IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MEDIA NARRATIVES OF IMMIGRANTS
IN U.K. AND U.S. PUBLICATIONS

By

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ABSTRACT

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Immigration crises are not just indicative of the issues in countries that people are leaving.

They represent major humanitarian crises that reflect the fears and beliefs of destination

countries that include the United States, as well as the United Kingdom. The news media in

both the United States and United Kingdom cover immigrants and their issues in different

ways, depending on the new host country's political ideals. This research uses framing

theory to analyze primary sources of the U.S. publications *The New York Times, The

Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*, as well as the U.K. publications *The

Guardian, The Daily Telegraph* and *i*. A qualitative content analysis of these publications

revealed how immigrants are represented. It was discovered that in U.K. publications,

immigrants were more likely to be represented in "politics," "immigrants as victims," or

"immigrant support" frames. In U.S. publications, the articles were more likely to represent

immigrants in "source of conflict," "immigration as a threat," and "immigration control"

frames. This study indicates that the country of origin and that country's citizens' political

ideals can affect immigrant representation in the media.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Importance of Study and Layout of Research

This study is a comparative analysis of media coverage of immigrants in the United Kingdom and the United States. In addition to providing insight into the differences in the coverage in the two regions, this study demonstrates further depth by focusing on coverage of the following topics: children, human rights, prejudice against immigrants, deportation, family reunification, legalization, the increase or decrease of an immigration population, and sources of conflict.

One primary reason a study like this is needed is the 2016 election of Donald Trump as president of the United States. Trump has taken a negative stance on immigration to the United States and has tried to implement what some politicians call a ban on immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries, as well as temporarily suspending refugee admission (Diamond & Almasy, 2017; Frosch, 2017; Kertscher, 2017).

In addition to recent changes in the dynamics of immigration to the United States, there has been an increase in immigration to European countries in the past couple of years, which resulted in crisis. According to the UN Refugee Agency, there were 1,015,078 arrivals by sea to Europe in 2015 alone. Those were the ones who made it. There is also data that says 5,022 refugees died or went missing from voyages to Europe during 2016, according to the agency's website. Even before this crisis, the history of Europe was prominently marked by the migration of millions of people who traveled across the contin1ent trying to find a better life than the one they left behind in their home country (Novacescu, 2014).

This increase in recent years in immigration has caused the relationships among European Union countries to change. On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. Some politicians and researchers argue this succession was caused in part by U.K. citizens wanting more control of immigrants entering the United Kingdom (Păun & Ungureanu, 2017).

This event, known as Brexit, has potentially serious consequences for the United Kingdom's relationship with the rest of the world (Cumming & Zahra, 2016). Some politicians say that immigration issues were a big push for Britons voting to leave the European Union (Smith, 2017). These recent political events make the topic of immigration and immigrants a pressing one, and there is a need for more research on it.

Due to the immigration/migration crisis in the past couple of years, which Trump's campaign pushed into the limelight, there is a wealth of newspaper articles covering the topic. Using the database Factiva, articles published on October 20, 2016; January 21, 2017; and January 28, 2017 were analyzed for this study. These dates follow significant U.S. events: the third debate between Hillary Clinton and Trump; Trump's inauguration; and Trump signing his first executive order regarding immigration, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States" which has been referred to as a "Muslim ban" (Kertscher, 2017).

The articles in the sample were drawn from the daily print publications *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph*, and *i*. The circulation for the U.S. newspapers includes: *The New York Times* with roughly 1.2 million digital-only subscriptions, a daily print circulation of 590,000 and 1.1 million on Sunday (Ember, 2016); *The Washington Post* with a daily print circulation of 359,158 and 551,360 on Sunday (General Ad Rates, 2017); *The Wall Street Journal* with a U.S. circulation of 1,321,827

(Circulation & Distribution Areas). The circulation for the U.K. newspapers includes: *The Guardian* with a monthly circulation of 25,448,000 between print, mobile and PC views (The Guardian, 2017); *The Daily Telegraph* with a monthly circulation of 26,951,000 between print, mobile and PC views (The Daily Telegraph, 2017); *i* with a daily circulation of 280,074 in 2015 (Turvill, 2015).

Articles selected from these six publications were qualitatively analyzed while applying framing theory to help illuminate how human consciousness may be influenced through the communication of information (Entman, 1993). Frames were assigned by the researcher using a set of sensitizing questions for a framework based on past studies on framing (Benford & Snow, 2000;Niles, 2010; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). The researcher then clustered the data and discerned the main or "master" frames or themes in the articles (Benford & Snow, 2000).

This study presents findings about the U.S. publications and their unique features. It discovered that U.S. publications were more likely to show immigrants in "source of conflict," "immigration as a threat," and "immigration control" frames. U.K. publications, on the other hand, were more likely to represent immigrants in "politics," "immigrants as victims," or "immigrant support" frames. This suggests that U.S. citizens and its administration view immigrants as more of a threat and considers how they can detrimentally affect the country in both everyday life and politics. On the other hand, the data also suggests that U.K. citizens and its country's politicians view immigrants more as victims who need help and are a directly relevant topic of discussion in the political community.

This study also discusses how future research can further knowledge on the representation of immigrants, migrants, and refugees throughout the world. This will be important because the number of humanitarian crises that cause people to move from their

homes could increase in frequency in the upcoming years due to countries' political climates and climate change (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010; Martin, Weerasinghe, & Taylor, 2013).

1.2 Brief Histories of Immigration in the United Kingdom and the United States

Immigration is a global issue, and the development of both the United Kingdom and the United States have been affected by immigration. Both countries were affected by the shifting migration patterns at the end of World War II, which determined which countries would become "sending" countries and which would become "receiving" countries, with the United States generally considered among the latter (Niles, 2010). The United Kingdom, compared to the United States, had less of an appeal for immigrants until recent years (Freeman, 2011).

The history of Europe is prominently marked by the migration of millions of people (Novacescu, 2014). In the past, some European states have been labeled distinctly as not being welcoming nations of immigrants and Great Britain specifically has failed to adopt policies of inclusiveness and expansiveness (Joppke, 1999). Great Britain might not have needed to adopt such policies however, as no major groups have targeted the United Kingdom for mass immigration thus far and there have not been client politics (Freeman, 2001). In recent years Great Britain's inclusivity toward immigrants is ranked average among European countries (Bello, 2016).

Policies began to change around the time of the two world wars, with a growing sense of nationalist sentiment after World War I and even more so after World War II (British Empire, 2017). Former members of the Commonwealth of Nations were granted their independence from the United Kingdom and they were offered the option to keep an association if they would like.

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When the British Nationality Act of 1948 was passed, it did not grant citizenship to its many colonized nations. It did, however, grant rights of entry to the United Kingdom to British subjects around the globe. There were many British officials who hoped these rights would not be exercised by the colonials (Joppke, 1999).

Immigration has been a concern to U.K. citizens for decades. In the years following the British Nationality Act of 1948, there was a rising concern about "New Commonwealth" immigration. As a result, the British Election Study was created around 1964 to ask U.K. citizens their thoughts on immigration, although initially citizens of color were not included in the data pool. In the early years of the study it was consistently found that U.K. citizens felt that there were too many immigrants in the United Kingdom (Blinder & Allen, 2016).

The results from the United Kingdom's far reach with colonization can be seen in more recent history as it affected trade in the region. The rate of immigrants coming from Commonwealth countries has been double the amount from non-Commonwealth countries, but the number from the latter has increased its annual growth rate by around 3 percent (Girma & Yu, 2002). In 2008, three of the five largest foreign-born populations in the United Kingdom were from non-Commonwealth countries (Somerville, Sriskandarajah, & Latorre, 2017).

Trade differs between the Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries and is affected by immigration. The United Kingdom is generally more inclined to trade with Commonwealth countries, but immigration from non-Commonwealth countries has positive effects on trade (Girma & Yu, 2002).

Sometimes the United Kingdom needed immigrant labor, especially during times of war. During the two world wars, the United Kingdom often recruited from its colonized nations, particularly colonial Anglophone Caribbean subjects (Sutherland, 2006).

After their military service, many of these colonials went to the United Kingdom to find upward economic mobility. Unfortunately for these immigrants, the British elites did not feel moral obligations to guest workers and did not want people to come to Great Britain from the empire and Commonwealth. As a result, immigrants were neglected and denied their constitutional rights of protections from legislative and administrative abuse (Joppke, 1999). While other European immigrants passed an "unwritten test of racial acceptability," Caribbean immigrants were treated as outsiders who did not deserve the rights and privileges offered by British society. As a result, they were often given low-paying jobs, forced to live in lower economic neighborhoods, and often faced racial violence (Sutherland, 2006).

Oftentimes immigrants get unequal treatment from their new country's native-born citizens, depending on how similar they are to most of the country's population. This administrative racism was a factor in the treatment of the Caribbean immigrants in the United Kingdom (Sutherland, 2006).

By the 1980s, the United Kingdom had a two-pronged immigration policy: there were very strict controls on entries into the country, and the government had promised to protect the rights of ethnic minorities (Sutherland, 2006). Although this was fine on paper, it was not what happened. Although racism is considered immoral generally in the U.K. population, immigration controls can play a role in perpetuating a racist climate and can go relatively unnoticed (Kyriakides & Virdee, 2003).

Even before the world wars, the United Kingdom had a history of racism when it came to immigrants. The United Kingdom was not the only European country guilty of this type of racism, however, as Spain expelled Jews who arrived to its shores fleeing conflicts between Russia, Austro-Hungary, or the Ottoman Empire (Novacescu, 2014).

Immigration to Western Europe increased after World War II, when immigrants poured into the United Kingdom, initially from southern Europe and northern Africa, as guest workers to help with reconstruction (Niles, 2010). These workers were supposed to be temporary and stay only long enough to finish rebuilding Western Europe, earn money, and then return to their home country. However, this did not happen for all of them, and many stayed to build new lives. The United Kingdom allowed this when there were jobs, but as soon as the economy took a turn for the worse, some politicians called for an increase in immigration control (Niles, 2010).

More recently, the United Kingdom was more inclined to allow immigration. In 1997, immigration policies shifted so immigration was seen as vital for the country's well-being, instead of trying to minimize the amount of immigrants settling there (Coleman & Rowthorn, 2004). Any discourse that immigration might be harmful for the economy was discouraged. However, some scholars argue that large-scale immigration was indeed harmful and could be against the country's best interest (Coleman & Rowthorn, 2004).

As seen now, the economic state of a country can have a great impact on how immigration and immigrants are perceived. Immigration restriction support is higher in areas of the United Kingdom where a greater percent of immigrants are unemployed, but lower in areas where native citizens are unemployed longer than a year (Markaki, 2014).

Great Britain's past immigration policy is summed up by Christian Joppke in his "Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain": "The logic of British immigration policy is thus determined by the devolution of empire ... [it] was to carve out the historical homeland nation from the vast empire, and to subject the rest to immigration control" (Joppke, 1999). From the literature it appears the United Kingdom welcomed

immigration when it was beneficial for its well-being and when the immigrants were considered suitable.

Over time, U.S. immigration policy shifted as the political and economic policies of the world changed. With these immigrant origins, the United States has been described as a settlement society whose immigration experience can be considered unusual (Joppke, 1999; Niles, 2010; Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Since then, migration patterns to the country have come in waves determined by economic circumstances and U.S. immigration policies (Macekura, 2011; West, 2011).

Immigration has affected many aspects of U.S. culture, but one effect that started in the 19th century is on the planning and development of U.S. cities. By the early 20th century, city planners acknowledged that a part of their work had to be focused on the effects of immigration. However, by the middle of the century, global war, depression, and restrictive laws slowed immigration to the point where there was a period where planners didn't worry as much about immigrants (Vitiello, 2009).

Migration picked up again in the middle of the 20th century as African Americans and Puerto Ricans searched for new homes. This mobilization brought awareness to issues of integration, mobility, and housing that immigrants in the past faced. Immigrant and migrant communities suffered due to the injustices planners inflicted by redrawing these neighborhoods to segregate these people from the rest of the community (Vitiello, 2009).

Although the United States claims to be a country where immigrants can escape persecution, many immigrants faced prejudice when they arrived, especially if they were considered an economic threat who might take away jobs (Igartua, Moral-Toranzo, & Fernández, 2011; Niles, 2010).

President Jimmy Carter in 1978 stated that refugees are the living, homeless casualties who reflect the failures of the rest of the world to uphold the principles of human rights and peace. He said that it was a duty of the American people to help refugees and feel their need most keenly (Macekura, 2011).

Although empathy and a sense of responsibility were the general feelings of the Carter administration toward immigration, they did not hold true in the time of Ronald Reagan's presidency between 1981 and 1989. He and his administration worked in a political climate that did not welcome Latin American immigration. In fact, a group known for its "white ethnics" rose to power. This group advocated keeping the United States true to its "white" cultural heritage (Macekura, 2011, p. 364).

In "Capitalism, Immigration, and the Prosperity Gospel" by Daisy Machado, the United States is described as having historical imagination. This concept describes how the United States has an inflated sense of superiority due to politicians and textbooks describing the country as better than other nations (Machado, 2010). This concept affects every aspect of the United States' identity according to Machado, and as such, U.S. capitalism is affected by it.

Capitalism is and has been a deeply entrenched ideology in the United States. These concepts have been supported by exploited immigrant labor and have affected how the country discusses immigration. Historically, it was the exploitation of slaves that supported the combined forces of exceptionalism and capitalism in the United States, but in the present it allows the United States to exploit immigrant labor while simultaneously believing it is a threat to the country (Machado, 2010).

1.3 Immigration Today

Immigration has occurred since history began, and both the United States and the United Kingdom have been affected by the movement of people to and from their lands. In the past, the United Kingdom officially had citizens all over the world in its colonies, but did not want immigrants from those regions to actually travel there. The United States started out as a country that was founded by immigrants, and as such, extremely open to immigrants fleeing persecution. However, the United States ultimately became weary of foreign influences. Does it reason that these past immigration ideas are still present?

According to Novacescu (2014), Great Britain has the potential to have negative views on immigration due to stereotypes, such as Britons' xenophobic feelings toward Romanians. These stereotypes can cause U.K. citizens to believe that Romanians are linked to criminal activity, that Romanians are lazy, that they are benefitting more from the British system than they actually are, and that they are linked to the Gypsy population (p. 44-45). Gypsies face even stronger stereotypes, with some referring to them as lazy, that they wear provocative clothing, and that they do not want to work or that they live on social benefits (Novacescu, 2014).

Like in the United States, residents of European countries can perceive some immigrants, such as Muslims or Romanians, as an economic threat while at the same time recognizing that other immigrants can benefit the economic state of the country (Bauder & Semmelroggen, 2009; Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010; Novacescu, 2014). Around a third of the 1.5 billion Muslims in the world live as cultural or religious minorities in non-Muslim states (Anwar, 2008), and many Muslim immigrants are often framed as a threat. This immigration as a threat frame is especially relevant after terrorist attacks and can be found in both the media and political spheres of a country (Bauder & Semmelroggen, 2009; Niles, 2010).

In their study on the representation of immigrant narratives in parliamentary debates in Germany between 2002 and 2006, Bauder and Semmelroggen (2009) found two main narratives in their data, which were: immigration can be useful for serving social and economic objectives; and Muslim immigration threatens German democracy. Turkish Muslims were often homogenized and often faced criticism and suspicion from Christians, non-religious Germans, and the media.

Muslim immigrants followed the immigration trend to the United Kingdom after World War II, and the numbers traveling there have significantly increased in the past 50 years. By 2008, around 1.8 million Muslims lived there (Anwar, 2008) and in 2016 around 5 percent of the population was Muslim (Kentish, 2016).

First-generation Muslim immigrants are often limited in the type of jobs they have access to. As a result, they became concentrated in the industrial sector, which focuses the population into certain areas in cities and towns (Anwar, 2008). Employment can affect immigrant living spaces, so Muslims and other immigrants often find themselves segregated into certain areas, which determines their access to education and other resources (Anwar, 2008; Sutherland, 2006).

Generally, Muslim immigrant housing access is limited in the United Kingdom, and Muslims face discrimination from native-born citizens in Western Europe in general. This racial and religious discrimination causes them to turn to their own communities for support, and leads many to drop out of school at earlier ages (Anwar, 2008). This creates a cycle of lower educational levels, lower-paying jobs, poorer housing communities, and then the cycle repeats when immigrants have children. Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom have reported feelings of insecurity due to the racial and religious discrimination they face (Anwar, 2008).

Recent terror attacks have not helped the case for allowing the free movement of

immigrants, as they have increased prejudice against them, particularly Muslim immigrants

(Bauder & Semmelroggen, 2009; Lawlor, 2015; Niles, 2010). On September 11, 2001, the

World Trade Center in New York was attacked by members of al-Qaeda while other attempts

were made on U.S. national landmarks across the country. On July 7, 2005, a series of

suicide bombs went off in the London Underground, targeting civilians commuting during

rush hour. These attacks had many effects on immigration populations and how they were

represented in the United Kingdom.

One effect was that the salience of immigration was increased in both the United

Kingdom and the United States (Esses, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2002). Salience causes people to

pay more attention to a topic (Entman, 1993), which can be good or bad depending on the

circumstances. Unfortunately for immigrants, this new salience after terrorist attacks often came

with increased suspicion among U.K. and U.S. citizens toward immigrants (Esses et al., 2002;

Niles, 2010). A result was the relatively new policy of multiculturalism in the United Kingdom

was hampered, and some citizens blamed the policy of multiculturalism for the fragmentation of

U.K. society (Wong, 2008).

In addition, terrorist attacks have affected how the media portray immigrants. Niles

(2010) found that after the 9/ll attacks, immigrants were more likely to be linked to terrorism in

the United Kingdom, and there was a call for more border security. After the London train

bombings, Niles found an increase in labeling immigrants as terrorists or criminals in the U.K.

media. The government was also found to be portrayed negatively in his study, as the

government's immigration policies were described as "broken" and problematic in newspapers

(Niles, 2010).

More evidence of potentially negative views on immigrants can be found in the

Transatlantic Trends public opinion survey, in which the United Kingdom was the country with the highest proportion of respondents claiming immigration was a problem (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010). Another problem that U.K. respondents had with immigration was that they thought immigrants had taken jobs from citizens (Gustin & Ziebarth 2010, p. 983).

In regard to the European average of respondents to the survey, many claimed that immigration was more of a problem than an opportunity for their countries, and the percentage of these respondents rose from 43 percent in 2008 to 50 percent in 2009. The United Kingdom was also one of the European countries that felt their government was doing a poor or very poor job of immigration management (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

Immigration is a prominent issue in Great Britain, consistently ranked among the top five issues in the country and, as of August 2016, was the most commonly picked issue facing the United Kingdom by British citizens in an Ipsos MORI survey (Blinder & Allen, 2016). The same survey also found that U.K. citizens are united in some ideas about immigrants and split on others. Examples include the fact that concerns about migration focus on both EU and non-EU migration, which goes against the idea that EU migration policies were as much of a factor in U.K. voters' views on Brexit as some politicians believe them to be.

The citizens who took the Ipsos MORI survey also said attitudes could depend on the type of immigration. An example is that attitudes toward extended family members, asylum seekers, and low-skilled labor migrants were much more likely to be negative than attitudes found toward close family members, students, and high-skilled migrants. When asked about the costs and benefits of different types of immigration, student immigrants are viewed the least negatively as a cost by U.K. citizens, while spousal reunion immigrants are viewed the most negatively (Blinder & Allen, 2016).

Around three quarters of people surveyed in Britain favor reducing immigration, as the British Social Attitudes survey found 56 percent of citizens wanted immigration "reduced a lot," while 77 percent wanted immigration either "reduced a lot" or "reduced a little'"(Blinder & Allen, 2016). This is interesting, as most of the British public thinks that immigrants can be good for the economy. On the other hand, equal proportions of citizens feel that U.K. cultural life is either improved or undermined by immigrants (Blinder & Allen, 2016).

The big issue facing immigration to the United Kingdom now is Brexit. Immigration was a factor in Britain voting to leave the European Union (Moagar-Poladian et al., 2015; Smith, 2017), and now the U.K.'s immigration policies will affect the rest of the world (Cumming & Zahra, 2016). The most common complaint from U.K. citizens was their impression that these immigrants are taking away jobs from native-born citizens and would be a drain on the government's resources (Moagar-Poladian et al., 2015). This impression may be wrongly conceived, as some studies have found that immigrants economically help a country by paying taxes and contributing to the country's public finances or increasing trade (Dustmann & Frattini, 2014; Girma & Yu, 2002; Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2012; Lawlor, 2015).

Sometimes European countries encourage immigration to their country as it can add fresh blood to an aging population (Moagar-Poladian et al., 2015; Novacescu, 2014; Wilson & Williamson, 2011). This is not necessarily the case with the United Kingdom however, although it faces an aging population (Moagar-Poladian et al., 2015). Some parts of the country such as Southeast England have an abundance of people due to a heavy immigration flow to the area (Wilson & Williamson, 2011).

Not all the literature about attitudes toward immigration in the United Kingdom describes

animosity toward immigrants. Helbling (2014) found that some countries like Germany and Austria seek a policy of assimilationism that requires candidates for naturalization and immigrants to assimilate culturally. On the other hand, countries like the Netherlands and Britain have a more generous citizenship policy, which encourages multiculturalism. The Netherlands' and Great Britain's policy of multiculturalism started to become implemented in the late 1990s and focuses on granting cultural rights to immigrants (Helbling, 2014; Wong, 2008). Also, although the United Kingdom had the highest proportion of respondents claiming that immigration is more of a problem than an opportunity for the nation in the Transatlantic Trends: Immigration public opinion study, 57 percent supported letting environmental immigrants into the country (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

When it comes to tolerance for immigration and immigrants in the United Kingdom, a couple of factors play a role. One is education levels. McLaren (2003) found that the higher a person's education levels, the more likely he or she is to be tolerant toward immigrants. The other factor McLaren found that shaped attitudes toward immigrants was the predicted economic effects. U.K. citizens were not as concerned with their own economic self-interest, but worried about whether immigrants would take the jobs of their fellow U.K. citizens (McLaren, 2003).

If one looks at the U.S. population, one can see that the country has kept some of its immigrant roots. According to the 2010 U.S. census, only 0.9 percent of the population is American Indian and Alaska Native, the original inhabitants of North America. The rest of the population consists of: 63.7 percent white, presumably of European colonial or later immigration descent; 12.6 percent Black; 16.3 percent Hispanic or Latino; 4.8 percent Asian; and 2.9 percent identified as two or more races. In 2006, 68 percent of the U.S. population was

of European descent while only 1 percent was Native American (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Although past immigrants came mainly from Europe, the majority now come from Latin America, Asia, and other non-European countries (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006) with the largest foreign-born group from Latin America consisting of Central Americans (Padilla, 2013). Central Americans have been migrating to the United States for decades. In the early 1980s, some fled their countries due to politically motivated violence (Vega, 2017) while in the 1990s their movement was largely determined by free trade policies and initiatives in Central American countries. This resulted in more economic disparity, the displacement of populations, and dreary prospects for competitive wages and employment in those Central American countries (Padilla, 2013).

Nowadays, violence throughout Central America is causing many of its citizens to flee, according to Vega (2017). These include: domestic violence, such as parent-to-child or gender-based violence; street violence that includes extortion and robberies; structural violence such as a chronic lack of privilege like the right to vote, as well as chronic poverty; and organized crime through gangs. This violence particularly affects Guatemalans, El Salvadorans. and Hondurans (Hiskey et al., 2016; Vega, 2017) and these countries with extreme violence have come to be known as the Northern Triangle region of Central America (Hiskey et al., 2016). Throughout the past 15 years, citizens from the Northern Triangle made up more than 85 percent of unauthorized migrants traveling through Mexico (Vega, 2017).

In 2014, Vanderbilt University conducted the Latin American Public Opinion Project, which surveyed Northern Triangle residents. It found respondents were more likely to be motivated to migrate if they had been a victim of a crime in the previous year (Hiskey et al., 2016).

Another event in 2014 was the emigration of thousands of unaccompanied children

and women from Central America who traveled to the United States. The U.S. president at

the time, Barack Obama, characterized this increase in immigrants a humanitarian crisis

(Hiskey et al., 2016).

Faced with this sudden influx of immigrants, Obama and the Department of Homeland

Security initiated a campaign that highlighted the high risks that came with illegally

immigrating. Those risks included deportation, border conditions, and mistreatment in the United

States, all of which were highlighted in the campaign (Hiskey et al., 2016).

Along with its emphasis on risks, the Department of Homeland Security increased the

detention of women and children waiting for asylum hearings rather than letting them go on

bond. The U.S. government also supported increased immigration enforcement measures that the

Mexican government's Southern Border Program launched in the summer of 2014 (Hiskey et al.,

2016). Sometimes referred to as "Programa Frontera Sur" in Mexico, the Southern Border

Program was intended to deal with migration, border issues, and security concerns and

encourage economic and social development of 23 municipalities next to Guatemala and one

next to Belize (Vega, 2017).

All of this was intended to send a message to Central Americans that it was a perilous and

fruitless endeavor to immigrate the United States through Mexico (Hiskey et al., 2016). However,

did it work? Evidence points to no. Hiskey et al. (2016) found that the U.S. media campaigns

might have convinced, or at least reminded, Central Americans of the dangers and unlikely

success of U.S. immigration. However, this information did not play a role in the decision-

making process for those contemplating immigration. Instead, the most prominent predictor of a

person's immigration intentions was the person's experience of being a crime victim in his or her

country, with crime victims less likely to be deterred by the U.S. administration's anti-immigration attempts.

When Central American immigrants arrive in the United States, legally or illegally, they might not feel they belong. The historical memory of violence among refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador has led many Central Americans in the United States to stick to their own communities and stay on the margins of mainstream society (Arias, 2003).

The United States expects assimilation from the immigrants who come there (Spalding, 1994). Through the process of assimilation, people from the same culture who move into a foreign culture are expected to eventually adopt this new foreign culture as their own (Fitzpatrick, 1966).

However, this can be a complicated process for many reasons. For one, it is within the community of their fellow immigrants that individual immigrants generally feel safe and comfortable. This community fulfills their needs for acceptance and recognition, with interactions predictable and cooperative. It can be hard for immigrants to leave these circles of safety and interact with the larger society (Fitzpatrick, 1966).

Another assimilation complication is the complexity of the idea of culture itself. Culture is a complex social construct that Van Oudenhoven et al. (2006) identifies as being composed of artefacts, social institutions, language, customs, traditions, and shared meanings. This is different than cultural identity however, as cultural identity is the sense of pride and belonging that immigrants feel in their cultural group. As such, it can be hard for immigrants to fully assimilate because that they may accept cultural aspects such as the dress code, language and working habits of their new country but still feel strong ties to their countries of origin (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Central American immigrants provide a strong example for this idea of semi-assimilation. Although they have moved to the United States, most keep and nurture strong cultural, political and economic ties to their home countries. This is especially relevant for Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and Nicaraguans, who often send money back to their home countries. This complex network has shaped the Central American immigrants' experience in the United States and has upset the traditional idea of "nation" as a physical territory and imagined community (Padilla, 2013).

Like the United Kingdom, immigrants from different countries get treated differently in the United States when they arrive. For example, many Central Americans, particularly Salvadorans and Guatemalans, have faced exclusionary immigration policies because of U.S. intervention in their countries (Padilla, 2013).

Sometimes immigrants receive special treatment because of their country's political climate instead of being negatively affected by it. During the Cold War, Cuban immigrants were readily accepted into the United States. Henken (2005) found that this was due to many reasons. The United States had concealed ideological motivations and foreign policy goals during the time, not the least of which was removing the new Communist government from power. As such, accepting Cuban refugees was ideologically beneficial as a symbolic representation of the repressiveness of Cuban Communism as well as demonstrating the attraction of U.S. democracy. Other immigrant groups, such as Chinese and Haitian, were not treated as well and complained about the discrepancy in the U.S. immigration policies. However, in 2017 the United States ended the long-standing policy of differential treatment for Cuban immigrants. The new U.S. policy makes all Cuban immigrants who enter the United States without a visa subject to removal (Krogstad, 2017).

Another group that has faced discrimination in the United States is Muslim immigrants. This has been especially relevant after the 9/11 terrorist attack. The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was more than just the physical destruction of buildings. It was also a symbolic attack on Western democratic values by targeting symbols of Western prowess, especially within countries with similar Euro-Atlantic political and economic values as the United States (Niles, 2010). The perpetrators all came into the United States legally, which had negative consequences for public attitudes toward immigration and immigrants as they had been relatively positive in the 1990s due to economic and social stability (Esses et al., 2002).

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Esses et al., (2002) found that the American public was more likely to homogenize immigrants. Foreigners were now more likely seen as a threat, and stereotypes were more likely to be perceived. Similarly, Niles (2010) found that after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. media were far more likely to link immigrants to terrorism and criminality. This affects how immigrants view themselves and other groups. In Niles' (2010) study, he found that U.S. newspapers quoted Mexican immigrants saying they tried to keep a low profile to avoid the harassment they perceived Arab and Muslim immigrants were subjected to after the 9/11 attacks.

Although it is a nation founded by immigrants, the U.S. government and its citizens have many concerns about them. These concerns range from the fears of terrorism to the economic ramifications of immigrants, as well as the potential for increased crime. Following the line of thought of immigration as an economic threat, 50 percent of Americans surveyed in the Transatlantic Trends: Immigration public opinion study said they believed immigrants were taking jobs away from native-born citizens. Seventy-two percent of respondents said they supported punishing employers as a means of controlling illegal immigration. This indicates that

a large majority of Americans perceive immigrants as an economic threat to the labor market

(Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

On the other end of the spectrum, 71 percent of Americans were more in favor for

permanent labor immigration as opposed to temporary, according to the study (Gustin &

Ziebarth, 2010). The study describes visa programs like H-1B for highly-skilled immigrants that

these permanent labor immigration policies would include as "stepping stones" to citizenship

(Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

However, the survey did not specify that the immigrants would be skilled, only that they

would be legal immigrants, and 57 percent of respondents believed that immigrants create jobs

when they set up new businesses (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010). This willingness of the American

people to take advantage of immigrants for the workforce as an economic boon, while

simultaneously believing they pose a threat to the country, could be due to a mix of U.S.

capitalism combined with exceptionalism, or the country's belief it is better than other countries

economically and ideologically (Machado, 2010).

In the United States, the biggest categories of acceptable immigrants are economic-class

immigrants and family-class immigrants. Economic-class immigrants are beneficial as they

contribute to their new country's economy by filling gaps in industry and other parts of the

economy, as well as developing new companies and businesses (Esses et al., 2002).

Accepting economic-class immigrants reflects the U.S. sense of capitalism and

exceptionalism (Machado, 2010), but accepting family-class immigrants does not. Accepting

family-class immigrants strikes a more humanitarian tone for the United States, as this allows for

the reunification of family members and assumes that immigrants benefit society through both

economic progress and family stability (Esses et al., 2002).

Besides the economic repercussions of immigration, immigration reform and illegal immigration are pressing issues on the American public's mind according to the Transatlantic Trends: Immigration study (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010). According to the study, immigration reform includes topics such as increased border security and increased internal enforcement efforts involving employers and local law enforcement agencies. These topics point to the idea of immigration being perceived as a threat (Lawlor, 2015).

Illegal immigration is a particularly contentious issue, sometimes linked to criminal activity, and with anxiety over immigration varying widely along party lines. In the United States, 69 percent of independent voters expressed concern that illegal immigrants increase crime in society, 76 percent of self-identified Republicans worried about illegal immigration, and 48 percent of Democrats worried about illegal immigration (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

However, when it comes to illegal immigrants already in the United States, the study also found that 50 percent of Americans supported the idea of giving undocumented immigrants the chance to obtain legal status (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010). When it came to the government's management of immigration overall, 63 percent of Americans thought the government was doing either a poor or very poor job (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010).

Some views in the United States have not changed from the past. Amarela Varela, a migration and gender scholar at the Autonomous University of Mexico City, shares some of President Jimmy Carter's past views. The stories of immigrant women seeking safety in other countries reflects the failures of states and institutions. However, she says that the stories also reflect acts of resistance rather than purely victimhood (Lakhani, 2017).

1.4 Political Environment Impact on Immigration Representation

Although this study is focused primarily on how U.S. and U.K. publications represent immigration narratives, a large portion of the articles relate to the effect immigration has on the political state of the country. In the U.S. publications, this was demonstrated through a "source of conflict" frame, while with U.K. publications it was demonstrated through an "immigration as a political" topic frame.

The media and politics are two different domains with separate logics (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007) and may compete with one another to catch the attention of the public (Entman, 1993; Riker, 1986). However, the media can also act as an intermediary between the political sphere and the public sphere by giving contextual information to the latter, which can provide an important link for keeping the public informed (Lawlor, 2015; Niles, 2010; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

Public debate is carried out in different forums, which includes the media arena and the political arena. In these two arenas, the actors involved define what the problems are and how the public should understand them (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

How the public views immigration is very important. Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) highlighted three reasons why the public's opinion on immigrants is crucial: First, public opinion is likely to influence public policy. Second, these public attitudes trickle into the day-to-day life of the population and impacts the success and satisfaction of immigrants considering this social environment. Third, this attitude helps shape national identity and who belongs in the country.

An example of how the public and media's perspective on immigration affects policy

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can be found during Ronald Reagan's presidency. Cuban immigrants were accepted into the United States willingly by its citizens until rumors spread that Cuba was sending criminals and the mentally ill to the country. When the media started emphasizing the criminality and low job skills among portions of new immigrants, Reagan denied these new immigrants refugee status and claimed they were economic migrants fleeing poverty rather than refugees fleeing an oppressive political regime.

Around the same time, the Congressional Black Caucus pressured the administration to be more consistent with its immigration policy, which led to the development of the Justice Department's Cuban-Haitian entrant program. This new program improved immigration conditions for Haitian immigrants and spread advantages more evenly among the many people moving the United States (Henken, 2005).

Sometimes it can be beneficial for immigrants to be politically involved, as this can help the immigrant community participate in the organized life of the larger society. Immigrants can either act together as an identifiable mass of their own strength and power or they can join with other groups. Regardless of the means, when immigrants gain political power they can affect the politics of their host nation and can no longer be ignored by the political elites (Fitzpatrick, 1966). This can be seen with the unity of goals in the Women's Marches after the inauguration of President Trump, where celebrity immigrants and immigrant groups joined forces with others to march all over the world and have their voices heard to advocate for human rights (Jamieson, 2017; Wang, 2017).

The political environment and the way the media choose to cover it can have an effect on immigration through the enactment of policies (Novacescu, 2014). In Europe in general, a rise of populist parties could lead to new policies to deport more immigrants than come in

(Albonico, Maxwill, Otasevic, Teunis, & Wecker, 2017). For example, if a country favors exclusionism, "the belief that immigration and immigrants are perilous to the national community and that the country would benefit most from a closed, as opposed to an open, immigration policy" (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006) then immigrants wishing to go to that country are at a loss.

Steimel's study, "Refugees as people: the portrayal of refugees in American human interest stories," found that if the general public believes that immigrants are victims, this view could shape American policy decisions on refugee resettlement in a way that harms refugee empowerment and takes away their independence. When the public assumes that immigration benefits its new host society by increasing economic progress and family stability, then favorable public attitudes can foster policies that are both nondiscriminatory and beneficial (Esses et al., 2002).

It is different when a country perceives immigrants as a threat. For example, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, many studies, papers, and books found that immigrants were much more likely to be framed as a threat, with suspicion, or viewed more negatively in another manner (Bauder & Semmelroggen, 2009; Esses et al., 2002; Lawlor, 2015; Lecheler, Bos, & Vliegenthart, 2015; Niles, 2010; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007; Simpson, 2013).

Niles (2010) found that the frames used by newspapers for immigrants in both the U.S. and Great Britain shifted to a more threat-based frame and, for Britain, led to a call for increased border security after the attacks. The same held true for Britain after the London train bombings, with immigrants more likely than before to be labeled as terrorists or criminals (Niles, 2010). Although the immigrants involved in these attacks all entered the countries legally, that fact did not stop politicians advocating stricter border control to seize the

opportunity to link potential terrorism with maintaining border security (Niles, 2010).

Another example of how political parties can affect immigration policies can be found in a framing study by Helbling (2014). Helbling found that immigration took on different meanings depending on the political actors speaking about it and the context of the discussion, which created the different frames. When left-right political actors, government involvement, and policy fields played an important role in spreading immigration ideas, citizenship frames did not appear to shape the way the topic was discussed in public debates. Helbling also found that dominant frames were not economic, an argument for security, or nationalistic. Instead, moral-universal arguments were applied more often, which supported the argument for transnationalism or heightened interconnectivity between citizens in different countries (Helbling, 2014).

In the past, politicians have used the fear of immigration to further their own political careers. Jesse Helms, a Republican senator, ran reelection campaigns in the mid-1980s on anti-immigration and anti-amnesty platforms that was made possible by negative immigration, refugee and anticommunism feelings at the time. He used the country's political feelings of restrictionism and xenophobia to outmaneuver opponents and ultimately get reelected (Macekura, 2011).

Recently, similar strategies have been used. The populist U.K. Independence Party, or UKIP, spearheaded the Brexit campaign. Some politicians and journalists say one way the political party persuaded U.K. citizens to leave the European Union was by capitalizing on racially charged, negative feelings toward immigrants as a threat (Donnella, 2016).

Similarly, Trump used hostility toward immigration to help secure the presidency (Fandos, Harris, Rogers, & Tavernise, 2017). National political shifts have been influenced by

Trump and his campaign's negative messages about "bad hombres" (Diamond & Almasy, 2017) and the United Kingdom's Brexit due to disagreement about the free movement of residents from country to country (Smith, 2017).

1.5 Relationship Between Society and the Press

The mass media, including newspapers, television, and radio, play an important role in informing the public (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Niles, 2010; Novacescu, 2014; Woods, Manning, & Matz, 2015; Zhang, Jin, & Tang, 2015).

According to Novacescu (2014), the mass media is responsible for shaping the images and perceptions that the public has of immigrants and their families. This can be either beneficial or harmful for immigrants, and Novacescu believes that generally the media portray immigrants negatively. She writes that this is due to journalists' desires for sensationalistic news, which will make them cover something more dramatically and less truthfully to attract as many readers, viewers, and listeners as possible. This is harmful however, as it helps perpetuate immigrant stereotypes like the idea immigrants are "draining" the system in everyday life.

Another reason that journalists might portray immigrants in a certain way is wanting the immigrant's story to resonate with a reader, according to Steimel (2010). This can be both good and bad, as this desire for resonance makes it harder to portray immigrants negatively as frauds per se, but still leaves immigrants open to other negative portrayals. In their study of how immigrants are portrayed in human interest pieces, Steimel found that the most common frame was a victim frame. This means immigrants were described by the horrors they fled from rather than their cultural backgrounds. This perpetuated a sense of American superiority and

immigrant inferiority. Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) said multiple factors contribute to the selection of media frames, including the norms, political ideologies, individual schemas, and routines of reporters.

Media can act as a mouthpiece and give power to whomever it chooses to feature in broadcasts and articles (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). This can be problematic as it can skew the information presented, especially on immigration. In Niles's (2010) study on framing immigration, he found that "immigration policy" and "internal control frames" were the dominant frames in U.S. newspapers. When these frames were featured in the text, it was due to the dominant voices of immigration restriction groups and government officials as sources, with no voice given to immigrants and immigrant groups.

Niles (2010) also highlights the fact that the media are indispensable to a democracy, but that they can only do as much for democracy as their political and economic environments allow them to. As such, the media are constantly under pressure to please not only their audiences, but their superiors who write their paychecks.

While media coverage may reflect public attitudes about immigration, it also can circle back to affect what the public feels on the topic. Lecheler, Bos, and Vliegenthart (2015) surveyed Dutch citizens to see if framing articles had an effect. The results showed that citizens who had been exposed to positive frames tended to feel more positively toward immigration (Lecheler et al., 2015).

This cycle of influence can also be seen in an experiment by Igartua, Moral-Toranzo, and Fernández (2011) who conducted a study to see how news frames and group cues could change someone's view of immigration in Spain and the resulting consequences. They discovered that the emphasized news frames did affect cognition, attitude, and emotions. They also discovered

that the nationality or geographic origin of the immigrants being presented had an effect as well, with participants more likely to be empathetic toward Latin American immigrants versus Moroccan immigrants (Igartua, Moral-Toranzo, & Fernández, 2011).

Another framing study, "They Are Not Us: Framing of American Indians by the *Boston Globe*," describes how framing information changes the audience's perspective. The study describes how Native Americans have been portrayed less openly negatively, but more subtly negatively through frames as historic and degraded relic Indians. This change in perspective might be due to the news producers, as the study says, "… [N]ews producers transform discrete bits of news information into socially meaningful and powerful narratives that contribute to the social construction of race and identity" (Miller & Ross, 2004).

The media has its own cultural message that it is trying to impart to audiences to shape their views. However, audience members also have their own cultural experiences and notions that may or may not be shaped by the media (Coleman, 2005).

The media is the public's main source of information about certain topics, whether immigration or mental health news issues. Zhang, Jin, and Tang (2015) describe the media's role as critical in this debate of the process of news framing. When reporting on complex issues, journalists create news frames that present large amounts of information to the audience in relatively simpler, easier-to-understand packets. This means that the media can expose people directly responsible for societal issues by determining identifying causes and promoting solutions at a societal or individual level. This exposed responsibility can be highlighted and presented in the media through frames issued thematically or episodically (Zhang et al., 2015).

Zhang et al. (2015) said research indicates that episodic framing may be more prevalent in news coverage of social issues, including abuse, poverty, and foreign relations than other

forms of news coverage. This episodic framing portrays issues through single events that

provide a representative anecdote of a broader issue, such as telling someone's life story that

illustrates the issue. This can be problematic as this type of coverage might distract public

attention from the real systematic flaws of the social, economic, and political environments and

can underestimate the importance of societal-level solutions like policy changes, correction of

social inequalities and injustices, and regulatory efforts.

1.6 Research Questions and Assumptions

The research is intended to help answer the following questions:

RQ1: How are immigrants represented in U.S. publications?

RQ2: Do publications in the United States reflect its citizens' and administration's

political attitudes?

RQ3: How are immigrants represented in U.K. publications?

RQ4: Do publications in the United Kingdom reflect its citizens' and administration's

immigration political attitudes?

RQ5: How is media coverage similar and different in the portrayal of immigration in the

two countries?

The coder made initial assumptions about what frames would be found. Frames such as

multiculturalism, terrorism, immigration restriction, immigration as a boon, immigrants as

criminals, and immigrants as victims were all predicted to be found in the newspaper articles

(Igartua et al., 2011; Lawlor, 2015; Lecheler et al., 2015; Machado, 2010; Niles, 2010; Woods et al., 2015).

U.K. publications were assumed to have more negative views relevant to immigration in its newspapers due to stereotypes and racism in the country (Novacescu, 2014; Sutherland, 2006), as well as due to its history of colonialism (Joppke, 1999). The publications were also predicted to use immigrants as a threat frames more in its newspaper articles (Blinder & Allen, 2016; Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010; Niles, 2010).

The U.S. publications were assumed to use both positive frames, such as immigration as a boon, and negative frames, such as immigration as a threat, in its newspaper articles (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010; Machado, 2010; Niles, 2010). However, U.S.-centric frames such as "in pursuit of the American dream" were expected due to the United States citizens believing the country is exceptional (Machado, 2010; Steimel, 2010).

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

2.1 Study Design

This research employed a qualitative content analysis of primary sources of media publications to discern the potential differing perspective of U.S. and U.K. publications on the immigration crisis. The immigration crisis is characterized by the influx of Central American immigrants to the United States from 2014 to 2016 (Hiskey et al., 2016) and the influx of generally northern African immigrants to European countries during that time (UNHR, 2017).

Content analysis was selected as the best method for this study because it is a formal system that allows the researcher to draw conclusions from observations, as this study does (Stempel, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2003). Qualitative methods were selected as a means of exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups give to a specific issue (Creswell, 2014), and as a result a second coder wasn't needed for this study.

The database Factiva was used to gather articles in the days following significant three U.S. political events that pertained to immigration. The publications were chosen because they are daily print publications in the English language, as well as because the two countries have had similar foreign policies since World War I (Niles, 2010). Articles were searched using the key terms: "immigration," "immigrants," and "immigrant" as this study's focus is on the representation of immigration and immigrants in U.S. and U.K. publications.

The definition of "immigrant" was adopted from the Merriam-Webster dictionary, which defines an immigrant as "a person who comes to a country to take up permanent residence"

(2017). As such, when a newspaper article mentioned refugees, the definition was expanded to include them in the data.

Refugees have been described by the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) as those who flee their country and cross national borders due to the fear of being persecuted on the grounds of religion, race, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. However, this definition doesn't account for those who leave their country due to environmental factors such as famine and drought (Martin et al., 2013; Steimel, 2010).

The term "migrant" is often used interchangeably with the term "immigrant" in studies on immigration and immigrants, especially regarding Central American and European immigrants (Freeman, 2001; Henken, 2005; Joppke, 1999; Macekura, 2011; Martin et al., 2013; Novacescu, 2014). Considering this fact and the fact that the term migrant can be defined as "a person who attempts to permanently relocate to a new country, but who may be subject to removal by the government of that country" ("migrant," 2017), the term migrant was also analyzed in this study when found in the text of the articles.

There is also the matter of community of these people in their new host country. Although they left their home countries for different reasons, they can be in similar communities in their new home country as they are, as defined by Fitzpatrick:

> … a group of people who follow a way of life or patterns of behavior which mark them out as different from people of another society, or from other people in the larger society in which they live or to which they have come (Fitzpatrick, 1966).

Regardless of immigrant, migrant, refugee, asylum-seeker, etc. status, all "immigrate" into a country. As such, the definition expanded to include these groups..

The articles in the data set were published on: October 20, 2016; January 21, 2017; and January 28, 2017. These dates were selected as each is the day after an important U.S. political event regarding President Trump, who has taken a negative stance on immigration (Diamond & Almasy, 2017) and could affect how both U.S. and U.K. publications frame immigration (Helbling, 2014; Henken, 2005; Lawlor, 2015; Macekura, 2011; Niles, 2010).

Like other studies, articles in the data set were limited to news stories and minimum length (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Niles, 2010). Thus, editorials, op-eds, letters to/from the editor, classifieds, obituaries, reviews of books and films, columns, opinion pieces, and corrections were all filtered out of the sample, as were stories shorter than five paragraphs.

Based on these search parameters, the following articles were selected: of the U.S. articles, 39 are from *The New York Times,* 24 are from *The Washington Post,* and 25 from *The Wall Street Journal*, making a total of 88 articles analyzed, as seen in the following table:

Table 1: U.S. Newspapers and Article Publication Date

U.S. Publications				
Publication Name	October 20, 2016	January 21, 2017	January 28, 2017	**Number of Articles**	**Percentage of Data**
New York Times	8	14	17	39	44.32
Wall Street Journal	8	13	4	25	28.41
Washington Post	9	8	7	24	27.27
Total	25	35	28	88	100

Of the British publications, 46 articles are from *The Guardian,* 14 from *The Daily Telegraph*, and 11 from *i* were analyzed, making a total of 71 articles, as seen in the following table:

Table 2: U.K. Newspapers and Article Publication Date

U.K. Publications				
Publication Name	October 20, 2016	January 21, 2017	January 28, 2017	**Number of Articles**	**Percentage of Data**
The Guardian	18	14	14	46	64.79
Daily Telegraph	4	7	3	14	19.72
i	1	7	3	11	15.49
Total	23	28	20	71	100

Overall, 159 articles were analyzed. This research determined the topic of articles through the researcher's own interpretation of the article derived from the tone and theme of the articles, as well as the people represented in the articles.

This research is intended to increase knowledge of media representation of immigrants during humanitarian crises from 2014 through the present through framing. It will help demonstrate whether these specific publications reflect the political attitudes of their country. In coding the articles, the researcher noted the author and publication to see differences in framing and used a set of sensitizing questions based on past studies of immigration framing.

Although unique frames were discovered initially, the coder kept in mind overall frames that were present. These categorizations include themes such as multiculturalism, terrorism, immigration restriction, immigration benefits, and immigrants as victims (Igartua et al., 2011; Lawlor, 2015; Lecheler et al., 2015; Niles, 2010).

2.2 Framing

The concept of framing demonstrates how powerful written language can be when trying to convey a message (Entman, 1993). For this study, framing can have the power to portray immigrants as victims in need of help (Steimel, 2010) or as a threat to the safety of the citizens of their new country (Niles, 2010). Some say that framing is an intentional process, while others claim that it is a subconscious process (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005).

Framing theory can be defined as a concept which can serve as a basis for analyzing the debate on issues, as it refers to how a topic is seen and contemplated (Meriläinen & Vos, 2013). Entman (1993) defined framing as the framer's ability:

   ... to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a
   communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal
   interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item
   described. (Entman, 1993)

Framing theory was used also because it asserts that the media presents an interpretative, dominant background for helping an audience understand certain cultural events and ideas (Baran & Davis, 2015). Framing theory may appear similar to agenda-setting theory, but there are subtle differences between the two theories.

Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) pointed out that the difference between agenda-setting theory and framing theory can be found in the way that framing can construct reality, impact interpretations, and influence audience responses and opinions toward particular events when the public notices them. As such, framing affects the audience's perspective of the event and not just its salience.

Through framing theory, this study wanted to discover how these newspapers in the United Kingdom and the United States potentially affected the perspective of their respective audiences. What the researcher discovered was indeed how these publications demonstrated their take on this humanitarian crisis and what it means for their country's residents through their framing of the plight of immigrants (Lawlor 2015; Lecheler et al., 2015; Meriläinen & Vos, 2013).

Viewpoints on immigration in the United States have changed over the years, so does it stand to reason that the newspapers and media outlets of the times reflect these ideologies? In her study "Framing Immigration in the Canadian and British News Media," Lawlor (2015) argues that this is true, but also that understanding the creation and adaptation of frames is crucial to understanding the connection between the public's political priorities and the response of policymakers.

Lawlor argues that frames are not merely a positive or negative lens but are thematic

cues through which the public absorbs and understands information (Lawlor, 2015).

Immigration can be framed in various ways, and that framing can determine the public's opinion

on it. Immigration can be framed as a threat to national security or accepting immigrants be a

necessary humanitarian act (Lawlor, 2015).

Lawlor conducted a content analysis to see how immigration was represented in the

media. The study, which also included the publications *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*,

found the British media demonstrated more consistent framing over longer periods of time,

which could create more persistent political attitudes toward immigration (Lawlor, 2015).

The specific framing by the news media comes in a couple of different forms. Zhang et

al. (2015) described two types of framing as thematic and episodic. Thematic framing is the

presentation of societal problems through information about their systematic trends, causes, and

consequences. This can be a beneficial framework, as this offering of background information,

contextual conditions, and widespread consequences through thematic framing can increase the

public's comprehension of societal problems and can increase the public's support for solutions

and enhance literacy on the issue.

According to Zhang et al. (2015), however, episodic framing is more often applied by

news organizations to cover topics like societal issues, abuse of power, and foreign policy.

Unlike thematic framing, episodic framing focuses on a specific anecdote as an example to

emphasize the problems facing the society at large. Episodic framing can be beneficial as it is

more effective at reaching new audiences by focusing on a specific individual's story to

highlight a widespread social issue, giving the article more human interest qualities. However,

it also can hinder the public's understanding of an issue, especially regarding the designation of

responsibility and the alleviation of stigmas.

Framing in the media might not as powerful as it might appear, however. The media does not have the power to act as a "magic bullet" that directly and powerfully infuses its message into passive receivers (Sproule, 1989). Many actors partake in the construction of reality, with politicians and activists trying to get their sides heard (Benford & Snow, 2000). This means these actors are not able to construct their own version of reality and enforce their views on their intended targets . Instead, there is a medley of challenges facing these actors. Benford and Snow (2000) identified these challenges as: counterframing by opponents; frame disputes within movements; and the dialectic between events and frames.

Another example of framing theory's limited power can be found in the fact that framing has much to do with the actors presenting the frame, and as such does not affect the audience unconditionally. In their study, "The Ideological Effects of Framing Threat on Immigration and Civil Liberties," Lahav & Courtemanche (2012) discovered that framing immigration as a threat did not have ubiquitous results. Instead, the already-present ideology of the reader influenced how frames were perceived and interpreted. It was discovered that liberals were more likely to be susceptible to frames while conservatives were less likely to do so.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Data Analysis

The units of analysis for this study were 159 individual articles, 88 of them from U.S.

print newspapers and 71 from U.K. print newspapers.

For the 88 U.S. articles, there were 39 articles in *The New York Times*: eight published

October 20, 2016, the day after the final Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump debate; 14 published

January 21, 2017, the day after Trump was inaugurated; 17 published on January 28, 2017, the

day after Trump signed the executive order "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry

into the United States" which has also been labeled a "Muslim ban" (Kerscher, 2017). There

were 24 articles published in The *Washington Post*: nine were published on October 20, 2016;

eight on January 21, 2017; and seven articles on January 28, 2017. For *The Wall Street Journal*,

25 articles were analyzed: eight on October 20, 2016; 13 on January 21, 2017; and four articles

on January 28, 2017. *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* contained a fairly equal

number of stories while *The New York Times* accounted for the largest number (See Table 1).

For the 71 U.K. newspaper articles, there were 46 published in *The Guardian*: 18

published October 20, 2016, the day after the last Clinton-Trump debate; 14 on January 21,

2017, the day after the inaugurations; and 14 on January 28, 2017, the day after the executive

order "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States." For *The Daily*

Telegraph, 14 articles were analyzed: four were published on October 20, 2016; seven on

January 21, 2017; and three on January 28, 2017. There were also 11 *i* articles: one on October

20, 2016; seven on January 21, 2017; and three on January 28, 2017. For the U.K. publications,

The Guardian far exceeded the other two publications in the number of relevant articles with almost triple the percentage of *i* (See Table 2).

The point of this research was to identify and describe frames, using a content analysis method and applying framing theory. As described by Entman (1993), coders often simply convey all the messages as positive and negative and draw the dominant meanings from them. They code without judging and measuring the salience of elements in the text and the relationships of the most salient clusters of frames to the audience's schemata. This is incorrect, according to Entman, who says that such an unguided method yields incorrect data that misrepresents the media messages that audience members actually deduce from the content. This researcher wished to avoid such mistakes and took steps to prevent misrepresenting the frames in the articles.

While coding the data, the researcher used a set of sensitizing questions based on past studies (Benford & Snow, 2000; Niles, 2010; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007) to guide her decision-making process while assigning frames to passages. Benford and Snow discussed the processes of identifying collective action frames, which included identifying the problem, proposing a solution to or attack on the problem, and a motivational "call to arms" to induce action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 615-617).

Roggeband and Vliegenthart (2007) also broke down framing into categories, which included identifying the voice the passage is trying to portray, what the problem being conveyed is and who potentially is responsible for it, and what the potential solutions to the problem are. Following these examples, the sensitizing questions for this study were broken into the categories of voice, problems, strategies/solutions, and future action.

The coder determined frames by reading the articles and applying the sensitizing

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questions. When there was mention of any immigrants, migrants, refugees, immigrating to a country, etc., a frame was determined and given to the paragraph the mention was in. When there were conflicting frames in one paragraph, the coder used the sensitizing questions and determined which frame was more salient, or rather more noticeable or memorable in the paragraph (Entman, 1993).

After all the newspaper articles were coded and appropriate frames were assigned, the coder went through the data and clustered the frames together to label more overarching or "main" frames or themes (Benford & Snow, 200).

3.2 Findings

The coder initially found that in the U.S. articles, there were 151 unique frame types, and within those were 178 frames. In the U.K. articles there were 174 unique frame types, and within those were 214 frames.

After the initial coding process, the coder clustered the frames into 30 frames for the U.S. publications and 30 frames for the U.K. publications. The U.S. list included frames such as "America first," "legality," and "U.S.-immigrant relationship," while the U.K. list included frames such as "ban hurts U.S./immigrants," "immigrant labor desired," and "education."

After this second round of coding, the researcher refined the categories further into more overarching frame categories of groups of 15 each for the U.S. and U.K. articles. The new list of 15 frames consisted of subjects such as "immigrants as a mass," "family," and "immigrant rights" for the U.S. list and subjects such as "immigrant prejudice," "immigrants as laborers," and "individualism" for the U.K. list.

From each list of 15 frames, the coder determined the three most common frames or

themes of each country. The most relevant frames and the frames which had the most other frames collapse into them were chosen. For example, "children" was a relevant frame, but using contextual clues collapsed in "immigrants as victims" as children were often described as vulnerable to dangers in Europe or losing family in the United States. Each different type of immigrant prejudice, Muslim prejudice, Mexican prejudice, etc., was also clustered into immigrants as victims frames.

For the United States, these are the three most prevalent frames:

Source of Conflict

In this frame, the text described some form of conflict.. This conflict can be found between conflicting views on immigration among different people, different policymakers in the same country, or between two countries. Many times the conflict regarded other countries disagreeing with Trump over immigration policy, which trickled down and created conflict internally with U.S. politicians disagreeing with each other over whether to support or oppose them. The language found for this frame is more negative than its sister frame "immigration political topic" as found in U.K. publications. The language for this source of conflict frame includes phrases such as "mistakes caused immigration increase," "politician opposes immigration reform," "differing immigration policies," and "policies make enemies." This frame focuses on the differences between people regarding immigration.

Immigration as a Threat

In this frame, various aspects of immigration can be seen in the text as a threat. This

includes immigrants being an economic drain as well as a drain on public resources. It also includes the concepts of the threat of terrorists entering the country and others who wish to harm the physical safety and negatively affect the cultural ideals of U.S. citizens. Oftentimes the threat was described as immigrants from the Middle East, specifically the seven countries listed in President Trump's executive order on immigration, and from immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Muslim immigrants were more likely to be mentioned in a terrorism frame, while Mexican and Central American immigrants were more likely mentioned in an immigrants as criminals frame. Both these frames condensed into the singular immigration as a threat frame. The language for this frame includes themes such as "immigrants as bad hombres," "immigrants as criminals," "immigration a problem," and "immigration concerns." This frame focuses on all the potential, negative aspects of letting immigrants into the country with a special emphasis on terrorism and linking them to criminal activity.

Immigration Control

In this frame, the text often describes how the U.S. government tries to control immigration. The attempt to control immigration is often discussed in terms of Trump's executive order, which is also discussed in the ways it can be considered a "Muslim ban." As a result, the language often focused on border control and immigration reform, including concepts such as "poor border control," "immigration control a high priority," "crackdown on Muslim immigration," and "immigration ban." This frame focused mostly on limiting immigration into the United States, whether through the strengthening of southern border enforcement or of immigrants unable to enter the country due to the

executive order.

 For the United Kingdom, these are the three most prevalent frames found in the

data:

Politics

This is the sister frame for the frame "source of conflict." Although these two frames

intersect, the language is different. Politics is more neutral. Oftentimes it appears as

immigration listed with other policy issues such as abortion and gun rights. Language for

this frame includes concepts such as "immigration a high political priority," "immigration

cultural factor," "Supreme Court hands off," and "immigration political tool." This frame

often focused on how countries in the European Union were dealing with the immigration

crisis and how it related to or affected the United Kingdom leaving the European Union.

Immigrants as Victims

This frame is often found in the text describing how immigrants are victims of

circumstances. This victimization can be found in either the persecution immigrants faced

in their home country or in the discrimination they face in the country they migrated to.

For this study, this frame was often found regarding how immigrants had been affected

by Trump's executive order. Often Muslim immigrants were the group represented in this

frame. Language for this frame included concepts such as "immigrants afraid,"

"immigrants in danger," "immigrants flee home," and "immigrants not welcomed." This

frame often focused on prejudice that immigrants found in their new circumstances.

Immigrant Support

This frame focused on support of immigrants through the government, by individual

citizens, or through organizations. This support could be physical through food or

supplies, legal through lawyers helping immigrants affected by the executive order,

ideological through morally disagreeing with anti-immigrant prejudice, or political

through politicians fighting for immigrant rights. Language for this frame included

concepts such as "criticism of immigrant scrutiny," "Muslim immigrant prejudice

wrong," "immigrants welcomed," and "legal aid." This frame often focused on how

others were helping immigrants get better living conditions or more political rights, but

also spoke toward nationalism as countries that helped immigrants were shown more

positively than those who did not.

Although there was some overlap of frames for the two countries' publications, there

were differences in how prevalent they were. Although both the source of conflict and the

politics frames were found in U.S. and U.K. publications, U.S. publications were much more

likely to shape the text to fit the frame source of conflict while U.K. publications were more

likely to shape the text to fit the frame of politics.

CHAPTER FOUR

PORTRAYAL OF IMMIGRATION IN U.K. PUBLICATIONS

4.1 October 20, 2016, Coverage

The U.K. coverage for October 20, 2016, the day after the final presidential debate, consisted of 23 articles: 18 in *The Guardian*, four in *The Daily Telegraph*, and one in *i*. With its sheer mass of relevant articles, *The Guardian* might potentially have had the most influence on the U.K. publications' frames (See Table 2).

However, the other publications were important for adding to this study's understanding of how the United Kingdom media might portray immigrants. For example, the one *i* article on this date features the frame "immigration as a boon" as it discusses how Japan has a disproportionate number of older people due to people remaining single and a lack of immigration to add to the population ("Rise of the robo-tots," 2017). Although this unique frame didn't make it into the final set of frames, it demonstrates how immigration can benefit countries with an aging population and a how there can be a need for fresh bodies in the workforce (Novacescu, 2014).

On this date, *The Daily Telegraph* published two articles that discussed the plight of child immigrants and two that discussed the politics surrounding immigration. In the articles, a "children" frame was frequently found that was ultimately absorbed into the immigrants as victims frame. Children can be important in framing in news stories as they can be used to gauge the immigrants' success in their new home country (Steimel, 2010).

In the U.K. articles on October 20, children were often described in predicaments, often lacking adult supervision and being vulnerable. This may be understood to potentially represent

the failure of nations in taking care of these vulnerable persons (Macekura, 2011). In one article, *The Daily Telegraph's* chief reporter Gordon Rayner reported:

> The charity Citizens UK, which has been working in Calais for months to help
>
> unaccompanied minors to apply for permission to join their families in the UK, said the
>
> 200 or more "Dubs" children at the camp included 43 girls, who remain vulnerable to sex
>
> attacks (Rayner, 2016).

Most of the articles published on this date in *The Daily Telegraph* display sympathy for immigrants, as even the articles about immigration policy have positive immigration frames in supporting immigrants and immigration. Alan Cochrane, the Scottish editor for *The Daily Telegraph*, wrote how one politician, Ruth Davidson, was outspoken with her support of immigrants despite opposing views from other politicians (Cochrane, 2016). Although in another context this might be an example of source of conflict, the fact of the support outweighs the conflict as it more specifically refers to immigrants and immigration.

The Guardian, similar to *The Daily Telegraph*, provided immigrants as victims frames in its articles on October 20, 2016, but also demonstrated the other most prominent frames of politics and immigrant support. Immigrant support is shown in articles that cover the concept that immigrants are not terrorists and were wrongly labeled. British lawyer Ben Emmerson, QC, in response to the U.K. immigration laws that allow immigrants to be deported if they display "extremist behavior," was reported saying:

> Almost without exception, refugees and migrants do not pose a risk – they are in fact

at risk, fleeing regions where terrorist groups are most active. It is beyond question

that terrorist activity, in the form of asymmetrical armed conflict, is a significant driver

for internal displacement and the flight of refugees (Bowcott, 2016).

This sentiment can also be found in other articles that describe how politicians are angry

at the idea that other political parties want companies to list all of their foreign workers

(Asthana & Rankin, 2017). As such, *The Guardian* generally portrays that immigrants pose no

risk to society and should not be regarded with suspicion (Asthana & Rankin, 2016; Bowcott,

2016).

Generally, the politics frame is found throughout the text, including "immigration" in a

list with other political issues such as "The Republican nominee's refusal to endorse the results

of the forthcoming election, unheard of in modern American history, capped a fractious debate

in which he clashed with Clinton over abortion, gun rights, immigration and foreign policy"

(Helmore, 2016).

Politics also almost comes close to its sister frame, source of conflict, when Brexit comes

up. This surfaces as the text discusses how other countries in the EU refuse to allow the United

Kingdom to ignore one of the EU's four freedoms, the free movement people (Henley, 2016).

This demonstrates that Brexit has affected the United Kingdom's relationship with other

countries (Cumming, & Zahra, 2016) and shows that the political environment of a country will

affect how immigration is covered in the media (Helbling, 2014; Henken, 2005; Lawlor, 2015;

Macekura, 2011; Niles, 2010)

4.2 January 21, 2017, Coverage

The U.K. coverage for January 21, 2017, the day after the inauguration, consisted of 28 articles: 14 in *The Guardian*, seven in *The Daily Telegraph*, and seven in *i*.

On this date, *The Guardian* covered the women's marches, which were organized to show solidarity for women's rights, reporting that as many as 200,000 people were expected to join the march in Washington, D.C. (Jamieson, 2017; Siddiqui, Walters, Gambino, & Redden, 2017; Wang, 2017). This march also included support for "people of colour, immigrants and the LGBT community" (Jamieson, 2017).

Through their coverage of these marches, *The Guardian* demonstrates the media cycle of reporting on what it thinks is important that can affect the public (Lecheler et al., 2015). *The Guardian* is a liberal-leaning newspaper and has been found to focus on people's plights when trying to get the readers emotionally involved with a story (Jaber, 2016).

There were, however, also many negative frames in *The Guardian* articles on this date about the threat of immigrants and immigration control. These are generally seen when an article directly quotes Trump. When he discusses his plans for executive orders, he often creates frames of terrorism, immigration as a threat, and immigration control.

These negative perspectives on immigrants were not displayed just through Trump's quotes however. In one article about Northern Ireland, immigrants are described as strangers and are linked to criminal activity. In the article, a Yorkshire-born Pakistani is reported as saying, with horror, how Portuguese immigrants are to blame for knife crimes, Eastern Europeans are scooping up all the fish to sell, and Romanians are blamed for pretty much anything bad that happens in the country (Engel, 2017).

The Daily Telegraph and *i* had an equal number of stories on this date and tended to

focus on the individualism and benefit of immigrants, as well as the political turmoil of both the United Kingdom and the United States. Regarding individualism, both had articles that featured individual immigrants.

One example of individualism in the coverage is an article in *The Daily Telegraph* which featured an Irish immigrant. The article goes in-depth, discussing how his family hung on to their Irish roots, how he strove to get into amateur drama, and about his many successes later in life ("If I," 2017). The portrayal of his family keeping its roots demonstrates a lack of assimilation and could cause conflict of interest for the immigrants and their new country (Fitzpatrick, 1966; Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). However, the article's sources seems to show no ill will toward the immigrant as it lists his aspirations and successes.

The newspaper *i* also goes in depth to cover an immigrant, U.S. first lady Melania Trump. In "The difficult lot of the First Lady," writer Alice Jones reports on Melania Trump in a sympathetic manner, writing how the first lady has been thoroughly scrutinized, especially after giving a speech that closely resembled one by Michelle Obama, her predecessor:

> Perhaps Mrs Trump is still feeling wounded by the reaction to that. Or perhaps she has no interest in being subjected to more lurid scrutiny than she already has been. She has been shamed for posing naked in her modelling days, dismissed as a trophy wife and has had her appearance and accent mocked. And that was all before she became the most famous wife in the world yesterday (Jones, 2017).

Beyond the coverage of individual immigrants, *The Daily Telegraph* and *i* took different approaches in framing the news after that topic. On that date, *The Daily Telegraph* focused on

the positives of immigrants and immigration while *i* focused its reporting more on the political scene and conflict. Examples from *The Daily Telegraph* include an article that notes rural schools that have a high immigrant population are more likely to get more government funding (Turner, 2017) and an article that describes the Cruise Away exhibition at the Antwerp's Red Star Line Museum that romanticizes the memory of immigrants (Tisdall, 2017).

While *The Daily Telegraph* focused on the positives of immigrants and immigration, *i* took a more political approach to the news. It focused on both the U.S. government and the U.K. government. In the article "Hammond: Blair's migration failure to blame for Brexit," freelance journalist Lewis Smith wrote how politicians blame one another's immigration policies for Brexit as "... the failure in 2004 to impose transitional controls on immigration from new EU member states as a root cause of the populace's disenchantment." In regard to the United States, *i* reported on Trump working to dismantle predecessor President Obama's immigration policies by building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and altering certain immigrants' status (Morris, 2017).

4.3 January 28, 2017, Coverage

The U.K. coverage for January 28, 2017, the day after the immigration executive order, consisted of 20 articles: 14 in *The Guardian*, three in *The Daily Telegraph*, and three in *i*.

As on the other dates (See Table 2), *The Guardian* dominated the data pool with more than double the published articles than *The Daily Telegraph* and *i* combined. This was a major factor in the most prominent frames conveyed as *The Guardian* covered the repercussions of the executive order and how it would affect immigrants. *The Daily Telegraph* and *i* instead covered the United Kingdom's relationship with other governments in the world.

A reader's first hint that *The Guardian* is focusing on the negatives of the executive order can be found in such provocative headlines such as "US airports on frontline as Donald Trump's immigration ban causes chaos and controversy," "New York Yemenis stunned by Trump's ban: 'I feel like somebody has killed me,'" and "Is this a Muslim ban? Trump's executive order explained." Headlines can be crucial in restricting further information processing and can bias readers toward a particular interpretation of the article they are about to read (Ecker, Lewandowsky, Chang, & Pillai, 2014). Headlines are potentially the most powerful frame of the article, which means with headlines like "Australia's refugee deal in jeopardy after Trump's 'extreme vetting' order" *The Guardian* is trying to impress on the reader the severity of immigrants' situations with the executive order.

On this date, *The Guardian* published 13 articles with examples of the immigrants as victims frame. Much of it was directed at how immigrants would be extremely inconvenienced by their new inability to get into the United States.

In some cases, the plight of blocked prospective immigrants was cast in a much more serious light. These articles illustrated the concerns of people who had managed to make it to the United States but were unsure whether they would be able to get their family, who might be in grave danger in their home country, to join them (Laughland, 2017). Family and children were often featured in immigrants as victims frames, demonstrated by quotes from immigrants such as Yemeni green card holder Mohamed Muezeb:

> "I don't know what happened to my kids. I can't talk to them," Muezeb said, adding his
> family had only $200 in cash available to them. "All my life I've been working for my
> kids. What happened today has killed me" (Laughland, 2017).

While *The Guardian* was emphasizing the plight of immigrants in light of the executive order, *The Daily Telegraph* and *i* were emphasizing the president's relation to the United Kingdom. The publications stress how Trump is cordial with British Prime Minister Theresa May. In these articles, immigration is often just a political topic, with Trump criticizing German Chancellor Angela Merkel for her immigration policies and May planning to talk to the Turkish government about immigration.

The publication *i* took a much less individualistic approach to reporting on immigrants on this date. In fact, one frame in an *i* article is immigrants as a mass. *i* reporter Joseph Watts writes about Trump's meeting with May. In the meeting, Trump reportedly criticized Merkel for allowing thousands of immigrants to enter Germany (Watts, 2017). Although this might appear as a source of conflict frame, the immigrants themselves are described as "thousands" and thus earn the label immigrants as a mass.

Along with describing immigrants as a mass, *i* portrays them in an uncontrolled immigration frame. Kirby Northern reported that the Labour Party was not connecting with people who had concerns about law and order, uncontrolled immigration, and Brexit. This lack of connection could cause the party to lose the Copeland by-election, which would signal a downward spiral (Northern, 2017).

The Daily Telegraph took a different approach to covering immigration and immigrants on this day compared to *i*. One article talks about the cultural influence of immigrants on Melbourne, Australia, and how the city has been shaped by immigrants from southern Europe for more than a century (Brown, 2017).

The Daily Telegraph also focuses on a particular type of immigrant, in this case Muslims.

Muslim immigrants are discussed as a political topic, as some citizens in the United States did

not want them to travel to the country.

In the article "Donald's a people person - and so is Ter-ezza," Michael Deacon reports on

both of these topics. A reporter is quoted asking Trump about his attempts to ban Muslim

immigrants from entering the country. Trump responds jokingly but ignores aspects of the

question relating to immigrants.

CHAPTER FIVE

PORTRAYAL OF IMMIGRATION IN U.S. PUBLICATIONS

5.1 October 20, 2016, Coverage

The U.S. coverage for October 20, 2016, the day after the final Clinton and Trump debate, consisted of 25 articles: eight in *The New York Times*, nine in *The Washington Post*, and eight in *The Wall Street Journal*. Unlike the U.K. publications, the U.S. publications had a much more even distribution of articles on this date, with each having either nine or eight.

These articles are much more often focused on Trump, with many reporting about his claim he will not accept the election results if Clinton wins. Some articles mentioned immigrants, but the topic of immigration came second in placement within stories to Trump's potential refusal to accept the election results.

Martin and Healy (2016) reported on the debate between the two candidates, and in their *New York Time*'s article, the reporters start immediately discussing Trump's refusal in the lead. It is not until later in the article when immigrants are discussed and portrayed as a threat with the label "bad hombres." The article also illustrates episodic framing by reporting on Clinton's encounter with a young girl whose parents may be deported by Trump's potential immigration policies that would expel illegal immigrants. Clinton is reported as not wanting to tear families apart. They also mostly discuss the debate itself.

Another common theme in the articles was criticism of Trump's debate style, with headlines from *The Washington Post* such as "A promising start, then more of same," "Once again, Trump shows a disregard for employing facts," and "Trump, predictably, spouts off again." In two of those three articles, immigrants are mentioned as a political debate topic (Balz,

2016; Milbank, 2016).

However, in Glenn Kessler's *Washington Post* article, the reporter analyzed Trump's

statements about immigrants to determine their truthfulness. In the article, Trump claimed illegal

immigrants were better taken care of in the country than veterans. Kessler discovered this was

not, broadly speaking, true, as illegal immigrants are not eligible to receive Social Security but

did contribute $12 billion into the Social Security system in 2010 alone (Kessler, 2016).

When it comes to immigration, the most common theme was often politics, with

immigration listed with other political topics for the candidates to discuss. That turned it into

the ultimate frame of source of conflict, like this paragraph from *The New York Times*:

> In the final presidential debate, held Wednesday night in Las Vegas, Donald J. Trump
>
> and Hillary Clinton attacked each other on immigration policy, the Supreme Court,
>
> economic policy and other points. Sometimes they stuck close to facts and sometimes
>
> they left the facts behind … ("Sticking to Truth," 2016).

The two candidates often created frames for immigrants with their statements. Clinton

created the frame immigrants taken advantage of by pointing out that Trump had used Polish

workers to build some of his estates and had even threatened them with deportation. Trump, on

the other hand, often created the frames immigration as a threat and immigration control through

his discussion of criminal Mexican immigrants crossing the border and his plans to build a wall

on the U.S.-Mexico border to prevent this.

Although these articles did not often discuss the United Kingdom, on the rare occasions

they did so the articles discussed Brexit and how immigration was a high political priority for

the United Kingdom. For example, in a *The Wall Street Journal* article, May is reported as saying that immigration controls were an even higher priority for the United Kingdom than access to the European Union's common market (Whittall & Bird, 2016).

Another article from *The Wall Street Journal* also discusses how the United Kingdom has strong feelings about immigration into that country. Max Colchester and Jenny Gross (2016) reported on how the United Kingdom was looking to curb immigration. Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond is reported saying that the United Kingdom must seek to ensure the stability of its economy while also looking to sharply cut immigration.

Another politician, May, is reported as having high approval ratings due to her crackdown on immigration. This might cost her access to the European Union's market, however, as all countries wishing to belong to the EU must allow EU citizens to live and work in any state in the union (Colchester & Gross, 2016).

5.2 January 21, 2017, Coverage

The U.S. coverage for January 21, 2017, the day after Trump was inaugurated, consisted of 35 articles: 14 in *The New York Times*, eight in *The Washington Post*, and 13 in *The Wall Street Journal*. Once again, the U.S. publications had a more equal number of stories individually than the U.K. publications did, with *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* having almost an equal amount of coverage and *The Washington Post* trailing not far behind.

An interesting note is that all three printed the transcript of the inaugural address, which was not the case in the U.K. publications. This is an example of how the state of the political environment can determine how a newspaper decides to cover events (Helbling, 2014; Henken, 2005; Lawlor, 2015; Macekura, 2011; Niles, 2010). As Trump listed immigration as a topic of

decisions that he would make in his address, it was labeled as a politics frame that was later clustered into the frame source of conflict.

Another interesting political difference is the U.S. publications did not cover the women's marches as much or as thoroughly as *The Guardian*. The U.S. publications also covered the more violent protestors as well as non-violent ones in the marches. It is reported that police officers used flash grenades and pepper spray to subdue protestors, and by the end of the day in Washington, six police officers had received minor injuries and more than 200 people were arrested (Schmidt, 2017).

Protesters were also reported committing violent crimes such as punching a prominent alt-right leader in his face (Schmidt, 2017). The alt-right leader is described as anti-immigration, and the resulting frame, due to the context of his assault, is labeled as immigration support.

When newspaper articles did feature the women's marches, the frames for immigration were immigrant support and that immigrants belong in the United States. Oftentimes the rights of immigrants were listed with those of many other disadvantaged groups, much like how this *The Washington Post* article describes it:

"We believe that Women's Rights are Human Rights and Human Rights are Women's Rights," according to the march's Unity Principles. "We must create a society in which women - including Black women, Native women, poor women, immigrant women, disabled women, Muslim women, lesbian queer and trans women - are free and able to care for and nurture their families, however they are formed, in safe and healthy environments free from structural impediments." (Stein, 2017)

What was more common in the coverage, however, were quotes from Trump and his

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supporters who attended his inauguration. In these quotes that readers could find the frames of immigration as a threat and immigration control. Oftentimes Trump supporters, like Tina Difabrizio in a *The New York Times* article, brought these points up when giving the reasons they voted for him:

"I was hopeful this day would come," said Ms. Difabrizio, 56, a retired police officer from Fort Bragg, N.C. As a light rain fell, she listed the reasons, from the promise of good-paying jobs to that of curbs on illegal immigration. The most important, though: wrestling back the government from greedy politicians (Fandos et al., 2017).

Although she says "wrestling back the government from greedy politicians" is her most important reason for voting for Trump, his rhetoric on immigration did not curb her enthusiasm for him either. This demonstrates how politicians can use strong feelings about immigration to gain votes (Macekura, 2011).

The coverage on this day is United States-focused for the U.S. publications, but a couple of articles focus on events in countries like Italy, the United Kingdom, and Russia. In *The Wall Street Journal* article "World News: Italy Steps Up Deportations," immigrants are framed as an overload to Italy and immigration control present throughout the article. However, the article also reports that Italy has repatriation agreements with some countries in Africa and in the Middle East. The article reports that Italy is targeting 3,000 voluntary repatriations by 2018 by using 11.6 million euros of Italian and European Union funds (Lombardi, 2017).

Immigrants are also negatively framed in Great Britain in *The New York Times* article "Godfather of Britain's Exit From E.U. Takes Aim at the Establishment." Immigration is described as a political problem, one that was severe enough for Britons to vote for Brexit.

As for Russia, immigration frames are source of conflict as Russia uses its immigration

policies as a "political trading card" to try and sway other countries into doing what it wants

as reported in *The Wall Street Journal*.

5.3 January 28, 2017, Coverage

The U.S. coverage for January 28, 2017, the day after the executive order, consisted of

28 articles: 17 in *The New York Times*, seven in *The Washington Post*, and four in *The Wall*

Street Journal. The coverage was much less equal for this date, with *The New York Times*

publishing twice as many articles as runner-up *The Washington Post,* with *The Wall Street*

Journal publishing the fewest.

The New York Times, similar to *The Guardian,* portrays immigrants as victims with

headlines such as "Trump Targets Muslim Areas in Refugee Ban." When readers delve into the

article, they find something else. *The New York Times* often quotes Trump defending his

executive order, and as such immigrants as a threat frames abound in the text. This is an

example:

> "We don't want them here," Mr. Trump said of Islamist terrorists during a signing
>
> ceremony at the Pentagon. "We want to ensure that we are not admitting into our
>
> country the very threats our soldiers are fighting overseas. We only want to admit those
>
> into our country who will support our country, and love deeply our people. '(Shear &
>
> Cooper, 2017).

The New York Times also published the entire text of the executive order. The language

in the executive order creates frames such as terrorism, which condenses into immigration as a

threat and immigration control. The source of conflict frame can also be found in *New York Times* articles, as the newspaper reports on Trump disagreeing with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto about who should pay for the wall Trump wants built along the border (Semple, 2017).

Source of conflict is also a prominent frame in *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*, with headlines such as "Advocates push to limit state's cooperation with Trump on immigration" and "U.S. News: Immigration-Policy Battle Escalates in Texas" respectively. In these articles, reporters write about how some lawmakers do not plan to quietly go along with Trump's new immigration policies, which in turn causes more lawmakers to also oppose his policies.

This is demonstrated by quoting people such as executive director of CASA de Maryland, Gustavo Torres who said Maryland will try and follow its history of providing foreign-born residents with opportunities. He said this was especially crucial considering Trump's moves toward immigration crackdowns (Wiggins, 2017).

The conflict is also demonstrated with quotes such as "Meanwhile, the fight is spilling over into the Texas Legislature. Both Mr. Abbott and Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick have said they want lawmakers to prioritize passing legislation this year that would bar sanctuary cities in the state" (Frosch, 2017). Although at first glance this quote might not seem to be an immigration frame, but when readers see it contextually in the article, however, they see the policies being discussed concern immigration.

Sanctuary cities in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom "aim to accommodate illegalized migrants and refugees in their communities" (Bauder, 2017). This concept does not comply with the Trump administration policy that seeks to prevent illegal

immigration into the United States and deport illegal immigrants already in the country. As such, there are political clashes at the local and national political levels.

The articles also have a unique frame that is found primarily in the U.S. publications, which is a balance frame. This frame discusses the balance between U.S. citizens' and immigrants' rights.

Although some articles do have immigrants as victims frames, they juxtapose them to immigration as a threat frames and make the reader question whose rights are more important. Is there is a way for everyone to be either welcomed or safe? This is demonstrated in this quote from *The Washington Post*:

"If you want ironclad guarantees, you'd have to stop all immigration, business travelers and students," said David Martin, who worked on immigration and refugee policy at the State Department and DHS. "If you're going to say you're not going to admit anybody to the United States, that's surrendering a key part of our heritage and blinding ourselves to genuine human suffering" (Morello, 2017).

It is a challenging balance to achieve, and it is not one the U.S. publications seem to have succeeded at with their frames in the three days of coverage found in this study. Although the U.S. articles appear to portray immigrants as victims, they do not. This is because most of the articles select certain politicians to quote who affect the immigration rhetoric in the United States by making immigrants appear as a threat and not welcomed. However, critics of the Muslim ban proposal are also quoted, which demonstrates fairness and balance in coverage.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

As demonstrated in this research, the different publications from the United States and United Kingdom represented immigrants differently. This chapter looks at those differences and how they answer the research questions and do or do not match the assumptions stated earlier.

The first research question asked how the U.S. publications represented immigrants in the media. The assumption was U.S. publications would have both positive and negative frames for immigrants, due to U.S. exceptionalism (Machado, 2010; Steimel, 2010) and fear of terrorist attacks (Gustin & Ziebarth, 2010; Niles, 2010).

The data in this study revealed that U.S. publications instead overwhelmingly used negative frames. This is most likely due to the sources quoted in the publications. The media acts as a mouthpiece to spread ideas to its audiences (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). In the U.S. publications, Trump and his anti-immigration literature are often quoted, which led to the negative frames portrayed in the articles.

Trump's presence in the articles also answers the question whether the articles represent the country's citizens' and administrations' political ideals. The U.S. president can reflect the country's immigration views at the time (Henken, 2005, Macekura, 2011). By discussing Trump's anti-immigration policies, the articles could be representing the views of the citizens who elected him.

The third research question asked how immigrants were represented in the three U.K. publications. The researcher assumed the U.K. publications would portray immigrants negatively due to the apparent anti-immigrant government and culture (Novacescu, 2014;

Sutherland, 2006). The data revealed, however, that immigrants were often portrayed very sympathetically. This could possibly be caused by the sheer mass of *The Guardian* articles in the data, as it is a liberal newspaper and has been known to focus on different people's plights when trying to get the readers emotionally involved with the story (Jaber, 2016).

The U.K. publications quote both politicians and immigrants. The U.K. politicians are quoted on both the sympathetic plight of the immigrants and how immigration is a factor in Brexit. The articles also focus on individual immigrants to tell their plight. Whether the general population in the United Kingdom is more reflective in their anti-immigrant politicians and Brexit or in the sympathetic articles in unclear.

After looking at the data, clear differences are found in the coverage. The three U.S. publications tended to portray immigrants more negatively, as a threat and as a topic of conflict. In the three U.K. publications, immigrants were portrayed as victims who need support to make it to safety or reunite with their families.

After conducting this study, it appears the publications chosen for this study could portray immigrants differently when covering them. For future coverage, if the U.S. publications in this study interview more immigrants themselves instead of relying on the words of politicians, immigrants could be portrayed very differently. For future coverage, the U.K. publications in this study might want to do the reverse and balance out their sympathetic coverage of immigrants with opposing viewpoints from politicians to appear less biased.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE OF THIS STUDY

The biggest limit to this study was time. If the researcher had more time, she would have included coverage the week after each political event chosen for this study, rather than just the day after. This would have given a fuller picture of the effect the event had on the newspaper coverage afterward.

Another element that would have made this study more valuable would have been if there had been time to collect and analyze articles published after important U.K. political events that might impact immigration policies. For example, if articles had been drawn for the following: June 23, 2016, the date of the referendum on whether to leave the European Union; July 13, 2016, the date May became prime minister; and December 5, 2016, the date the U.K. Supreme Court convened to decide whether the Parliament or prime minister has the power to invoke Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty to start Brexit negotiations (Kennedy, 2017). Much like how the U.S. state of affairs affected the representation of immigration in both U.K. and U.S. newspapers, it would be interesting to see how the U.K. state of affairs affected their representation as well.

It would also have been interesting to delve more deeply into the specific types of immigrants who were portrayed and to create a set of sensitizing questions for that area of study. So instead of coding for immigrants as a whole, to analyze how Muslim immigrants specifically or other specific immigrant groups were portrayed.

Another limitation was the inexperience of the researcher and the fact she was the only coder. The researcher had her own implicit biases and preconceived notions and

might have misinterpreted some of the articles. It would be beneficial to have someone

from the United Kingdom also analyze the articles to get a more thorough understanding

of what readers could ideologically take away after reading the articles.

The publications chosen for this study were selected because all are daily print

publications, elite publications with established credibility, and extensively cover political

and policy topics with national audiences in print and online. The three U.S. newspapers may

not portray immigrants in a way that the average American would perceive them. Education

is an important aspect when it comes to acceptance of immigrants (McLaren, 2003), and *The*

New York Times and *The Wall Street Journal* have an audience that tends to be more

educated than the general American population (Woods et al., 2015). As such, it would have

been interesting to see how immigrants were represented in less prestigious publications.

What would be an interesting study would be including Germany, as Germany has

had a massive number of immigrants (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2016) and has the highest

number of asylum applicants in the EU (Novacescu, 2014). Although it is also a European

country, Germany's publications have the potential to portray immigration differently than

the United Kingdom because of an assimilation policy that contrasts with the U.K.'s process

of multiculturalism (Helbling, 2014). Ideally, future studies will have a much larger sample

of articles on immigration from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany to

compare and contrast coverage.

Another interesting element to consider in the representation of immigrants in the

media is through "fake news." Accurate news is crucial for a democracy. Fake news is, "a

fictitious report relating to current events which is fabricated, and often titled misleadingly,

with the deliberate purpose of deceiving users and motivating them to disseminate the report"

(Burshtein, 2017). As such, fake news can be considered a threat to democracy. Fake news is cited as having an impact on the U.S. 2016 presidential election and Brexit (Burshtein, 2017) so it would be interesting to see in future studies how fake news also might have impacted the representation of immigration.

This study strongly suggests that the country of origin can have an effect on how immigrants are portrayed in the media. Although this study had its limits, it demonstrates that there is still much to learn about how immigrants are perceived by others in society.

APPENDIX

SENSITIZING QUESTIONS TO CODE FRAMES

As this is a qualitative study, a code for quantitatively measuring the data would be inappropriate. Instead, a qualitative coding method of using sensitizing questions to code frames will be used. These questions are strongly based off of the sensitizing questions used in Beau Niles dissertation "FRAMING IMMIGRATION: THE IMPACT OF 9/11 AND THE LONDON TRAIN BOMBINGS ON THE PORTRAYALS OF IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION IN THE PRINT MEDIA" found in Appendix 1 of the dissertation.

Voice

Where is the information in the article coming from?

Who/what is used as a source?

Reference: words/concepts and where they come from.

Reference: Documentation/statistics, and who provided them? Are alternative viewpoints presented?

Problems

What is presented as the problem? Why is it seen as a problem?

Causality (What is seen as the cause of what?)

Who is portrayed as responsible for causing the problem?

Problem holders (Whose problem is it seen to be? Who plays the active/passive roles, perpetrators/victims roles, etc?)

Strategies/Solutions

What to do? Which action is deemed necessary and why?

Hierarchy/priority in goals (strategy/means/instruments)?

Attribution of roles in the strategies/solutions.

Future Action

Is there a call for action or inaction?

Who is acted upon (target groups)?

Boundaries set to action and legitimization of non-action.

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