. Surprisingly the articles were not influenced by the newly elected U.S. president Donald Trump. Some of the opinion articles did involve his name but mostly the NY Times covered the local stories in Mexico. In 2017 the most significant topic were murders of journalists which can be seen on titles like "*In Mexico, It´s Easy to Kill a Journalist*" [116] or "*To Die Would Be to Stop Writing.*"[117] The NY Times also reminded to people that Peña Nieto started his administration with promises that he will fight against the drug cartels, but he never fulfills them. By the end of 2017, Peña Nieto was facing to the fact that 2017 was the deadliest year in the past two decades and his government still did not announce any concrete plan to fight the violence. Their strategy to extend the military competences in the local regions already showed up as pretty ineffective in the past. Especially when local authorities were mostly corrupted and had close ties with the drug cartels.[118]

Los Angeles Times

Peña Nieto´s beginnings covered by the LA Times are generously more positive than in the NY Times. Peña Nieto was also connected with the PRI history, and some articles spoke about the necessity of stepping out of the PRI´s shadow and creation of a new legacy.[119] But on the other hand, the LA Times much more in detail covered Peña Nieto´s new security plan presented at the beginning of December after his inauguration. The articles spoke about him more positively than in the NY Times. The LA Times described that Peña Nieto´s intention to create a gendarmerie to enforce the

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[115] Malkin, Elisabeth. „Report Accuses Mexico of Crimes Against Humanity in Drug War." *The New York Times,* June 6, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/06/world/americas/mexico-violence-killings-torture.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[116] Ahmed, Azam. „In Mexico, It´s Easy to Kill a Journalist." *The New York Times,* April 29, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/29/world/americas/veracruz-mexico-reporters-killed.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[117] Lauría, Carlos. „To Die Would Be to Stop Writing." *The New York Times,* May 19, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/19/opinion/to-die-would-be-to-stop-writing.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[118] Malkin, Elisabeth. „Mexico Strengthens Military´s Role in Drug War, Outraging Critics." *The New York Times,* December 15, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/15/world/americas/mexico-strengthens-militarys-role-in-drug-war-outraging-critics.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[119] Reynolds, Christopher. „Mexico, before and after Calderon´s drug war." *Los Angeles Times,* August 25, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/25/news/la-trb-mexico-before-and-after-calderns-war-20120823 (accessed December 11, 2018).

law in the most violent area so the federal police could focus on the investigation actually could lead to decreasing the level of corruption.[120]

The first half of 2013 had a different path in the LA Times that it had in the NY Times. The articles in the LA Times also talked about Peña Nieto´s focus more on economic issues than on the drug trafficking problems and the rise of violence. However, they did not blame Peña Nieto for this, and they gave a much bigger role in this issue to the United States. Multiple articles talked about American influence in this issue and about American support of Peña Nieto´s decision to focus mainly on the economy. During Joe Biden´s visit to Mexico, both politicians were focusing primarily on strengthening the economic ties between their countries and Biden claimed that this was the right way to go.[121] The LA Times also informed about human rights groups in the United States which asked Obama to talk with Peña Nieto about rising violence in Mexico.[122] But none of these articles was putting Peña Nieto into the wrong light. This discourse is very different from the NY Times where Peña Nieto was already losing his credit during 2013. It is also interesting to observe that the LA Times much more focus on the American-Mexican relationship aspect of this problematics. This aspect is not so visible in the NY Times articles.

But this trend did not take long. By the end of the year, some articles which were evaluating Peña Nieto´s first year in the office also brought allegations that the government was not as effective as it presented. The federal figures of homicides were lower than during the same period of 2012, but the number of kidnappings and extortions increased significantly. Thus it was possible that the government manipulated the results.[123] This was the first article which underlined that corruption on the federal level was possible. The end of the year also brought more news about murders,

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[120] Fausset, Richard. „Pena Nieto team decries past drug cartel strategy – keeps it.“ *Los Angeles Times,* December 21, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/dec/21/world/la-fg-mexico-kingpin-20121222 (accessed December 11, 2018).

[121] Fausset, Richard. „In Mexico, Biden glad to focus one economy rather than Security.“ *Los Angeles Times,* September 2013, https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mexico-biden-20130921-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[122] Wilkinson, Tracy. „Activists urge Obama to speak out on Mexico´s human rights record.“ *Los Angeles Times,* April 30, 2013, https://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-mexico-obama-visit-human-rights-20130430-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[123] Fausset, Richard. „After president´s first year, Mexico still a mess by many measures.“ *Los Angeles Times,* December 1, 2013, https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mexico-presidency-20131202-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

discovering mass graves or violence in general. All these news, always connected with the failure of the Mexican government was putting a bad light on Peña Nieto.

In 2014 the LA Times again focused more than the NY Times on the local issues. It pretty vividly described the situation in the Mexican state Michoacán where two armed groups were fighting against each other, the drug cartel called Knights Templar and the vigilante "self-defense" group of citizens. Peña Nieto pretty firmly announced that the vigilante group would not strengthen under his administration since it caused more harm than good.[124] Later in January Peña Nieto also announced that he was coming with a new anti-kidnapping plan. The LA Times reported that even though the kidnapping affects the low amount of people it affects the right people. The kidnapped people mostly had nothing to do with the drug trafficking, and thus this issue was politically one of the most important ones.[125] These events followed by the capturing of El Chapo put Peña Nieto again into the position of a president who tried to fight against the drugs and had a potential to be successful. The El Chapo case was covered very similarly to the NY Times, but the portrait of Peña Nieto, after all, was much more optimistic in the LA Times than in the NY Times.

How I already mentioned the LA Times was covering much more the situation in Michoacán state which influenced the portrait of Peña Nieto the most. Peña Nieto´s incapability of dealing with the armed vigilante group was harming his political image. But still, the problem is presented in the LA Times more as a struggle than as incompetence. The LA Times covered this issue as a "daunting challenge" for Peña Nieto rather than his failure.[126]

The breaking point for Peña Nieto´s image came in September of 2014. There were multiple factors which played a role in the turn of Peña Nieto´s image. The first one was the prosecution of mass-killing form June 2014 which took place in September and where seven soldiers were accused of killing 22 people. The way how Peña Nieto would approach this case would show his true face. It was his opportunity to test his

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[124] Fausset, Richard. „Mexico´s Pena Nieto denies growth of vigilante movement." *Los Angeles Times,* January 22, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-mexico-michoacan-Peña-nieto-20140122-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[125] Fausset, Richard. „Mexico announces anti-kidnapping plan." *Los Angeles Times,* January 28, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-mexico-kidnapping-czar-crime-20140128-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[126] Wilkinson, Tracy and Sanchez, Cecilia. „Vigilantes to disarm in Mexico´s Michoacan state." *Los Angeles Times,* April 15, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-mexico-michoacan-vigilantes-20140415-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

commitment to the fight with corruption and his dedication to improving human rights in Mexico how he promised during his presidential campaign.[127]

The second factor was the Iguala mass kidnapping which also happened in September 2014. The protest which took place in Mexico City were calling for the resignation of Peña Nieto. He made some steps to calm down the situation as to call off the governor of the Guerrero state (the state where the students were kidnapped), but it was not enough.[128] Both of these cases so closely together played a role in the way how the LA Times was presenting Peña Nieto.

In 2015 the most significant topic was as well as in the NY Times the escape of El Chapo from the prison. Very visibly we can see that the "challenges" which was Peña Nieto facing turned into the failures. The escape of El Chapo was described like this: "More than anything else, the escape undermined Mexico's assertion it can deal with top drug lords at home and doesn't need to extradite them to the U.S. The national pride that appeared to motivate Peña Nieto's administration to prosecute drug lords like Guzman through its own court system has now turned into a national embarrassment."[129]. And once again we could see the connection with the U.S.-Mexican relationship which was much more presented in the LA Times than in the NY Times. The articles informing about the first anniversary march to commemorate the kidnapping of 43 students also did not help to Peña Nieto´s image.[130] It only highlighted that even in a year the government was not able to bring justice to these students.

The recapturing of El Chapo did not help to the image of Peña Nieto. Even though the LA Times did cite Peña Nieto´s message: "Today's arrest is significant for the government of Mexico. It shows that the public can have confidence in its

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[127] Wilkinson, Tracy. „Mass-killing prosecution will test Mexican President Pena Nieto." *Los Angeles Times,* September 26, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-soldiers-shooting-deaths-nieto-20140926-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[128] Wilkinson, Tracy. „Exit of Guerrero state governor seen as too little in Mexico." *Los Angeles Times,* October 25, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-iguala-20141025-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[129] Tribune Wire Reports. „El Chapo prison escape a stone blow to Mexico´s government." *Los Angeles Times,* July 13, 0215, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-el-chapo-prison-escape-20150713-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[130] Stevenson, Mark. „Mexicans march on anniversary of 43 students´ disappearance." *Los Angeles Times,* September 27, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/nation/sns-bc-lt--mexico-missing-students-20150926-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

institutions"[131] it also added a comment like: "He escaped from maximum-security facilities in 2001 and on July 11, 2015, the second breakout especially humiliating for the Peña Nieto administration, which only held him for less than 18 months"[132]. It is easy to observe that even success of Peña Nieto´s government did not help him to reestablish his position of potential change for Mexico in the question of drug violence.

During 2016 the LA Times focused on the unpopularity of Peña Nieto and how much it could influence the PRI. The LA Times informed that the impossibility of Peña Nieto to fight with the drug violence could have some effect on the lower numbers of votes for PRI in the nationwide elections. Based on the LA Times Peña Nieto´s unpopularity would also play a role in the future presidential elections.[133] The unpopularity of Peña Nieto even grew after he invited Donald Trump to visit Mexico during his presidential campaign, but I have already talked about it.

The violence in Mexico was growing, and more articles reporting about deaths led to a worse image of Peña Nieto. At the end of 2016, Peña Nieto´s was not presented as someone who did not improve the situation in Mexico, he was seen as someone who made it even worse. The possible change expected from him at the beginning was gone. Similar to the NY Times the Peña Nieto´s portrait in the LA Times was bad without any hope that he would be able to solve or improve the violent situation in Mexico.

Most of the articles published in 2017 were covering the drug problem just as a partial problem of Trump-Peña Nieto´s relationship. The LA Times was still informing about the violence in Mexico or the death of Mexican journalist Javier Valdez, but the picture of Peña Nieto did not improve. An interesting aspect of the articles which already has its path in the LA Times is again the interconnection of the U.S.-Mexican relationship and the issue of War on drugs. When the LA Times informed about the numbers of victims in 2017, they also informed that the current Peña Nieto´s strategy is to blame the United States. Kate Linthicum, the author who was presented in the previous chapter, did connect Peña Nieto´s rhetoric about the wall at the Mexican

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[131] Tribune Wire Reports. „Mexico willing to extradite El Chapo who faces Chicago indictment, sources says." *Los Angeles Times,* January 9, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-el-chapo-20160109-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[132] Tribune Wire Reports. „Drug lord El Chapo recaptured, Mexican president says." *Los Angeles Times,* January 8, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-el-chapo-captured-20160108-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[133] Mc Donnell, Patrick and Sanchez, Cecilia. „Major election losses could threaten ruling party´s grip on Mexican presidency." *Los Angeles Times,* June 7, 2016*,* https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-elections-20160607-snap-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

border and NAFTA renegotiation with this issue as well. While there was a massive criticism of Peña Nieto about his incapability to diminish the violence in Mexico he tried to divert the attention from his failure by pointing out the necessity of cooperation with the United States on the security issue in Mexico.[134]

The militarization of the public security which Peña Nieto wanted to strengthen at the end of 2017 was also criticized in the LA Times as it was in the NY Times. Although, compared to the NY Times where Peña Nieto was portrayed as an incapable leader who failed we can see something different in the LA Times. Because the LA Times at the beginning of Peña Nieto´s presidency for a long time presented Peña Nieto as a possible positive change for Mexico we could see the disappointment in him which was present in the later articles. The most characterizing sentence which describes the evolution of Peña Nieto´s image was published in an article in October 2017: "Peña Nieto could have reversed the militarization of public security. But he chose not to."[135]

Conclusion

If we compare the NY Times and the LA Times, we can see some differences. First of all the LA Times covered in more details some of the Mexican issues and cases. Specifically, the violence in Michoacán state was well described in the LA Times while the NY Times only briefly informed about it. But this is understandable especially because of the geographic difference and also because the LA Times was already focusing on this issue earlier.

But the more exciting aspect of the analysis is the interconnection of the U.S.-Mexican relationship with this issue which is much more present in the LA Times. The NY Times did focus on the competencies of the U.S. agencies in Mexico or on the cooperation of the intelligence services of these two countries. But the LA Times more often highlighted the aspect of stronger-weaker neighbor and the importance of the relationship of these two countries in general rather than focusing on the specific issues of international cooperation in the war on drugs.

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[134] Linthicum, Kate. „More people are dying in Mexico´s bloody drug war than ever before." *Los Angeles Times,* July 22, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-mexico-drug-war-20170722-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

[135] Wilkinson, Daniel. „Mexico and the Lessons from a Human Rights Catastrophe: The Militarization of Public Security." *Los Angeles Times,* October 5, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/espanol/mexico/la-es-mexico-and-the-lessons-from-a-human-rights-catastrophe-the-militarization-of-public-security-20181005-story.html (accessed December 11, 2018).

The NY Times much more connected Peña Nieto with the history of PRI. The LA Times did mention it after his election, but after that, they judged Peña Nieto as an independent politician. The NY Times very often connected Peña Nieto with the corrupted history of PRI and they link his actions with the bad reputation of the party.

Another difference is in the image. How I already described in the chapter the NY Times portrayed Peña Nieto as a loser. He failed his promises from the presidential campaign and Mexico during his administration lost its hope that the violence could be diminished and the war on drugs could be won. The LA Times pictured Peña Nieto as a possible change for Mexico. Since he did not fulfill this expectation his image changed. But how I already said if Peña Nieto should be described by one word after the LA Times analysis on the topic of War on Drugs it would be a disappointment. The hope that he could be the change was much bigger in the LA Times in the beginning, so his failure felt like a much bigger disappointment at the end. Once again we can see that the image of Peña Nieto is much more intense in the LA Times than in the NY Times.

Peña Nieto and the NAFTA renegotiation

NAFTA became a hot topic in the past two years. The renegotiation of NAFTA is the only economic issue in this analysis. The reason why I chose the renegotiation and not only NAFTA is that I wanted to have one topic which is directly dedicated to Donald Trump and Enrique Peña Nieto and their relationship. Both presidents are heads of the executive power in their countries, and thus any negotiation about possible changes in the NAFTA agreement is upon them. For this chapter, I used searching keywords: *"Peña Nieto", "NAFTA"* and *"renegotiation"*. The results of the quantitative analysis you see again the *Table 5* and *Table 6* below.

As expected the articles including all three searching keywords started to be published around the year 2016 and the year 2017 which was the most significant one. The renegotiation of NAFTA is the topic from our pre-selected ones when the total number of articles is the same in the NY Times as it is in the LA Times. In the qualitative section, I will look more in-depth on what issues are discussed more or what aspects of the negotiations is not discussed in LA Times at all, and I will try to explain why.

We can observe again that the NY Times does have a higher number of opinion style articles. The total amount is three which is not much but it still more than 0 for the LA Times. On the other hand, we can see that the LA Times they published three

articles from the section Business, which is more than 20% of its total amount. It can lead us to the conclusion that the economic and business part is essential in the California region most probably again because of their geographic location and the interconnection of the local markets.

Table 5: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "NAFTA" and "renegotiation" published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

The New York Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All articles (13)	0	0	0	0	2	10
Americas			0		0	5
Economy						2
Opinion					1	2
Politics						1
Sunday Review					1	
The Upshot						1

Source: The New York Times Archive

Table 6: Number of articles containing phrases "Peña Nieto", "NAFTA" and "renegotiation" published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections

The Los Angeles Times						
	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
All articles (14)	0	0	0	0	0	14
Business						3
Essential Washington						1
Mexico and Americas						6
Nation						1
Politics						3

Source: Los Angeles Times Archive

The New York Times

The two articles from 2016 which were connected with the issue of renegotiation of NAFTA were both from the "opinion" section in the NY Times. The first one was published before the elections took place and it compared Peña Nieto´s attitude towards NAFTA and the border wall. While Peña Nieto was firm since the beginning about the fact that Mexico would not pay for the wall, his conviction about NAFTA was not so

stable. Peña Nieto was talking about the possible modernization of NAFTA already in July 2016 during the joint press conference with President Obama.[136] Peña Nieto also did not comment on Trump´s promise about rewriting NAFTA, and thus we can understand that Peña Nieto was initially thinking about some updates and changes in the agreement as well.[137] Overall NAFTA was not the most popular international agreement in Mexico how I already described at the beginning of this thesis. The article published after the election of Donald Trump was written by Jorge G. Castañeda and its title *"Mexico Doesn´t Have to Appease Trump. It can Fight Bac*k" speaks for itself.[138] Castañeda, who is a Mexican politician and writer, disagreed with Peña Nieto´s nonconfrontational approach towards Donald Trump. He believed that Mexico should not renegotiate NAFTA under any circumstances. He agreed there could be some side agreements, but he wanted Peña Nieto to fight back against Trump´s politics. Castañeda even supported the scenario when the United States would decide to leave NAFTA. He argued that it would show the Trump´s failure and the loss for Mexico would be smaller than in case of years of uncertainty during the renegotiation. Castañeda disagreed with Peña Nieto and did not present him as a strong leader.[139]

The January 2017 was again very controversial. Peña Nieto for the first time since Trump was elected addressed the possible Mexican foreign policy after the change of administrations in the United States. Peña Nieto announced that he would discuss with president Trump a whole package of things where NAFTA would be just one of them. He emphasized that the solution of the bilateral relationship is hidden in the dialogue and negotiation, not in the submission or confrontation.[140] Since Peña Nieto also multiple times repeated that he was going to insist on Mexico´s sovereignty we could see that he was presented in the NY Times as a president who is determined but

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[136] Remarks by President Obama and President Pena Nieto of Mexico in Joint Press Conference published by the office of the Press Secretary of the White House on July 22, 2016, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/07/22/remarks-president-obama-and-president-Peña-nieto-mexico-joint-press (accessed December 15, 2018).

[137] Grillo, Ioan. „Forget Trump´s Wall: For Mexico, the Election Is About Nafta." *The New York Times,* September 23, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/opinion/sunday/forget-trumps-wall-for-mexico-the-election-is-about-nafta.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[138] Castaneda, Jorge G. „Mexico Doesn´t Have to Appease Trump. It Can Fight Back." *The New York Times,* November 22, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/22/opinion/mexico-can-stand-up-to-trump.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[139] Ibid.

open to communication. To support this analysis, there was another article from January 2017 which talked about the possibility that Mexico would leave NAFTA. The Mexican government was talking about leaving the agreement in case the United States would offer them less than what they have now. The Mexican officials claimed that the years of uncertainty and negotiations could be worse for potential foreign direct investments in Mexico than the possible end of NAFTA.[141] This is the same opinion which was published in the NY Times by Castañeda.

Castañeda commented the January issues as well in his another "opinion" styled article. He claimed that Peña Nieto did well not to travel to the Washington D.C., but he was still cornered by Donald Trump. Castañeda was pointing at the asymmetry of the relationship between the United States and Mexico which I discussed earlier. He said that Mexico bet all its money on one horse – the United States – and now even though Peña Nieto tried to stay determined Mexico did not have much to play with.[142]

Peña Nieto after the cancelation of his trip to Washington D.C. closed doors to possible negotiations about NAFTA and so the Mexican government started to seek for potential new partners or strengthen the ties with the current ones. The Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Videgaray said that Mexico wants to reach an agreement on NAFTA, but it must be prepared for all scenarios.[143] It only confirms that Peña Nieto´s position in the NY Times was presented as very strong and pretty anti-Trump.

Even though there was some softening of Trump´s rhetoric around April 2017 about the NAFTA and Mexico and there was a possibility that the negotiations should be less harmful to Mexico than expected, Peña Nieto remained stable in his opinions. He refused to comment a draft letter from Trump which was circulating in the U.S. Congress, and he again repeated that Mexican´s sovereignty is the most critical thing and Mexico will not renegotiate NAFTA if it would be less beneficial for them than the

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[140] Ahmed, Azam. „Preparing to Meet Trump, Mexican Leader Seeks Common Ground." *The New York Times,* January 23, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/23/world/americas/trump-Peña-nieto-mexico-meeting.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[141] Malkin, Edward. „Facing Trump, Mexicans Think the Unthinkable: Leaving Nafta." *The New York Times,* January 24, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/24/world/americas/trump-mexico-nafta.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[142] Castaneda, Jorge G. „Mexico´s Forceful Resistance." *The New York Times,* January 27, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/opinion/mexicos-forceful-resistance.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[143] Malkin, Elisabeth. „Mexico Talks First Step Before Talks With U.S. on Nafta." *The New York Times,* February 1, 2017, ttps://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/world/americas/mexico-nafta-renegotiation-trump-wall.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

current agreement. Peña Nieto also highlighted that NAFTA renegotiation must include other aspects than only the economy, but also security and immigration.[144]

When Donald Trump announced in April 2017 that there was a possibility of an executive order which would withdraw the United States from NAFTA, Peña Nieto presented himself as a stable leader. The NY Times informed about this issue, and they depictured Peña Nieto as a wise leader who did not react too quickly but with wisdom and self-control. Again it focused on the stable position of Mexican government represented by Peña Nieto.[145] For the first time, the NY Times put Peña Nieto into the place that he was in control of the situation. While Donald Trump created chaos the determined and cleared position of Mexican president shaped the debate the way Mexico wanted it.

The NAFTA renegotiation was from all three topics the one where Peña Nieto represented himself in the most favorable light. The NY Times saw him as a strong leader with apparent vision what he wants from the possible negotiations. His image was consistent throughout the whole time. Compared to Donald Trump, Peña Nieto ended up as the stronger one from this couple. Peña Nieto´s intransigent rhetoric that the NAFTA renegotiation is connected not only with the economic issue but also with the security and the immigration secured him an image of a good diplomat on the field of NAFTA agreement.

The Los Angeles Times

The LA Times compared to the NY Times did not comment the NAFTA renegotiation until Donald Trump´s inauguration. Of course, there were articles about Donald Trump and his opinion about NAFTA published in the LA Times even before his inauguration, but they did not include the Mexican position towards this issue. Also, the possibility of renegotiation was not opened until 2017.

The January dispute about the wall on the Mexican-American border and the canceled visit of Peña Nieto in Washington D.C. had a similar coverage in the LA

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[144] Semple, Kirk and Villegas, Paulina. „Mexico Welcomes Possible U.S. Shift on Nafta, but Mistrust of Trump Persists.“ *The New York Times,* March 31, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/world/americas/mexico-trump-nafta.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[145] Semple, Kirk and Malkin, Elisabeth. „A Poised Mexico Sees Trump Anew: a Bluffer at the Poker Table.“ *The New York Times,* April 27, 2017,

Times as it had in the NY Times. Peña Nieto´s position was presented as stable. The primary issue for Peña Nieto was to negotiate not only NAFTA but security and immigration as well and the LA Times informed about Mexico being ready to leave NAFTA if necessary.[146] However, compared to the NY Times Peña Nieto´s position about the NAFTA was not as positive in LA Times as it was in NY Times. The LA Times this time presented more facts like *Mexico is ready to leave,* or *negotiations must include more than economy*. But compared to the NY Times it did not emphasize the determination and consistency of Peña Nieto in negotiation with Donald Trump.

On the other hand, the LA Times informed about the visit of Rex Tillerson (U.S. Secretary of State) and John F. Kelly (Homeland Security Secretary) in Mexico City and their planned meeting with Peña Nieto. During the visit, these three politicians were supposed to discuss the trade and security issues of Mexican-American relationship. The LA Times, more specifically Kate Linthicum, informed about the possible strategies of Mexico during the negotiation. It focused on the necessity for Peña Nieto to take a firm position during the negotiation and also agreed with the idea of connecting NAFTA renegotiation with the issue of immigration. How Linthicum pointed out, Mexico was the most important player in the problematics of illegal immigration from Central America into the United States. Thus it could be the base point for Mexican negotiations.[147]

The Trump´s possible withdraw of the United States from NAFTA was covered in the LA Times pretty well. Five articles were dedicated to this issue, and all of them claimed that Trump changed his mind after calling with Peña Nieto and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.[148] The importance of Peña Nieto in this action was not so stressed as it was in the NY Times, but he was also presented to the LA Times readers as a president with a stable position about NAFTA.

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https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/27/world/americas/mexico-trump-nafta-trade.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[146] Lee, Don. „Trump´s rift with Mexican president sets off worries about future of NAFTA.“ *Los Angeles Times,* January 26, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-us-mexico-nafta-tension-20170126-story.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[147] Linthicum, Kate. „Two members of Trump´s Cabinet are heading to Mexico. Here are five things to watch.“ *Los Angeles Times,* February 21, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-us-mexico-20170221-story.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

[148] Colvin, Jill. „White House says Trump won´t pull out of NAFTA – for now.“ *Los Angeles Times,* April 27, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/nation/ct-trump-trade-nafta-20170426-story.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

The LA Times also informed about the rising popularity of Peña Nieto in Mexico since his position about NAFTA persisted stable. The Mexicans appreciated mostly that their government was not going to "sell" the dignity and sovereignty of Mexico just to become popular in the eyes of Donald Trump.[149]

Conclusion

From all three topics, the renegotiation of NAFTA was the most balanced one between the NY Times and the LA Times. The quantitative coverage of the topic is very similar in both newspapers as well as the qualitative one. We could observe a more optimistic image of Peña Nieto in the NY Times where he was presented as a really strong negotiator in the question of NAFTA´s future. In the LA Times, his image was good but not extraordinary in comparison with the NY Times.

The NY Times multiple times focused on the confidence of Peña Nieto and the whole Mexican government during the negotiation with Donald Trump. The NY Times even suggested the political superiority of Peña Nieto over Donald Trump. Not in all articles and not in terms of power. Donald Trump and the United States is still the stronger country even in the issue of NAFTA renegotiations. However, we could follow the way how Peña Nieto was portrayed in the NY Times as a wiser mediator who would not let himself to be cornered by the stronger neighbor. We did not see similar characteristics in the media portrait of Peña Nieto in the LA Times even though he was presented there in the NAFTA issue as well as a leader with a firm opinion.

[149] McDonnell, Patrick. „Mexico signals tougher stance on NAFTA, may pull out of talks if Trump moves to scrap deal." *Los Angeles Times,* August 31, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-mexico-nafta-20170831-story.html (accessed December 15, 2018).

Summary

The media portrait of Enrique Peña Nieto differs a little bit for every topic, but I was able to find some similar paths which repeat in all chapters. I would also like to bring answers to the research questions.

First of all, it is essential to show that the quantitative difference does not influence all topics. The biggest difference in the articles published in both newspapers we could see in the chapter dealing with the illegal immigration. In my opinion, there are two explanations. The first one is that because of the geographical position the issue of Mexican-American border is more intense in California than in New York. It is true that each of these newspapers is read by not only the local communities, but it is an important factor to consider. The second explanation was presented in the first part of this thesis. California is a state with the highest density of illegal immigrants coming from Mexico or the states of Central America. It means that these people would be directly influenced by any political changes in both U.S. and the Mexican government. The LA Times though had a much bigger audience which demands information about the current political situation. This phenomenon does not replicate in the other chapters. Both topics, the war on drugs and the renegotiation of NAFTA, are not directly connected to the Mexican immigrants in the United States. This demographic group is probably more interested in these topics, but it does not directly affect their lives. So we can see that the quantitative analysis showed us that the measurable coverage of the issues on different coats depends on how much the topic affects the local communities.

The qualitative analysis brought some impressive results. In general, we can say that the LA Times creates Peña Nieto´s image with more intense than the NY Times. Thus the evolution of his image is much wider in the LA Times than in the NY Times. The NY Times is more reserved in labeling Peña Nieto in any way. I also found out that the election of Donald Trump as an American president influenced Peña Nieto´s media portrait a lot.

During Obama´s administration, he is portrayed as a leader who wants to maintain good relations with the United States. In the issue of illegal immigration he did what he thought that could please the U.S. president. This is not presented as a negative characteristic neither in the NY Times nor in the LA Times. But it connects his image to the stereotypical behaving of the United States and Mexican leader which was described in the first half of this thesis. The Obama-Peña Nieto´s relationship in the question of

illegal immigration did not bring any surprises. The change of this path happened when Donald Trump was elected, Trump´s radical rhetoric and his behaving woke up the rebellious spirit in Peña Nieto and he is presented in both newspapers as a strong, firm leader who can face Donald Trump in the case of illegal immigration. The LA Times portray this with more intensity what I already explained, but we are getting the same conclusion.

Similarly, Peña Nieto is portrayed in the case of NAFTA renegotiation. In this case, the NY Times created a better image of Mexican president and thus supported his portrait of a leader who can diplomatically communicate with Donald Trump and who is not afraid to defend Mexico´s dignity. Surprisingly, in this case, Peña Nieto´s image is not so strong in the LA Times. It is still good but not as much as in the NY Times. In my opinion, this is caused by the fact that the same authors wrote many of the published articles falling under the chapters about illegal immigration and NAFTA renegotiation in the LA Times. This leads me to a conclusion that since the excitement about Peña Nieto´s newly gained confidence which he used in communication with Donald Trump was already enthusiastically appreciated in the articles about the illegal immigration, we are missing it in the NAFTA renegotiation articles. Since the illegal immigration was such a well-covered topic in the LA Times and the transition of Peña Nieto´s image was much more intense there, the NAFTA renegotiation was a topic which started to be discussed after this change was already mentioned in the earlier articles.

If I focused only on these two issues, we would have a picture of a pretty good leader and firm negotiator in the international questions. But this picture is destroyed by the drugs problematics and the chapter dedicated to the war on drugs. In both newspapers, Peña Nieto is presented as a big disappointment in the field of fighting the drug´s black market. The NY Times very strongly connect Peña Nieto with PRI and its corrupted history which is described in the first half of this work. Articles posted in the NY Times were very critical of Peña Nieto since the beginning. And even if we would think that there was some hope of brighter future underlined in the articles from 2013 it was covered by pessimism and critic in the upcoming years. The interconnection of Peña Nieto, corruption and PRI legacy is very interesting since it does not appear in any other of the preselected issues. The LA Times did present Peña Nieto at the beginning as a possible change and a fresh wind of new ways how to fight with the drug cartels and the violence. The bigger the disappointment was when the Mexican president fulfilled none of these hopes.

To create a final picture of Peña Nieto in the American media, I have to divide it into two parts. The first one would be the international cooperation on the issues shared with the United States. Here he is presented as a good leader who during Obama´s administration followed the steps of the asymmetric relationship since it was beneficial for his country. Nevertheless, he was able to leave this path, find his confidence and go against the United States since Donald Trump as a new American president started to corner him with policies unacceptable for Mexico. The second level is the domestic policy. Even though the war on drugs is an international topic as well during Peña Nieto´s presidency, it was almost only Mexican issue. On the level of the domestic policy Peña Nieto completely failed. He was not able to fight with the drug cartels, but he was often connected with corruption, PRI´s undemocratic legacy, and during his administration, the number of kidnappings and homicides increased. Mexico did not become more democratic, and the violence spread more. Both, the NY Times and the LA Times portrayed Peña Nieto as a disappointment in the war on drugs.

The analysis also brings response to the first question I asked in the introduction and it is "who the media blame for the worsen relationship between the United States and Mexico?" Based on the analysis we can see that even though Peña Nieto is presented as pretty incompetent and possible even corrupted president for his own country, which we proved through the analysis of the war on drugs topic, he is not held responsible for the tension between U.S. and Mexico. Based on the results from the two other chapters dealing with the international questions of NAFTA renegotiation and illegal immigration we can clearly see that Peña Nieto´s image improved after he start to rebel against Donald Trump.

Peña Nieto was portrayed as a competent president in these issues during Obama´s administration. So in case media would blame him for the worsening trend of cooperation between these two states his image would get worse in a moment he started to fight against Donald Trump´s policies. But it did not happened. Peña Nieto´s cancellation of the visit in Washington D.C or his firm statements that Mexico can leave NAFTA in case Trump will not listen to him, were not considered as rude or offensive. Exactly opposite, the media described them as brave a wise and they praised Peña Nieto for being strong enough to stand up for Mexico. This shows us that the NY Times and the LA Times actually see Donald Trump as the problem in the smooth cooperation between the United States and Mexico and they do not blame Peña Nieto at all for the

current situation. It is even more significant if we again remember that his picture of a Mexican president in the field of domestic policies is very bad.

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The List of Attachments

Attachment n.1: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “illegal immigration” and “border” published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)

Attachment n.2: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “illegal immigration” and “border” published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)

Attachment n.3: Table 3: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “War” and “Drugs” published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)

Attachment n.4: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “War” and “Drugs” published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)

Attachment n.5: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “NAFTA” and “renegotiation” published in NY Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)

Attachment n.6: Number of articles containing phrases “Peña Nieto”, “NAFTA” and “renegotiation” published in LA Times during 07/01/2012 – 01/01/2018; divided into sections (table)