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Media Framing of Refugees in the United States and Canada

Janine Allwright
Walden University

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Walden University
2018

Abstract

Media Framing of Refugees in the United States and Canada

by

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BBA/MBA, Open Universiteit, the Netherlands, 2002

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy & Administration

Walden University

May 2018

Abstract

The ongoing war in Syria and the subsequent refugee crisis has brought the need for refugee resettlement to the forefront of policy debates. Canada and the United States display stark differences in the outcome of their refugee policies. Canada continues to welcome Syrian refugees, whereas the United States has become less willing to engage in resettlement. The purpose of this study was to use Entman's conceptualization of framing theory to compare media framing of refugees in Canada and the United States to deliver insight into the different policy outcomes. Data were acquired through a content analysis of 850 newspaper articles in each country that were measured with 2 separate Lexicoder instruments to represent the salience and selection of the media coverage about refugees. These data were then analyzed primarily through compare-means tests to determine if there were differences in media reporting between the 2 nations. Findings indicated that newspapers in the United States portrayed refugees more negatively than newspapers in Canada. The tone and frame of the articles differed significantly between the 2 countries ($p < .001$). These results suggested that newspaper articles in the United States portrayed a less favorable attitude toward refugees compared to Canada. The implications for positive social change include the necessity by intergovernmental, governmental, and nonprofit organizations who are tasked with refugee resettlement in the United States to counter the negative portrayals of refugees in the media in order to enhance the integration process of refugees in society and motivate additional resettlement opportunities.

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Dedication

I dedicate my completed project to three amazing women in my life: My mother, Ria, who blessed me with determination and tenacity; my friend, Sue, who knew I could and should do this before I was aware; and my daughter Sienna, who patiently watched me fulfill my other life-long dream.

Additionally, I would like to recognize refugees and the perplexity of the current crisis in light of humanity: “More connects us than separates us—but in times of crisis, the wise build bridges, while the foolish build barriers. We must find a way to look after one another, as if we were one single tribe.” T’Challa, *Black Panther*.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background.....	4
Problem Statement.....	9
Purpose of the Study	11
Research Questions and Hypotheses	11
Theoretical Framework.....	13
Nature of the Study.....	14
Definitions.....	15
Assumptions.....	16
Scope and Delimitations	18
Limitations	20
Significance.....	21
Implications for Social Change.....	22
Summary	24
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	26
Literature Search Strategy.....	29
Refugee Legislation and Policies.....	30
The American Refugee Policy	32
The Canadian Refugee Policy.....	35

The Syrian Refugee Crisis	39
Theoretical Foundation	41
Framing Paradigms	42
Framing, Agenda Setting, Second-Level Agenda Setting, and Priming....	44
Frame and Framing	45
Salience	47
Functions of Frames.....	48
Applications of Framing Theory.....	50
Innovative Framing Studies	51
Framing Studies Examining Changing Public Discourse.....	52
Immigration Framing Studies	54
Refugee Framing Studies.....	56
The Media and Public Policy	57
Native Attitudes	61
Immigrants as a Homogenous Group	63
Anti-Immigrant Sentiments	64
Individualistic Societies	67
Anti-Refugee Attitudes	69
Dehumanization	71
The Threat of Terrorism.....	72
Negative Native Attitudes.....	74
Indicators of Native Attitudes.....	76

Approach Used in the Research Study.....	79
Deductive Tone Approach	80
Inductive Frame Construct Approach.....	82
Placement.....	84
Media Variable.....	85
Summary and Conclusion.....	87
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	90
Research Design and Rationale	91
Variables	93
Methodology.....	94
Population.....	94
Sample Size.....	97
Procedures for Data Collection.....	100
Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs	101
Lexicoder Sentiment Dictionary Instrument.....	102
Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary Development Process	104
Validity Test.....	106
Operationalization of Variables	107
Dependent Variables.....	107
Independent Variable	108
Data Analysis Plan.....	109
Threats to Validity	112

Ethical Considerations	114
Summary	115
Chapter 4: Results	118
Article Collection and Sampling.....	119
Sample for the Development of Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary	120
Main Sampling Operation.....	122
Extraction of Validity Sample	123
Main Sample Completion	124
Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary Instrument Development.....	125
Phase 1: Qualitative Assessment of Primary Sample	126
Phase 2: Creating the Lexicoder Script for Measurement	127
Phase 3: Preparation of Validity Sample	127
Phase 4: Validation Process	128
Data Measurement	129
Descriptive Statistics.....	131
Tone Variables.....	132
Frame Variables.....	136
Categorical Variables.....	140
Tone Analysis	141
Pre-Analysis.....	142
Hypothesis Evaluation	144
Frame Analysis	146

Pre-Analysis.....	148
Assumptions Evaluation Results.....	151
Frame Hypothesis Evaluation.....	153
Frame Variables and Linear Discriminant Function Analysis.....	155
Placement Analysis.....	159
Pre-Analysis.....	160
Hypothesis Evaluation	161
Summary.....	162
Chapter 5: Discussion and Recommendations.....	164
Interpretation of the Findings.....	165
Tone Revisited	167
Frame Construct Revisited.....	168
Placement Revisited.....	171
Limitations of the Study.....	173
Recommendations.....	175
Implications.....	177
Conclusions.....	180
References.....	183
Appendix A: Tables	204
Appendix B: Figures.....	236

List of Tables

Table 1. Framing Indicators: Definitions and Terms.....	108
Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Tone Variables.....	133
Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of Frame Variables.....	137
Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of Categorical Variables	141
Table 5. Summary of Assumption Violations for Variables in Various States	152
Table A1. Newspaper Circulation Revenues: Canada.....	204
Table A2. Newspaper Circulation Revenues: United States	205
Table A3. Main Data Collection: Population Versus Sample by Country	206
Table A4. Data Sample: Refugee Dictionary Development.....	207
Table A5. Refugee Dictionary Development: NVivo Results.....	208
Table A6. Validity Test: Diagnosis Variable.....	210
Table A7. Validity Test: Interpretation Variable.....	211
Table A8. Validity Test: Moral Evaluation Variable.....	211
Table A9. Validity Test: Solutions and Outcomes Variables.....	212
Table A10. Validity Test Summary	213
Table A11. Codebook for Media Framing of Refugees	214
Table A12. Outliers: Winsorization Summary	215
Table A13. Results of Tone Analysis	216
Table A14. Pearson Correlation Matrix for Original State Variables	217
Table A15. Pearson Correlation Matrix for Winsorized Variables	217
Table A16. Pearson Correlation Matrix for Modified Variables.....	218

Table A17. Summary of Multivariate Tests	218
Table A18. Hotelling's T2 Results: Summary for Various Sets of Variables	219
Table A19. Test of Between-subjects Effects with Original State Variables	220
Table A20. Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Original State Variables.....	222
Table A21. Residual SSCP Matrix with Original State Variables.....	223
Table A22. Test of Between-subjects Effects with Winsorized Variables	224
Table A23. Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Winsorized Variables.....	226
Table A24. Residual SSCP Matrix: Winsorized Variables	227
Table A25. Test of Between-subjects Effects with Modified Variables.....	228
Table A26. Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Modified Variables	230
Table A27. Residual SSCP Matrix with Modified Variables.....	231
Table A28. Discriminant Analysis: Summary for Various Sets of Variables	232
Table A29. Discriminant Analysis: Functions at Group Centroids	233
Table A30. Results of Frame Variables Analyses	234
Table A31. Placement Analysis: Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients.....	235
Table A32. Placement Analysis: Model Summary.....	235
Table A33. Placement Analysis: Variables in the Equation.....	235

List of Figures

Figure 1. Development of lexicoder refugee dictionary.	105
Figure B1. Sample distribution countries and newspapers.	236
Figure B2. Word frequency chart and RD development sample.	237
Figure B3. Word frequency chart with positive and negative words.	238
Figure B4. Discriminant analysis graph—frame construct.	239

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The enduring war in Syria has brought the world a refugee crisis that has created pressing needs for refugee resettlement opportunities in Western countries. Canada has become a reliable refugee resettlement country but, in contrast, potential refugee resettlement in the United States has come resulting in tensions in the region and beyond. Since the start of the conflict in 2011, 12 million Syrians have become displaced within Syria or were forced to seek refuge beyond the borders of the country (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2018). Additional conflicts in neighboring countries prevent access to possible safe havens in the region and have motivated an overwhelming refugee influx in other areas of the world, notably European countries. The UNHCR has called on its member states to broaden admissions of Syrian refugees and has repeatedly urged Western countries to invite more refugees for permanent resettlement in each respective country (De Grujil, Gaynor, & Clayton, 2016; Türk, 2016).

The United States has been a reliable resettlement country for refugees since the enactment of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 and stands out for sizeable refugee admissions from regions marred by war, violence, or persecution (U.S. Department of State, 2016). However, terrorist attacks and threats or perceived threats of repeat attacks are known to induce resistance to the continued admissions of refugees for resettlement. For instance, after the 9/11 terrorist attack, refugee admissions were initially reduced but have steadied at pre-9/11 levels in subsequent years (U.S. Department of State, 2015). More recent terrorist attacks in the United States and elsewhere have brought renewed

scrutiny of refugee policies and gave rise to resistance toward the continuation of refugee resettlement in the United States. The executive branch expressed a desire to increase the welcome to Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016 (Healy & Bosman, 2015; Kaplan, 2015). However, the presidential election campaign of 2016 featured widespread resistance toward further refugee resettlement (Ross, 2016).

The hesitancy to increase the admissions of Syrian refugees for resettlement has resulted in limited arrivals of Syrians in the United States. From the start of the Syrian war in 2011 until the end of 2015, the United States allowed 2,550 Syrian refugees to resettle in the country. During 2016, an additional 15,000 Syrians received permission to resettle in the United States (Refugee Processing Center, 2016). In comparison, Canada has resettled upward of 55,000 Syrian refugees before the start of 2018 and vowed to continue its welcome to Syrians (Government of Canada, 2018; Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2016).

Canada and the United States show differences in the willingness to resettle refugees, which were the subject of the completed research study. I examined the differences between the refugee policies of Canada and the United States from the perspective of media framing. I analyzed published newspaper articles in Canada and the United States and evaluated the differences of refugee portrayals with inferential tests against statistically significant levels.

The magnitude of the Syrian refugee crisis and the continued need for additional resettlement opportunities in the Western world bring merit to the social validity of this research study. Social validity is the relevance and meaning of a study for an audience

outside of academia (Krippendorff, 2004; Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014). The need for external validity is summarized by the Pasteur's Quadrant: A research study should find a healthy balance between the advancement of a theory and should simultaneously address a social need (Stokes, 1997). Insight into why two North American neighbors have different approaches to a possible resolution of the Syrian refugee crisis can be meaningful and useful to lawmakers in Congress, policymakers, refugee policy administrators, and actors who resettle refugees at the federal, state, and local levels. Moreover, humanitarian organizations that support resettlement opportunities for Syrian refugees in third countries can benefit from a deeper insight into portrayals of refugees in national media. The striking differences between Canada and the United States for how the media portrays refugees can encourage humanitarian agendas that are tasked with creating resettlement options for refugees to address the role of the media as a factor of influence on the outcome of refugee policies.

This introductory chapter provides an outline of the literature background, the problem statement, and the purpose of the research study. The research questions and hypotheses, theoretical framework, and a brief discussion of the nature of the study place the content analysis firmly within the required methodology. In the remainder of the chapter, I present detailed definitions, assumptions, delimitations, and limitations that combine the necessary boundaries of the framework of the study. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the significance of the research study before transitioning into the literature review in Chapter 2.

Background

Canada and the United States share a comparable trajectory of the development of their respective refugee legislation and policies. Initially, refugee rights and resettlement options in both countries were subject to ad-hoc decisions and reflected restrictive immigration ideologies that were often based on a selective quota system, prejudice, and political bias (Hamlin & Wolgin, 2012; Soennecken, 2014). Both Canada and the United States showed initial resistance toward multilateral refugee treaties but eventually accepted the Convention and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in the late 1960s.

The United States ratified the protocol in 1968 and incorporated the principles of the document in The Refugee Act of 1980 that has since become a steady beacon for the development and implementation of the refugee policy. For the past five decades, the country has evolved into a leading force in refugee resettlement and has exercised an understanding of the need for humanitarian concern to resolve refugee crises (Türk, 2016). The 9/11 terrorist attack brought temporary scrutiny to refugee admissions, but refugee resettlement in the United States has stabilized to pre-9/11 admissions in subsequent years. However, the recent Syria refugee crisis has not yet generated significant refugee resettlement opportunities for Syrian refugees. Terrorist attacks and perceived threats of additional attacks have led to resistance from most state governors to earlier federal plans that would encourage increased admissions of Syrian refugees (Healy & Bosman, 2015).

Refugee resettlement and the perceived threat that refugees pose to the security of the country became a contested subject in the presidential election campaign in 2016. In early 2017, the new executive administration implemented executive order 13769 that indefinitely blocked refugees from Syria and temporarily banned refugees from all other nations for a 90-day period (Exec. Order No. 13769, 2017). The order was subsequently halted by a decision of the 9th District Court, quoting significant and ongoing harm to the residents of the suing party (*State of Washington and State of Minnesota v. Donald J. Trump*, 2017). A subsequent second executive order to restrict travel from specific Muslim countries, including Syria, is currently under judiciary review.

In Canada, the New Immigration Act of 1978 elevated the refugee protection and resettlement to a higher standard, and the level of refugee recognition, including gender protection and LGBT refugee admissions, received praise from the United Nations (UN) in 1986 (Soennecken, 2014). However, in 2001, new immigration legislation in Canada led to a paradigmatic change in its refugee policy, resulting in tighter admissions rules and limitations to resettlement options (Irvine, 2011; Watson, 2015). Changes to the refugee policy notwithstanding, Canada allows private sponsorship of refugees, and this feature of the refugee policy has become a driving force for the increase of admissions of Syrian refugees. The refugee admissions in Canada combine government-assisted resettlement with privately sponsored refugees in almost equal weight. In 2015, nearly 10,000 Syrian refugees arrived under private sponsorship of a total of 20,000 admitted refugees during that time. In the first 9 months of 2016, Canada admitted 15,000 refugees

under private sponsorships of a total of 36,000 newly admitted refugees in Canada (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2016).

The interaction between the media as the fourth estate and the government, in its ability to design and implement policy, has been an academic source of interest since the ratification and enactment of the United States Constitution. The traditional role of the media fits within the framework of democratic theory, and freedom of speech represents an additional check on the level of democracy of any nation (Stewart, 1974). The influence of the media and its possible effect on public policy became a subject of academic interest in 1983 when Page and Shapiro concluded that public opinion moves policy. The influence of the media serves as the backbone for the theories of agenda setting, priming, and framing (Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In this research study, I treated the influence of the media on public policy, specifically refugee policies in Canada and the United States, as an assumption and the starting point of the quantitative examination.

The framing of refugees in the media, as a special group of immigrants, follows the concepts of group threat theories. Such theories have been used to understand the relationship between ingroups and outgroups and to explain racial prejudice in the United States (Allport, 1979; Blumer, 1958). However, stereotypical ingroup behavior toward a minority group is not restricted to race relations in the United States but can be applied toward other groups in society, including immigrants and refugees, under threat of prejudice from an ingroup (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013). One common cause of prejudiced behavior toward immigrants finds its origin in the erroneous portrayal of

immigrants as one homogenous group, a practice that is often exercised by native ingroups and by the media (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). The framing of immigrants and refugees in generalized terms is not limited to the media in the United States but has been identified by researchers in other countries, including Canada and an array of European countries (Gilbert, 2013; Kessler et al., 2010; Keung, 2007; Schemer, 2012).

The presence of immigrants and refugees is often perceived by the ingroup as a zero-sum game, where the ingroup evaluates immigrants as increased competition for employment, housing, education, and other resources (Berg & Gleditsch, 2014). Because competition for resources intensifies during difficult economic times, prejudice toward immigrants tends to increase in times of economic downturn (Fussell, 2014). Equally, anti-immigrant sentiments heighten under the threat or the perceived threat of terrorism and may become incrementally affected by generalizations about cultures, religions, and ethnicities (Murray & Marx, 2013). Notably, the 9/11 terrorist attacks instigated an intensification of negative attitudes toward immigrants, including Muslims from the Middle East who reside in the United States (Steuter & Wills, 2010). The fear of terrorism relates to the level of perceived risk, which is a function of presence and level of nativism in a country (Fussell, 2014). Nativism is subject to the degree of individualism and is often associated with ethnocentrism and authoritarianism that fuel restrictive immigration policies (Fussell, 2014).

Negative portrayals of refugees in the media can influence how a government decides to determine its refugee policies. As an example, Bradimore and Bauder (2011)

examined media framing of a large group of Tamil nationals who sought refuge in Canada in 2009. The lack of humanitarian regard in subsequent media reports became a catalyzing force in the haphazard adjustments of policies that was meant to discourage additional refugees from seeking access to the country (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011). In Chapter 2, I will discuss additional examples of framing studies that represent a trend of negative portrayals of refugees in the media, assessed and examined by a variety of researchers in a multitude of countries.

Negative media refugee framing has an effect on the relationship between the native ingroup and the outgroup of refugees. Under the assumption that interaction between newly arrived refugees and the local population is limited to areas where refugees tend to settle, portrayals in the media often serve as the sole source of information about refugees (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013). When the tone in the media is predominantly negative, public information will influence how refugees are perceived. Negative media frames shape the native ingroup behavior toward refugees, which in turn affects the refugee integration process and the identity that a refugee develops in the country of resettlement (Fussell, 2014).

Negative attitudes toward immigrants in the media have received abundant attention from academic scholars (cf. Berg & Gleditsch, 2014; Brader et al., 2008; Fussell, 2014; Louis, Esses & Lalonde, 2013; Timberlake & Williams, 2012). However, insight into negative attitudes toward refugees is often limited to an implicit inclusion in immigration research and is overshadowed by the widespread attention to the negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants (Haynes, Merolla, & Ramakrishnan, 2016;

Murray & Marx, 2013). The lack of insight into refugees as a stand-alone group to receive negative media portrayal created a gap in the literature and served as a starting point of this research study. Additionally, researchers who examined media framing focused on a minority group in one specific location that is often limited to one country. Examinations that include comparisons of media framing between countries are rare, yet in the words of Berg and Gleditsch (2014) “understanding the dynamics that influence the formation of immigration attitudes of native-born citizens in different countries allows scholars to identify fundamental and common factors” (p. 124). The differences between the outcomes of refugee policies in the United States and Canada offered an opportunity to compare the media portrayal of refugees between these countries that contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the policy outcomes. The results of the quantitative study include examinations of possible differences between the media framing of refugees in Canada and the United States, which contributes to academic insight into how the media portrays refugees.

Problem Statement

The ongoing conflict in Syria and the subsequent refugee crisis has brought the need for refugee resettlement to the forefront of policy debates in Western nations, including Canada and the United States. The refugee policies in both countries produce contrasting outcomes and illuminate that Canada continues to admit Syrian refugees for resettlement, whereas the United States has been less willing to invite Syrian refugees for resettlement.

I used the influence of the media on public policy as the main assumption for the research study, which is a well-established academic concept that is grounded in normative democratic theory (Page & Shapiro, 1983). The quantitative content analysis of the completed research study was based on the framing theory (Page & Shapiro, 1983). I continued the trend of previous researchers who applied the framing theory in earlier studies in the field of public policy and communication. In these studies, the researchers assessed the influence of the media on public opinion by examining media content to understand how the media frames news content (cf. Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Chong & Druckman, 2007b; d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001; Edy & Meirick, 2007; Van Klingerren, Boomgaarden, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2015; Woods & Arthur, 2014). I focused on the media framing of refugees in newspapers in Canada and the United States as a possible explanation for the differences between the refugee policy outcomes in both countries. As the starting point of insight, I applied the examination to one specific terrorist attack, and I collected data from articles that were published after the terrorist attack in Paris, between November 13, 2015, and December 31, 2016.

The examination of media frames in newspaper articles about refugees contributed to the existing database of media content analyses and built on the current knowledge of media framing of immigrants. Although media framing of refugees is implicitly included when the framing of immigrants is addressed, the articulation of native attitudes in the media may differ between immigrants and refugees. Therefore, attention to refugees as a stand-alone group of examination of media portrayal filled a gap in the literature. This research study addresses media content in the context of an

increasing threat or a perceived threat of terrorism, and I assessed how the media frames refugees in media content as a reflection of native attitudes toward refugees.

Purpose of the Study

I used the framing theory, based on Entman's (1993) interpretation, to analyze news articles that are published in newspapers in both countries to examine possible differences in media portrayals of refugees. The independent variable represented the two countries of examination and included Canada and the United States. The dependent variables centered on the concept of *salience* and *selection*. The tone variables measured main tone, positive tone, and negative tone. The framing indicators, as variables in the frame construct, measured the diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. Additionally, the placement variable measured where an article was placed in the newspaper, either on the first page of the paper or elsewhere.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research question for the research study was to what extent media frames differed in published news reports between Canada and the United States with a focus on refugees. To evaluate the significance of the research question, I tested the following hypotheses:

H_0 1: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar tone.

H_1 1: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different tone.

H₀2: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar frame.

H₁2: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different frame.

H₀3: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees did not differ in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

H₁3: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees differed in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

H₀4: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to similar actors.

H₁4: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to different actors.

H₀5: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a similar moral evaluation.

H₁5: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a different moral evaluation.

H₀6: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected similar solutions and outcomes.

H₁6: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected different solutions and outcomes.

H₀7: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a similar location.

H₁₇: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a different location.

Theoretical Framework

The framing theory served as the theoretical foundation for the quantitative examination and insight of this study. The theory is built on the notion that the public has a limited understanding of complicated political issues, and this lack of knowledge creates a void of opportunity for the media (Zhou & Moy, 2007). The media becomes a platform of influence and frame news coverage, shape the opinion of the public, and leave an imprint on the democratic process (Zaller, 1992).

The framing theory finds its origin in the evolution of agenda setting and priming, two media effects models that are both based on the concept that the public is more likely to receive opinions about issues when coverage is accessible and repeated (Van Gorp, 2007). Researchers in the academic field do not necessarily agree on where framing fits on the spectrum between agenda setting and priming, but they do agree that framing is mostly concerned with *how* issues are presented (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Researchers also find commonality with the criticism of the development of framing as a theory. Entman (1993) was critical of the undisciplined development of framing concepts, which are often followed by haphazardly applied methods. A rigorous and narrow understanding of the terms that surround the theory is warranted, and in Chapter 2, I provide more detailed definitions of these terms. The content analysis of the research study followed Entman's definition of framing to examine how the media framed the subject of refugees. I applied Entman's (1993, 2007) framing definition and focused on

salience and selection, which is in line with the abundant application of this approach in content analyses in the field of public policy and communication field.

Framing theory offers a theoretical base that can illuminate how the media organize daily reality and covers specific issues. This research study fits within this theoretical framework and followed earlier approaches where researchers have examined news content for how the media framed a subject of interest. In Chapter 2, I discuss immigration and immigrant content analyses that used the framing approach as the theory of examination. The examples show that the framing theory is a valid theory to examine media framing.

The discussion of existing content analyses includes specific media framing of immigrants and, to a lesser extent, media framing of refugees. Although the subject of refugees is often implicitly included in the research studies that examine immigrants, insight into how the media frames the subject of refugees deserves separate and detailed attention. The examination of media portrayal as a measure of native attitudes toward refugees in Canada and the United States followed existing media framing studies that successfully used the framing theory for a quantitative insight, and reflected the differences in refugee policy outcomes between the two countries.

Nature of the Study

In this research study, I used an empirically grounded approach to quantitatively analyze media content to compare how the media portrays refugees in Canada and the United States. The approach followed a commonly used approach in the field of public

policy and communication research that allowed for a focus on the frequency of frames in newspaper content (Riffe et al., 2014).

The independent variable represented the countries of examination, Canada, and the United States. The dependent framing variables collectively represented the salience and the selection of the published article and included the main tone, negative tone, positive tone, diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, solutions and outcomes, and placement of the articles.

The data collection process was centered on the total population of articles that were published in a selection of newspapers in the United States and Canada. The time of data collection focused on published articles after a specific terrorist attack, the Paris attack on November 13, 2015, and the data collection ended on December 31, 2016. The sampling strategy was executed in a random manner and produced an adequate probability sample. To analyze the data, I based the inferential tests on a collection of hypotheses that collectively represented the research question. The choice of compare-means tests, linear discriminant function analysis, and binomial logistic regression was driven by the combination of the comparative nature of the research question and the level of measurement of the variables.

Definitions

Non-Refoulement: Article 33 of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (“the Convention”) precludes states from returning individuals to countries where they might face persecution or where their life or freedom may be in danger

(UNHCR, 2011a). Over time, the non-refoulement has developed *jus cogens* status, which is a norm of such importance that no derogation is permitted (Allain, 2001).

Resettlement: Involves the selection and transfer of refugees from an asylum country, as the country of refuge to escape war, persecution, and violence, to a third state, that has agreed to admit the refugees (UNHCR, 2014). The non-refoulement article in the Convention protects refugees from rejection or an inadvertently return to their country of origin, and the refugees are guaranteed access to rights that match rights enjoyed by nationals of the country of resettlement (UNHCR, 2011a).

Refugee: As per the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is a legally defined person who is forced to abandon the country of origin as a result of political or religious persecution, violence, or ethnic intolerance (UNHCR, 2011a). People who flee war, persecution, or violence can obtain legal refugee status from the UNHCR that oversees refugee rights under the official mandate of the UN.

Assumptions

Any quantitative test of a theoretical model requires assumptions that are statements of belief yet not demonstrated to be true. The main assumption of this research study was the influence of the media on public policy and policy outcomes. In Chapter 2, I discuss the relationship between the media and government, grounded in normative democratic theory, and provide examples of previous studies where researchers established the influence of the media on public opinion and policy (Kingdon, 1995; Page & Shapiro, 1983). The academic database includes an abundance of framing content analyses that were grounded in the relationship between the media and government and

its subsequent effect on public policy. In line with existing immigration and refugee media framing studies, I accepted the influence of the media on public policy as a reasonable assumption and a firm starting point of examination of the study.

The articulation of the first assumption is accompanied by the caveat that additional differences between Canada and the United States could possibly interfere with the examination of the research question of the research study. Both countries are similar in language, economies, social systems, and cultures, yet it cannot be determined that the policy design processes and their implementation share exact identical influences of the media. In the same manner, it cannot be determined that the media in the parliamentary system in Canada fulfills a comparable democratic role to the role of the media in the United States, which is based on a two-party government system. However, Canada and the United States are considered similar enough to provide a meaningful comparison of newspapers in both countries (Alford, 1997; Teune & Przeworski, 1970).

The relative level of similarities between both countries served as a second assumption for the research study. Regardless of possible differences between the policy process and role of the media in both countries, a country comparison between Canada and the United States fulfills Allford's (1967) social determinants for country comparisons between Anglo American countries. Countries that employ pluralist political systems that act as two-party systems, which fits the system in the United States and Canada to the extent that third-party influences are limited, can be considered similar for a country comparison. The country comparison between Canada and the United States also fits within the most similar systems design, which is based on the notion that two

countries should be sufficiently comparable for a meaningful comparison (Teune & Przeworski, 1970). Possible differences in media influence on the democratic process notwithstanding, I assumed that the media framing of refugees is the singular difference between Canada and the United States for the examination of the research study that serves as the main insight of comparison, *ceteris paribus*.

A third, and last, assumption expands the influence of the media on public policy for the purpose of journalism and the notion that newspapers still matter. Journalism is a requirement for the functioning of democracy: It operates under the First Amendment of the Constitution, empowers the people, and keeps checks on the three branches of government (Stewart, 1974). The birth of Internet news reports and news portrayals with limited or reduced journalistic qualities has brought an additional dimension to journalism. However, journalism still delivers a credible and independent contribution to the quality of society (McChesney, 2016). Newspapers, as the vehicle of choice for quality journalism, continue to be valued as reliable and trustworthy even under the pressures of an online world. Newspapers play a valuable role in American society, and a lack of newspaper journalism is not necessarily qualitatively filled by other news media (Schulhofer-Wohl, 2011).

Scope and Delimitations

Delimitations are characteristics that are outside of the control of the researcher, yet are expected to limit the scope of the research study. The comparison of media framing in the research study addressed the tone and frame of articles about refugees. Although the tone analysis allowed for a valence comparison between Canada and the

United States, the frame construct analysis was focused on negative attitudes about refugees. The negative scope limited the findings of the study in the direction of negative media portrayal. The focus on negative attitudes is in line with earlier studies where the researchers used group threat theories to examine the relationship between a native group and minority groups. Threats to a native group are usually expressed with negative attitudes and have a greater impact on group behavior than positive attitudes (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013; Soroka, 2006).

The period of data collection was delimited as the 14 months after the Paris attack in November 2015. The attack was not the first or only terrorist attack that could have served as the starting point of examination, but it was the first time that the media linked a terrorist attack to the substantial influx of Syrian refugees in Western Europe (Kingsley, 2015).

The examination of newspaper content in Canada and the United States for how they portray refugees was delimited to news articles, which are expected to be as neutral and unbiased as can be expected from daily newspapers. To avoid newspaper content with a possible subjected and biased nature, I excluded editorial and opinion columns.

The timing of the study coincided with the Syrian refugee crisis, which has displaced 12 million Syrian nationals (UNHCR, 2018). In light of the magnitude of this crisis, it was expected that newspaper articles about refugees focused on the Syrian refugee population and did not or to a lesser extent addressed attitudes toward other refugees. The insight into negative media framing is, therefore, limited to this population and restricts the generalization across other populations of refugees. However, it is not

unusual for researchers to explore a specific population and yet successfully generalize across other, similar populations. For instance, researchers who measured the media framing of immigrants often limited their examination of the media frames to immigrants, documented and undocumented, from Mexico. Nonetheless, the findings of such studies produced valuable generalizations across other immigrant populations that were not originally featured in the research studies (Akdenizli, Dionne, & Suro, 2008; Hayes, 2008).

Limitations

Content analyses are often presented as objective methods that allow for the unobtrusive examination of content (Krippendorff, 2004). The method is not exempt from the influence of the researcher, and possible interpretative bias and subjectivity should be addressed and avoided (Rourke, Anderson, Garrison, & Archer, 2001). Trochim (2006) recognized that the research design of a content analysis, including the sampling strategy, requires attention and should be held to high ethical standards to avoid researcher bias.

The sampling strategy defines the choice of the content for examination, and the researcher should ensure that the choice of content adequately reflects the subject matter. The choice of newspaper articles for this research study followed sampling strategies in previous studies, which concentrated on newspaper content (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013; Van Klingeren et al., 2015). For the research study, I was confident that the newspaper articles delivered data that was balanced across the subject and in line with media reports in other news sources.

An additional source of researcher bias and limited objectivity may arise from the choice of newspapers that I included in the sample (Trochim, 2009). The research design of the study included newspapers that produced the highest readership revenues in Canada and the United States. As a researcher, I trusted that such a broad choice of newspapers was not limited to one ideology or region of Canada and the United States. Therefore, I concluded that there was no reason for a predetermined subjectivity as a consequence of the selection of the included newspapers, and I did not expect any compromises to the ethical standards in the data collection and analysis phase of the study.

Accurate measurement of the dependent framing variables is subject to the correct operationalization of these variables. The tone variables were measured with an existing and validated instrument, the Lexicoder Sentiment Dictionary (Lexicoder SD). The instrument of measurement for the frame variables, the Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary (Lexicoder RD) was developed for this study. The process followed an initial qualitative coding approach to define the variables, which was validated with a second small sample to assure that the instrument accurately captured each variable within a 95% confidence interval.

Significance

The outcome of this research study contributes to the existing academic database in various ways. Firstly, the application of the framing theory to the subject of refugees in the media supplements existing applications of this theory on the examination of media content. Academia is not in complete agreement about the proper definition of terms that

surround the framing theory, which makes the practical application unclear and scattered across interpretations of academia. The unambiguous measurement of the framing indicators in this research study, as they represented Entman's (1993) definition of salience and selection, adds to the academic knowledge base and might remedy misconceptions and misunderstandings about the interpretation of the theory.

Secondly, the study extends the knowledge of immigrant media framing to the minority population of refugees. Although refugees are often implicitly included in immigration research, they are rarely separately addressed or examined (Fussell, 2014; Louis et al., 2013). Negative attitudes toward immigrants, undocumented and legal, is mostly fueled by the perception of a zero-sum game. The native population perceives that immigrants increase the competition for labor, housing, and education, and are expected to rely heavily on entitlement programs (Berg & Gleditsch, 2014). Noneconomic threats, such as religion and different cultures, are less consequential for negative attitudes toward immigrants than for refugees. The framing of the negative native attitude toward refugees concentrated on religion, culture, and threat of terrorism provides insights that are commonly missing from existing immigrant framing studies.

Thirdly, an understanding of the media framing of refugees in Canada and the United States contributes to the identification of the dynamics in the two countries and the fundamental understanding of media framing across the two countries.

Implications for Social Change

Despite the contributions to the advancement of the theory and academia, Pasteur's quadrant also requires the results of the study to yield social consequences. The

outcome of the study motivates social change in refugee resettlement and the refugee policy in the United States. Moreover, the results of the study can be valuable to international humanitarian organizations as actors in the resolution of the Syrian refugee crisis.

An inference of the portrayal of refugees in the media can aid the ongoing debate about refugee admissions and guide the discussion about further resettlement of Syrian refugees under a perceived threat of terrorism. The comparison of media framing between Canada, where refugees are welcomed, to the media framing of refugees in the United States, where refugee resettlement has come under scrutiny, adds another dimension to the understanding of native attitudes toward refugees. The differences between the media in Canada and the United States were significant, and administrators in the agencies and organizations that are tasked with the implementation of the refugee policy in the United States can use the results to refine motivational encouragements toward refugees who are admitted for resettlement. An acknowledgment of the role of the media in the public debate on refugee resettlement may prove valuable for members of the United States Congress who wish to extend resettlement options to Syrian refugees but are discouraged by the executive branch from promoting this agenda. Knowledge of how the media portrays refugees can also benefit the local communities that receive refugees for resettlement. Negative media framing can be actively countered with more positive insights, as a strategy to offer a more balanced portrayal of refugees.

Moreover, the results of the research study have value for the international humanitarian organizations who are involved with bringing a resolution to the Syrian

refugee crisis. Resettlement of Syrian refugees in third countries is not only necessary to resolve the crisis but has become a plea of the UNHCR, exercised under a growing resistance toward refugees in various countries (Türk, 2016). Based on the findings of this research study, the international organizations, including the UNHCR, can use this knowledge to understand the hesitation of some countries toward further refugee resettlement. The knowledge that media in some countries are less favorable toward refugees than in other countries can help the organizations to pinpoint where more positive reinforcements of refugee images are needed to create additional resettlement opportunities for refugees. Positive media reports about refugees can aid the UNHCR in their mandate to find answers to the Syrian crisis in a timely manner.

Summary

Refugee resettlement in the United States has come under intense scrutiny as a result of terrorist attacks that have created a threat, or perceived threat, of future attacks. The resistance to continue the resettlement of refugees in the United States coincides with a refugee crisis in Syria, which leaves refugees with limited options for resettlement. Contrary to the hesitation to resettle refugees in the United States, Canada continues to welcome refugees and now leads the way in government and private resettlement support of Syrians refugees.

The difference between the outcomes of the refugee policies in Canada and the United States served as the starting point for this research study. Based on the grounded understanding that the media framing influence how the public receives information and

public policy, I used quantitative content analysis to examine the media framing of refugees in newspapers in both countries.

In this chapter, I presented the background of the research study and discussed the refugee policies in Canada and the United States, the relationship between the media and public policy, and how academia addressed the subject of immigrants and refugees. Moreover, I offered the problem statement, purpose, research questions and hypotheses, and explained the theoretical framework and the nature of the research study. Necessary definitions, assumptions, delimitations and limitations were each addressed separately, and I concluded the chapter with the significance of the study, including its possible contribution to the academic field.

In the next chapter, I present the literature review of the study, which features an in-depth discussion of the framing theory as the framework of choice for the research study. I discuss the native attitudes toward immigrants and refugees in the context of existing group threat theories and illustrate a detailed discussion of the framing variables with research examples from the academic database, which grounds the choice of the variables, their definitions, and the earlier application in existing literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The UNHCR operates under a UN mandate to resolve refugee crises. The most favored solution for refugees is repatriation to the country of origin or, if this option is not feasible, integration in the area of refuge (UN Refugee Agency, n.d.). When neither can be fulfilled, resettlement in a third country becomes a last and rare option that requires cooperation from receiving countries. Without the option of resettlement in third countries, refugees become dependent on refugee camps, which is an undesirable and unsustainable outcome of any refugee crisis with long-term consequences for the refugees and the countries of refuge. The responsibility to aid displaced people under the influence of wars, persecution, violence, and disasters is not only a mandated UNHCR task but is a moral and legal obligation that the international humanitarian community shares with governments of all countries (Türk, 2016).

Western countries have become reliable destinations for refugees, and many refugees have resettled in the North American region in the past decades. However, the welcome to possible refugees who are selected for resettlement differs between Canada and the United States. In this study, I examined one possible aspect of this difference and evaluated how the framing of refugees in the printed media compared between Canada and the United States between November 2015 and December 2016.

The United States received persons for resettlement since 1948 when Congress enacted the Displaced Persons Act (Refugee Council USA, 2017). Current refugee policies are defined under the Refugee Act of 1980, which promotes the admission of nearly 60,000 refugees annually (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Recent terrorist

attacks, both in Europe and the United States, led to fears of repeat attacks, which created negative attitudes toward refugees who are awaiting resettlement. Although the federal government expressed a desire to welcome an additional 10,000 Syrian refugees in 2016, most state governors immediately verbalized resistance to future refugee resettlement in their state (Healy & Bosman, 2015; U.S. Department of State, 2016). The subject of resistance toward continued refugee resettlement in the United States served as a point of contest during the presidential campaign in 2016. The inauguration of a new president in early 2017 was followed by executive orders that sought to limit refugee resettlement from specific nations, including Syria. In contrast, the Canadian government has resettled 40,000 Syrian refugees during 2015 and 2016 and is committed to continuing the resettlement opportunities of Syrian refugees in Canada (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2016; Levitz, 2016).

The differences between Canada and the United States in their willingness to invite Syrian refugees for resettlement are noticeable differences between the individual refugee policies. Researchers have shown that the framing of public policy issues in the media influences the design and implementation of policies (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013). The purpose of this study was to examine whether the framing of media reports about refugees contributed to the differences between the refugee policy outcomes for both countries under the premise that media framing influences policies. The quantitative examination was focused on attitudes toward refugees, both positive and negative.

The role of the media as an influence on public policy has been acknowledged by Page and Shapiro (1983), who were confident about the influence of public opinion at the

federal level. The notion that the media influence public policy has served as a basis of examination for a variety of media content analyses, including studies that addressed immigration policies and attitudes toward immigrants (cf. Hayes, 2008; Schlueter & Davidov, 2013; Van Klingeren et al., 2015). Media portrayals of refugees have received less academic attention, and only a handful of researchers have examined the media framing of refugees (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001; Esses et al., 2013).

The magnitude and depth of the Syrian refugee crisis have brought the possible resettlement of Syrian to the forefront of policy discussions in Western democratic countries (Türk, 2016). The immediate and apparent differences between the refugee approach in Canada and the United States warranted an examination, as the analysis of the attention of the media to the subject of refugees could deliver an explanation of the differences in policy outcomes between the two North American countries.

In this chapter, I present the literature review. The review starts with an insight into the applied strategy for the search of the most appropriate and relevant literature about native attitudes toward refugees. Next, I discuss the existing refugee legislation and policies, including the historical development of relevant laws and policies in the United States and Canada. A brief account of the Syrian refugee crisis in the context of the existing policies completes the section. The framing theory served as the theoretical foundation for this quantitative study, and I describe and explain its origin and evolution. I illustrate the application of the framing theory with examples of media framing studies, including studies that addressed immigration, immigrants, and refugees. Native attitudes

toward refugees, as the subject of examination in the research question of the study, is examined in more detail and brought in line with existing group threat theories. To firmly ground the choice of the tone and frame indicators as dependent variables, I followed Entman's (1993) definitions and reviewed each variable for its definition and use in existing media framing studies. In the media variable section, I present the independent country variable. The summary concludes the literature review and provides a brief preview of Chapter 3, where I present the research methodology of the research study.

Literature Search Strategy

I focused the initial literature search on the following academic databases that I accessed through the Walden University Library: Academic Search Complete, Communication and Mass Media Complete, Homeland Security Digital Library, Political Science Complete, ProQuest Central, Sage Premier, Thoreau Multi-Database Search, Ebsco and Ebrary e-books, and Walden Library books. Additionally, I used governmental and intergovernmental organizations as well as nonprofit organizations for information on the history of refugees, both in a global context and from the point of view of Canada and the United States, immigration and refugee legislation, and international treaties concerning refugees.

Search terms for the electronic databases included *framing*, *framing theory*, *media framing and frames*, *framing research*, *framing processes*, *framing threat of terrorism*, *the role of the media*, *media in normative democratic theory*, *media and public policy*, *the role of public opinion in refugee debate*, *native attitudes toward immigrants and refugees*, *refugees and group threat theory*, *opposition to immigration and refugees*,

dehumanization of refugees, immigration policies, refugee policies, displaced people, forced migration, diaspora, terrorism and exclusionist attitudes, refugees and perceived threat, uncertainty or threat and role of the media, and, the Syrian refugee crisis.

The dissertation requirements stipulate a focus on the most recent peer-reviewed literature that is, preferably published within the last 5 years. The origin of the framing theory and the concepts of framing exist well outside these requirements. To overcome the problem of possible dated peer-reviewed sources, I used Google Scholar as a referencing tool to trace the framing theory literature forward in time. The citing feature in Google Scholar allowed the tracing of traditional and original framing literature, which produced contemporary peer-reviewed additions to the framing theory section. The ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global databases also proved useful as an additional source of literature. I located recently published works by other graduate students who focused on similar framing studies of immigrants and refugees and used the reference lists to generate additional relevant literature.

Refugee Legislation and Policies

The development of refugee policies in Western nations, including Canada and the United States, originated from the increased need for international collaboration after the First and Second World War. The world had experienced flight from persecution, war, and violence throughout its history, however, the unprecedented proportions of displacement after both wars and the scale of the subsequent refugee crises motivated action (Chalabi, 2013; UNHCR, 2011a). In 1921, the League of Nations was a first significant, yet unbinding, collaborative effort toward international conciliation and

refugee protection (Holborn, 1939; UNHCR, 2011a). The emergence of the UN in 1945 ensued the nascency of the Convention in 1951, a multilateral treaty that defined the protection of refugees and articulated general obligations for governments (UNHCR, 2011a). The Convention introduced non-refoulement, which restricts participating states from forcibly returning refugees to countries or territories where the refugees are under threat of persecution (Türk, 2016). The Convention was expanded in 1967 with the Protocol, which, for the first time in history, defined human rights for refugees globally and extended refugee protection worldwide (UNHCR, 2011a). The UN standards and treaties are the sole global legal instruments at the disposal of the international system for refugee protection and serve as inspiration for domestic refugee laws and policies in many countries of the world (Fitzpatrick, 1997; UNHCR, 2011a).

The United States and Canada actively participated in the emergence of the UN but did not share an enthusiasm for the Convention. The United States disregarded the Convention and never recognized or ratified the treaty. Instead, the United States attended the Protocol in 1967 and signed and ratified the document in 1968 (Hamlin & Wolgin, 2012; UNHCR, 2011b; UNHCR, 2011c). In contrast, Canada was present at both the Convention and Protocol but refrained from signing and ratifying either document until 1969 (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2009). Although the participation of the United States and Canada in the design and acceptance of both the Convention and the Protocol was limited, the treaties paved the way for future refugee policies in both countries.

The American Refugee Policy

The American experience with refugees mirrors its history with immigration: The United States is often lauded for its inclusive nature of foreign-born where immigrants and refugees alike are allowed and expected to contribute to the concept of the homogenous melting pot (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Nonetheless, the relationship between the United States and refugees has seen challenging moments of projected rejection and failed policy decisions (Haines, 2010; Hamlin & Wolgin, 2012). The first significant law to regulate immigration was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which created a complete moratorium on Chinese immigration for labor purposes (Barkdull, Weber, Swart, & Phillips, 2012). The combination of the Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 served a platform of nativism and limited outside influences to protect the interests of native-born over immigrants (Barkdull et al., 2012; Fussell, 2014). In 1939, leading up to the onset of the Second World War, German Jews who sailed along the East Coast hoping for landing rights were denied entry into the United States. Additionally, proposed legislation to allow entry of 20,000 Jewish German refugee children, also known as the Wagner-Rogers Bill, was opposed by nationalist organizations and died in committee in 1939 (Haines, 2010; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.).

The first refugee legislation, formulated in 1948 with the Displaced Persons Act, brought 250,000 European refugees to the Eastern shores of the United States. President Truman reluctantly signed the Displaced Persons Act, recognizing that the bill discriminated against displaced persons of the Jewish faith (Harry S. Truman Library,

1948). The Displaced Persons Act was amended in 1950, eliminating the rigid admission rules for Jewish refugees (Harry S. Truman Library, 1950). Upon expiration of the Act, refugee legislation became a part of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which incorporated an ideological and humanitarian understanding of actions abroad and consequences at home but was still focused on who was allowed entry, thus excluding certain nationalities and ethnicities (Bundy, 2016; Haines, 2010; Hamlin & Wolgin, 2012).

In 1968, Congress enacted the Hart-Celler Act, which reorganized and redefined the earlier Immigration and Nationality Act (1952). The Act terminated the quota system based on national origins and instead granted full determination of refugee admissions quota to the president (The White House, 2015; UNHCR, 2011b; UNHCR, 2014). The Hart-Celler Act incorporated the definitions of refugees that were put forth by the 1951 Convention, thereby accepting all underlying concepts. President Carter signed the Refugee Act of 1980 (“the Refugee Act”) that combined the quantification of refugee admissions and resettlement policies upon arrival. The Refugee Act served a turning point in American refugee resettlement: The standards and definitions of the international refugee treaties were fully incorporated, and previous ad-hoc refugee policies were replaced with detailed policies to steer the resettlement of refugees on American soil (Hamlin & Wolgin, 2012).

To this date, the Refugee Act operates under its initial implementation and has not endured changes or amendments in the past 35 years. The responsibility for refugee admissions, including annual quotas, selection criteria, and overseas processing of refugee eligibility, operates under the exclusive authority of the executive office. The

refugee admissions program is managed by the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration under the joint direction of the Department of State, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Office of Refugee Resettlement (Refugee Council USA, 2017). The federal government, state governments, and private nonprofit organizations exercise a collaborated approach toward refugees who arrive in the United States for resettlement (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005).

The UNHCR recognizes that the United States has become the leading force in refugee resettlement. More refugees have resettled in the United States than in any other country in the world, and the United States stands out for its recognition of special humanitarian concern and elaborate family reunification program (UNHCR, 2011b; UNHCR, 2014). During the 1970s and 1980s, a sizeable influx of refugees from Indochina and Vietnam brought refugee admittance to numbers beyond 100,000 annually (U.S. Department of State, 2016). The collapse of the Soviet Union motivated continued elevated levels of refugee admittance in the United States and led to the resettlement of Soviet refugees during the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, including many refugees of the Jewish faith (UNHCR, 2011b). The Balkan Conflict during the 1990s created a need for refugee resettlement for displaced people from the former Yugoslavia, and predominantly Bosnian and Kosovar refugees were offered resettlement in the United States. Later conflicts brought Somalis, Rwandans, and other refugees from the African continent to the United States (UNHCR, 2011b). As a result of the terrorist attacks on 9/11, refugee admittance into the United States experienced a significant drop but the levels of refugee resettlement steadied again in later years at 70,000 refugees annually,

and now include many refugees from Middle Eastern countries and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2011b).

The development of refugee legislation and policies in the United States over the past 80 years reveals a progression in the acknowledgment that the resolve of crises should be guided by the humanitarian aspect (Türk, 2016). The United States historically has accepted many refugees, has become a motivator for other countries to adhere to the Convention and the Protocol, and is a beacon of hope for many displaced people for whom a third-country resettlement solution is the only viable option.

The Canadian Refugee Policy

The early development of refugee legislation in Canada and enacted refugee policies were similar to the development of legislation and policies in the United States. The first half of the 20th century was marked by a complicated relationship with refugees, who were often undesired, unwelcome, and discouraged from seeking entry into Canada (Hamlin, 2014). The 1939 American rejection of Jewish refugees who sailed on the St. Louis was replicated at the Canadian coast, where the refugees were not welcomed either (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.). Canada sparingly allowed entry of Jewish refugees during the Second World War, setting the record for lowest number of admittance of war refugees for any Western democracy at that time (Bangarth, 2015; Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.).

The postwar immigration strategy in Canada manifested a select immigration policy guided by economic self-interest, racial prejudice, and political bias (Bangarth, 2015). Up until the late 1970s, the executive and legislative branches resisted

differentiating between refugees and other immigrants, which was illustrated by the refusal to sign the Convention in 1951 and the Protocol in 1968 (Bangarth, 2015; Hamlin, 2014; Irvine, 2011). However, the succeeding decades brought a more active stance toward refugees that allowed for the development of refugee legislation, guided by the humanitarian involvement with refugees (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2009; Irvine, 2011; Soennecken, 2014).

In 1969, Canada acceded to the Convention and the Protocol, which ended the protectionist approach of previous times, and commenced a period of transformation. The government developed and implemented a central refugee recognition system and streamlined the refugee processing and resettlement practices (Irvine, 2011; Soennecken, 2014). In 1978, Prime Minister Trudeau signed the Immigration Act, which outlined the complete Canadian immigration policy and included the first comprehensive domestic refugee policy (Immigration Act, 1976).

The Immigration Act elevated refugee protection and resettlement in Canada to a higher standard and placed Canada at the forefront of Western democratic nations for its unique efforts to ensure equal protection and fair selection processes for refugees (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.). In 1986, the UNHCR awarded the people of Canada the Nansen Medal for the implementation of an inland refugee processing system that served as a model with the highest Geneva Convention recognition rates of refugees among all industrialized countries (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.; Soennecken, 2014). In 1993, Canada became the first country in the world to recognize gender persecution, which were followed in 1996 by strict guidelines in 1996 to accommodate

female refugees who suffered from gender-related persecution (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 1996). Canada has also led the way in the protection of LGBT refugees and enacted policies for refugees who suffer persecution because of gender identity (Envisioning LGBT refugee rights in Canada, 2014; LaViolette, 2014).

In 2001, the Canadian legislature replaced the Immigration Act of 1976 with the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, which brought significant changes to the refugee policy in Canada and tightened the refugee admittance and resettlement system (Irvine, 2011). The changes became more pronounced in 2012 when the Canadian government passed Bill C-31, also known as the Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act. The Bill, which was widely protested in Canada, made it easier to refuse political activists and prisoners, allowed prosecution of refugees as human smuggling offenders, stipulated mandatory detention for certain groups, and reversed aspects of the earlier guidelines for gender protection and LGBT refugee admissions (Kogawa, Troper, & Wong, 2012).

Watson (2015), Irvine (2011) and Soennecken (2014) recognized a drastic overhaul of the refugee policy in Canada but contributed the changes to different reasons. Watson examined the changes to the refugee policy in Canada in light of the humanitarian defense, a concept that has found popular application in other democratic nations. Political elites, such as in Australia and various European countries, have used a possible decline of public support for refugee policies as a justification to tighten refugee policies, thereby further protecting the ability of the state to preserve humanitarian

programs (Watson, 2015). Soennecken contributed the transformation of immigration and citizenship policies in Canada to a global increase in resistance toward immigration, which aligned with the European approach to regain control of its refugee flows and security pressures after 9/11. The refugee responsibilities in Canada, including admissions and resettlement support, have moved to the executive branch, which has limited the involvement of the Canadian parliament (Soennecken, 2014). On the other hand, Irvine argued that the paradigmatic change in refugee policy is an effect of the socialization of Canadian bureaucrats whose interactions at the transnational level has steered the refugee policy away from the domestic agenda.

The changes in the refugee policy and implementation in Canada has reduced the number of refugees that are allowed to enter the country for resettlement. However, the refugee policy in Canada stands out for a unique implementation of the policy that is not exercised in other Western nations: Canada allows private sponsorship of refugees by organizations and individuals (Bier & La Corte, 2016; Government of Canada, 2016). The private sponsorship program supplements the government-assisted refugee admissions, and the combination of both programs results in total refugee admissions quota in Canada that are comparable to the quota set by the executive branch in the United States (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005; UNHCR, 2011c; UNHCR, 2014). The augmented refugee admission program has created an increase of Syrian refugee admissions in Canada in recent years. The program serves as the most significant difference between the welcoming attitude in Canada and the voices of resistance in the United States.

The Syrian Refugee Crisis

As a result of the continued conflict in Syria, seven million Syrians are displaced inside the country and five million Syrians have taken refuge elsewhere (Byman & Speakman, 2016; UNHCR, 2018). The duration of the Syrian civil war and additional conflicts in the region and elsewhere have exacerbated the refugee crisis. The lack of safe havens have created a demand for refugee resettlement opportunities elsewhere, which is a preferable and the only feasible solution for many refugees. Options for refugee resettlement on the European continent are dwindling under pressures of political and social resistance that have restricted entry of displaced people (*New York Times* Editorial Board, 2016). The Syrian refugee crisis has become convoluted by the magnitude of displacement elsewhere, either under pressure from war, persecution, and conflict. Moreover, the flight of refugees has come under pressure from the large movement of migrants that seek economic prosperity in other, predominantly Western, democratic countries.

Resettlement options for Syrian refugees in the United States have not kept step with the ongoing nature of the conflict and the magnitude of the refugee crisis. President Obama expressed a desire to settle more Syrians in 2015 and 2016, but the influx of Syrian refugees into the United States to date reflects a bleak and meager effort (Sengupta, 2016). In 2013, 31 Syrians were resettled in the United States, followed by 105 admissions in 2014, and approximately 1,700 additional Syrian refugee arrivals in 2015 (U.S. Department of State, 2016). The admissions increased in 2016 when 15,000 Syrians who arrived for resettlement (Refugee Processing Center, 2016). However, resistance

toward additional refugee resettlement became an issue of contention during the 2016 presidential election campaign, and the newly inaugurated president has since released two executive orders with the intent to limit further refugee resettlement (Healy & Bosman, 2015; Kaplan, 2015). The changed political approach toward refugee resettlement is noticeable in the reduction of resettlement opportunities during 2017, when only 6,557 Syrian refugees were extended a welcome in the United States (U.S. Department of State, 2018). The American effort falls short of the need for resettlement and the UNHCR has repeatedly expressed frustration about the limited resettlement opportunities in the United States and other Western nations (De Grujil et al., 2016).

In contrast, the arrivals of Syrian refugees in Canada have surpassed all expectations, which is due to a combination of an increase in government-assisted refugee admissions and the private sponsorship program (Government of Canada, 2016). Between November 2015 and December 2016, nearly 30,000 Syrian refugees have entered Canada for resettlement, of which 11,000 private sponsorship entries (Government of Canada, 2016). During 2017, 25,000 Syrian refugees entered Canada for resettlement (Government of Canada, 2018). Canadians again lead the way in refugee resettlement and set an example for the rest of the world for their ability to welcome refugees (Austen, 2016). Canada has pledged to continue its resettlement effort for Syrian refugees and plans to serve as an educator and motivator for other nations to create durable solutions and opportunities for refugees.

The involvement of Canada and with the Syrian refugee crisis shows that the voices to resettle refugees in Canada outweigh the voices that resist a further influx. In

contrast, the resistance toward refugees in the United States has grown and voices that resist refugee admissions of Syrian refugees have become amplified (Healy & Bosman, 2015). Under the assumption that both countries are equally affected by the threat or perceived threat of terror, the approaches by Canada and the United States toward Syrian refugees stand out for their differences. Although other factors may contribute to this difference, I approached this issue from a media angle and asked whether the influence of the media contributes to the increase of the refugee influx in Canada, and equally to the increased resistance toward Syrian refugee resettlement in the United States.

Theoretical Foundation

Framing theory, as a mass communication theory, is firmly founded on the understanding that the presentation of news coverage of issues of political importance in the media shapes the opinion of the receiving public. Ordinary citizens rely on the media to make sense of complicated issues about national and world affairs (Entman, 1993; Kinder, 2007, Zhou & Moy, 2007). Most researchers who articulated how the media shape public opinion followed Zaller's (1992) timeless conclusion: Citizens often lack a thorough understanding of public matters, and political elites influence opinions via the process of framing in the media (Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Entman, 1993). The ability to frame and influence news coverage provides elites with a unique platform of control, and has unearthed vulnerabilities and weaknesses of the democratic process (Zaller, 1992).

The origin of the framing theory stems from the evolution of two other media effect models, agenda setting and priming, and the theory has found explosive

applicability across disciplines under the influence of the development of mass media. Most academics in the field of mass communication, including Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) and McQuail (2010), agree that framing is a result of a continuous paradigm shift in how media effects are understood, theorized, and applied in political communication research.

Framing Paradigms

The progression of framing paradigms started in the 1920s with the magic bullet model: The media directly target a singular and passive audience with projected messages (Riffe et al., 2014; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012). The initial assumption of a passively receiving audience was quickly replaced in the 1940s with a more detailed understanding of the interaction between the media and the people, which allowed for the power of existing attitudes and influential networks in this interaction (McQuail, 2010). The mass introduction of the television in the 1970s led Gerbner (1998) to identify media conglomerates as power sources in the promotion of homogenous, but commercially motivated, views. The developed cultivation theory confirmed that the media cultivates social reality.

Gerbner's (1998) theory has been extensively tested and withstood further developments of mass media. Since its original introduction in 1998, the cultivation theory has become a staple of mass media communication theories (Roskos-Woldsen, Davies, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2004). The development of the framing paradigm accelerated in the 1970s when McCombs and Shaw's (1972) ventured into agenda setting research in political communication, which offered the first insight into the influence of

the mass media during election campaigns. Paradigm shifts for framing and priming stabilized in the 1980s and 1990s when it became academically accepted that the effect of mass media is potentially strong but shares its strength with the receiving public, its predispositions, and schema to process media messages (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Entman (1993) criticized the conceptualization of framing in research for its undisciplined use of definitions and haphazardly applied framing methods. According to the author, the academic literature lacks a clear verbalization of frames and does not provide a clear understanding of how they are verbalized and used in practice. The result is a fractured framing research paradigm that ill-serves widely used applications across various fields (Entman, 1993). The lack of clarification of framing concepts was confirmed by Scheufele and Iyengar (2012) when they called for a new direction in framing research. In contrast, Reese (2007) and D'Angelo (2002) rejected Entman's notion of fractures in framing research across disciplines. Reese underscored that framing research strengthens bridges across different fields and disciplines, serves multiple interests, and tends to evolve as a result of framing applications. D'Angelo expressed value for a combination of paradigms: a multiparadigmatic research program based on either a cognitive, constructionist or critical framework that will encourage further development of framing theories in the field of communication and beyond.

Disagreements about the paradigmatic foundation of framing research notwithstanding, the abundant uses of framing across multiple disciplines are undeniable and framing has become a fertile area of research, most notable in journalism and mass communication (Hallahan, 1999; Matthes, 2009). Academic researchers, philosophers,

and authors agree that the use of framing as a research paradigm deserves a rigorous and narrow understanding of the terms that surround the theory (Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012; Van Gorp, 2007). I discuss the concepts of agenda setting, priming and framing to clarify why the choice of the framing theory was the warranted and best approach to examine the influence of the media in this research study. Additionally, I explain the noun *frame*, the verb *framing*, and the concept of salience in more detail.

Framing, Agenda Setting, Second-Level Agenda Setting, and Priming

Academics are not entirely of one mind when verbalizing the concepts of agenda setting, priming, and framing. Most researchers, including Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), Weaver (2007), and Chong and Druckman (2007a), followed McCombs and Shaw's (1972) definition of agenda setting that places emphasis on certain issues in mass media and attaches importance to the frequent coverage of the issues with distinct prominence. In this view, priming is a consequence of agenda setting: Once an issue reflects salience, it becomes a priming standard by which governments, policies, and political candidates are judged (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Agenda setting and priming are both based on accessibility and repetition to assure that the public receives the issue (Van Gorp, 2007). Oppositely, framing focuses on how the media present issues, thereby influencing how audiences understand issues (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

The disagreements across researchers in different fields rest on whether framing should be considered as a separate concept, incorporating a unique range of influencing factors for the understanding of the public, or should rather be viewed as a second tiered

level of agenda setting where the media accept the issues established by elites, government, and political actors (McCombs, 2005, Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, Van Gorp, 2007 Weaver, 2007). Van Gorp (2007) approached the discussion from a constructionist perspective: Agenda setting places emphasis on the extent of coverage of an issue and priming focuses on how an issue influences the evaluation of primary actors in the public field. Framing is not limited to issues but includes a combination of issues and frames to assess how the media covers an issue. Edy and Meirick (2007) firmly grounded the differences between agenda setting and framing when they addressed the measurement of the dependent variables: Agenda setting measures the relationship between the interest of the media and the public. Framing measures a different dependent variable and focuses on how exposure to media frames influences the public and public policy.

The question whether framing deserves singular attention as a stand-alone concept or acts as a secondary level of agenda-setting is irrelevant for this study. The focus of the examination of refugees and refugee policies centered on how the media portrayed this issue, which fit within the approach that Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) projected.

Frame and Framing

The art of framing relates to placing content in a restrictive structure similar to how an art dealer places an art object of interest in a frame of choice (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012). The frame around the art object shapes the way the public experiences the piece, views its beauty, translates its meaning, and understands the setting. The noun frame can be expressed in interchangeable ways, and the literature shows variations

between researchers: Zhou and Moy (2007) listed “schema, script, package, or theme” (p. 80). Goffman’s (1974) definition of frame focused on how the public interprets information and Entman’s (1993) definition centered on “aspects of a perceived reality” (p. 52). Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) described frames as conceptual tools that are used by the media to communicate and used by individuals to make sense of that information. Van Gorp (2007) used the term *frame package* to combine the framing device, such as word choice, arguments, visual images, the reasoning device that points to the manifest of the frame, and the cultural phenomenon that completes the package (p. 64).

Scheufele and Iyengar (2012) criticized broad frame definitions and objected to the popular choice of content over context analysis. According to the authors, a workable definition of the word frame in framing research should focus on “*how* a given piece of information is being presented (or framed)” as opposed to “*what* is being communicated” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1). Entman (1993) shared this concern when he articulated that frame analysis should not be limited to the examination of content, such as text, but should also examine images, presentation style, and even the absence of certain words, a concern shared by Chong and Druckman (2007c), Scheufele and Iyengar (2007) and Kinder (2007). The art metaphor at the beginning of this section illustrates Entman’s assessment: When the art dealer selects a frame for its shape, material, color, and size, individual characteristics of the frame influence how the audience receives the artwork on display.

The verb *framing* deserves an equally precise definition, as this concept has suffered from a scattered conceptualization in research studies. Entman's (1993) framing definition is the most widely accepted: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52). Although many research studies across various disciplines use this definition, the operationalization of framing is still subject to variations of interpretation by researchers (Matthes, 2009). Entman's definition lists two components that deserve special attention: selection, which is in line with the earlier assessment that a frame is not limited to what is displayed but also to what the media omits, and salience. The exact meaning of this word in Entman's definition deserves a closer look.

Salience

Entman's (1993, 2007) opinions about framing, including his criticisms of the lack of discipline in framing applications, have become a guideline for framing research. Researchers who have used framing theory as the theoretical foundation for examinations of the influence of the media accepted Entman's definitions of the noun frame and the verb framing (Chong and Druckman, 2007a, Van Gorp, 2007). However, Entman's (2005) framing definition lacks direction without an explanation of the word salience, which is described by the Oxford English Dictionary as "most noticeable or important". Salience implies that frames elevate an issue through different modes of presentation (Entman, 1993; Entman, 2007). Salience is not unique to framing but also finds representation in agenda setting. Zhou and Moy (2007) defined salience in agenda setting as *issue salience* and used *frame salience* as a separate term to indicate its use in framing.

The researchers used salience as a variable and hypothesized that the frame salience decreased across Chinese media outlets due to an increase in issue salience (Zhou and Moy, 2007).

The application in Zhou and Moy's (2007) study illustrates the use of salience as a measurable concept, which offered possibilities for this research study to assess the differences between Canada and the United States and examine how the media frame refugee policy and refugees. I followed Entman (1993) and Scheufele and Iyengar (2012) for how they defined framing concepts and put emphasis on how the media present, which was not limited to content but included the mode of presentation.

Functions of Frames

Academic scholars are in essential agreement about how frames become embedded in news media productions, but Entman's (1993) interpretation leads the way in the determination of frame functions. Entman recognizes four separate functions: Frames define problems, diagnose causes, deliver moral judgments, and evoke remedies (Reese, 2007). A frame package can introduce a definition of an issue, provide an explanation, articulate a problem, and evaluate the issue for possible logical conclusions (Van Gorp, 2007). Frames can limit or delineate the meaning of a message by shaping the context of an issue. Valence frames present information in either positive or negative phrasing and semantic frames provide alternative phrasing (Hallahan, 1999). Story frames use key themes and create a narrative around these terms.

The concept of framing allows for either equivalence or emphasis approach: One issue may receive different modes of presentation across media outlets, or attitude

formation by individuals may be subject to a combination of frames, either complimentary or competing (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012). The determination of the function of the frame has importance for the operationalization of framing as a construct, which I address in detail in the next chapter.

Framing versus framing effects

The framing theory is not a media effect theory, and confusion between the two should be avoided. A media effect theory addresses the effect that media have on the perception of the public, and measures this effect either on the production or receiving side (Chong & Druckman, 2007c). In contrast, the application of the framing theory in this research study did not measure what the media communicated or how the public received the media message about refugees but measured how the media presented a specific issue in the news. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) articulated this difference with a comparison of a macro and micro level framing construct: Framing as a macro construct refers to how communicators produce information to connect with the audience. Framing as a micro construct evaluates the effect of frames. Researchers that use the micro level application focus on the measurement of this effect (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Measurement of media effects often follows an experimental approach: A select group of participants is subjected to different frames, which is followed by the measurement of the opinion-shaping process (Kinder, 2007). In this research study, I did not address the measurement of the media effects of the framing of refugees but accepted the effect of the influence of the media and the process of information reception as an underlying assumption. Measurement of framing effects at

the micro level, either at the news production or consumption level, lies outside the interest of this study and was not addressed.

Applications of Framing Theory

Framing theory offers a theoretical understanding of how the media organize daily reality, and brings insight into media coverage of specific issues. The theory accommodates opportunities to contribute to the academic research database and motivates the identification of issues, comparison of the media coverage, and examination of the differences between media presentations (Chong & Druckman, 2007b). The research study fit within the framing theory and allowed for the specific execution of the steps required by the theory. First, I identified the portrayal of refugees and the refugee policies in the media in Canada and the United States as the issue for study, which followed Chong and Druckman's (2007b) articulation of the necessary first step in framing research. Second, the framing theory allowed for both an inductive and deductive approach, either with predefined frames that are tested for reliability or newly induced frames that measure how the media portray an issue (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Third, Entman's (1993) definition of selection and salience, combined with the predetermined functions of framing, allowed for an adequate operationalization of variables.

In this section, the choice of framing theory for the research study was grounded with examples of existing media framing studies that demonstrate a comparable approach. Two studies deserved special mention for their exemplary contribution to the academic literature. Both Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study and Chong and

Druckman's (2007b) research examination have become inspirations for later research studies. The contributions stand out for the detailed and innovative applications of the theory, the depth they delivered to the articulation of framing concepts, and the operational frameworks provided for use in subsequent studies.

The demonstration of existing framing studies continues with examples of studies that addressed a change in public discourse. I examined three studies where the researchers quantified media framing in the context of the threat of terrorism and war. The discussion continues with examples of immigration media studies that illustrate how researchers approached the media framing of native attitudes toward immigrants. Lastly, two studies that examined media framing of refugees completes the demonstration of the application of the framing theory in media studies.

Innovative Framing Studies

In 2000, Semetko and Valkenburg examined newspapers and news stories for how they framed the lead-up and event of the 1997 meeting in Amsterdam of European heads of state to finalize discussions on the monetary European Union. The researchers compared the use of best fitting frames between and within media outlets. The study was thorough for its theoretical justification and contributed to the academic communication database with well-defined concepts of framing and frame. The authors recognized that the framing literature lacked standard sets of framing indicators and, although a deductive approach was used with five predefined specific frames, the researchers evaluated the relationship between the scale and the frames with a reliability analysis (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The researchers concluded that television news in the Netherlands

was more episodic than newspaper media and that all outlets relied heavily on the responsibility frame, indicating that the media tends to find blame with governments before they assign blame at the individual level.

In 2007, Chong and Druckman experimented with frames to assess how the media framed public opinion in competitive democracies. The researchers framed two hypothetical specific issues, urban growth and conservation, and a hate group rally, and measured the effect of the issues on two separate populations. The research study stands out for its verbalization of framing concepts and its contribution to the theory of framing. The researchers defined frames on two separate dimensions: The first dimension represented the frequencies of communications to which participants were exposed and a second dimension measured relative perceived strength. The operationalization of the frames translated into the loudness of a frame, as in how often the frame is repeated, or into the level of influence on the opinion of the participant. The researchers concluded that attitudes, values, and political perspectives, often serve as a starting point of influence for framing, implying that strong frames reflect democratic competition (Chong & Druckman, 2007b).

Framing Studies Examining Changing Public Discourse

Edy and Meirick (2007) combined a content analysis of media frames in support of the war in Afghanistan with a quantitative survey of how participants viewed the war. The authors adopted Entman's (1993) definitions of salience and frame, focused on the frequency that the different frames appeared in the media, and matched the media frames to the answers of the participants. The authors paid detailed attention to the differences

between agenda setting, priming, and framing and concluded that the choice between the three methods was driven by the nature of the variables.

After 9/11, the public discourse on immigration changed under the threat of terrorism. Woods and Arthur (2014) compared the media framing in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* pre-and-post 9/11 to locate differences in the portrayal of the perceived threat of terrorism. Though the researchers relied on the authoritarian turn in political culture as the theoretical foundation for the examination, the research method was based on the concepts of the framing theory. The dependent variables, including negative news frames, were defined within the concept of salience (Woods & Arthur, 2014). The authors measured how often negative frames appeared in both papers and asked if there was a difference between the two newspapers for how they portrayed stories about European versus non-European immigrants.

In 2011, Woods produced a framing effects study to assess a threat of terrorism. The researcher exposed participants to a variety of manipulated frames in a text article. Experimental in nature, the applied method mimicked real-world conditions to assess threat perception of mass violence. The author used existing framing definitions as a starting point such as terrorism, radical Islam, and nuclear technology, and articulated a minimalist approach to the theory of framing. The dependent variable was defined as the increased level of perceived threat and the independent variables focused on the presence or absence of a frame in the manipulated text (Woods, 2011). The researcher concluded that both the frame *radical Islam* and *nuclear technology* significantly contributed to an increase in perceived threat.

Immigration Framing Studies

In 2008, Hayes reviewed network television news that was broadcasted during a three-year period of congressional debate about immigration reform for how the media framed the debate. The researcher based the theoretical foundation of the immigration framing study on an earlier framing study by Chong and Druckman (2007b). Frames for the content analysis were identified as either restrictive or welcoming, and reflected a way of thinking about potential immigration reform (Hayes, 2008). The researcher recorded equal air time for restrictive and welcoming frames but measured a difference in the source of the frame: Restrictive frames originated mostly from government officials, and welcoming frames expressed opinions of immigrants and protestors. Under the assumption that the public is more influenced by government officials than by the voices of immigrants and protestors, the researcher concluded that the immigration debate is unevenly distributed by the influencing power of the two frames.

In 2012, a Swiss political campaign became the focus of a content framing study where the researcher examined the influence of stereotypic attitudes toward immigrants (Schemer, 2012). Though lacking a theoretical framework, the method relied on a content analysis of media news that was matched to survey panel data to assess native attitudes toward immigrants. The researcher defined the framing variables as a point of view, which mirrored Hayes' (2008) approach. Schemer (2012) measured the variables with the frequency of positive and negative news in newspapers during a three-month period. The author concluded that negative news frames of immigrants increased stereotypic attitudes

toward immigrants and more positive messages reduced the distance between the native group and immigrant groups.

Schlueter and Davidov (2013) assessed native attitudes toward immigrants in a study that examined media content in Spain over a 10-year period. The researchers combined group threat theory with an extensive and detailed content analysis of digital newspapers, and based the analysis on the concepts of the framing theory. Frequency scores of negative immigration reports in the media served as indicators of the intensity of the news coverage. The researchers concluded that negative immigration reports have a stronger effect on native attitudes than the size of the immigrant group and concluded that immigrant presence amplified negative attitudes in areas with a smaller immigrant population, compared to areas with a larger immigrant group.

In 2015, Van Klingeren et al., tested the assumption that immigrant group size influences negative native attitudes toward immigrants against the hypothesis that negative news reports might serve as a stronger influence. The researchers compared media content in Danish and Dutch newspapers over a seven-year period and used a content analysis that focused on the combination of media salience and tone of the message. The researchers found differences between the media portrayals in the Netherlands and Denmark. The tone of positive immigrant messages in the Netherlands moderated the native attitudes and negative immigrant messages in Denmark enhanced negative native attitudes. The immigrant population in the Netherlands is larger than in Denmark, and the researchers were surprised to learn that the influence of the immigrant group size had a reverse effect on native attitudes.

Refugee Framing Studies

Immigration framing studies with a focus on media portrayal often include refugees as an implicit part of a larger immigration population. For instance, d'Haenens and de Lange (2001) grouped the refugees in a larger context of asylum seekers. The researchers used Entman's (1993) framing concepts to conduct a content analysis of regional and local Dutch newspapers, based on the five frames used in the earlier-mentioned study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The researchers examined a possible relationship between existing attitudes toward asylum seekers and news reports in regional newspapers. The local population exhibited negative attitudes in a location that lacked proximity to settled asylum seekers, but experienced positive reactions toward asylum seekers near a resettlement community. The framing of the asylum seekers across the sample of newspaper articles did not follow the tone of native attitudes in both locations but was positive toward asylum seekers across all newspapers.

Other refugee studies tend to focus on an incident in a specific country that serves as the basis of the examination. For instance, Bradimore and Bauder (2011) investigated the media portrayal of Tamil refugees who arrived at the Canadian coast in 2009. The examination was grounded in critical discourse analysis but the detailed content analysis used the concepts of the framing theory. The researchers concluded that the media portrayals lacked a humanitarian angle. Moreover, the researchers discovered that the media frames became a catalyzing force in the adjustments of public policies that were swiftly put in place to discourage future refugee claimants from accessing Canada.

The examples of framing studies in this section underscore the extensive use of the framing theory across the academic literature and confirm the value of this theory for an insight into the media framing of immigrants and refugees. The last example of framing studies in this section that portrayed the framing of the Tamil refugee claimants in the Canadian media briefly illustrated the possible influence of media framing on public policies. In the next section, I address the role of the media in more detail and place the influence of the media in the context of public policies.

The Media and Public Policy

The examples of research studies in the previous section showed that media framing can have consequential effects on attitudes in society, including native attitudes toward immigrants and refugees. In this section, I further examine the role of the media in society.

The relationship between the media and government, grounded in normative democratic theory, has been the source of extensive debates since the enactment of the United States Constitution. The authors of the Constitution deliberately created frictions between the three branches of the federal government, which allowed space for a fourth institution to act as an additional mechanism that operates under the freedom of speech as defined by the First Amendment (Baker, 2001; Stewart, 1974; U.S. Const. amend. I). A free press is considered a guaranteed token of democracy and extends protection to the media, though not necessarily unregulated (Christians, Glasser, & McQuail, 2009; Stewart, 1974).

Traditionally, the media fulfill several roles: The news media intervene between sources or events and the public, facilitate and promote dialogue, expose the concentration of power to the public, and engage in collaboration and participation with the government (Christians et al., 2009). However, the debate about the role of the media has moved from defining and evaluating duties and tasks within the framework of democratic theory to the extent of its power and influence on government, its policies, and the people (Christians et al., 2009). The media has become subject to social, political, and financial pressures, which induces output in the direction of expectations of the elite or the public (Baker, 2001; Christians et al., 2009). Fundamentally, the news media has become an extension of pressures and, combined with a need for relevance and reliability, has moved into a sphere of relativity (Christians et al., 2009).

The occurrence of media influence on the political system, public policy, and the public, has been the focus of insight and examination in the fields of political and communications sciences. In 1983, Page and Shapiro examined the possible influence of the media on public policy. The authors concluded that public opinion moves policy, especially for issues of high salience and visibility. The authors were more confident about the relationship between public opinion at the federal policy level than at the lower state level and reported a weaker relationship between public opinion and state policies. Page and Shapiro hesitated to attach the findings to a qualitative evaluation of democratic responsiveness in policymaking, as the conclusions were mildly correlational and lacked causal characteristics. Contrastingly, Erikson (1976) found a strong correlation between public opinion and state policy but the study was limited to three specific social issues.

Page and Shapiro's (1983) study of the relationship between the media and public policy was followed by a variety of studies that replicated this examination, with varied results. For instance, Fischer (1991) conducted a content analysis of education news in Canada and concluded that the mass media performs an informative role with limited impact on public policy and is less persuasive than assumed. However, within the content of the framing theory, the academic community overall agrees with Page and Shapiro's assessment that the media influence public policy.

Cook et al. (1983) examined the impact of agenda setting by the media on the public and assessed whether steering public opinion toward certain issues influences public policy priorities. The authors concluded that governmental elites benefit from media framing but this benefit does not extend to interest group elites. Cook et al. did not recognize an influence on public policy via the public opinion and underscored the collaboration between the media and public officials as the source of influence on policy. Kingdon (1995) stated that, if agenda setting is considered the first stage of the policy process, we may assume that agendas are created under the influence of political factors. Stromberg (2004) directed his examination of the media in the direction of media bias. The media is subject to revenue-production and sensitive to groups that generate media income. Larger groups of voters receive favorable attention and smaller groups receive less news of interest (Stromberg, 2004).

The assumption that the media influence how people receive, absorb, and process news about local, national, and global affairs, combined with Page and Shapiro's (1983) assessment that public opinion moves policy, served as the backbone of the framing

theory and was a significant starting point for many noteworthy framing studies (Entman, 1993; Hallahan, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The influence of the media on public policy is not exclusive to certain policies, but can be extended to all policies, including immigration and refugee policies. As an illustration, the Brookings Institute produced valuable insight into the relationship between media framing and immigration policies in 2008 when they examined the role of public opinion in the immigration debate. The authors concluded that the media played a direct role in this debate and framed the issues around illegality, crisis, controversy and government failure, which contributed to an increased polarization that brought the policy debate to a virtual standstill (Akdenizli et al., 2008).

In the last part of the previous section, I briefly touched upon an example of the relationship between refugee media framing and policies. I extend this discussion with a second example to illustrate the relationship in more detail. In 2007, three hundred Mexican refugee claimants entered Canada under the exceptions of the *Safe Third Country Agreement*. The refugees received aggressive treatment from the media that portrayed the refugees as a threat to the national and economic order (Gilbert, 2013). The frames that the media used to describe the sudden refugee arrivals articulated the characteristics that were later repeated *ad verbum* by the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration, and Multiculturalism when he announced an immediate visa requirement for all Mexicans who wished to enter Canada (Gilbert, 2013). The alignment of the negative portrayal of the Mexican refugees in the media with the policy announcements

of the government implies that the media in Canada and public policy makers shared a discursive approach toward refugees.

In line with existing immigration and refugee media framing study, I accept the influence of the media on public policy as a firm starting point for the examination of the research study. The exact nature of this relationship, whether causal, immediate or exercised via other actors in the social and political sphere, was irrelevant for the examination of the media framing of refugees. In the next section, I address the native attitudes in more detail, position the attitudes in the context of group threat theories, and elaborate on the possible threats that the native population, as an ingroup, may perceive from refugees, as members of an outgroup.

Native Attitudes

Social interaction and behavior between societal groups have been a productive subject for study in the field of social science. The lead up to and implementation of the Civil Right Act of 1964 gave rise to detailed studies that concentrated on the interaction between minority and majority groups and have carried the development of subsequent theories that are still valid to date.

The term *prejudice* describes flawed generalizations by individuals as a result of the socialization that influences their beliefs, attitudes, and values (Allport, 1979; Fussell, 2014; Quillian, 2006). Blumer's (1958) theory of group position examined race prejudice and focused on the relationship between two groups. The theory is based on the group threat hypothesis that prejudice is an expression of group identity, and that group threat becomes active when conflict enhances differences between groups (Blumer, 1958). In

contrast, Allport's (1979) theory of prejudice produced the contact hypothesis, and the author argued that beliefs, attitudes, and values of an ingroup can be modified by interactions between both groups, thereby reducing the negative behavior toward the outgroup. Quillian (1996) confirmed Blumer's assessment of prejudice and stated that prejudice is driven by characteristics at the collective level and is not activated at the individual level. A group member might not experience threat at the individual level but still might perceive threat at the group level (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013). The subsequently developed theory of prejudice extended Blumer's hypothesis to the perception of a threat as a function of economic conditions and minority group size (Quillian, 1996).

A desire to bring clarity to the interactions between African Americans and Whites catalyzed the abundant application of group threat theories. Stereotypical ingroup behavior toward an outgroup can also be translated to other group interactions in societies. Any ingroup behavior toward an outgroup is subject to prejudice and follows a collective trajectory of resistance, frustration, and perceived threat. Group threat theories have been used to assess the relationship between native populations and minorities from different cultures, religions, ethnicities, and have been applied to examine a multitude of group interactions in a variety of countries across the world. When Berg (2015) reviewed the theoretical literature of attitudes toward immigration and immigrants in a comprehensive meta-analysis, he identified outgroup threat as the main source of immigration attitudes, across political values and nations.

Immigrants as a Homogenous Group

The collective nature of group threat theories is based on shared beliefs, values, and common interests of members of the ingroup. Individuals who identify with a select group form images of themselves and group members, and use the collective process to shape images of individuals that they perceive as outgroup members (Blumer, 1958). The characterization of outgroups as homogenous structures, with members that are perceived as uniform and indistinguishable, strengthens the differences between groups and may lead to a justification of the ingroup versus outgroup behavior. The generalization of members of the outgroup creates conflict between groups and there are examples of group-centric behavior in the United States where citizens vocalized resistance toward non-citizens (Brader et al., 2008).

The tendency to view immigrants as homogenous members of one group is not limited to the discussion of native attitudes in the United States. The earlier mentioned incident in Canada in 2007, where a small group of Mexican immigrants crossed the American-Canadian border under the 2004 *Safe Third Country Agreement*, serves as an example of media framing of refugees as a homogenous group (Keung, 2007). The refugees received stereotypical portrayals in the media in Canada with frames that focused on illegality, criminality, and fraud (Gilbert, 2013). The media in European countries are known to portray immigrants as indistinguishable members of a homogenous group, which the following example of native attitudes in Germany illustrates. The results of a quantitative research study revealed that native Germans evaluated immigrants against the prototypical values of the ingroup in German society

(Kessler et al., 2010). The native population perceived immigrants as collectively different from the ingroup who were convinced that the immigrant groups lacked a willingness to integrate into the preset notion of that society, thereby possibly threatening the identity of society and the native ingroup. A similar study in Switzerland revealed that the media portrayed immigrants in a stereotypical manner and as a collective threat to the security and culture of Switzerland (Schemer, 2012).

When outgroup members are portrayed in generalized terms, members of the ingroup may use that general framework as a platform of active resistance toward the outgroup. The assignment of stereotypical characteristics to immigrant groups and their members place individuals in a generalized outgroup whose members are perceived as a threat by the ingroup. In the United States, Brader et al. (2008) attributed some of this behavior to the fact that Americans tend to be poorly informed and less capable of understanding the nuances of differences between outgroup members. As an example, the negative focus toward immigrants before 9/11 centered mostly on Latin American immigrants, and Americans believed that these immigrants were poorer and less educated than other immigrants (Timberlake & Williams, 2012). Post 9/11, the native population in the United States regards Middle Eastern immigrants as a threat based on the perceived ethnic and religious association with the perpetrators of terrorist attacks (Steuter & Wills, 2010; Woods & Arthur, 2014).

Anti-Immigrant Sentiments

Researchers who addressed native attitudes toward immigrants in the United States agree that its relationship with immigrants is sensitive at best. Through time,

restrictive immigration policies have had favor and were related to the tendency to demand immigration limitations and restrictions in times of threat, concrete or perceived, or crisis (Akdenizli et al., 2008; Brader et al., 2008; Fussell, 2014). In Canada, the relationship between the native population and immigration and immigration policies has followed a similar path, and the Canadian attitude toward immigrant groups has served as a subject of academic scrutiny (Wilkes, Guppy, & Farris, 2008).

Perceived threats from immigrants are often articulated in economic terms when ingroup members evaluate the influx of immigrants as a zero-sum game and fear that relaxed immigration policies increase the competition in the labor market, housing market, education, and other participatory platforms of society (Berg & Gleditsch, 2014; Fussell 2014; Gadarian & Albertson, 2014). Prejudice toward against immigrants tends to intensify during difficult economic times (Fussell, 2014; Wilkes et al., 2008). The size of the immigrant group can act as an amplifier for negative native attitudes toward immigrants in times of economic stress, i.e., the larger the immigrant group, the more intense the negative attitudes from the native population (Brader et al., 2008). Proposition 187 in California in 1994 offers an illustrative example of the influence of the immigrant group size on the intensity of the negative native attitudes toward the outgroup. The voters in California accepted the Proposition as an expression of frustration with the perceived continued distribution of social services to undocumented immigrants (Brader et al., 2008; Fussell, 2014). Though later deemed unconstitutional by the courts, the initial acceptance of the proposition revealed a resistance toward a growing immigrant population and proved a turning point in native attitudes.

Economic threat is supplemented by additional factors that explain native ingroup attitudes directed toward an outgroup of immigrants. The aspect of culture and religion has found similar representation as a catalyst for negative native attitudes. The definition of symbolic threats includes both culture and religion as factors for the beliefs, values, and morals of the ingroup (Murray & Marx, 2013). As an example, a Norwegian study featured the intergroup dynamics and group threat processes between native Norwegians and immigrants (Berg & Gleditsch, 2014). The researchers concluded that group fear of negative effects to the economy was less consequential for resistance toward immigrants than the fear that immigrants would possibly compromise or erode the Norwegian culture. Comparitively, Fussell (2014) underscored the relationship between perceived threats to the American culture and an increase of negative ingroup behavior toward immigrants.

Other researchers argued that both economic and symbolic threats deserve consideration in an examination of native attitudes (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). However, Ceobanu and Escandell (2010) suggested that only perceived symbolic threat are relevant for an examination of negative native attitudes. Because the research study examined the native attitudes under a perceived threat of terrorism, the media framing of this subject did not necessarily align with an economic threat context but treated the native attitudes as a symbolic threat.

An assessment of symbolic threat aligns with Huntington's 1993 hypothesis in *The Clash of Civilizations*, which was based on the notion that cultural divisions between specific areas in the world explain and drive future conflicts. In a revisit of this hypothesis a decade later, Huntington (2013) explained that the Western attachment to

individualism represents the source of the clash between Western and other cultures. The post 9/11 increase of nativism, which has unearthed deeper forms of individual liberties, has deepened the clash between these cultures.

Individualistic Societies

Huntington (1993, 2013) concluded that the individualistic nature of countries acts as a source for symbolic threat, which fits with Blumer's (1958) notion that group threat operates at the collective level. The level of individualism in a nation is not a stand-alone concept but is an intricate part of a nation's identity that may be underpowered, overpowered, or balanced by other societal concepts. For a comparison of the level of individualism in the United States and Canada, I used Hofstede's cultural dimensions as a model for closer inspection (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). In 1980, Hofstede published an analytical insight into national cultures based on the largest database of national cultural information at the time (Hofstede, 2001). Hofstede defined national culture as a collective mindset that distinguishes group members from other groups and individuals (Hofstede et al., 2010). Hofstede viewed culture as a relative concept, which created an opportunity to use the measured dimensions as a tool of comparison between nations. Hofstede measured the collective culture of a nation with six separate dimensions that each represent an independent national preference.

The individualism dimension measures how the members in society value their level of interdependence. Canada scores are lower on this dimension than the United States, confirming that Canada is relatively more collectivist than its Southern neighbor. A high level of individualism in the United States, combined with a low power distance

that honors equality for all, defines the country as a loosely-knit society where people are expected to function with limited governmental support (Hofstede et al., 2010). Fussell (2014) associates this high level of individualism with ethnocentrism and authoritarianism, values that often translate into restrictive immigration policies. Indeed, public concern with the increasing number of immigrants has been at the forefront of the political debate for many years and has become a featured platform of the presidential election in 2016 (Akdenizli et al., 2008). The context of the immigration debate is not limited to the discussion of undocumented immigrants but includes the discussion of the resettlement of refugees under a perceived threat of terrorism (Healy & Bosman, 2015). Canada scores lower on the individualism scale than the United States, which is matched by a slightly lower level of masculinity (Hofstede et al., 2010). The dominant values in Canada are moderately masculine, indicating that Canadians value high standards of performance to a smaller degree than is culturally accepted and expected in the United States.

As discussed in the refugee policy section, Canada has experienced a tightening of immigration policies in recent years. In light of this occurrence, the native attitudes toward immigrants in Canada may have changed (Soennecken, 2014). A closer examination of immigration and refugee incidents in Canada reveal that negative native attitudes toward immigrants have intensified (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Wilkes et al., 2008). Esses et al. (2013) confirmed that the portrayal of refugees and immigrants in Canada as *enemies at the gate* projects an ingroup defense against a threat to the societal position of the ingroup, which increases the distance to the outgroup. Moreover, Wilkes

et al. (2008) recognized a conflicted relationship between Canada and its immigrants: Canadians prefer to present themselves and their country as pro-immigrant and humanitarian but incidents of negative attitudes toward immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers have marred that image (Wilkes et al., 2008).

Anti-Refugee Attitudes

Distinctions between refugees and immigrants are not necessarily clear or properly applied. As an example, refugee laws and policies are often embedded in national immigration legislation and immigration services and admissions of refugees are implemented and overseen by federal security offices. In the United States, the Department of Homeland Security is responsible for all immigration matters, including the admittance of refugees. An erroneous evaluation of all displaced people as immigrants may lead to criticism of refugees based on misinformation.

The vague distinction between refugees and other immigrants is especially noticeable in Europe where the Syrian refugee arrivals were not necessarily separately received from the arrivals of large groups of other displaced persons at the European borders. The non-refugee arrivals do not align with the refugee definition of the Protocol but fit the category of economically motivated immigrants (UNHCR, 2016). When an ingroup directs negative native attitudes toward all arrivals, refugees and immigrants alike, the humanitarian need of refugees becomes diminished and neglected.

Occasionally, governments address refugees as immigrants purposefully in an attempt to avoid its duty of non-refoulement under the Protocol, which prohibits countries from denying entrance to refugee claimants. As an example, in 2001, Australia

refused entry to 400 Afghan refugees and directed all claimants to a non-Australian island location under a hastily designed and implemented border protection law (Hathaway, 2002). The attempt of the Australian government to ignore international refugee law received loud protest of the international humanitarian and legal community. However, the new border protection law prevented the refugees from entering at that one instance and was used to thwart future attempts of refugee admissions (Hathaway, 2002).

The negative portrayal of refugees in the media impacts how governments determine refugee policies and sets the stage for stereotypical native ingroup behavior vis-à-vis the refugee population. Negative attitudes toward refugees and unfavorable portrayals of refugees in the media do not serve a productive understanding of the magnitude of the Syrian refugee crisis and will not contribute to a timely resolve of this humanitarian crisis. Negative native attitudes will shape the welcome with which refugees are received for resettlement and can potentially steer the identities that refugees develop during the integration process (Fussell, 2014). A detailed understanding of the quality of the integration process of refugees rests outside of the scope of this research study, but it is important to acknowledge that the relationship between the integration attitude of immigrants, including refugees, is moderated by how the population in the host country receive the immigrant (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). Some researchers examined the negative native attitudes toward refugees in a context of dehumanization and in the next section, I will briefly touch upon this subject.

Dehumanization

One aspect of native attitudes toward immigrants, though not the focus of the study, deserved special attention in the context of immorality that an ingroup attaches to the perception of refugees as the outgroup. In this section, several research studies that focused on the dehumanization of refugees are briefly discussed.

In 2008, Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, and Mihic tested the relationship between dehumanization and the negative native attitudes toward refugees and refugee policies in Canada. In three separate studies, participants characterized refugees with compromised qualities of human morality. Individuals who rated themselves with higher dominance expressed an absence of admiration for refugees, increased contempt for refugees, and diminished support for the refugee policies in Canada. The research study was replicated in 2013 with participants in Canada and Australia, and the researchers confirmed that the relationship between perceived threats to ingroups and negative attitudes toward immigrants were mediated by dehumanizing beliefs and emotions (Louis et al., 2013).

In 2015, Trounson, Critchley, and Pfeifer conducted a similar study in Australia. The research team asked a sample of online participants to rate their dominance and project their perceptions of asylum seekers. The researchers measured the attitudes and emotions toward asylum seekers with validated scales and assessed the dehumanization of asylum seekers in the context of social dominance theory. The researchers concluded that ideologies based on myths feed negative attitudes through a relationship with dehumanization and negative emotions (Trounson et al., 2015).

When the media portray an outgroup as less human, it is implied that they do not deserve humanitarian considerations and can be excluded from the common process of fairness and justice (Esses et al., 2008). Steuter and Wills (2010) concluded that the media framing post 9/11 did not exclusively focus on the War on Terror but stretched its portrayals of Muslims and the religion of Islam into dehumanizing territory with terms like *vermin*, *enemies amongst us*, and *terror rats*. The dehumanizing media portrayals increase in times of threat and becomes attached to the native attitudes of the ingroup that instigate enhanced and lasting frictions between ingroups and outgroups (Esses et al., 2008). Post 9/11, the image of refugees of Middle Eastern descent has become sensitive to perceived threats of terrorism. The enemy image of refugees, under that threat, is detectable in media content across the world (Türk, 2016).

The Threat of Terrorism

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 were followed by an intensification of negative attitudes toward immigrants, a process which has received research attention in the field of social science. In one notable study, the researchers brought focus to the subsequent wars as a source of increased ingroup versus outgroup disparity (Steuter & Wills, 2010). The researchers addressed the increased negativity from a cultural aspect and measured whether Muslims became subject to generalizations due to religion and ethnicity (Steuter & Wills, 2010). Other researchers in a different study examined the effect of the perceived threat of terror that arose from the Middle East and concluded that the differences between the two worlds made the American participants uneasy and protective of their values and beliefs (Woods & Arthur, 2014). In the study, the

researchers found that the media did not only use *terrorism* as a frame but also used non-terrorism terms as aggression frames, such as the narrative of non-European immigrants, a frame that received increased coverage in the media post 9/11.

The threat that an ingroup perceives from an outgroup is not exclusively linked to anti-immigration attitudes but also relates to the level of nativism in a country. Egalitarian and humanitarian values can be considered as a basis for pro-immigration opinions, and patriotism and nativism are mostly associated with anti-immigration attitudes (Wilkes et al., 2008). As was evident in the post 9/11 intensification of nativism, negative attitudes toward Muslims have increased in the United States (Steele, Parker, & Lickel, 2014). In a more recent study in 2016, the researchers showed that media portrayals, post 9/11, tend to define Muslim Americans in “reductive and monolithic ways” (Bowe & Makki, 2016, p. 554). However, the United States is not unique for the rise of nativism under an increased perceived threat of terror. Australia has been faced with a strengthening of values, beliefs, and attitudes in the early 1990s, when the perceived crisis of national security led the media to negatively frame refugees, which motivated the government to tighten the border protection under a perceived threat to the national interest (Gale, 2004).

The resistance toward entry of Syrian refugees for resettlement in the United States may be connected to the increase of the perceived threat of terror. Terrorist attacks in Boston, Paris, Germany, San Bernardino, Orlando, and other locations were executed under the instigation or influence of Middle Eastern terrorist groups. The negative attitude toward immigrants and refugees is matched by a steadily increasing but pervasive

portrayal of Middle Easterners as terrorists. In the opinion of Welch (2016), the Middle Eastern stereotypes resemble the “entrenched criminal stereotypes frequently applied to Blacks and Hispanic males” (p. 117). The perceived threat of terrorism may lead the members of an ingroup to perceive all members of an outgroup in negative terms and can be extended to people who are not necessarily members of the outgroup. Syrian refugees, because of country of origin, race, and religion, may receive negative attitudes from an ingroup because of an ill-placed association with existing stereotypes and characterizations.

Negative Native Attitudes

Negative media messages about immigrants are closely related to group threat theories. The theories focus on ingroup members who exhibit negative attitudes when experiencing a higher perceived threat from the outgroup (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013). The framing studies mentioned in this section revealed negative portrayals of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. For instance, Esses et al. (2013) described that nearly 80% of all examined content delivered negative messages that focused on the perceived threat of the outgroup. A comparison of two newspapers in the United States for how they portrayed immigrants showed that negative news coverage of immigration increased substantially post 9/11 (Woods & Arthur, 2014). Van Klingeren et al. (2015) and Schemer (2012) also concluded that negative messages produce negative attitudes. Although it is possible that positive frames cancel out negative frames, positive and negative messages are not symmetric, which indicates that negative media frames have a greater impact on group behavior than positive frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007b;

Soroka, 2006). In line with the academic acknowledgment that negative messages influence group threat behavior, paired with the expectation that positive frames temper negative frames but not eliminate, I based the examination in this study on the valence principle and focused on positive and negative frames that the media used to project news about refugees.

In the previous section, I briefly mentioned that group interaction can modify the relationship between the ingroup and outgroup, thereby reducing negative attitudes toward the minority group (Allport, 1979). Interactions between native groups and Syrian refugees who have not yet arrived for resettlement is not feasible and this lack of interaction limits how and where the native group receives its information about immigrant groups, which by virtue of limitation designates the media as the central and often sole source of information (Schlueter & Davidov, 2013). The portrayals of refugees in the media tend to shape the public information and knowledge about this group in a distinct way. Researchers agree that negative depictions of immigrants in the media influence group members who are directly exposed to mass media and, via shared conversations on social networks, can reach those who do not watch, read, or listen to media sources (Peter, 2004; Schmitt-Beck, 2003). Though social networks did not feature in the content analysis of this research study, the trickle-down influence of negative media portrayals on the public and public policy cannot be ignored. In the next section, I address the native attitudes as indicators for the tone and frame of the content analysis.

Indicators of Native Attitudes

In the previous section, I presented the theoretical understanding of group behavior and offered examples of existing studies that addressed native attitudes toward immigrants and refugees. In this section, I address native attitudes in the context of the frame and tone indicators of the content analysis of this study. The definition of framing and frames is revisited to explain how researchers approach frame definitions, and I define the tone and framing indicators as dependent variables in the research study.

In the theory section, I defined framing as a scattered concept across disciplines and evaluated existing framing studies that used broad, and sometimes vague, definitions in the conceptualization of the framing theory. The framing literature still lacks standard framing indicators, which compromises the stability and reliability of the utilization of the framing theory as a fundamental choice for content analyses (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Chong and Druckman (2007b) stressed that the evaluation of framing effects is directly influenced by the quality, or lack thereof, of the chosen definitions for frames and framing indicators.

The first distinction between frames exists of the difference between episodic and thematic frames. A researcher either focuses on concrete issues or on general issues that are more abstractly defined. Iyengar (1994) recognized that most media news fits within the definition of the episodic frame when the media covers the news with a detailed lens to bring focus to individual cases and discrete events that result in the assignment of responsibilities or blame. Oppositely, thematic news frames apply a wide-angle lens that

presents an overview of an issue and addresses the occurrence in the context of social or other overarching causes (Steimel, 2010).

An alternative distinction between possible frames centers on the approach that researchers use to generate the frames: Both the inductive and deductive trajectory have found application in the academic framing literature (Hayes, 2008; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The two approaches differ for the purpose of the coding process. In the inductive approach, the intense process of coding generates the frames. Alternatively, in the deductive approach, the frame is defined and accepted at the start of the content coding process (David, Atun, Fille, & Monteroia, 2011). Researchers that opt for the inductive approach analyze news content with an open view that starts with a wide preconception of all possible frames, which are then narrowed by a detailed analysis of the content that produces fitting frames to represent the issue (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Matthes and Kohring (2008) identified four different ways to approach frame selection inductively: The hermeneutic approach, which connects frames with broader cultural elements; the linguistic approach, which analyzes linguistic elements such as placement and word structure; the manual holistic approach where frames are coded as holistic variables in a manual content analysis; and, a computer-assisted approach where the frames are mapped by the computer as opposed to detected by the researcher. As an example, Hayes (2008) used an inductive approach when he examined immigration-related network television news for how the news highlighted the immigration debate between 2005 and 2007. The researcher examined selected content

with an open view to detect all possible frames and decided that the media portrayed either a restrictive or welcoming immigration attitudes.

In contrast, researchers that applied the deductive approach accepted generalized frames that were derived from previous studies (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). An example of the deductive frame approach is illustrated by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) who accepted five previously identified frames to compare the framing of a specific issue in television news and the printed press. The frames were generic in nature, suited the subject of the study, and were tested for reliability with an extensive factor analysis that ensured coder reliability. Semetko and Valkenburg's research study and the method of frame utilization have since inspired other researchers, and the study has become a noticeable influence for later research studies. However, Matthes and Kohring (2008) expressed criticism of the deductive approach and cautioned researchers to consider the limitations of pre-defined frames.

Although the deductive method promotes reliability of the frames, the method can be inflexible and cause the researcher to overlook important frame indicators and does not allow for frame evolution (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). David et al. (2011) put the distinction between the inductive and deductive approach to the test when they assessed the validity of frames in news reports between 1987 and 2007 on the subject of population in Filipino newspaper articles. The researchers concluded that both methods produced comparable frames.

Approach Used in the Research Study

The occurrence of negative native attitudes toward refugees after the Paris attack in 2015 fits with the episodic frame. The terrorist attack led to instant criticism of the refugee policy in the United States and the media framed reports about refugee admissions in a negative light. The narrow focus of the threat to national security, which neglected the magnitude of the Syrian refugee problem, sought blame with the refugees and the government and lacked thematic characteristics.

The episodic character of the refugee frame did not allow for a fully deductive approach because the utilization of this approach proved unflexible and unable to capture all elements of the refugee portrayals in the media (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). A fully inductive approach proved equally unsuitable as the process is detailed, tends to be labor-intensive, and expensive (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Matthes and Kohring (2008) emphasized that the choice between the inductive and deductive approach does not need to be exclusive. A combination of different approaches can create frame indicators that allow for reliability and validity. In that light, I combined elements of the inductive and deductive approach to examine the media portrayals of refugees in Canada and the United States. The tone of the articles, including positive and negative tone, was assessed with a deductive valence approach that measured the sentiment of the news articles with an existing sentiment dictionary. I developed the framing construct with an inductive qualitative process that combined the hermeneutic and manual holistic approach. The approach produced the definitions of the frame indicators, guided by Entman's (1993) definitions of frame and framing and the framing functions.

In the remainder of this section, I present the tone variables, the frame construct, and the placement variable. The combination of the variables, including the indicators within the frame construct, represent the salience and selection of Entman's (1993) interpretation of frame and framing. Salience was measured with the frequency of occurrence, indicating that a frame is more salient when frequently delivered in a news article. The utilization of frequency as the measurement of salience followed earlier approaches in the academic literature. For instance, Zhou and Moy (2007) used frequency as the measurement for salience when they compared online public opinion to media coverage. Van Klengeren et al. (2015) used the frequency count as a measurement of the concept of salience when they examined negative native attitudes in newspaper content in the Netherlands and Denmark. Woods and Arthur (2014) approached salience with an additional variable that measured the physical location of the article in a newspaper. In line with the mentioned approaches, I measured salience with a frequency count for the tone and frame variables and introduced an additional framing variable that measured the placement of an article in a newspaper, as the representation for the selection of Entman's framing definition.

Deductive Tone Approach

The measurement and interpretation of the tone of media content have received attention and application in earlier research studies across academic disciplines. In 2006, Gentzkow and Shapiro developed and estimated the political and ideological slant in newspapers by comparing the use of partisan language. Though the researcher did not address negative versus positive tone, the measurement of the tone offered an example of

an examination that reduced subjective coder input and served a large sample that included 70% of the circulation of newspapers in the United States. In a comparable research study that was published in 2010, Eshbaugh-Soha measured the tone of presidential news coverage during the Clinton and second Bush administration. Under the premise that presidents have difficulty influencing national public opinion, the researcher focused on the tone of local presidential news coverage. The tone was measured for positively and negatively slanted sentences and the results revealed that everyday local presidential news projected a negative message about the President, though only slightly more intense than positive sentences (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010). Soroka, Bodet, Young, and Andrew (2009) tested the relationship between the tone of media coverage and voter intentions in Canada between 2004 and 2006. The researchers used an existing database of campaign content to measure the tone in three distinctive ways: negative, neutral, and positive. The method of measurement relied on a subjective coding process and the assessment of tone at three levels, as an indication of the sentiment of media content, resembles the method used in this research study.

The tone variables in the content analysis of this study represent the salience and selection of the frame of the articles about refugees in newspapers in Canada and the United States. The measurement process used an existing sentiment dictionary, Lexicoder SD, that provided a collection of negative and positive words. The measurement produced the positive tone and the negative tone of each article. The main tone was a calculated variable that summed the measured tone variables into the main sentiment measurement of the article.

Inductive Frame Construct Approach

Entman's (1993) definitions of framing and frame, as discussed earlier in the theory section, offer framing guidelines that are commonly adopted as useful verbalizations for framing indicators. Entman emphasized the selection and salience and defined the individual functions of a frame. The frame indicators collectively represent the complete frame construct, as a comprehensive representation of Entman's definition and functions.

The first functional frame indicator is the diagnosis of a particular issue, which defines the issue or problem, often in relationship to common cultural values. The second functional frame indicator is the interpretation of the issue, which focuses on the perceived cause(s) of the issue and answers *who* or *what* is creating the problem. The third functional frame indicator is the moral judgment evaluation, which evaluates the causal agents and the perceived effect on the present and the future. The fourth and last functional frame indicator is the treatment of the issue, which proposes solutions and verbalizes expected outcomes in the future (Entman, 1993).

Diagnosis. The diagnosis frame is the most commonly used frame in media reports and is often placed in either the title or the lead paragraph of an article (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). As an example, President Bush's response to the attack on 9/11 addressed the act of *War against America* as the diagnosis of the issue (Entman, 2003). Other researchers discovered *terrorist* and *terrorism* as frames of inquiry that point to the diagnosis of an issue. For instance, Woods (2011) hypothesized that the effect of the term terrorism is indicative of an increase of perceived threat. Esses et al. (2013) used a similar

diagnosis when she examined the media framing of refugees and discovered a connection between the frame refugees as terrorists and negative native attitudes. The diagnosis of the negative attitudes toward refugees in the research study centered on negative terms that link refugees to the acts of *terrorism*, such as *terrorist*, *danger*, *attack*, or *threat*, and any other words that attach a diagnosis to the issue that refugees are perceived to create.

Interpretation. The interpretation of the native attitudes centered on the identification of the perceived underlying sources of the problem that future settlement of Syrian refugees is perceived to create. As an example, when the media characterizes all Middle Eastern people as *Arabs*, the media in effect typecasts Middle Easterners and attaches an unnecessary and unwarranted judgment, which was confirmed in an earlier study as an effect of a perceived minority threat (Welch, 2016). Equally, the typecasting of *Muslims* in connection with terrorist threats has increased prejudice against Muslims after 9/11 and is sensitive to calls for terrorist attacks from abroad (Steele et al., 2014). The interpretation of the negative attitudes toward refugees in the research study centered on negative terms that identify refugees as the cause of a problem, such as *Muslims*, and *Arabs*.

Moral evaluation. The diagnosis and cause of the problem are followed by a frame indicator that described a judgment of the parties, which includes negative references that are not necessarily related to the diagnosis but, nonetheless, expressed by the media. In an earlier study, the phrase *radical Islam(ist)* was identified as a frame indicator that induced higher levels of perceived threat (Woods, 2011). The researcher concluded that, although the term terrorism did not affect perceived threat, the term

radical Islam certainly increased levels of perceived threat. The moral evaluation frame indicator in the research study included words such as *radicalized Muslims*, *radical Islam(ist)*, and other words that attach an unnecessary and unwarranted judgment of refugees.

Solutions and outcomes. The final function of Entman's (1993) frame definition provides solutions to the perceived issue. Existing research studies offer examples of media portrayals of solutions to issues that centered on changes in the policy arena. During 2006 and 2007, immigration debates were the subject of negative media framing, which led to inactivity in public policies and induced a block of progression of policy changes (Akdenizli et al., 2008). Entman's (2003) example of President Bush's framing of the 9/11 attack revealed the solution as a call for the *War on Terror*, a term that has found a persistent presence in media portrayals. The solutions and outcomes frame indicator in this research study includes words that point to solutions of the perceived refugee problem, such as *refugee ban*, *Muslim ban*, *extreme vetting*, *religious test*, and additional words that indicate and abandonment of the participation in the refugee resettlement program.

Placement

The placement of a media article offers an indication of how the media value the article and the subject. In this research study, the presence of the article was treated as a dependent variable, an approach that was in line with the application of Woods and Arthur (2014). The researchers formulated a hypothesis to test the placement of articles on the subject of immigration in the print media and asked if negative frames appeared

more often in the front part of the paper, as opposed to near the back of the paper. The researchers based their evaluation on the assumption that articles that are deemed more important by the media will appear closer to the front. The researchers confirmed that the immigrant threat narrative appeared in the front of the paper with a higher frequency. Following this approach, I included the location of the article as a dependent variable in the content analysis. The location of the article fit with the requirement that a frame should not solely focus on the *what* but also on the *how*.

The tone variables and framing indicators, defined as dependent variables, allowed adequate room for an analysis of media frames but still adhered to Entman's (1993) principles of framing. The next section illustrates how researchers define the independent variables in media content analyses and, in line with the presented common practices, I discuss the independent variable for the content analysis of the research study.

Media Variable

Researchers who used newspaper content analyses define the media source of examination more often as the independent variable, versus a definition as the dependent variable. Research studies where newspapers served as dependent variables are few and far between: I located one singular research study where the news sources served as the dependent variable (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Considering that this specific study focused on the extent that pre-defined frames differed between newspapers, the determination of the media source as the dependent variable did not seem a valid approach.

Most researchers treated the media source as one unique and stand-alone independent variable. For instance, a study in 2010 examined how American newspapers portrayed refugees, and the researcher treated all major newspapers in the United States as one collective independent variable (Steimel, 2010). Some researchers based the selection of the media variables on the political ideology of newspapers. As an example, Woods and Arthur (2014) concluded that the ideology of a newspaper is most likely linked to the political attitudes of its readership, and selected the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* as two separate media variables toward an ideological comparison. Van Klingereren et al. used a comparable approach in 2015 when they compared liberal and more right-winged media perspectives for how the papers framed the subject of immigrants. The researchers added a second level of comparison to the media variables by selecting papers from both political ideologies in the Netherlands and Denmark, allowing for a deeper understanding of the differences between the two countries (Van Klingereren et al., 2015). However, the purpose of this research study focused on a country comparison of media sources. A comparison of political ideology did not contribute to this purpose and was not valid for consideration. Therefore, the determination of the media variable for the research study followed common practice in newspaper content studies that assigned the media content as one singular independent variable.

The content analysis of the study examined newspapers in Canada and the United States and concentrated on 1700 articles following the Paris terrorist attack in November 2015. The timing of the selected news was relevant to the dependent frame indicators: The negative native attitudes toward predominantly Syrian refugee arrivals were expected

to increase after this attack. Therefore, the content analysis focused on newspaper articles published on Friday, November 13, 2015, and examined the newspaper content for 14 months, concluding the data collection on December 31st, 2016.

Summary and Conclusion

Public opinion moves policy and policy outcomes, and the media fulfills an active role in the relationship between the recipients of news and the government. The influence of the media on public policy was previously established in the academic public policy field (Page & Shapiro, 1983). Framing theory has found applications in the academic literature and served as the framework of examination for how the media frames specific issues (Entman, 1993). Many researchers have used Entman's (1993) framing definitions as a guideline to measure the salience and presence of news reports about immigrants and immigration (Hayes, 2008; Schemer, 2012; Schlueter & Davidov, 2013; Van Klingerren et al., 2015). In the research study, I used the framing theory and Entman's approach as a vehicle of examination to understand how the media framed the subject of refugees in newspapers in Canada and the United States after the Paris terrorist attack in November 2015.

Media reports on immigration issues fit with traditional group threat theories, where negative attitudes toward immigrants follow native group behavior toward outgroups as a result of perceived threats (Allport, 1979; Blumer, 1958; Esses et al., 2013; Quillian, 2006). Although researchers have addressed native attitudes toward immigrants in research studies, insight into native attitudes toward refugees has not received the same level of research attention. Refugee policies are often grouped with

immigration policies, and insight into media portrayals of refugees is mostly limited to its inclusion in media framing studies that focus on immigrants (Murray & Marx, 2013; Timberlake & Williams, 2012). Considering that immigration framing studies often exclusively focus on the native attitudes toward undocumented immigrants, an examination of media framing of refugees filled the gap in the literature (Haynes et al., 2016). In the research study, I examined refugees as a stand-alone group and focused on the native attitudes toward refugees as portrayed in newspapers in Canada and the United States.

The duration and magnitude of the Syrian refugee crisis have created a global need for solutions outside of the Middle East that is evident in the spill-overs of this crisis on other continents. The refugee crisis has become a feature in public policies and is debated in many Western countries. However, the refugee policy debate and outcomes in Canada are different, and this difference served as the subject of the content analysis of this research study. A closer examination of the media portrayal of refugees in Canada and the United States brought insight to possible media influences on refugee policy outcomes. Additionally, the media debate about the resettlement of refugees in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis has not yet received academic attention. The hiatus in the literature offered a gap for examination, which I filled with the insight into possible differences between media framing in two countries on the subject of refugees, and how these differences may drive different policy outcomes.

The examination of media framing in Canada and the United States required a comparative content analysis that assessed the differences between newspaper content in

both countries for how they portray refugees. In Chapter 3, I outline the research methodology for the content analysis, which provides the rationale for the comparative content approach. The chapter includes details about the population and sample, describes the operationalization of the framing theory constructs to ensure that the content analysis is reliable and worth of generalization, provide operational definitions of the variables, and brings attention to validity considerations to ensure that the study produced objective and trustworthy results.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The Syrian refugee crisis and the subsequent need for resettlement options have revealed a dissimilarity between Canada and the United States. Canada has become a reliable country of resettlement, and the Canadian government has resettled thousands of Syrian refugees in recent years under its national refugee policy. In contrast, plans for Syrian refugee resettlement in the United States are met with resistance under a perceived threat of terrorism, and most state governors have been hesitant to comply with the federal intent to resettle a large number of Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016 (Healy & Bosman, 2015; U.S. Department of State, 2016). The purpose of this quantitative research study was to understand the differences in refugee policy outcomes between the two countries. In this study, I compared media news content in both countries for how they portrayed the subject of refugees.

In this chapter, I outline the methodology and research design of the research study. In the research design and rationale section, I support the choice for the content analysis as the vehicle of examination for the study. In the methodology section, I discuss the dimensions of the population, the sampling strategy, and the sample size. The operationalization of the constructs in the research study required the development of a second instrument and a validity test, which I describe in detail. The chapter continues with a brief discussion of the measurement of the variables, followed by the data analysis plan, where I present the hypotheses once more. Possible threats to validity and ethical considerations conclude the methodology presentation of the research study.

Research Design and Rationale

To compare the news media between Canada and the United States for how they portray the subject of refugees, I used quantitative substantive content analysis. The application of the quantitative content analysis design offered an empirically grounded approach to examine a possible influence of the media that helped assess why the refugee policies in both countries differ in acceptance, implementation, and outcome.

Content analysis is an unobtrusive measuring technique that allows the researcher to collect data from existing communications and analyze the data to find evidence for research questions (Krippendorff, 2004). Communications are central to the field of social science, and the availability of raw data creates many possibilities for researchers to examine and explore a variety of research questions. Content analysis is not discriminated by methodology, and the flexibility of data collection and analysis allows application of both the quantitative and qualitative approach as the vehicle of insight.

Qualitative content studies are interpretative methods where the researcher applies an iterative process to qualitative data and matches the data to a predefined coding frame (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Pierce, 2008). A qualitative research study is usually concentrated on a small sample, is not necessarily restricted to a substantive approach that focuses on frequencies of frames, and is limited for its generalization of the results across a population.

In comparison, a quantitative content analysis offers a reductionist approach that decreases sizeable quantities of content into manageable data, assigns content to predefined coding categories, and allows researchers to systematically collect data and

analyze hypotheses with inferential statistical methods (Riffe et al., 2014). The substantive nature of quantitative content analyses implies a focus on the frequency of frames in the collected data. Consequently, I measured the tone variables and the framing indicators of the research study with the frequency of appearance in the sampled media content. Moreover, a comparison of sources, such as was the nature of this study, was well-suited for quantitative content analysis and Druckman (2005) argued this approach not only warranted but preferred for comparison applications. I used the content analysis as a purposeful scientific tool to examine refugee-related news content and discover possible differences between newspaper publications in Canada and the United States.

The quantitative approach for the analysis of content aligns with common practices in the field of communication research and public policy, where the use of content analyses has expanded in recent years (Pierce, 2008). According to Riffe et al. (2014), nearly 30% of all publications in communication journals are based on quantitative content analysis. In the field of public policy, the growth of quantitative content studies as a vehicle of examination is partly due to the applicability of this method to framing, agenda setting, and priming, but also because the role of the media as an influence on public policy has drawn academic attention and scrutiny (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Gaining insight into media negativity has become a tradition in the field and, in line with that tradition, a quantitative content analysis provided an efficient method for the subject of the research study (Haselmayer & Jenny, 2016). The insight into differences between Canada and the United States for how the media portrays the subject of refugees followed earlier applications of quantitative content analyses.

Variables

The independent variable for the study represented the countries of examination, which I measured at two levels: the United States and Canada. The definition of the dependent variables followed the methods and practices of existing quantitative content analyses, which generated seven separate variables that collectively measured the salience and selection of the newspaper articles. The first three variables represented the tone of the article and include the positive tone, the negative tone, and the main tone of news articles about the subject of refugees. Additional variables delineated Entman's (1993) frame and framing definition and operate collectively as a construct that exists of the four framing functions: diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. Both the tone and frame variables were measured with the frequency of occurrence in the individual news article. One additional variable completed the collection of dependent variables: placement of the article. The placement variable represented the location of the article in the newspaper.

In the previous chapter, I explained that an increase in negative attitudes toward refugees fits with the episodic definition approach of frames. In this research study, I regarded the terrorist attack in Paris on November 13, 2015, as the starting point for a possible change in negative attitudes toward refugees. I collected data from newspapers in Canada and the United States from that date until December 31, 2016. The broad time of collection ensured that I adequately captured all possible changes in native attitudes. In the next section, I present a more detailed insight into the selection of newspapers, population, and the sampling choice.

Methodology

The research question of the study was focused on a comparison of media content between Canada and the United States on refugees. The media content was limited to newspapers that published articles in either country after the Paris terrorist attack on November 13, 2015. The data collection was centered on the 14 months after the Paris attack and did not extend beyond December 31, 2016. The unit of analysis for the media content comparison was the individual article, and the estimate of the population size was focused on articles printed in newspapers in Canada and the United States.

Population

The population of the research study included articles that addressed the subject of refugees published in Canada and the United States between November 13, 2015, and December 31, 2016. The population was restricted to newspapers that were retrievable from online databases. A search in the LexisNexis database for the single keyword *refugees* for newspapers in either country returned thousands of articles each month. The large size of the population made a census approach unfeasible and required a first reductionist approach to create a functional group of newspaper articles (Riffe et al., 2014).

Common practices in newspaper content analysis allow selection of papers based on preset parameters that reflect the newspaper readership. For instance, Woods and Arthur (2014) examined newspapers based on political ideology as a representation of ideology of the readers. Van Klingeren et al. (2015) focused on the largest papers in the Netherlands and Denmark, which fit a wide range of political views. For the content

analysis, I followed the last example and selected newspapers based on readership, evaluated by total revenue of papers sold. In Appendix A, I present Table A1 that shows the top 25 newspapers in Canada, organized by revenue, and Table A2 that offers a summary for the newspaper market in the United States. The population of newspapers in both countries served two separate sample approaches: The main sample that was drawn from the largest 10 newspapers, which I called the first tier, and a smaller sample that was drawn from a second tier of newspapers that served the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument development process. In a later section, I discuss the second tier of newspapers in both countries that was used to develop the Lexicoder RD instrument.

I searched the LexisNexis and Proquest Central databases for newspapers that published articles between November 13, 2015, and December 31, 2016, with the keyword *refugee*. The search produced a total population of 8,052 articles for the first 10 newspapers that were published the United States (Table A3). The newspapers delivered articles for the complete time bracket of insight without any exceptions. However, the first 10 newspapers in Canada required adjustments, as not all newspapers published in the English language. Accordingly, I excluded the *Journal de Montréal*, *La Presse*, *Journal de Quebec*, and *Le Soleil* from the first tier of newspapers in Canada and replaced the newspapers with four different papers that ranked lower in readership revenue. Additionally, the *Winnipeg Free Press* was not searchable via library databases and was therefore excluded. The database search for articles generated a population of 9,178 articles that were published in the first tier of newspapers in Canada (Table A3).

The total number of articles in the population did not reflect all units to which the study inferred but included articles outside of the context of the subject of the research study. Insight into how many articles were subject to removal was assessed at the time of data collection, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 4.

Sampling Strategy

The choice between a probability and nonprobability sample influences the quality of the sample as a representation of the population. A nonprobability sample does not provide an accurate representation of the population and is limited for its assessment of sampling errors (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). In contrast, a probability sample attaches the notion of the central limits theorem to the estimate of the sampling error, which enhances the confidence that the true population mean lies within the range of the sampled units (Riffe et al., 2014). Though a probability sample is preferred for its random nature and positive effect for the generalizability of results across the population, time and content restraints may limit the applicability of random sampling techniques.

Sampling strategies in quantitative content analyses often center on nonprobable convenience samples or purposive samples. Riffe and Freitag (1997) examined the use of sampling strategies in articles that were published in *Journalism Quarterly* over a 20-year period. The researchers discovered that a purposive sampling strategy appeared in more than 68% of the studies, but an additional 10% of the examined articles reflected the choice of a convenience sampling strategy (Riffe & Freitag, 1997). Even though the tendency in existing content analysis studies is skewed against a probability sample, the random sampling technique for its consequences of accurate representation of the

population should always be the first choice of the researcher. For this reason, I based the sample selection on the random method and allowed for an adequate probability sample.

The sampling of daily newspapers in longitudinal content analyses has received special attention in the literature. Earlier studies have provided methods of constructed week techniques, which is a stratified random sampling strategy that allows control for cyclical biases but produces an efficient final sample that represents all days of the week (Luke, Caburnay, & Cohen, 2011). In Chapter 2, I identified the subject of the research study as episodic, which implied that media attention to refugees probably intensified as a result of the perceived continued threat of terrorism. Therefore, the constructed week technique did not seem appropriate for the data collection phase of the content analysis.

The comparative nature of the research question influenced the selection of the sampling strategy, which accommodated possible differences between the media in Canada and the United States. Earlier in the chapter, I defined the selected media content as newspapers, and a sample of the populations of newspapers in both countries deserved a simple random sampling technique to assure that articles in each population had an equal chance of selection (Krippendorff, 2004). I coded all articles in the population with a random identifier and sampled the population with a random method. Each sampling unit was selected only once, but to assure that every unit had an exactly equal chance to become a unit of the sample, I returned selected units to the population.

Sample Size

The sample size determination required attention to a variety of parameters that influence the outcome. To calculate the size of the sample, I used the G*Power

calculator—a standardized software application that reduces the mathematical calculation to manageable parameters and differentiates between a variety of statistical tests (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). The parameters for the sample size calculation are alpha level, statistical power, and effect size. The alpha level in the field of social science is accepted at $\alpha = 0.05$ as an indication that the population mean will fall within a specific range in 95% of samples. The threshold for possible Type I errors represents the probability of a false positive when a true null hypothesis is erroneously rejected, which is restricted to 5% (Cohen, 1992). A Type II error (β) represents a false negative, which occurs when a false null hypothesis is inadvertently accepted while it does not have validity. The power of a statistical test represents the probability that a false null hypothesis is adequately rejected. The power value in a sample calculation is based on the transformation of the Type II error ($\text{power} = 1 - \beta$) and is commonly accepted at 0.80, which allows a 20% probability that a Type II error occurs (Field, 2014).

The effect size for the content analysis illustrates the extent of the possible differences between the two countries for how they frame negative native attitudes about refugees. Although the academic literature was limited for its production of media content studies on the subject of refugees, examples of other social science subjects offered guidance for the determination of the desired effect size. In earlier content analysis, the researchers examined a variety of media sources for how they portrayed a political event in the Netherlands (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The researchers reported a sizeable effect ($\eta^2 = 0.21$) as an indication of the statistically significant differences between a variety of media outlets for how they scored on various news

frames. Existing immigration studies with a focus on native attitudes toward immigrants also provided guidelines for the effect size. For instance, an earlier study about media portrayals of immigrants in Switzerland produced a very small effect size (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.02$) as a measure of the influence of media news on the occurrence of negative attitudes toward immigrants (Schemer, 2012). Steele et al. (2014) examined foreign calls for terrorism and concluded that political conservatism increased anti-Muslim attitudes in the United States, with a significant effect of $\eta^2 = 0.138$.

The choice of the effect size influenced the determination of the sample size. For this reason, I estimated the preliminary effect size as a small effect, which increased the need for a larger sample. A combination of the selected alpha ($\alpha = 0.05$), power ($1 - \beta = 0.80$), and the effect size ($\eta^2 = 0.06$), produced a necessary sample size of 180 for each group. Fortunately, the availability of articles about refugees in the population of newspapers in Canada and the United States allowed for a sample that extended well beyond the minimum requirements and delivered a sample of 850 articles for each country. The large nature of the sample benefitted the application of the research results to the greater population of newspaper articles in Canada and the United States.

A post-hoc assessment of the effect sizes of the inferential analyses deserves comparison to the effect size that was used to determine the minimum sample size and effect sizes that resulted from comparable research studies in the past. The tone analysis produced a main tone effect size of $\eta^2 = 0.162$, a positive tone effect size of $\eta^2 = 0.0147$, and a negative tone effect size of $\eta^2 = 0.1875$. Except for the difference in positive tone between Canada and the United States, the tone analysis produced comparable results to

earlier findings. The frame construct analysis deliver $\eta^2 = 0.225$, which compares favorably to reported effect sizes of earlier, comparable, effect sizes. The placement analysis generated a small effect size, pseudo $R^2 = .006$, which was indicative of a small, yet significant, explained variance of the placement of articles in newspapers in Canada and the United States.

Procedures for Data Collection

Daily newspapers bring traditional importance to the voice of the media and, under competitive pressure from television and online sources, are considered reliable sources of journalism (Riffe et al., 2014). Though non-scholarly in nature, newspapers are viewed as legitimate sources for examination in the field of social sciences and content analyses. Newspaper data is organized as archival data that is freely accessible to the public and this data did not require permission to access.

For the content analysis, I collected data from newspapers that published articles in Canada and the United States on the subject of refugees for 14 months starting the day after the Paris terrorist attack on November 13, 2015. As explained in Chapter 1, the research question of the research study focused on published news articles only. Any other newspaper content that resulted from the database search was excluded, including editorials and columns that expressed personal opinions.

The population of relevant news articles was collected from the LexisNexis and ProQuest Central databases. I downloaded the results of the database searches as a complete list of articles in a Microsoft Excel workbook, which allowed for easy access and manipulation for random sampling purposes. After completion of the download

process, I examined for possible duplicates. If an article showed a primary source outside of the selected newspapers listed in Table A3, I excluded it from the population. If an article was the original contribution of one of the sampled papers but was reprinted in other papers, the article was contributed to the original paper only and automatically excluded from other papers.

Once the population file was sufficiently scrubbed and cleaned, I sampled the remaining number of articles with the random sampling method and downloaded the complete sample of articles in full text as individual text files in Microsoft Word format. For identification, I coded all sampled articles with three identifiers: Newspaper code, date of publication, and an alphanumeric code to differentiate between articles that were published in the same paper, on the same day.

Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs

Content analysis aims to recognize the meaning in content, and the validity of the research question in this study and meaningfulness of the subsequent data collection and analysis were subject to the operationalization of the constructs. Content analysis is only as strong as the articulation of its constructs, and a lack of validation will portray *truth nor meaning* (Krippendorff, 2004).

The explosive growth of the use of content analyses in the social sciences reflects the combination of massive accessibility to texts and the availability of automated content analysis methods. Computer content analysis programs are capable of handling large volumes of text and can break down complex language concepts into smaller and more manageable categories (Riffe et al., 2014). However, the use of automated methods does

not eliminate the need for researcher oversight, and the design of the research process should include human decisions at every level. Grimmer and Stewart (2013) addressed the lack of researcher involvement as a pitfall of automatic content analysis methods and advocated a combination of dictionary and supervised methods to optimize the validity of the constructs, the analysis, and the results. In the content analysis in this research study, I combined the automated and human approach for the operationalization of the constructs of the research question.

The operationalization of Entman's (1993) concepts of salience and presence followed a combination of the deductive and inductive approach, as discussed in Chapter 2. The different approaches required two different instruments of measurement. I measured the tone variables with an existing sentiment instrument, the Lexicoder SD. The frame indicators, as variables within the frame construct, were measured with a second instrument, the Lexicoder RD. The instrument was created to measure the frame indicators and I based its development on the Lexicoder software program, which was used to measure the tone and frame variables.

Lexicoder Sentiment Dictionary Instrument

Researchers in a multitude of academic fields produced an array of sentiment lexicons that offer positive and negative valence categories under the premise that "a well-defined and comprehensive dictionary, a basic word count can provide a powerful and reliable analysis of the topical and affective composition of a text" (Young & Soroka, 2008, p. 208). For instance, the Harvard IV-4 Inquirer Dictionary and the WordStat Sentiment Dictionary include a lexicon of words and word patterns that separate negative

from positive meanings (Provalis Research, n.d.). However, the application of existing lexicons to an academic field outside of its initial development does not necessarily produce secure and valid results. Therefore, the performance of a developed lexicon when applied to a new dataset is never guaranteed (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013; Soroka et al., 2015). Young and Soroka (2012) took a unique approach toward the development of a valid lexicon and used this approach in a study about the automated coding of sentiment in political texts. The researchers merged and standardized three publicly available lexicons from the fields of political science, psychology, and linguistics into the Lexicoder SD. The Lexicoder SD offers nearly 3,000 words as negative entries and provides an additional 1,700 words in a positive category. The American English language is similar to the Canadian English language, but spelling differences between the two languages could still occur. Therefore, I remedied any spelling differences between the two languages by including the formal British spelling of words. The approach was not limited to the use of the Lexicoder SD instrument but was also exercised when I developed and applied the Lexicoder RD instrument to the sampled articles for the measurement of the frame variables.

The most noteworthy feature of the Lexicoder SD rests with its tested accuracy. The researchers tested the Lexicoder SD against 900 human-coded news stories and compared the findings with the results of other available dictionaries. The Lexicoder SD related well to the human coding results and outperformed all other dictionaries. The Lexicoder SD is freely available for academic research and is fully incorporated into the Lexicoder Software program (Daku, Soroka, & Young, 2015). The sole requirement for

use is that the developers of the Lexicoder SD and Lexicoder program require proper citations and references in academic publications. The Lexicoder SD provided a starting point for the development of the dictionary for the research study.

Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary Development Process

The object of the approach was to develop a data dictionary that served as the instrument of measurement for the frame variables that was appropriate and valid for the subject of inquiry and the research question. The development process of the Lexicoder RD followed a four-phase process that I outlined in Figure 1. To reiterate, the purpose of the Lexicoder RD development process was to define each framing variable with words that related to each variable. Oppositely to the operationalization of the tone variables, the frame variables did not follow the valence principle but focused on negative words that were included in newspaper articles about refugees.

The development of the Lexicoder RD instrument required an initial small sample of articles from newspapers in Canada and the United States that were published during the time of insight of the study, between November 13, 2015, and December 31, 2016. The small sample was drawn from newspapers in the second tier from each country, which is summarized in Table A1 and Table A2. I aimed to select five newspapers per country from the second tier of papers, ranked by readership revenue. The motivation for this approach was two-fold: It guaranteed that the native attitudes toward refugees were adequately captured, yet the small collection of articles would not compromise the size of the main sample.

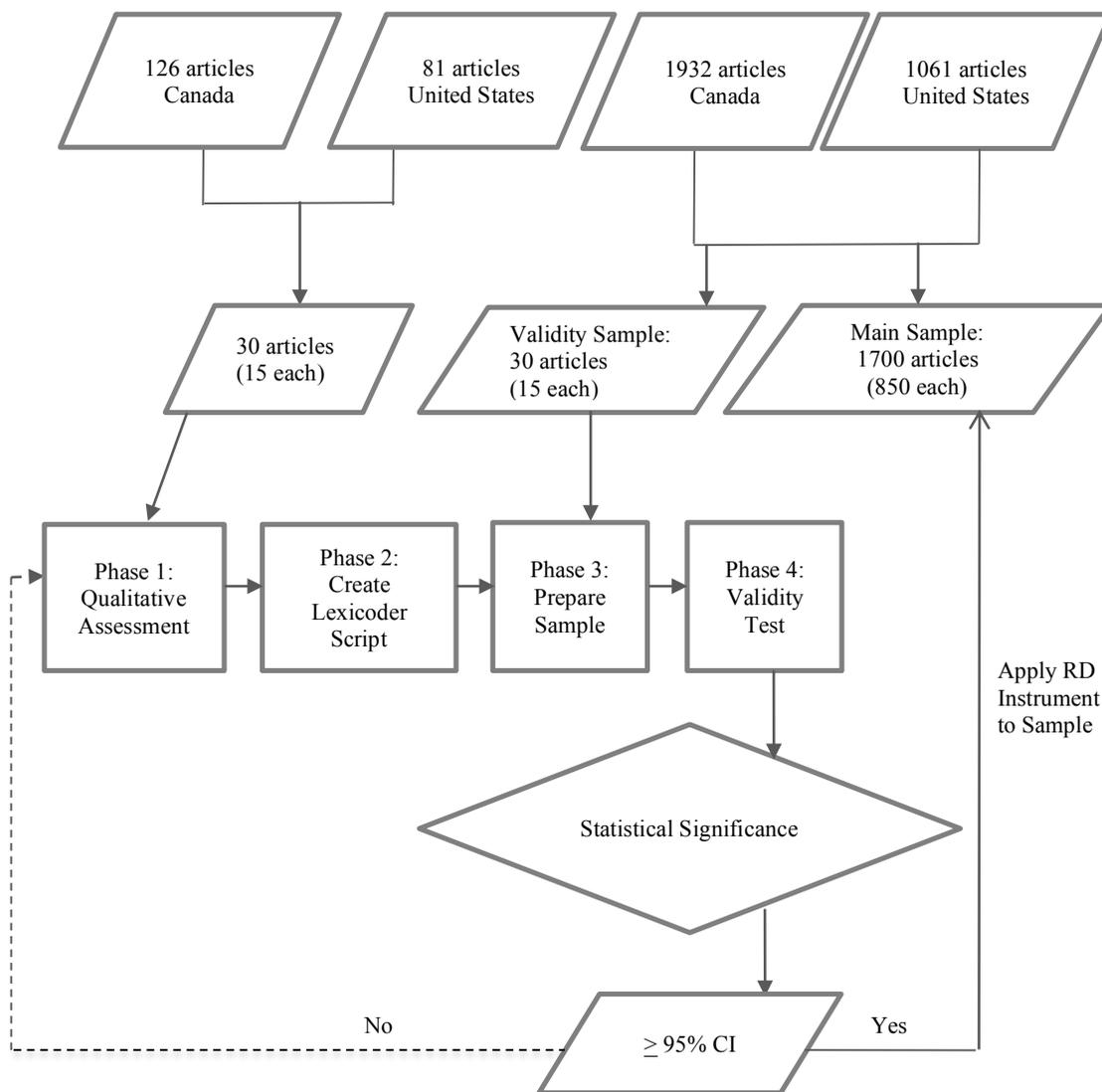


Figure 1. Development of Lexicoder refugee dictionary.

Comparable to the results of the evaluation of the first tier of newspapers used for the main sample, the evaluation of the second tier of newspapers revealed issues with some newspapers. Some papers were French-language based, which I therefore removed from the list. Other newspapers were not retrievable from the LexisNexis or Proquest Central database, and I subsequently excluded non-retrievable papers as a source for sampling. The final list of the Lexicoder RD instrument development sample is presented

in Table A4. The table shows that some of the selected newspapers did not publish articles about refugees during the entire time of insight, between November 13, 2015, and December 31, 2016. However, the limited availability of articles did not compromise the needed sample of 30 articles.

After the sample was generated for the five selected newspapers in each country, the collection of articles was explored and examined in great detail with the NVivo software program (Phase 1) for words that represented the framing indicators: diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. All terms and word groups were evaluated against the definition of the four framing indicators, as decided in Chapter 2, and assigned to one category. The results of the inductive and qualitative evaluation were used to create a Lexicoder script (Phase 2). The initial script, as a preliminary instrument, was applied to a different sample to measure the validity of the instrument.

Validity Test

The inductive evaluation process of the small sample produced the Lexicoder RD instrument that served as the instrument of measurement of the variables. Before the instrument could be used for data measurement, the validity of this instrument had to be assessed to ensure that the instrument adequately recognized the frame construct.

The first action of the validity test, Phase 3, required a second sample of articles that served as the testing ground for the accuracy of the measurement of the instrument. To assure that the validity of the instrument was optimized, I used articles from the main population of newspapers in Canada and America, the first-tier of newspapers with the highest number of readership. The articles for the validity test that I sampled from the

main population were excluded from the population before the main sample was drawn, as shown in Figure 1.

To assess the validity of the Lexicoder RD instrument (Phase 4), I counted the number of times that a dictionary word, as assigned to a framing indicator, appeared in an article. The validation analysis produced a statistically significant confidence interval of 95%, in line with tested semantic validation examples in the literature (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013).

Operationalization of Variables

An exact operationalization of definitions and concepts supports the replicable nature of quantitative content analysis. In this section, I operationalize the independent and dependent variables for the comparative analysis of the completed study.

Dependent Variables

The tone and frame variables operated at the ratio level and represented Entman's (1993) definition of frame and framing that measured the concepts of salience and selection. The first three dependent variables represented the tone variables: Main tone, positive tone, and negative tone. The frame variables, as part of the frame construct, represented Entman's framing functions and included diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. The interpretation of the frame variables was defined during the Lexicoder RD instrument development process and validated against a 95% confidence interval that guaranteed that the frame variables captured the native attitudes towards refugees adequately. Table 1 offers an overview of the tone and frame variables, including the definitions and words I identified during the literature review.

In addition, the placement variable, measured dichotomously at the nominal level, represented the location in the newspapers in Canada and the United States where the article was published, as an indication of the importance that the publisher attached to the article and the subject.

Table 1

Framing Indicators: Definitions and Terms

Dependent variable	Definition	Terms from literature review
Main tone	Main sentiment	-
Positive tone	Positive words	-
Negative tone	Negative words	-
Diagnosis	Diagnosis of an issue	Terrorist, terrorism, danger, attack, threat
Interpretation	Interpretation of underlying sources	Refugees, Muslims, Arabs
Moral evaluation	Moral evaluation: Attach unnecessary and unwarranted judgment	Radicalization, Islam, radical Islam(ist)
Solutions and outcomes	Solutions and outcomes to remedy the perceived issue	Refugee ban, Muslim ban, extreme vetting, abandonment of refugee resettlement program

Additionally, the word count for each article was produced as part of the Lexiorder SD instrument measurement. The word count was not used as a separate variable but was incorporated to produce the relative measurements for each tone and frame variable.

Under the premise that shorter articles produce fewer words that fit within the definition of the variables and longer articles produce more fitting words, the relative measurement remedied the possible influence of the length of the article on the scores of measurement.

Independent Variable

The independent variable was measured at the nominal level and represented the two countries of inquiry, Canada and the United States. Although the articles were organized by newspaper, the independent variable did not reflect any level beyond the two country levels.

Data Analysis Plan

After I completed the process of variable operationalization, I examined the selected articles in the final sample for the occurrence of all variables in each article. I collected the outcome of the measurement of the variables in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet where the columns represented locators and variables, and the rows included the individual articles as the unit of analysis. Once the measurement of variables was completed and entered into the Excel spreadsheet, I exported all data to a database in IBM SPSS version 25 for the inferential tests of the null hypotheses.

The research question for the research study was translated into multiple hypotheses that I assessed and evaluated with the inferential tests. Each hypothesis provided a partial answer to the research question, and collectively, the outcome and interpretation of all tests results brought clarity to the research question.

The research question for the completed research study was to what extent media frames differed in published news reports between Canada and the United States with a focus on refugees. For the purpose of statistical inferential tests, I defined the following hypotheses:

H_01 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar tone.

H_11 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different tone.

H_02 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar frame.

H_12 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different frame.

H_03 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees did not differ in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

H_13 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees differed in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

H_04 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to similar actors.

H_14 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to different actors.

H_05 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a similar moral evaluation.

H_15 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a different moral evaluation.

H_06 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected similar solutions and outcomes.

H₁₆: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected different solutions and outcomes.

H₀₇: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a similar location.

H₁₇: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a different location.

IBM SPSS Statistics version 25 served as the statistical analysis tool. The research question focused on the comparison between Canada and the United States, and this focus motivated the choice for the inferential tests. The evaluation of the null hypotheses combined three methods of inferential tests. The first hypothesis was tested with three separate *t*-tests that incorporated the tone variables as dependent variables. The frame variables were used in a Hotelling's T^2 test to assess the differences between Canada and the United States for how articles of refugees were framed. The analysis was supplemented with individual *t*-tests and linear discriminant function analysis to evaluate the presence of each variable within the frame construct. Lastly, the difference of the placement of articles between Canada and the United States was tested and evaluated with binomial logistic regression. All dependent variables were measured at the continuous ratio level, with the exception of the placement variable that was measured at the nominal variable. The independent variable that represented the country groups was measured at the categorical level.

The value of alpha as a threshold for the evaluation of all null hypotheses followed the convention in the field of social sciences and was set at $\alpha = .05$ as a

reflection of the acceptable probability that a Type I error occurs. To evaluate the hypotheses of the individual framing indicators, the α level was corrected with a Bonferroni correction at $\alpha = .0125$. The null hypothesis was rejected if the p -value was smaller than α .

Threats to Validity

The necessity for validity in research studies is indicative of the obligation of all researchers to deliver true and trustworthy contributions to the field. When a study lacks validity, the results become compromised and may erroneously contribute to the subsequent development of research studies and theories (Riffe et al., 2014). Internal validity requires accuracy of the variables, a valid relationship between dependent and independent variables, and the assurance that the instruments measure accurately and appropriately. External validity assures that the results can be projected to a greater audience beyond the academic field and deliver a relevant and purposeful contribution to society (Krippendorff, 2004).

Research in the social sciences must relate to an objective reality that can be logically connected to facts and evidence (Riffe et al., 2014). Any study must reflect the notion that a relationship is valid and accurately depicts the variables, and that the measurement correctly represents the concepts in an empirically sound manner. Face validity requires that a researcher uses common sense practices with a reasonable value attached (Krippendorff, 2004). The research design for the study followed the approach of existing research studies where the researchers examined media content for a possible

influence on public policy. From that standpoint, the design of the research study is valid for its roots in common sense.

Construct validity is a concern in all content analyses and relates to the character of the measuring instrument as an accurate tool to represent the concepts and theoretical assumptions of the study. The quality and stability of the Lexicoder SD instrument enhanced the validity and the Lexicoder RD instrument development and subsequent validity test eased any concerns about the strength of the construct validity of the research study.

The concept of validity and possible threats to the research study cannot be discussed without simultaneously interjecting the concept of reliability. Both concepts have an interactive relationship where one does not only influence the other, but may compete to the detriment of others (Rourke et al., 2001). The researcher carries a responsibility during all steps of the research study to ensure that the relationship between reliability and validity is balanced. Data, analyses, and outcome of the study need to be reliable to be valid, and vice versa.

The results of a study are reliable when the generated data is stable, accurate, and can be reproduced (Krippendorff, 2004). For content analysis, the reliability centers on agreement among coders for how they categorized the content (Riffe et al., 2014). The research design for the research study used a manual coding process for the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument, and coder-reliability was an issue of concern. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the operationalization of the constructs and motivated the choice of the Lexicoder SD as a starting point for the development of the data dictionary in the

pilot study. Young and Soraka (2012) tested the reliability of the Lexicoder SD with a retest of a considerable body of human-coded news content. The results confirmed the reliability of the Lexicoder SD, and the researchers discovered that the Lexicoder SD was higher related to the human coders than competing data dictionaries. Since the Lexicoder SD served as a starting point for the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument, I accepted that the initial reliability remained intact during the Lexicoder RD instrument development process and the subsequent validity test. The validity test required a confidence interval of at least 95%, which produced a stable data dictionary. The stability of the dictionary had a positive effect on the results of the study and increased the likelihood that the results were reliable.

Ethical Considerations

Professional scientific standards require that a researcher approaches a study with objectivity and reports trustworthy results. The standards should be addressed and upheld in every aspect of the research study, including the research design, data collection, analysis, and the interpretation of results (National Academy of Sciences, 2009). As required, I sought and received approval from the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB) to ensure that the research proposal complies with the U.S. federal regulations and the ethical standards set by the university. Before I gained full IRB approval (approval number 06-05-17-0420995), I did not engage in any data collection activities.

The focus on newspaper content was minimally sensitive to ethical concerns during the data collection phase, for lack of human participants in the study. As

mentioned earlier, all data was publicly available, could be freely downloaded, and did not require permission.

During the sampling process, I identified and organized all selected articles with individual locators. All articles in the sample and the results of the computer-assisted, dictionary-based analysis of the raw data are kept in the downloaded format on an external and stand-alone hardware device. The device is backed up, and both the original and the backup version are stored and will be kept in a secure location for a minimum of 60 months after completion of the study. The storage method of the data and results allow that the results can be verified, which improves the reliability of the study.

In the research study, the Lexicoder SD served as the starting point dictionary for the pilot study to develop the refugee-specific sentiment dictionary. The Lexicoder SD is freely available to researchers, but the developers require proper citation of the Lexicoder SD. I ensured that the dictionary was appropriately cited and referenced in the research study.

Summary

The Syrian refugee crisis created pressing needs for refugee resettlement opportunities in Western countries. Canada has become a reliable refugee resettlement country but, in contrast, potential refugee resettlement in the United States has come under scrutiny and criticism under an increased threat of terror. The subject of the research study centered on the possible influence of the media on the outcome of refugee policies in both countries for the way the media portrays refugees in the printed press.

Content analysis was the best fitting vehicle for examination to bring clarity to the research question, and in this chapter, I presented the research design of the content analysis. The choice of a content analysis fit with the approach of other researchers who examined media influences on subjects in a variety of policy areas, including immigrants and immigration. In the methodology section, I defined the population of the research study as newspapers articles that were published in Canada and the United States after the Paris attack in November 2015. The combination of small effect size, alpha determined at 0.05, and power accepted at 80%, required a sample size that was well below the actual sample size of 1700 articles, which resulted in 850 newspaper articles for each country. The extension of the sample size beyond the minimum statistical size guaranteed the generalization of the interpretation of the results across the larger population of the study.

The operationalization of the constructs is an important aspect of any content analysis and of this research study. I used an existing instrument, the Lexicoder SD, to measure the tone variables and use this instrument as a guideline to develop a second instrument to measure the frame variables. The inductive development process of the Lexicoder RD was tested with a validity test to assure that the instrument adequately captured the frame variables. The operationalization of the variables, both dependent and independent, were discussed in this chapter. In the data analysis plan, I presented the hypotheses and details of the planned inferential analysis that I used to evaluate the hypotheses. The chapter concluded with sections on threats to validity and ethical considerations, which are important concepts that guarantee that the study in its design, execution, and analysis, delivered truthful and meaningful results.

In the next chapter, I present the results of the study. I address the sampling strategy and describe the sampling process that generated the appropriate newspaper articles. I report the results of the Lexicoder RD instrument development process and validity test. Chapter 4 concludes with the results of the inferential analysis of the hypotheses.

Chapter 4: Results

Using the concepts that are defined in the framing theory, I examined the media portrayal of refugees in Canada and the United States. I compared newspaper articles in both countries to examine to what extent the two countries differed for how the media portrayed refugees after the Paris terrorist attack on November 13, 2015. The multifaceted definition of the frame that I used in the study was based on Entman's (1993) framing theory that I operationalized at the level of the tone of an article and within a framing construct that included specific indications of the frame and the level of the placement of the article in the newspaper. The tone of the article, including the positive and negative tone, was tested with a compare-means test. To assess the frame as a construct, I followed a multivariate analysis of variance approach that I supplemented with linear discriminant function analysis to provide insight into the behavior of the frame indicators within the frame construct. The evaluation of the placement hypothesis followed a logistic regression model.

In this chapter, I present the results of the data collection processes and inferential analyses I used to answer the research question. Firstly, I collected a data sample for the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument. The second data sample served the main study and included a minor sample to validate the instrument. I will describe the iterative process used to develop and validate the Lexicoder RD instrument and the subsequent measurement of the data. The statistical analysis of the data starts with a description of variable behavior, which I organized by type of variable. The remainder of the chapter serves the evaluation of the hypotheses, which were addressed with inferential analyses.

Article Collection and Sampling

The process of the sample collection was initiated after the receipt of the required IRB approval and followed the initial plan as outlined in the previous chapter. The collection process consisted of two relatively similar approaches, though different in purpose. A small initial sample of articles from five newspapers in Canada and an equal number of newspapers in the United States assisted the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument. The main sample of the study served the second sampling approach and generated a broader collection of articles from additional newspapers in Canada and the United States. In this section, I will explain both sampling approaches, including the application of a small validity sample that was used to validate the Lexicoder RD instrument as an appropriate instrument of measurement.

The measurement of the data differed between the tone and frame variables. The tone variables, both negative and positive, were measured with an existing and validated sentiment dictionary, the Lexicoder SD. Contrastingly, I measured the frame variables with the RD instrument that was developed for this research study. The Lexicoder RD instrument used the Lexicoder software program and shared its design with the Lexicoder SD but used different dictionary files to reflect the framing variables. The development of the Lexicoder RD instrument required a preliminary sample that I collected from newspapers in Canada and the United States. The newspapers fit within the first tier of newspapers in each country, organized by readership revenues. Details of the sampling procedure for the Lexicoder RD development sample are discussed in the next section.

Sample for the Development of Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary

The sample for the Lexicoder RD instrument development process included 30 articles from newspapers in Canada and the United States. As a first step in the collection process, all newspapers in Canada and the United States were ranked in order of circulation revenue, which generated two tiers of newspapers. The first tier included 10 newspapers in each country with the highest circulation revenue that I used as the source of articles for the main sample of the study (Table A1 & Table A2). The second tier included five newspapers in each country with a more modest circulation revenue that served as the source toward the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument.

The database search was executed with *refugee* as the singular keyword and was limited to articles published during November 13, 2015 and December 31, 2016. The search did not return articles for the entire width of this time bracket for each newspaper, which is most likely due to limited circulation numbers that reduced the presence in newspaper databases, such as LexisNexis and ProQuest Central. Because the purpose of this sample assisted the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument, without possible issues of reliability or validity due to sample restrictions, I tailored the newspaper searches to a suitable and available consecutive bracket for each newspaper within the earlier defined time bracket. The outcome of this approach resulted in a total of 907 published articles from the selected five newspapers in Canada and 225 articles from the five newspapers in the United States. After sampling, I downloaded the database results in list format into two Microsoft Excel workbooks, separated by country, where each worksheet represented a specific newspaper.

As mentioned earlier, I searched for articles about refugees with the singular keyword, *refugee*. The advantage of this method is that the search returned a collection of published articles that referenced refugees. The disadvantage of the approach is that the database search returned articles that were outside of the scope of this study. To assure that I included only articles with merit for the research question, I manually screened the lists of newspaper articles in Microsoft Excel to ensure that all articles related to the subject of refugees in the context of the research question. References to the refugee crisis outside of that context were removed, including articles that addressed the Syrian refugee crisis from a Middle Eastern or European perspective. The broad nature of the initial database return also produced newspaper articles that discussed refugees and the possible resettlement in the United States in the context of the presidential election campaign in the United States during 2016. To avoid possible influences of the campaign tone in the sample of this research study, I removed published articles that addressed the presidential election campaign. It should be noted that the approach was not an exact method, as attention to refugees was sometimes intertwined in articles that addressed the election campaign in the United States. The articles that approached the subject of refugees in such a combined fashion were retained for sampling. Lastly, I manually screened the newspaper worksheets in both Microsoft Excel workbooks and removed editorials, letters to the editor, opinion articles and columns, movie reviews, most entertainment news, and local event announcements. The total count of the database search results was reduced to 126 articles from newspapers in Canada and 81 articles

from newspapers in the United States that all adequately addressed the subject of refugees (Table A4).

The lists of the newspaper articles were merged by country and resulted in two separate Microsoft Excel worksheets that I used as the source for the sampling process. To generate the final sample, I drew 15 articles for each country with a random probability method in Microsoft Excel, assuring that each article had equal chance to be included in the final sample. Due to the random nature of the sampling method, the *London Free Press* newspaper in Canada did not produce articles toward the sample of the Lexicoder RD instrument development process. Following the identification of the articles in the Lexicoder RD development sample, I downloaded the 30 sampled articles from the LexisNexis or the ProQuest Central database and organized the articles by country in individual Microsoft Word documents.

Main Sampling Operation

The sampling process for the evaluation of the research question and subsequent inferential testing of the null hypotheses mirrored the sampling process of the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument, though with a concentration on different newspapers. As mentioned earlier in this section, the main sample included newspapers within the definition of first-tiered newspapers in both countries that stood out for high levels of readership and revenues and were identified in Chapter 3 (Table A1 & Table A2).

The 20 newspapers were searched in LexisNexis or the ProQuest Central database for all published articles with the keyword *refugee* during November 13, 2015, and

December 31, 2016. The database search returned 8,052 articles from 10 newspapers in the United States and 9,178 articles from ten newspapers in Canada (Table A3). I downloaded the complete results of the search in list-format into two different Microsoft Excel workbooks, one for each country and separated the workbooks into ten individual worksheets, one for each newspaper.

The individual newspaper worksheets were evaluated, screened, and cleaned with the same process that I used for the sampling procedure of the Lexicoder RD instrument development. Articles that were outside of the scope of the study were removed, and I excluded articles that were limited to news about the presidential election. Moreover, I deleted editorials, opinion columns, letters to the editor, and entertainment news. I also screened to prevent possible duplications of articles across sources, resulting in the removal of some articles. The total count of the database search results was reduced to 1,932 articles from newspapers in Canada and 1,061 articles from newspapers in the United States that adequately addressed the subject of refugees (Table A3). The final sample for the study was not drawn immediately but was first used to service the small sample to validate the result of the Lexicoder RD instrument development process.

Extraction of Validity Sample

The development of the Lexicoder RD instrument served a singular function—to measure the frame variables in articles about refugees in newspapers in Canada and the United States. To ensure that the instrument measured what it was supposed to measure and to protect the internal validity of the study, the instrument required validation. The process of the Lexicoder RD instrument validation required a separate validity sample.

The Lexicoder RD instrument validity sample consisted of 30 newspaper articles that I randomly sampled from the screened and cleaned collection of articles, which resulted from the main database search. The sample was generated by individual country in Microsoft Excel and delivered 15 articles for Canada and an equal number of articles for the United States. The random nature of the sampling process produced a sample that included articles from most newspapers but not all. Articles from *Newsday*, *New York Daily News*, *New York Post*, *USA Today*, and the *Wall Street Journal* did not find representation in the validity sample. The validity sample of newspaper articles of Canada did not include the *Hamilton Spectator*, *National Post*, and the *Vancouver Province*. Following the identification of the articles in the validity sample, I downloaded all articles from the ProQuest Central or LexisNexis databases. The articles were saved in Microsoft Word format and received file names that corresponded with the unique identifier.

Main Sample Completion

The main sample of the study was drawn from the complete collection of articles that resulted from the screening and cleaning process and after I excluded the validity sample articles. Both countries were sampled individually and, aimed at optimal statistical performance for the subsequent inferential tests and analyses, were sampled for identical sample size. The process generated 850 articles for each country, resulting in a total sample for the study of 1,700 newspaper articles. Upon the completion of the sampling process, all articles were downloaded from the LexisNexis or the ProQuest Central database and were organized in folders by country as Microsoft Word documents.

The individual article identifier, used to sample the collection of articles, were again used as Microsoft Word file name for each article, thereby ensuring that I would be able to trace each article back to its source.

The distribution of articles collected from specific newspapers in the final sample followed a similar distribution as the number of articles of these newspapers in the total collection of screened and cleaned articles. In Appendix A, Table A3 shows the article distributions by newspapers, which is graphically displayed in Appendix B, Figure B1. For instance, the *New York Times* delivered 21.8% of the articles to the country group of the United States, which was indicative of a high presence of articles from the *New York Times* in the total collection of articles. In contrast, the *New York Post* delivered a limited number of articles to the total collection, which resulted in a limited presence, 4.1%, of articles from this newspaper in the total sample. Articles within the country group of Canada were subject to a more stable distribution, but the distribution still showed noticeable differences between the newspapers. For instance, *The Chronicle Herald* and the *Calgary Herald* contributed 13.4% and 10.1% of articles to the sample, respectfully. The *Toronto Sun* delivered a modest 1.3% to the sample, whereas 2.9% of the total articles in the sample originated from the *Hamilton Spectator*.

Lexicoder Refugee Dictionary Instrument Development

The Lexicoder SD instrument was used to measure the tone variables. Furthermore, I developed the Lexicoder RD instrument to measure the frame variables that were based on Entman's framing functions (1993). The development of the Lexicoder RD instrument applied a qualitative manual iterative coding process that

focused entirely on a small sample, collected for the development process. In this section, I present the individual phases of the Lexicoder RD instrument development process in detail.

Phase 1: Qualitative Assessment of Primary Sample

The articles in the Lexicoder RD instrument development sample were downloaded from the LexisNexis or the ProQuest Central database and saved by identifier file name in individual Microsoft Word documents. After the download process was completed, I imported the documents into the NVivo software that was used to manually code all articles for words and phrases that fit with Entman's (1993) interpretation of framing.

The articles were reviewed in several ways in NVivo, to ensure the quality of the manual coding process. First, I projected the articles graphically with a word frequency graph to achieve a sense of the tone of the articles and the presence of specific words of interest, which is presented in Appendix B, Figure B2. Second, I coded each article for positive and negative nodes, which narrowed down the tone of the articles. Figure B3 illustrates the word frequencies of the positive and negative words. Third, I extended the positive and negative nodes to the definition of Entman's (1993) variables, which resulted in a collection of words that fit within the definition of framing, separated into the four variable categories: diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and, solutions and outcomes (Table A4 & Table A5.) Incorporating the definition of Entman's variables, I reduced all words or phrases with slightly different meanings to a single stem. The reduction process followed the structure of the Lexicoder SD instrument where

stemmed words are followed with an asterisk, which allows for derivational affixes to measure the same stem.

Phase 2: Creating the Lexicoder Script for Measurement

Upon completion of the initial list of words, as a starting point of representation of Entman's (1993) variables, I transferred the list into a text document. Because the Lexicoder software package uses the dictionary as a script for measurement, I formatted the text document in accordance with the requirements for a new Lexicoder dictionary structure, set forth by Daku et al. (2015):

- Each variable was entered as a unique category. All categories were entered with a + sign.
- All words, until the next + sign or the end of the file, were part of that specific category.
- The * symbol indicated a wildcard, which returned a count for any word that begins with the preceding character string.
- All blank lines were removed from the dictionary file.
- The dictionary file was saved in a plain text UTF-8 format.

Phase 3: Preparation of Validity Sample

The Lexicoder software program handles only raw text. To fit within the requirement, I prepared the articles of the validity sample for the Lexicoder measurement. First, I converted all Microsoft Word files into plain text documents. Second, the Lexicoder software requires all text to be in a generic format, void of accents,

punctuations, and uppercase characters. For this process, I used the pre-processing command in Lexicoder and exposed all articles to a generic cleaning function:

- All text was converted to plain text, which also removed accents.
- All text was converted to lowercase text to match the lowercase format of the dictionary file.
- All punctuation was removed from the text.

The cleaning process permanently altered the original text documents and were therefore saved with unique identifiers, to preserve the original state of the articles in the sample. Upon completion of the cleaning process, the Lexicoder RD script was used to measure the presence of the frame variables in the validity sample.

Phase 4: Validation Process

Lexicoder produced the measurement in a tabulated text file format, which I exported to a Microsoft Excel Workbook and used to compare against the Lexicoder RD script. To aid the process of comparison, I used the contextual tagging feature in Lexicoder to create one large HTML file that included all articles in the sample with color-coded tags for Entman's (1993) variables. The color-coded output allowed a more methodical examination of the words and phrases for the unambiguous or ambiguous interpretation in the sampled articles.

Words in the Lexicoder RD instrument dictionary file that did not make an appearance in the output of the measurement of the validity articles were immediately removed from the instrument. Moreover, some words were found in an abbreviated manner, which I reduced in the Lexicoder RD script to a stemmed word. The remaining

words were evaluated for their interpretative nature in the text of the articles. To validate the Lexicoder RD script for the complete frame, I counted the frequency of ambiguous and unambiguous interpretations of each word, organized by framing variable. The tables A6, A7, A8, and A9 present the validated words by framing indicator.

The cumulative results of all variables, as a representation of Entman's (1993) frame construct, were tested with a semantic validation method against a 95% confidence interval to assure that the words were measuring the refugee frame with accuracy (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). Table A10 presents the validity results, organized by framing indicator. The frame was validated at 96.2 %, which lies within the statistical requirement that limits accidental occurrences of variable measurements that are not accurately representing the construct. Therefore, I am confident that the validated words are a positive representation of the variables for measurement, and that the Lexicoder RD instrument measured the frame in the main sample of the study appropriately and with statistical significance.

Data Measurement

The measurement of the variables in the main sample of articles existed of two separate processes that were both performed with the Lexicoder software program. The tone variables were measured with the Lexicoder SD and produced the positive tone and negative tone. I measured the framing variables with the validated Lexicoder RD instrument and produced frequency counts for diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. As discussed earlier in the Lexicoder RD instrument validity section, the Lexicoder software required all Microsoft Word documents of the sample to

be saved in plain text format and demanded a pre-cleaning process to prepare the articles for measurement. However, before I could apply both the Lexicoder SD and RD instrument to measure the main sample, minor adjustments had to be made to ensure accurate counts.

In 2012, Young and Soroka (2012) noted a possible negation issue with the general use of the Lexicoder instrument that could result in “small, but non-negligible increase of performance” (p. 1). To remedy this issue, the researchers developed a separate negated dictionary script as a supplement to the original script. For the Lexicoder SD instrument, I used the negated script provided by the developers of the software package to measure possible ‘negative positives’ and ‘negative negatives’ of tone words and phrases. For the Lexicoder RD instrument, I developed an RD negated script that measured possible contradictions of the framing variables.

After the completion of the measurement with the Lexicoder SD instrument, the Lexicoder RD instrument, and both negated scripts, I exported the output to a Microsoft Excel Worksheet. Following the process of measurement of the positive and negative tone and the framing variables, I corrected the minor occurrence of negated words and phrases. Explicitly, I adjusted the variables with the following methods:

$$\text{Corrected Positive Measurement} = [\text{Positive}] - [\text{Negative_Positive}] + [\text{Negative_Negative}].$$

$$\text{Corrected Negative Measurement} = [\text{Negative}] - [\text{Negative_Negative}] + [\text{Negative_Positive}].$$

The main tone was not measured but calculated by deducting the negative tone score from the positive tone score. The Lexicoder SD instrument application to the sample data also produced the word count for each processed article. The total word length of an article influences the possible occurrence of words and phrases in the article. Therefore, I incorporated the measured word count in the scores of the tone and frame variables to produce conceptually stronger measurements. I calculated the ratio between data measurements and word count.

Lastly, the placement of the article in the newspaper was measured during the collection process of the sample data. The page number was evaluated in the initial Microsoft Excel worksheet with an if/then statement. I assigned the number '1' to articles on the first page and the number '0' to articles located elsewhere in the newspaper. The use of the if/then statement avoided manual coding mistakes and guaranteed that I measured the article placement without measurement errors.

Upon completion of the measurements of all variables, I exported all data to SPSS for subsequent descriptive and inferential analyses. The detailed codebook for the datasets is provided in Table A11.

Descriptive Statistics

Traditionally, statistical inferential tests are considered sensitive to the quality of the distribution of test variables, which in turn could lead to violations of test assumptions. Uneven distributions of continuous variables and the presence of outlier behavior are expected to bias parameter estimates, standard errors, confidence intervals, and the interpretation of results (Wright & London, 2009). For this reason, a detailed

descriptive insight into the behavior of the continuous variables is warranted. In this section, I present a descriptive examination of the continuous variables at the country level: The tone variables, which included the main, positive and negative tone; and the frame variables, which included diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes.

The requirement of a normal distribution toward adequate inferential test power has, to a modest degree, been lifted in contemporary statistical literature, specifically in compare-means tests discussions (Field, 2014; Rasch, Kubinger, & Moder, 2011; Wright, & London, 2009). Larger samples, such as the sample size for this study, benefit from the central limit theorem where the shape of the data does not negatively influence the power of significance tests (Lumley, Diehr, Emerson, & Chen, 2002). The descriptive analysis of the continuous variables in this research study focused on the possible outlier behavior of the variables and, to a lesser extent, on the presence or absence of normality for these variables. After a detailed discussion of all continuous variables, I conclude the section with a brief description of the categorical variables: Country and placement.

Tone Variables

The descriptive analysis of the tone variables, as shown in Table 2, produced the mean, standard deviation, confidence intervals, and measures of kurtosis and skewness. The presence of outliers for these variables prompted a need for winsorized variables that remedied the influence of outliers. The descriptive statistics of the winsorized versions of the variables are included in Table 2, and subsequently discussed.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Tone Variables

		Mean	SD	95% CI	Skew ^a	Rku ^b
<u>Main Tone</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0129	0.0244	[0.0112, 0.0145]	-0.165	0.814
	Winsorized	0.0130	0.0234	[0.0114, 0.0145]	-0.141	0.112
United States	Original State	-0.0085	0.0242	[-0.0101, -.0069]	-0.236	0.805
	Winsorized	-0.0084	0.0236	[-0.0100, -.0068]	-0.222	-0.032
<u>Positive Tone</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0404	0.0151	[0.0394, 0.0414]	0.717	1.325
	Winsorized	0.0402	0.0143	[0.0392, 0.0412]	0.411	0.001
United States	Original State	0.037	0.0126	[0.0362, 0.0379]	0.620	1.741
	Winsorized	0.0368	0.0118	[0.0360, 0.0376]	0.230	0.025
<u>Negative Tone</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0275	0.0181	[0.0263, 0.0288]	1.056	1.123
	Winsorized	0.0274	0.0173	[0.0262, 0.0285]	0.860	0.160
United States	Original State	0.0455	0.0193	[0.0442, 0.0468]	0.575	0.311
	Winsorized	0.0453	0.0187	[0.0440, 0.0465]	0.395	-0.212

^aAbsolute skew values.

^bOriginal kurtosis values (kurtosis proper).

The measurement of the articles produced data for all variables. Missing cases were not an issue. The main tone revealed a difference in the means between the two countries: the mean for Canada was 0.0129 ($SD = 0.0244$) and the mean for the United States was -0.0085 ($SD = 0.0242$). The positive tone and negative tone variables delivered positive means for both countries: Positive tone for Canada produced a mean of 0.0404 ($SD = 0.0151$), compared to 0.037 ($SD = 0.0126$) for the mean of United States;

negative tone measured at 0.027 ($SD = 0.018$) for Canada, and 0.0455 ($SD = 0.0193$) for the United States.

The large sample size worked to the benefit of the means distribution of the three variables but created limitations for the evaluation method of these distributions. Non-significance tests, such as Shapiro-Wilks and Kolmogorov-Smirnov, are considered unreliable for normalcy tests of larger samples (Field, 2014). Rather, I based the distribution evaluation of the variables on skewness and kurtosis measures, visual confirmations of the distribution, specifically histograms and normal quantile-quantile plots (Q-Q plots) and box-plots to identify possible outliers. The measures of skewness and kurtosis were evaluated at absolute values instead of compared to z -values, which is advisable for larger sample sizes (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Skew values that exceeded an absolute value of 2 and proper kurtosis larger than 7 indicated presence of substantial non-normality. Following, I assess each variable at the individual group level.

All variables for both country groups displayed acceptable levels of skewness and kurtosis (Table 2). The histograms confirmed a lack of skewness for both countries for the main tone data but revealed a slight elevation in the normal curve for the United States for this variable, indicating minor kurtosis. The positive tone variable showed a slight negative skew for both countries. The negative tone histogram fit within the normal curve for the United States but showed negative skewness and a noticeable deflated height, indicating some kurtosis. However, the Q-Q plots for the variables for the two countries were placed firmly on or near the diagonal line, indicating relatively normal distributions. The only exception was the negative tone for Canada, which curved away from the

diagonal line at the ends, indicating skewness. The tone variables were used in compare-means tests that are considered robust for violations of normal variable behavior.

Therefore, I accepted the distributions of all variables within reasonable levels of normality. The outlier behavior of the variables was reason for concern and could lead to biased reporting of test results, and I examined the variables in more detail for possible outliers.

Outliers. Boxplots for the variables revealed moderate and extreme outliers at both country levels. The main and positive tone variables showed outliers at high levels and, to a lesser extent, at low levels. The negative tone variable showed outliers at higher levels. To identify the outliers, I used the interquartile range (IQR) for each variable by country. All values below $[Q1 - 1.5 * IQR]$ were considered low outliers, and all values above $[Q3 + 1.5 * IQR]$ were considered high outliers. The theoretical literature provides numerous strategies on how to handle outliers, and offers removal from the dataset as a possibility (Iglewicz & Hoaglin, 1993). Removal of outliers creates unequal sample sizes between the two country groups, which could result in a tightening of violations of assumptions for compare-means tests. Therefore, I refrained from deleting the outliers from the data. As an alternative approach, I winsorized the outliers at the nearest non-outlier value, which kept the equal sample sizes for the groups intact. For instance, the main tone variable for Canada revealed ten positive outliers above $[Q3 + 1.5 * IQR]$, which is presented in detail in Table A12. The outliers were replaced with the 11th positive value, 0.07054. The winsorized outliers as a percentage of total data points resulted in less than 4% for each tone variable.

Winsorized tone variables. The descriptive nature of the winsorized variables showed minor deviations from the original state variables (Table 2). The means for the tone variables decreased slightly in winsorized state. For instance, the positive tone for Canada produced $M = 0.402$ ($SD = 0.0151$), compared to $M = 0.404$ ($SD = 0.0143$) for the original-state variable. The confidence intervals experienced the largest benefit from the winsorized process and all confidence intervals tightened for all tone variables at country levels. The decrease of kurtosis and skewness values benefited the negative tone variable for Canada, which revealed lower values of skewness in winsorized state than in original state. An examination of the histograms and Q-Q plots for the winsorized variables confirmed the lower values of kurtosis and skewness. The process of winsorization can be considered minor, resulting in a change for a handful of variables in the total population. However, the removal of the outliers can influence the interpretation of the compare-means tests and, therefore, I executed the hypothesis evaluation for the tone analysis with both the original-state and winsorized values and supplemented the interpretation of the original-state variables with a summary of the results of the winsorized variables.

Frame Variables

The descriptive analysis of the frame variables followed the same process as the analysis of the tone variables and delivered the mean, standard deviation, confidence levels, and skewness and kurtosis values as presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics of Frame Variables

		Mean	SD	95% CI	Skew ^a	Rku ^b
<u>Diagnosis</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0029	0.0053	[0.0025, 0.0032]	2.985	11.150
	Winsorized	0.0022	0.0029	[0.0019, 0.0024]	1.224	0.071
United States	Original State	0.0095	0.0091	[0.0089, 0.0101]	1.328	1.685
	Winsorized	0.0094	0.0086	[0.0088, 0.0099]	1.030	0.257
<u>Interpretation</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0132	0.0093	[0.0126, 0.0139]	0.673	0.055
	Winsorized	0.0132	0.0092	[0.0126, 0.0138]	0.570	-0.447
United States	Original State	0.0103	0.0097	[0.0097, 0.0110]	1.375	2.762
	Winsorized	0.0102	0.0092	[0.0096, 0.0108]	0.974	0.026
<u>Evaluation</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0017	0.0036	[0.0015, 0.0020]	5.132	45.152
	Winsorized	0.0013	0.0018	[0.0012, 0.0014]	1.205	0.116
United States	Original State	0.0049	0.0062	[0.0044, 0.0053]	2.452	9.442
	Winsorized	0.0044	0.0048	[0.0041, 0.0048]	1.084	0.052
<u>Outcome</u>						
Canada	Original State	0.0037	0.0051	[0.0033, 0.0040]	3.335	22.224
	Winsorized	0.0032	0.0036	[0.0029, 0.0035]	1.163	0.272
United States	Original State	0.0066	0.0061	[0.0062, 0.0070]	1.713	3.630
	Winsorized	0.0064	0.0052	[0.0060, 0.0067]	1.006	0.139

^aAbsolute skew values.

^bOriginal kurtosis values (kurtosis proper).

The news articles in both countries delivered measurements for all variables and did not produce any missing cases. All variables, except for interpretation, showed higher mean values for the United States compared to Canada. For instance, the mean of

diagnosis for Canada was 0.0029 ($SD = 0.0053$), compared to 0.0095 ($SD = 0.0091$) for the United States. The interpretation resulted in a mean of 0.0132 ($SD = 0.0093$) for Canada, compared to a lower value of 0.0103 ($SD = 0.0097$) for the United States.

The distribution assessment revealed levels of skewness and kurtoses across most variables. The diagnosis variable for Canada was skewed at 2.985 and showed kurtosis at 11.150. The evaluation variable for Canada showed skewness at 5.132 and a level of kurtosis of 45.152. The solutions and outcomes variable for Canada produced skewness of 3.335 and kurtosis of 22.224. The country group for the United States revealed skewness and kurtosis for the evaluation variable, but stayed under threshold values for all other variables. A review of the histograms confirmed the presence of skewness and kurtosis. All variables, both for Canada and the United States showed a pronounced negative skew with a lacking left tail. Kurtosis for all variables at both country levels seemed present, but to a lesser extent. An inspection of the Q-Q plot alleviated some of the concern of skewness and kurtosis as some variables revealed reasonably tightly wrapped curves close to the diagonal line. However, the Q-Q plots for diagnosis and solutions and outcomes for Canada moved further away from the diagonal line, indicating issues of skewness and possibly kurtosis. The occurrence of kurtosis and skewness can be contributed to observations that are inconsistent with the remainder of the data and that amplify non-normal behavior (Iglewicz & Hoaglin, 1993). The frame variables were used in a compare-means test, which is robust for a violation of the normal distribution. However, these tests are less lenient toward outlier behavior and may result in biased estimators of parameters, confidence intervals, and an increase in Type I errors when null

hypotheses are rejected while valid (Iglewicz & Hoaglin, 1993). Addressing the outlier behavior of the frame variables and supplementing the measurements of these continuous variables with adjusted variables that lack outliers, reduced the bias of the compare-means test and avoided inflated interpretations.

Outliers. An examination of the boxplots showed high levels of outlier behavior for all variables, which differed by country group. For instance, Canada produced a more abundant presence of outliers for the diagnosis variable, compared to the United States. The boxplots for the United States revealed a stronger presence of outliers for the interpretation variable, in comparison to minor outlier behavior for Canada. The number of moderate and extreme outliers for moral evaluation was similar between the two groups. All variables for both country levels lacked lower outlier issues. In line with the earlier winsorization process that I applied for the tone variables, I replaced all outliers for the frame variables, with measures above $[Q3 + 1.5 * IQR]$ with the first positive value that was not identified as an outlier, resulting in replacement values for less than 10% in each country group. The percentage of winsorized data in the total sample resulted in 6.12% for diagnosis, 0.76% for interpretation, 7% for evaluation, and 6% for solutions and outcomes and is summarized in Table A12.

Winsorized frame variables. The winsorized variables improved upon the kurtosis and skewness levels of the original-state of the variables, and brought the skewness values below the threshold of 2 and the proper kurtosis values below 7 (Table 3). The means for the winsorized variables decreased in comparison to the original-state variables. The standard deviations for the winsorized variables also decreased, which is

confirmed by a tightening of the 95% confidence interval for all variables. The histograms and Q-Q plots of the winsorized frame variables did not show a drastic improvement. The histograms still revealed issues with skewness, though less pronounced than in the original-state variables. The Q-Q plots revealed minimal improvements as a result of the winsorized process and indicated that the lack of normal distribution was not remedied. However, I used the frame variables exclusively for a compare-means evaluation and the non-normal distribution was not a major concern for the accurate analysis of the data. I removed the more serious infraction of outlier behavior with the winsorization process and carried both the original-state and winsorized variables forward in the analysis of the hypotheses.

Categorical Variables

The categorical variables were both measured at two levels. The sample was evenly distributed across the levels of the nominal country variable at 850 articles in each group, as a result of sampling equally from the newspapers in each nation as outline. A closer look at the placement variable revealed differences in the group distributions, which is evident in Table 4.

The dichotomous placement variable revealed that 88.1% of all articles were not published on the front page, but elsewhere. The variable clustered at that level for both countries, and the Canada country group had a lower percentage of first-page articles at 10.1% than the United States, at 13.6%.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Categorical Variables

Categories						
<u>Country</u>	<u>Canada</u>		<u>United States</u>		<u>Total</u>	
n	850	50%	850	50%	1700	
<u>Placement</u>	<u>First page</u>		<u>Elsewhere</u>			
Canada	86	10.1%	764	89.9%	850	
United States	116	13.6%	734	86.4%	850	
total	202	11.9%	1498	88.1%	1700	

The descriptive analysis of the variables served the continued inferential analyses that I discuss in the remainder of this chapter. The purpose of the combined tone, frame, and placement analyses fulfilled the research question, which asked to what extent media frames differed in published news reports between Canada and the United States with a focus on refugees.

Tone Analysis

I tested the tone of articles from both nations with a parametric inferential test, the independent samples *t*-test. The test aimed to detect possible differences between the means of the two countries, and estimated the effect of these differences. To understand the influence of the outlier behavior of the variables on the tests results, I executed all tests with the original-state tone and the winsorized variables. The first step in any inferential testing process is the pre-analysis phase where the test assumptions are evaluated, which I undertake in the next section.

Pre-Analysis

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the independent samples t -test is forgiving for the lack of normality of the sample distribution of the continuous dependent variable, especially for large samples. The test benefits from equal samples sizes within the individual groups of the independent variable, which totaled 850 articles for Canada and 850 articles for the United States. The variables and data need to be evaluated for additional assumptions to assure that the use of the t -test is warranted and responsible (Wright, & London, 2009). In this section, I will address all six assumptions.

One dependent variable, measured at the continuous level. The dependent variables were continuous, and I entered each as the sole dependent variable in three separate independent t -tests.

One independent variable, with two independent categorical groups. The independent variable was measured at the dichotomous level, resulting in two, entirely unrelated, country groups.

Independence of observations. The assumption was fulfilled during the process of data collection when I assured that articles were unique to each country and did not repeat in newspapers in the other country.

No outliers in the scores for each group of the independent variable. The presence of outliers was addressed during the descriptive analysis and remedied with a method of winsorization (Table A12).

The sampling distribution of the dependent variable follows a normal distribution for each level of the group. I relaxed this assumption under the premise

that the distribution of the dependent variables each country benefited from the central limit theorem for large sample sizes (Sawilowsky & Blair, 1992).

Homogeneity of variances between groups of the independent variable. The t -test statistic is sensitive to possible bias and inconsistencies in the estimate of the standard error that is associated with the variances of the scores of the groups within the independent variable (Rasch, et al., 2011). To assess homogeneity, I tested the variances of the scores of the country groups with the Levene test for each tone variable (Table A13). The Levene test was fulfilled for the main tone, $F(1, 1698) = 0.059, p = .809$; and negative tone, $F(1, 1698) = 2.54, p = .111$. The equality of variances was violated for the positive tone, $F(1, 1698) = 23.22, p < .05$, indicating that the variances were not homogeneous between the two groups.

The assumptions were addressed within the requirements of the statistical theoretical literature (Rasch et al., 2011; Sawilowsky & Blair, 1992; Wright, & London, 2009). As discussed in the descriptive analysis section, the tone variables revealed outlier behavior. To circumvent a possible influence of the outliers for the compare-means analysis with the tone variables, I also executed the analysis with the winsorized variables. The outcomes of the statistical tests with these variables are discussed at the end of this hypotheses evaluation. The lack of homogeneity of the variances for the positive tone variable was circumvented by substituting the t -test with the Welch test, which is robust for heterogeneous variances (Kohr & Games, 1974).

Hypothesis Evaluation

The first null hypothesis addressed a possible difference in tone between articles about refugees in Canada and the United States:

H_0 1: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar tone.

H_1 1: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different tone.

The main tone analysis, under the assumption of homogeneity of variances, delivered $t(1698) = -18.12, p < .001$ (Table A13). The results indicated that newspapers in Canada ($M = 0.0129, SD = 0.0244$) published higher main tone in refugee articles compared to newspapers in the United States ($M = -0.0085, SD = 0.0242$), which motivated the rejection of the null hypothesis. The difference between the means of the main tone, $\Delta M = 0.0214$ is large (scale range: -0.1 to 0.11; $d = 0.88$), and the 95% confidence interval around the difference between the estimated population means was relatively precise (-0.0237 to -0.0191). The Eta Squared $\eta^2 = .162$, suggesting that 16.2% of the variance of the main tone was accounted for by the country of publication, either Canada or the United States.

The positive tone analysis, under heterogeneity of variances, produced $t(1644.37) = -5.037, p < .001$. Newspapers in Canada ($M = 0.0404, SD = 0.0151$) published articles with a more positive tone than newspapers in the United States ($M = 0.037, SD = 0.0126$). However, the difference between the means of the positive tone was small, ΔM

=-.0034 ($d = 0.26$). Only 1.47% of the variance of the positive tone was explained by the country where the article was published ($\eta^2 = .0147$).

The negative tone analysis, under homogeneous variances, yielded $t(1698) = 19.793$, $p < .001$. The negative tone of published articles in newspapers in the United States ($M = 0.0455$, $SD = 0.0193$) was noticeably stronger than the negative tone in Canada ($M = 0.0275$, $SD = 0.0181$). The differences between the means of the negative tones of the countries, at $\Delta M = 0.018$, was substantial in standardized effect ($d = 0.96$): 18.75% of the negative tone in the article was explained by the country of publication.

An analysis of the winsorized versions of the tone variables also produced statistical significance for the main tone, the positive tone, and the negative tone variables for the comparison between the two countries. The removal of the outliers resulted in slightly tighter confidence intervals around the mean differences, which showed that the data with outliers allowed a more generous estimation of the difference, compared to the data with outliers removed. The removal of the outliers resulted in higher values for Cohen's d , and a higher percentage for each tone variable that was explained by the country of publication of the articles.

The significant differences in the tone of articles about refugees in Canada and the United States occurred at all three tone measurements and led to a rejection of the null hypothesis. The strength of the differences indicated that the negative tone in the United States worked stronger toward the main tone than the positive tone in Canada. The positive tone in the United States scored significantly and slightly higher than in Canada. However, the negative tone in the United States outperformed the positive tone with a

mean that was nearly twice as large as the negative mean in Canada. Considering that the significant main tone difference between the two countries resulted in a negative main tone for the United States compared to a positive main tone for Canada, I can conclude that the negative tone in the United States acted as the engine toward overall negative portrayals of refugees in the sample of articles in the United States.

Frame Analysis

The possible difference in the tone and the frame of articles in newspapers in Canada and the United States about the subject of refugees embodied the core of this research study. The completed tone analysis offered one component of the differences between Canada and the United States for how they framed the subject of refugees in newspaper articles. In this section, I tested possible differences between Canada and the United States for how they frame the subject of refugees with a multivariate approach that incorporated four dependent framing variables: diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes.

The combination of the four variables in multivariate analysis was guided by the framing theory and fit within the construct of Entman's (1993) definition that regards the variables as constructive pillars within the frame of an article. The differences between the country groups can be assessed at the individual variable level with an independent samples *t*-test and repeated for all variables. However, this approach can lead to confounding variable behavior and produce unwarranted increases of Type I errors (Spicer, 2005). Moreover, separate tests ignore possible relationships between the

dependent variables and lack power to detect differences between the country groups for a combination of the variable dimensions (Huberty, & Morris, 1992).

The combination of four dependent variables and one independent variable, measured at two levels, fit within the Hotelling-Lawley trace, also known as Hotelling's T^2 test. The choice for this specific test was motivated by the equal sample size between the two countries groups, which delivers robust results for possible violations of assumptions (Spicer, 2005). The test acts as the multivariate analog of the univariate independent samples t -test that extends the test of the null hypothesis as follows:

$$\text{If } t = \frac{\bar{x}-u}{s/\sqrt{n}}, \text{ the null hypothesis can be tested with } t = \frac{\bar{x}-u_0}{s/\sqrt{n}}$$

$$\text{transformed to } t^2 = \frac{(\bar{x}-u_0)^2}{s^2/n}$$

Generalized to four dependent variables,

the Hotelling's T^2 is represented by the vector of the means

$$x = \begin{bmatrix} x_1 \\ x_2 \\ \vdots \\ x_p \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{and} \quad u_0 = \begin{bmatrix} u_1^0 \\ u_2^0 \\ \vdots \\ u_p^0 \end{bmatrix}$$

resulting in a comparison of the calculated T^2 to $\sim \frac{p(n-1)}{n-p} F_{\alpha p, (p, n-p)}$

for a significance level of $\alpha = .05$ (Hotelling, 1936).

The frame construct analysis produced the hypothesis sum of squares and cross-products matrix (hypothesis SSCP), which gave insight into the systematic variance for all variables. The test also produced the error sum of squares and cross-products matrix (error SSCP) to assess the residual sum of squares for all variables. The total sum of

squares and cross-products matrix (Residual SSCP) clarified the total sum of squares for each dependent variable.

The Hotelling's T^2 test was used to evaluate the frame hypothesis for the combination of frame variables. The test evaluated the derived frame variable for significance, and the results explained the frame of refugee articles in both countries as a construct. The Hotelling's T^2 test did not address whether Canada and the United States differed for how they framed the subject of refugees in articles along a linear combination of the outcome variables. To gain more insight into the predictor value of the frame variables and their correlation with the frame as a construct, I applied linear discriminant function analysis. The results of the discriminant analysis brought clarity to the hypotheses at the individual level of the frame variables.

As a critical part of the frame analysis, I tested all underlying assumptions of the multivariate approach to assure that the test was an appropriate choice for the variables and the frame construct.

Pre-Analysis

The Hotelling's T^2 shares assumptions with other compare-means tests, but also requires specific attention to additional assumptions about the relationships between the dependent variables. The data benefit from an equal distribution of the groups within the independent variable, which has led to a relaxation of some assumptions. In this section, I address ten assumptions of the Hotelling's T^2 test.

Two or more dependent variables, measured at the continuous level. The four dependent variables (diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes) were measured at the continuous level.

One independent variable, with two independent categorical groups. The independent variable was measured at the nominal level, with one group for each country.

Independence of observations. The observations of the country groups were independent of each other. The assumption extends to the independence of observations between articles in newspapers in Canada and the United States, which was earlier discussed and accepted in the pre-analysis discussion of the tone analysis.

The sample size should be of adequate size for the analysis and measured at the interval level. The newspaper articles in Canada and the United States were randomly sampled from the population and delivered equal sample sizes for both groups. All dependent frame variables were measured at the continuous level, which fulfills the requirement for interval levels of measurement. The test required samples sizes in each group of at least as many cases as there are dependent variables. As mentioned earlier, the Hotelling's T^2 test benefits from an equal sample size distribution across the two country groups. Regarding robustness, the statistical theory allows the equal sample requirement to be adjusted toward a near-to-similar sample size if the sample sizes of the groups act below a ratio of 1.5 to 1 (Huberty & Morris, 1992).

Linear relationship between each combination of the dependent variables, for every level of the independent variable. Each frame variable was assessed for the linearity of its relationship with the other three frame variables, at the country level. The components were graphed in scatterplots and examined for linearity. The frame variables produced healthy relationships for both groups except for one component, the combination of diagnosis and interpretation for Canada.

Lack of multicollinearity between the framing variables. Possible multicollinearity was assessed with Pearson correlations between the components in the frame construct (Table A21). All relationships between the frame variables showed lack of multicollinearity, $|r| < .9$. The correlations between the variables at country level were assessed, and are presented in Table A14.

No outliers at the univariate level. In the descriptive analysis section, I addressed the univariate outliers at the group level for all frame variables. A violation of this assumption can be considered volatile for the test results and interpretation. The presence of outliers in the frame variables was a reason for serious concern.

No outliers at the multivariate level. Data points that have unusual combinations of the dependent variables can create outlier behavior at the multivariate level. To pinpoint possible multivariate outliers, I used a linear regression approach to produce the Mahalanobis distance for the framing variables, and compared the distances with a Chi-Square test. The frame variables delivered 51 multivariate outliers at $\chi^2(3) = 18.47, p > .001$. The outlier behavior at the multivariate level created additional cause for concern.

The data needs to be normally distributed at the multivariate level. All variables were tested for univariate normal distributions. Normality at the multivariate level is not equal to a normal distribution at the univariate level, and insight into the univariate distribution benefits the discussion of the presence or lack of a multivariate normal distribution. Earlier in this chapter, the non-normal distribution of the frame variables was discussed in more detail.

Equality of variances and co-variances and equality of error variances.

Table A18 presents the Box's tests for equality of co-variances matrices. All variables produced $p < .001$, which violated the assumption. The Hotelling's T^2 test is robust for this violation because of the equal sample sizes for the frame variables. I tested the equality of error variances with the Levene test, which was fulfilled for the diagnosis variable. The other three variables showed significance, even compared against adjusted alpha levels with a Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = .0125$) (Field, 2014). The violation of this assumption could influence effect sizes and inflate Type II errors of false negatives (Spicer, 2005).

Assumptions Evaluation Results

To summarize, I assessed each assumption for the Hotelling's T^2 test within the framework of the statistical theoretical literature (Field, 2014; Hotelling, 1936; Huberty & Morris, 1992; Spicer, 2005). The data did not fulfill all assumptions, and specific violations prompted further adjustments of the variables. The multivariate outlier behavior of the frame variables motivated a closer look at the winsorized variables to examine if these variables fulfilled the requirement for lack of multivariate outliers. The

winsorized variables produced 23 multivariate outliers. I decided that removal of the multivariate outliers from the dataset would benefit the analysis and the evaluation of the hypotheses, and accepted that the removal of the outliers created slightly uneven groups. The removal of the multivariate outliers produced a new sample size of 827 articles, exclusively for articles in the United States. The sample group for Canada did not reveal multivariate outliers. The ratio of sample size between Canada and the United acted favorably to the 1.5 to 1 ratio, and did not pose a threat to the robust nature of the Hotelling's T^2 test results and interpretation.

The different sets of variables inspired multiple scenarios for continued analyses with the frame variables in original state, the winsorized version of the frame variables, and a modified set of variables, that I created from the winsorized variable set. The scenarios are presented in Table 5, which includes the three variations of the datasets.

Table 5

Summary of Assumption Violations for Variables in Various States

	Lack of Linearity	Multi-collinearity	Univariate Outliers	Multivariate Outliers
Original State	yes	no	yes	yes
Winsorized	no	no	no	yes
Modified	no	no	no	no

The winsorized and modified variables scores did not reveal issues with lack of linearity, with I attributed to the lack of outliers in both datasets. The modified variables were based on the winsorized variable set and univariate outliers were not a concern. The winsorized and modified variables improved the distributions of the variables in the

direction of normality, but none of the variable sets delivered optimal normal curves in histograms or tight presence against the diagonal lines of the Q-Q plots. Nonetheless, I assumed the requirement fulfilled under the premise that the Hotelling's T^2 test is robust for violations of normalcy, which was further enhanced by the large sample size for each group: equal sample sizes for Canada and the United States for the original-state and winsorized variables, and near to equal sample sizes for the third variation of test variables, corrected for multivariate outliers (Table A17). The violation of the equality of error variances was a serious infraction of the assumption. The Hotelling's T^2 test is not robust for this violation and to remedy, I reported the Pillai's Trace test as a comparison test. The Pillai's Trace is robust for the violation of equality of error violations (Field, 2014).

To shield the interpretation and results from the above-mentioned violations, I executed the hypotheses evaluation with the three sets of variables. The interpretation of the analysis of the original-state variables was supplemented with a summary of the results from the other two sets of variables.

Frame Hypothesis Evaluation

Differences between the frame of published articles about refugees in Canada and the United States were assessed with an evaluation of the second set of hypotheses:

H_02 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a similar frame.

H_12 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected a different frame.

Using Hotelling's trace statistic, Canada and the United States differed along the dimensions of diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes: $T = .291$, $F(4, 1695) = 123.273$, $p < .001$; the results of the Hotelling's test are presented in Table A18. The multivariate effect size was estimated at $\eta^2 = .225$, which implied that 22.5% of the variance of the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by the country level. To incorporate the violation of homogeneity, Pillai's trace showed identical significant differences between the two countries: $V = .225$, $F(4, 1695) = 123.273$, $p < .001$.

The univariate test results for the original-state variables in the test of between-subject effects matrix revealed that the univariate results aligned fully with the multivariate results, showing significance at every variable that is presented in Table A19. The hypothesis and error SCCP matrices provided insight into the pattern of the data and revealed that the sum of squares for the error was substantially larger than at group level, indicating that the relationships between the dependent variables drove the differences between the groups (Table A20). The sum of squares and error levels were greater across all variables than at group level. The results forced a rejection of the null hypothesis, which indicated that newspapers in Canada and the United States used a significantly different frame construct in articles about refugees.

The analysis for the winsorized and modified versions of the frame construct followed the same trajectory as the original-state variables and did not alter significance levels or produced different outcomes for the frame hypothesis evaluation (Table A15, Table A16, & Table A22 - Table A27). The winsorized and modified variables produced

a slightly more favorable percentage of variance of the canonically derived frame construct that was explained by the differences in the country variable, hovering around 31% for both sets of variables. The similarity in results motivated the decision to exclude the winsorized and modified variables from further analyses and I continued the analysis exclusively with the original-state variables.

Frame Variables and Linear Discriminant Function Analysis

The significant results from the Hotelling's T^2 test were pursued with discriminant function analysis that gave insight into the linear combination of the outcome variables and evaluated the hypotheses of the individual frame variables. The independent variable differentiated only between two groups and the test results reported one singular variate. Wilks' Lambda test showed significance for the model:

$\Lambda = .775$, $\chi^2(4) = 433.069$, $p < .001$. The Eigenvalues showed a canonical correlation of $r = .475$, indicating that nearly 48% of the group variance was explained by the model.

The variate group centroids, as a measure of the mean discriminant score of the derived frame variable, confirmed that the variate discriminated between Canada and the United States (Table A29). The centroids of the original-state variables produced identical numbers, due to equal sample sizes for the groups, but in opposite direction. The centroid distribution for modified variables revealed different values, due to a minor difference in sample sizes of the country groups.

All individual frame variables revealed significance in Hotelling's T^2 test for differences between the two countries for how they framed articles at that specific frame variable, as presented in Table A19. However, the violation of the homogeneity of error

variances motivated another look at the individual hypotheses. As mentioned earlier, a univariate approach for a multivariate construct is sensitive to Type I error increases and loss of power. Nevertheless, based on a *significant outcome* of the Hotelling's T^2 test, this sensitivity can be accounted for with a Bonferroni correction for the individual t -test interpretation. For this reason, I applied a Bonferroni correction to the evaluations of the hypotheses for the individual frame variables and applied α -levels of .0125 (Field, 2014). I replaced the t -test for variables with heterogeneous variances with the Welch test that is robust for this issue.

Diagnosis. The hypothesis to evaluate diagnosis differences between Canada and the United States was formulated as followed:

H_03 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees did not differ in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

H_13 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees differed in their diagnosis of refugee issues.

The Welch test results produced significance for the differences between Canada and the United States for how they diagnosed the subject of refugees in newspaper articles, $t(1357.72) = 18.49, p < .0125$; the results are presented in Table A30. In line with these results, I rejected the null hypothesis. The United States ($M = 0.0095, SD = 0.0091$) delivered noticeable higher mean scores on the diagnosis variable than Canada ($M = 0.0029, SD = 0.0053$). As part of the frame construct, I interpreted the structure weight of diagnosis as an indication of the correlation of this variable with the construct, as presented in Table A28. The diagnosis variable delivered the highest structure weight

of all the frame variables, which implied a strong relationship with the variate $r = .83$.

The canonical discriminant function projected the relative contribution of the diagnosis variable to the derived dependent construct and was interpreted as the predictor contribution at the value of the variable to the frame construct, $\beta = .68$.

Interpretation. The hypothesis to evaluate interpretation differences between Canada and the United States was formulated as followed:

H_04 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to similar actors.

H_14 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees attributed refugee issues to different actors.

The hypothesis was evaluated with a t -test, with homogeneity of variances fulfilled at $F(1,1698) = 0.003, p = .954$ that produced statistical significance at $t(1357.72) = 18.49, p < .0125$; the result for the interpretation variable are presented in Table A30. The null hypothesis was rejected based on significant differences between the two countries for how they interpreted the subject of refugees in newspaper articles. The mean difference between the countries explained the direction of the difference and Canada ($M = 0.0132, SD = 0.0093$) produced slightly higher values for the mean than the United States ($M = 0.0103, SD = 0.0097$). The contribution of the interpretation variable to the frame construct indicated a moderately positive correlation between interpretation and the frame construct at $r = .58$ (Table A28). Oppositely, the predictor value of the variable was negative, at $\beta = -.45$.

Moral evaluation. The hypothesis to evaluate moral evaluation differences between Canada and the United States was formulated as followed:

H_05 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a similar moral evaluation.

H_15 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees exercised a different moral evaluation.

The Welch test results led to the rejection of the null hypothesis, $t(1357.72) = 12.79, p < .0125$, which indicated that newspapers in Canada and the United States attached a different moral evaluation to the subject of refugees (Table A30). The mean moral evaluation scores for the United States ($M = 0.0049, SD = 0.0062$) were higher than for Canada ($M = 0.0017, SD = 0.0036$), which indicated that newspaper articles in the United States used a more intense moral evaluation of refugees than newspapers in Canada. The relationship between moral evaluation and the frame construct is considered moderate at $r = .49$ (Table A28). The value of the variable as a predictor for the frame of the article was smaller than for the other variables, $\beta = .21$.

Solutions and outcomes. The hypothesis to evaluate solutions and outcomes differences between Canada and the United States was formulated as followed:

H_06 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected similar solutions and outcomes.

H_16 : In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees projected different solutions and outcomes.

The country groups differed significantly for the solutions and outcomes that the newspapers projected in articles about refugees ($t(1357.72) = 10.94, p < .0125$), which motivated the rejection of the null hypothesis (Table A30). The United States ($M = 0.0049, SD = 0.0062$) showed a higher mean score than Canada for solutions and outcomes ($M = 0.0017, SD = 0.0036$). However, the correlation between the solutions and outcomes variable and the frame construct was negative, $r = -.28$, which indicated that this variable worked in a reversed direction from the other variables in the frame construct (Table A28). The solutions and outcomes variable delivered the second-highest relative contribution to the frame construct, structure $\beta = .38$.

Concluding, all frame-related hypotheses were rejected, which confirmed that the use of the frame construct and the individual framing indicators differed significantly between the articles, published in Canada and the United States. The diagnosis, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes variables delivered positive predictor contributions the frame construct. Oppositely, interpretation acted as a negative predictor for the frame construct, which is confirmed by a reversed mean difference between Canada and the United States for this variable. Figure B4 in Appendix B illustrates the differences between the complete frame and the framing indicators at country level.

Placement Analysis

As the final insight into the research question that the study posed, I assessed differences between the frame of refugee articles in newspapers in Canada and the United States with an analysis of the placement of the article in the newspaper. Due to the dichotomous nature of the placement variable, I evaluated the null hypothesis with

binomial logistic regression. The regression predicted whether newspapers in Canada or the United States were more likely to place articles on the first page or elsewhere in the newspaper. Since the regression incorporated only the placement of the articles and the country groups and did not include other variables, the main focus of the analysis was the outcome behavior of the placement variable for newspapers in Canada and the United States.

As in any inferential model, logistic regression is sensitive to the fulfillment of assumptions. However, the test has far fewer restrictive assumptions than other inferential tests and produces results that are robust toward violations (Menard, 2010). The limitation of one categorical and one dichotomous variable allowed some test assumptions to be ignored, including the linearity of the logit for continuous independent variables, lack of multicollinearity between independent variables, and outlier behavior. The remaining assumptions, applicable to the inferential model for the evaluation of the last set of hypotheses, were addressed in the pre-analysis.

Pre-Analysis

The singular outcome variable is dichotomous. The assumption was fulfilled by the placement variable that I measured with zero and one.

The independent variable is measured on a continuous or nominal scale. The nominal country variable served as the singular independent variable that measured Canada and the United States.

All observations are independent, and the categories of the dichotomous dependent variable are mutually exclusive. The independence of observations for the

dataset was determined during the research design process and protected during the data collection phase. The dichotomous variable measured different locations in the newspapers exclusively at two levels, without any possibility of overlap.

Minimum sample requirement. The sample for a logistic regression requires 15 cases for each independent variable, which I fulfilled with the sample size of 850 in each country group.

I evaluated the theoretical literature to assess all assumptions and concluded that all were fulfilled, lacking any concern of violations (Field, 2014; Menard, 2010).

Hypothesis Evaluation

The logistic regression analysis was used to evaluate if the country variable made a significant contribution to the prediction of the placement of an article in a newspaper. The hypotheses were articulated as follows:

H₀₇: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a similar location.

H₁₇: In Canada and the United States, newspapers articles that addressed the subject of refugees were placed in a different location.

The logistic regression results confirmed the variable encoding for the dependent and independent variable. All articles produced values, and there were no missing cases. The omnibus test of model coefficients and the model summary indicated that the logistic regression model significantly predicted the outcome of the placement in the newspaper: $\chi^2(1) = 5.073, p = .024$; the results of the logistic regression are presented in Table A31 & Table A32). The Wald statistic produced the significant predictive nature of the country

group for where the newspaper placed the article: Wald $\chi^2(1) = 5.023$, $p = .025$ and $\beta = .34$ (Table A33). However, the country variable only explained 6% of the variance of the placement in the newspaper at pseudo $R^2 = .6\%$.

The odds ratio, $\text{Exp}\beta = 1.404$, indicated that the publication of an article about refugees had 1.404 times higher odds to be published on the first page in the United States than in newspapers in Canada. Based on the results of the logistic regression, I rejected the null hypothesis and concluded that, with limited explained variance, the significance of the model showed that newspapers in Canada and the United States differed for first-page placement of refugee articles in newspapers.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the data collection and measurement processes, the development process of the Lexicoder RD instrument, and its validation process. Moreover, I answered the research question with a detailed evaluation of the sets of hypotheses that I tested with a combination of t -tests, multivariate analysis of variances that included a linear discriminant function analysis, and a logistic regression model.

The analysis of the tone variables led to the rejection of the null hypothesis that compared the tone of articles between newspapers in Canada and the United States. The main tone differences between the countries were strongest at the negative level, indicating that articles published in the United States displayed an overwhelmingly negative tone compared to articles published in Canada. Following the tone analysis, I evaluated the frame of an article in the context of a construct, which existed of variables with identifications grounded in Entman's (1993) framing theory. The results of

Hotelling's T^2 test and the subsequent discriminant function analysis revealed that the frame was a significant construct to measure differences between Canada and the United States and that the individual framing indicators delivered substantial presence in the frame construct, though not necessarily in the same direction. Lastly, the placement analysis evaluated whether placement in the newspaper differed between the countries. The results, though with a small explanation of variances attached, showed that articles published in the United States were more likely to be published on the first page of the newspaper than in Canada.

In Chapter 5, I present and interpret the research results in more detail and discuss the differences between the tone and frame of articles in Canada and the United States in light of implications for social change and possible paths for further inquiry.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Recommendations

In this research study, I examined the contrast in refugee policies between Canada and the United States from the perspective of media framing. I used a quantitative content analysis to examine the research question that asked to what extent news articles published in Canada and the United States, from November 2015 until the end of 2016, portrayed different attitudes toward refugees. The analyses in Chapter 4 resulted in support for the statement that the media in the United States frames the subject about refugees in a significantly more negative manner than the media in Canada.

The data was collected from the 10 largest newspapers in each country, based on circulation revenue, that I compared for the tone, the frame, and the placement of the articles. The concept of frame and framing was founded on the framing theory, and I used the interpretation of salience and selection and Entman's (1993) frame functions to operationalize the variables. The tone variables represented positive, negative, and main tone, and the frame construct incorporated diagnosis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes. In addition, the placement variable measured whether an article was published on the first page of the newspaper or elsewhere. I applied the Lexicoder software program to measure the tone and frame variables but applied different sentiment dictionaries to each set of variables. To measure the tone variables, I used an existing and validated sentiment dictionary, Lexicoder SD. The frame variables were measured with a second instrument, the Lexicoder RD instrument, that I developed and adequately validated for use in this study.

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the statistical analyses and the subsequent implications. I present the findings in the context of the framing theory and group threat theories and compare the results to the earlier outcomes of immigration and refugee studies. I also revisit the limitations of the study to address possible changes as a result of the completed analyses. The social implications of the study and recommendations for policymakers, including attention to the role that nonprofit organizations and intergovernmental institutions can fulfill to circumvent negative media attitudes toward refugees, concludes the chapter.

Interpretation of the Findings

The First Amendment of the United States Constitution offers protection of a free press and has led to the development of a fourth estate as an additional check on the three official branches of government (Stewart, 1974). Without freedom of the press, the people are not informed, and democracy is not guaranteed. Notwithstanding the importance of the media as a mechanism to inform and engage the public to the benefit of the democratic process, the way the media frames news for publication influences how that news is received and absorbed. The relationship between the media and public policy is firmly grounded in political and communication theories and rests on the notion that, as the fourth estate, the media influence the public, the government and its policies, the political process, and arguably the democratic process (Zaller, 1992). Page and Shapiro concluded in 1983 that media coverage for issues of high salience and visibility moves policy at the federal level and, to a lesser extent, at the state and lower levels. The media attention to the subject of refugees proved salient, both in Canada and the United States,

under the influence of the magnitude of the Syrian refugee crisis. Newspapers delivered many samples of refugee articles for this study, indicating that the subject of refugees and the possible resettlement can be considered an issue of high salience in both countries.

In this research study, I used the concepts of the framing theory for the differentiation of news content between Canada and the United States to find a possible explanation for the differences in refugee policies, both in design and implementation. The main tone of refugee articles, analyzed with compare-means tests, differed significantly between the two countries. A more detailed analysis of the separate tone components revealed that articles about refugees in the United States expressed a slightly more positive tone than in Canada, yet that tone was negated by a strong negative component. The frame construct was evaluated with multivariate analysis and resulted in significant differences between the two countries. An additional discriminant function analysis showed that the frame construct differed at all levels of the framing indicators. Diagnosis, moral evaluation, and solutions and outcomes delivered positive predictor relationships with the frame construct, whereas interpretation produced a reversed relationship. The tone and the frame of the articles about refugees were found to be more negative in the United States compared to Canada. Furthermore, I analyzed the placement of the article in the newspaper with a binomial logistic regression model. The results indicated that a refugee article published in the United States had higher odds to be published on the first page of the newspaper, though the country variable explained a small part of the variance of the placement of the article.

The combined findings from the three analyses showed statistically significant differences between Canada and the United States on how the media framed the subject of refugees in newspaper articles in both countries. The results of the analyses attested the concepts of the framing theory and aligned with Entman's (1993) frame definition of the words salience and selection, which implies that the frame of an article elevates an issue to the foreground. I operationalized salience and selection in three unique and measurable ways, where each represented a distinctive angle of Entman's frame definition.

Tone Revisited

The tone variables followed the valence principle, indicating that the frequencies of both the positive and negative presence of the tone deserved consideration (Hallahan, 1999). However, researchers that examined media framing of immigrants and refugees in earlier studies concluded that frames have tendencies toward negative over more positive media portrayals (Esses et al., 2013; Schemer, 2012; Van Klingeren et al., 2015). The results of the tone analysis in this research study confirmed these earlier findings and showed that the effect of the negative tone of the refugee articles in the United States more than outweighed the positive tone compared to Canada. Moreover, the findings mirrored Van Klingeren et al. who, in 2015, found similar differences between the tone of immigrant messages in Denmark and the Netherlands. The researchers concluded that the tone of the positive messages showed moderation toward native attitudes in the Netherlands, comparable to the effect of the positive tone in Canada in this research study, but the negative messages in Denmark enhanced negative attitudes toward

immigrants, which approximates the effect of the negative tone in the United States.

Therefore, the tone analysis committed to the results in previous studies and confirmed that the negative tone was more salient toward the main tone of articles in the United States, which encouraged the main tone to move convincingly in a negative direction than in Canada (Schemer, 2012; Van Klingeren et al., 2015).

Frame Construct Revisited

Salience and selection were operationalized by the frame construct, which, in the same manner as the tone variables, I based on the framing theory. Per contra, the frame construct did not incorporate the valence principle but represented the framing functions that Entman (1993) attached to the conceptual definition of framing. At variance with the tone variables, the frame construct was focused mostly on the negative native attitudes toward refugees under the premise that the relationship between positive and negative messages is nonsymmetrical and that messages do not necessarily cancel each other out (Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Soroka, 2006).

The variable diagnosis measured negative words or phrases that implied a perceived threat from refugees, such as *terrorist* or *terrorism*. The operationalization of the diagnosis variable was in line with findings from other researchers who identified a similar negative function of the diagnosis of native attitudes toward immigrants, including refugees (Entman, 2003; Esses, 2013; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Woods, 2011). The variable demonstrated significance in the frame analysis and indicated robust differences between the means of the countries for how the subject of refugees was

diagnosed. In contrast to the other variables, diagnosis played a proficient role in the frame construct and delivered a relevant predictor contribution.

The variable interpretation delivered mostly neutral identifications of refugees who were perceived to create the issues identified in the diagnosis variable. The variable delivered three variations—refugees, Muslims, and Arabs—as actors in the salient media frame. The words *Muslims* and *Arabs* were identified in earlier studies as perceived actors of in similar media frames (Steele et al., 2014; Welch, 2016). I added the word *refugee* for the benefit of this study. Although interpretation still delivered significant differences between Canada and the United States, the differences between the means indicated that articles in Canada dedicated more attention to the interpretation variable than articles in the United States. The relatively neutral operationalization of this variable was noticeable in its role in the frame construct, which showed a negative predictive value in the frame construct. The results revealed that, although media in Canada and the United States both named the interpretation of native attitudes toward refugees in articles, the interpretation of the cause of the problem might have been applied more positively in newspapers in Canada. The descriptive analysis showed that newspapers in both countries identified refugees in the sampled newspaper articles as the subject of interest, but portrayals in Canada were focused on the integration of refugees into society, such as housing, employment, education, and other societal support that was offered or hoped to be extended to newly arrived refugees. This near-to-neutral relationship between the diagnosis of the refugee issue and the interpretation of the cause of the issue was supported by an insignificant Pearson correlation for Canada. Conversely, this

relationship revealed a positive correlation for the United States, indicating that the articles negatively type-casted refugees in connection with the perceived negative diagnosis of the frame. The typecasting of immigrants and Muslims in the media in the United States is not a new occurrence but was established in earlier studies when researchers examined and explained this practice post 9/11 (Steele et al., 2014; Welch, 2016).

The moral evaluation variable within the frame construct included words and phrases that expressed a negative judgment of the refugees as actors in the perceived issue. Woods concluded in 2011 that phrases such as *radical Islam* implied increased levels of perceived threat, as expressed by the diagnosis variable and attributed to the actors in the interpretation variable. The results of the frame analysis confirmed these earlier findings and revealed a positive correlation between moral evaluation and diagnosis for both countries. These variables delivered a stronger relationship for the United States than for Canada, showing that the negative moral evaluation in the United States intensified the perceived negative refugee issue and vice versa. The relationship between moral evaluation and interpretation fell short of significance for Canada, which confirmed that refugees, Arabs, and Muslims were not necessarily morally evaluated in newspaper articles.

Lastly, the analysis of the solutions and outcomes variable for both countries showed that an intensive vocalization of negative solutions for the refugee issue in the United States correlated stronger with the other three frame variables than in Canada. The results led me to conclude that, although solutions and outcomes were present in the

media in Canada, words like *refugee ban*, *Muslim ban*, and *extreme vetting* most likely did not make an appearance. More precisely, the smaller effect size of the mean differences between Canada and the United States, combined with the negative correlation of this variable with the frame construct, indicated that the variable was a significant predictor to the frame construct, but worked in a reversed direction. Earlier research studies argued that the intensity of perceived outcomes and solutions in the media might induce changes to refugee policies (Akdenizli et al., 2008). However, the analyses of this variable in the frame construct did not produce any insight into its effect on possible refugee policies changes.

Placement Revisited

The placement analysis of the study examined whether newspapers in Canada the United States differed for where they placed refugee articles. A first-page publication versus elsewhere in the paper gives insight into the value that the media assigns to the article, under the premise that first-page occurrence is deemed more important (Woods & Arthur, 2014). Woods and Arthur (2014) used this approach to measure where articles about the terrorist attack on 9/11 were placed, and concluded that negatively framed articles appeared more often in the front as opposed to elsewhere in the paper. The results of the placement analysis in this study confirmed that articles about refugees in the United States had higher odds to appear in the front of the newspapers than articles in Canada. When combined with the findings from the tone and frame analyses that showed that the negative tone and frame were present with more intensity in the United States, I

conclude that articles that relay a more negative message about refugees have higher odds to receive front page coverage in the United States than in Canada.

Group threat theories are used to discern the relationship between the portrayal of negative native attitudes toward refugees and an increased perceived threat from outgroups to native groups. In this research study, I did not test this relationship. However, researchers in earlier studies concluded that negative media messages about immigrants, including refugees, are closely related to group threat theories (Esses, 2013; Schemer, 2012; Van Klingeren et al., 2015). Negative media portrayals have a greater impact on group behavior than positive messages and tend to intensify negative attitudes toward outgroups (Chong & Druckman, 2007b, Schemer, 2012; Soroka, 2006). From these earlier findings, I deduced that a more intense negative tone and frame of refugee articles in the United States will lead to an intensification of group threat behavior.

It is worth noting that the verbalization of the frame variables included flawed generalizations, indicating prejudice. According to Allport (1979), prejudice can influence beliefs, attitudes, and values. Moreover, Schemer (2012) concluded that stereotypic attitudes toward immigrants tend to increase as a result of negative news frames, and widen the distance between the ingroup and immigrant group. The existence of prejudice can be modified by interactions between outgroups and native groups or, conversely, may intensify for lack of contact (d'Haenes & De Lange, 2001, Van Klingeren et al., 2015). If negative refugee portrayals in the media in the United States, based on unsubstantiated yet perceived threats from refugees as possible actors of terrorism, intensify prejudice at the collective native group level that results in a

tightening of the refugee policy, thereby restricting further resettlement of refugees in the United States, contact between in-and-outgroups will wane and offer diminished opportunities to remedy prejudice (Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 2006). In other words, a tightening of refugee policies based on an increase of prejudice can become a self-generating process that further intensifies the perceived threat from refugees (Keung, 2007).

Moreover, when policymakers keep repeating the negative media framing of refugees, the native groups will increase prejudice toward refugees, leading to a further reduction of resettlement opportunities (Brader et al., 2008; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011). Additionally, negative attitudes in the media toward refugees that are resettled in the United States will potentially shape the integration process and influence their integration into society. Under the influence of a reduced welcome from the native population in the United States, refugees may experience negative native group behavior that can lead to a diminished integration experience with long-term consequences for refugees (Fussell, 2014; Kessler, 2010). Based on the existing understanding of group threat theories, the trickle-down effects of negative media framing of refugees, its consequences for the refugee policy, continued and intensified prejudice toward refugees, and compromises to the integration process of refugees in the United States, cannot be ignored (Gilbert, 2013).

Limitations of the Study

The limitations experienced during the execution of the data collection and sampling processes, development of the Lexicoder RD instrument, and the measurement

of the variables were in line with the expectations that I articulated in Chapter 1. The sampling processes, both for the development of the Lexicoder RD instrument and the main sample of the study, were executed with care and attention to detail to limit any measurement bias as a result of possible errors. Over and above that, the careful development of the Lexicoder RD instrument included a detailed validation process to ensure that the instrument correctly operationalized the frame construct and was adequately tested with a validity sample to safeguard that the instrument measured what it was set out to measure. The process protected the internal validity of the study and was subjected to a semantic validation method against an accuracy level of 95%, as recommended in the literature (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013).

I based the choice of newspapers in Canada and the United States on generated circulation revenues, thereby omitting any subjective ideological or regional influences of the selection of articles. The content for examination was carefully screened and scrubbed, where necessary, for possible influences of the United States presidential election that received dominant coverage in the media throughout 2016. Articles that addressed the election were removed, including editorials, opinion pieces, campaign agendas of the presidential candidates, and columns that referenced the election. I did not achieve complete removal of references to the presidential election in the collected sample, as the refugee subject in the collected articles was sometimes intertwined with campaign news. Should the coverage of the presidential campaign in these sampled articles have influenced the measurement of media portrayals in the United States and

Canada, the large sample size of 850 articles in each country most likely reduced that effect and stabilized the measurements across the total sample.

Recommendations

The research study focused on the media portrayals of refugees in Canada and the United States following the terrorist attack in Paris on November 13, 2015. This event, as the starting point of examination, limits the insight into the differences between the two countries but offers opportunities for further comparative examinations that can deepen the understanding of media framing of refugees. For instance, the examination could be broadened to other media, such as internet publications or television productions. The research question could also be extended to attitudes toward refugees at the state or the regional level in the United States that could help determine negative group behaviors, and possible levels, or lack thereof, of prejudice.

Future studies could focus on immigrant media framing in the context of other policy subjects that have high levels of salience attached. For instance, both the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals and the Temporary Protected Status Program have come under political scrutiny and have received abundant media attention in the United States, providing an opportunity for media framing insight.

The study was limited for ideological insight into the media framing of the newspapers. A subsequent examination could encompass the ideological grouping of the newspapers and deliver results in measurement and analyses of framing by that ideology. Woods and Arthur used a similar approach after 9/11 to show that the liberal or more conservative slant of newspapers influenced the media repertoire of immigrant portrayals.

Additionally, such an approach could be executed to assess the possible influence of the presidential election in 2016 and the rise of populism during and after the presidential election in the United States. A repeat of the measurement of native attitudes toward refugees in later years could reveal if the negative media framing intensified during the election time in the United States, and continued to increase after the new administration took office in January 2017.

The results of the quantitative content study could be supplemented with a qualitative exploration of media framing differences about refugees in Canada and the United States. Newspaper editors or journalists could be interviewed in both countries to investigate possible awareness of negative native attitudes toward refugees in the context of the quantitative differences that resulted from this study.

During the earlier discussion about group threat theories, I mentioned that negative attitudes toward refugees trickle down and possibly influence the integration process into society. Based on the knowledge that the media in the United States and Canada portrayed refugees differently, a later qualitative study could investigate the integration process of a small group of refugees in Canada and the United States. Under the premise that refugees receive a warmer welcome in Canada, the expectation is that this welcoming attitude by the native population is reflected in a more successful integration into society.

Lastly, I formulated this research study based on the premise that the media influences public policy. Though it is implied that the tone of the media in Canada might have had a positive effect on the implementation of the refugee policy in that country, I

did not examine the true nature of the relationship between the media and public policy. Future studies could explore the influence of the media on public policy at the experimental micro level by measuring framing effects on the public, policymakers, and other government actors to understand if and how media framing translates to policies.

Implications

The results of this research study delivered contributions to the immigration literature and gave insight into native attitudes toward refugees, a subject that was largely missing from the literature. From that perspective, the study addressed refugees as a stand-alone population that was not implicitly regarded as part of the immigrant population. Therefore, the attention to media portrayals of refugees filled a gap in the literature.

Moreover, the study addressed framing theory and Entman's (1993) framing functions as a construct that was analyzed for its strength and the predictor value of each component. Such insight was not earlier produced in the communications literature and might add to the collection of research applications that applied Entman's functional frame definitions, as part of the framing theory. As discussed in Chapter 2, the utilization of the framing theory has come under criticism from theorists and researchers for its use of scattered conceptualizations (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Kinder, 2007; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012). The operationalization of framing definitions is subject to interpretation, but the use of Entman's functional frame definitions as part of a construct, as it was used in this research study, can contribute to the conceptualization of the framing theory in future research applications.

Equally, the use of quantitative substantive content analysis as the vehicle of examination contributes to the knowledge base in the field of communication research and public policy, as it is applied to media framing. The content analysis used a purposeful scientific tool to compare the framing between Canada and the United States. Most content analyses focus on a qualitative insight, and this quantitative analysis with a large sample size may be considered as a positive example of a quantitative insight and a valued contribution to the literature.

In addition to the methodological and theoretical implications of the completed study, the results of the study also induce empirical implications that drive social change. In 1997, Stokes articulated a paradigm shift for scientific research in the direction of user-inspired based research where scientific and theoretical advancements fulfill a social need. Pasteur's Quadrant inspires social change which can be measured as the improvements, at the individual and communal level, around the world. In the remainder of this section, I address the empirical implications of this research study that induce social change.

As discussed earlier, the notion that the media in the United States exercised a noticeable negative tone and frame in its newspaper publications about refugees should trigger concerns for the relationship between negative messages and group threat theories. Government and nonprofit organizations at the national, state and local level who are tasked with the resettlement of refugees can benefit from the knowledge that the media in the United States is actively negatively framing refugees. Group threat theories teach us that negative messages about refugees may intensify negative attitudes toward

refugees. To circumvent a possible increase of prejudice as a result of negative media framing, increased contact between the refugee population and the native group can be a modifying factor. Professionals who work to resettle and integrate refugees could take the answers to the research question to heart as a motivator to involve the local population in the integration and resettlement process of refugees. A closer relationship between ingroups and outgroups is deemed a positive strategy to reduce prejudice and can aid as a positive social change to reduce or nullify negative media portrayal of refugees.

Lastly, the results of this research study could benefit the intergovernmental organizations that are engaged in efforts to resolve the Syrian refugee crisis. The UNHCR has repeatedly pleaded with Western democracies to extend more resettlement opportunities to refugees. The European countries were forced to deal with the refugee crisis as a result of the mass influx of people, refugees and economic migrants alike, in recent years. Other Western democracies that geographically lie outside of the route of refugee flight have not been affected by the crisis in Syria in the same manner. The involvement with possible refugee resettlement is entirely voluntary and based on the refugee policy in the country. Canada chose to become a voice for refugee resettlement, which is noticeable in the number of Syrian refugees that were welcomed in the country in recent years. The United States has taken a different approach and resisted additional refugee resettlement of Syrian refugees. Further, the negative attitudes toward refugees in the media during the time of examination for this study were met with a further tightening of the implementation of the refugee policy by the current administration in 2017.

The media influence policy and the negative media framing of refugees possibly influenced the refugee policy in a restrictive direction. Oppositely, a more positive tone in the media could remedy the restrictions that the current administration put in place in 2017. That knowledge works to the advantage of the UNHCR, which could project a strong, welcoming, and positive tone about the benefits of refugee resettlement in the United States. Under the premise that the fabric of the United States leans heavily on immigration and that its societal, scientific, and economic advances were positively influenced by the arrival and integration of immigrants in the past, continued resettlement of refugees in the United States may be projected by the UNHCR with a positive message to the native population that could return the United States to the humanitarian and social change agent it strived and thrived to be during earlier refugee crises.

Conclusions

In this research study, I examined the media framing in newspaper articles in Canada and the United States that addressed the subject of refugees during November 2015 and the end of 2016. Based on the results of the quantitative content analysis, I concluded that the newspapers in Canada projected a more positive tone and welcoming frame, compared to a more negative portrayal in articles in the United States. The main tone of articles in Canada existed of a milder positive tone than in the United States, but the more intense negative tone in the United States motivated the main tone in a negative direction for the total sample of 850 articles. The frame analysis resulted in additional significant differences between Canada and the United States, where Canada projected a less negative frame construct for refugee articles than the United States. The individual

frame variables delivered consistent results with the more negative frame findings in the United States, except for the interpretation variable. I contributed the higher score for interpretation for Canada to the relatively neutral definition of this variable.

The confirmation that the United States published refugee articles with a more negative tone and frame was further analyzed with binomial logistic regression to evaluate where newspapers in both countries physically placed the refugee articles in newspapers. In line with the results from the tone and frame analysis, the placement analysis confirmed that the negatively portrayed refugee articles in the United States produced higher odds for first-page publication.

When the media convey the news to the public, the frame of the message influences how that news is received. The way that the media selects the characteristics of a message for publication is comparable to how the art dealer, that I described in Chapter 2, selects the shape, the material, the color, and size to present a work of art. The tone, frame, and placement variables in this research study represent the art dealer's choices that surround the work of art and influence what the public takes away from the artwork on display. Whether deliberately framed or delivered within a pre-set notion of perceived threats from refugees and their resettlement, the United States newspapers framed refugee articles vastly different from newspapers in Canada. The consequences of the negative portrayals of refugees in the media in the United States should not be ignored, as they can have a detrimental effect on the relationship between the native population and refugees and the level of prejudice directed toward refugees. In the United States, that level of prejudice is noticeable in a further restriction of the refugee policy,

which will induce a self-generating process that intensifies the perceived threat from refugees and result in diminished societal returns. Knowledge of the negative media framing in the United States and the underlying increase in prejudice need to be recognized before they can be remedied. International and national organizations that are tasked with providing resettlement opportunities to Syrian refugees can use this knowledge to counter the negative portrayals in the media, and hopefully, reignite the humanitarian role that the United States plays in refugee crises in the world.

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Appendix A: Tables

Table A1

Newspaper Circulation Revenues: Canada

1 st Tier for Main Sample		2 nd Tier for RD Instrument Development	
Toronto Star	\$1,694,897	Times Colonist	\$318,621
Globe and Mail	\$1,251,945	Edmonton Journal	\$312,618
<i>Journal de Montréal</i>	\$1,248,745	<i>Montreal Gazette</i>	\$291,993
<i>La Presse</i>	\$862,557	Calgary Sun	\$222,143
<i>Journal de Québec</i>	\$723,145	London Free Press	\$217,752
Toronto Sun	\$632,793	<i>24 Hours Toronto</i>	\$213,143
National Post	\$539,070	<i>Edmonton Sun</i>	\$208,855
<i>Le Soleil</i>	\$470,423	<i>Metro Toronto</i>	\$204,840
Vancouver Sun	\$468,297	<i>Waterloo Region</i>	\$194,409
<i>Winnipeg Free Press</i>	\$394,620	<i>Winnipeg Sun</i>	\$179,069
Hamilton Spectator	\$378,848		
Vancouver Province	\$377,467		
Calgary Herald	\$330,467		
Chronicle-Herald	\$330,357		
Ottawa Citizen	\$320,527		

Note. 2015 circulation data retrieved from www.stateofthemediamedia.org, and “Daily newspaper circulation data,” by The Canadian Community Newspapers Association (2016), retrieved from www.newspaperscanada.ca

Table A2

Newspaper Circulation Revenues: United States

1 st Tier for Main Sample		2 nd Tier for RD Instrument Development	
Wall Street Journal	\$2,293,798	<i>Houston Chronicle</i>	\$325,814
USA Today	\$1,713,833	<i>Newark Star Ledger</i>	\$311,904
New York Times	\$1,613,865	Minneapolis Star Tribune	\$300,277
Los Angeles Times	\$606,075	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	\$293,139
New York Daily News	\$530,440	<i>Arizona Republic</i>	\$275,622
New York Post	\$522,868	<i>Chicago Sun-Times</i>	\$263,292
Washington Post	\$462,228	Dallas Morning News	\$257,133
Chicago Tribune	\$411,960	<i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	\$236,953
Denver Post	\$402,564	Tampa Bay Times	\$231,944
Newsday	\$392,989	<i>Boston Globe</i>	\$230,406
		<i>Oregonian</i>	\$226,406
		Baltimore Sun	\$177,054
		<i>Orange County Register</i>	\$175,851
		San Jose Mercury News	\$167,906
		<i>Las Vegas Review</i>	\$142,775

Note. Circulation data compiled from “An annual report of American journalism: Newspapers by the numbers,” by The State of the News Media 2013 [Pew Research Center] (2012).

Table A3

Main Data Collection: Population Versus Sample by Country

Country	Newspaper	Total articles	Relevant articles	Validity sample	% of total	Main sample	% of total
Canada							
1	Calgary Herald	628	178	2	13.3	86	10.1
2	Chronicle Herald ^a	745	240	1	6.7	114	13.4
3	Globe and Mail	1,163	321	3	20	144	8.5
4	Hamilton Spectator	1,848	109	-	-	50	2.9
5	National Post	1,022	146	-	-	62	3.6
6	Ottawa Citizen	894	192	2	13.3	80	4.7
7	Toronto Star	1,536	345	4	26.7	151	8.9
8	Toronto Sun	276	44	1	6.7	22	1.3
9	Vancouver Province	362	114	-	-	50	2.9
10	Vancouver Sun	704	243	2	13.3	91	5.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>9,178</i>	<i>1,932</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>850</i>	<i>100</i>
United States							
1	Chicago Tribune ^a	696	102	2	13.3	97	11.4
2	Denver Post	352	66	3	20	56	6.6
3	Los Angeles Times ^a	710	96	2	13.3	90	10.6
4	Newsday ^a	183	42	-	-	45	5.3
5	New York Daily News ^a	137	39	-	-	50	5.9
6	New York Post	218	45	-	-	35	4.1
7	New York Times ^a	2,616	269	4	26.7	185	21.8
8	USA Today	294	63	-	-	59	6.9
9	Wall Street Journal	882	88	-	-	76	8.9
10	Washington Post ^a	1,964	251	4	26.7	157	18.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>8,052</i>	<i>1,061</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>850</i>	<i>100</i>

Note. All articles were retrieved from the LexisNexis database with the exception of newspapers marked with ^a.

^aRetrieved from the ProQuest Central database.

Table A4

Data Sample: Refugee Dictionary Development

Country	Newspaper	Date Bracket	Total Articles	Relevant Articles	Sample Articles	% of Total
Canada						
1	Times Colonist	11/13/15-01/04/16	61	11	2	13.3
2	Edmonton Journal	11/13/15-01/04/16	43	17	3	20
3	Gazette (Montreal)	11/13/15-01/04/16	71	41	9	60
4	Calgary Sun	04/01/16-07/01/16	17	6	1	6.7
5	London Free Press	03/01/16-06/01/16	33	6	-	-
	<i>Total</i>		225	81	15	100
United States						
1	Dallas Morning News	11/16/15-02/08/16	120	26	13	6.7
2	Baltimore Sun	04/17/16-12/30/16	78	10	3	20
3	Minneapolis Star Tribune	11/16/15-01/31/16	269	34	3	20
4	San Jose Mercury News	11/26/15-01/12/16	221	23	5	33.3
5	Tampa Bay Times	11/15/15-01/24/16	219	33	3	20
	<i>Total</i>		907	126	15	100

Note. All articles were retrieved from the LexisNexis database with the exception of the Dallas Morning News, which was retrieved from the ProQuest Central Database.

Table A5

Refugee Dictionary Development: NVivo Results

Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
9 1 1	arab	american values	abandon*
arrivals increase	muslim*	anti american	additional rules
attack*	refugee*	anti canadian	back pedal*
danger*		anti muslim	backlash*
fast track		barbari*	ban*
fear*		betrayal*	bar*
losing control		brace*	block*
massacre		burden*	border check*
massive arrival*		concern*	challenged
paris		crowding	close border*
protect*		do america harm	exclusion*
risk*		do us harm	fraud detection*
sept. 11		elevate*	halt*
state of alert		ethnic*	inhospitable
terror*		fake syrian passport	limit*
threat*		harm americans	nativism
violence		horrifi*	no-fly list*
war on terror		horror*	not accept*
harm		infiltrat*	oppos*
9 1 1		isis	patriotism
		islam*	paus*
		jihad*	prevent*
		operative*	protect*
		outnumber*	reduc*
		perpetrator*	refus*
		pose*	religious test*
		potential*	restrict*
		pressur*	rigorous*
		race*	scrap*
		radical*	screen*
		religion*	scrutin*
		suspect*	securit*
		trojan horse	shutdown*
		violent*	stop*
			suspend*

(table continues)

Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
			temporary delay* tighten* turn its back turning our backs vet* visa waiver reform* withhold state fund*

Table A6

Validity Test: Diagnosis Variable

Diagnosis	Occurrence	A ^a	%	U ^b	%
9 1 1	4	0	0	4	100
alert*	1	0	0	1	100
attack*	49	0	0	49	100
danger*	5	1	20	4	80
fear*	24	0	0	24	100
harm*	2	0	0	2	100
massac*	1	0	0	1	100
paris*	27	0	0	27	100
risk*	3	0	0	3	100
sept 11	2	0	0	2	100
september 11	1	0	0	1	100
terror*	40	0	0	40	100
threat*	17	0	0	17	100
violen*	6	1	16.7	5	83.3

^aRefers to an ambiguous interpretation, where the word was using in a manner that did not fit the variable definition or lacked a negative reference to refugees.

^bUnambiguous interpretation.

Table A7

Validity Test: Interpretation Variable

Interpretation	Occurrence	A ^a	%	U ^b	%
arab	2	0	0	2	100
muslim*	58	0	0	58	100
refugee*	163	0	0	163	100

^aRefers to an ambiguous interpretation, where the word was using in a manner that did not fit the variable definition or lacked a negative reference to refugees.

^bUnambiguous interpretation.

Table A8

Validity Test: Moral Evaluation Variable

Moral evaluation	Occurrence	A ^a	%	U ^b	%
anti muslim	3	0	0.0	3	100
concern*	10	1	10	9	90
extremis*	6	0	0.0	6	100
fake	3	1	33.3	2	66.7
Isis	6	0	0.0	6	100
islam*	48	0	0.0	48	100
jihad*	1	0	0.0	1	100
operative*	2	0	0.0	2	100
perpetra*	5	0	0.0	5	100
pose*	5	0	0.0	5	100
pressur*	4	2	50	2	50
radical*	13	1	7.7	12	92.3
religion*	10	1	10.0	9	90
suspect*	2	1	50	1	50

^aRefers to an ambiguous interpretation, where the word was using in a manner that did not fit the variable definition or lacked a negative reference to refugees.

^bUnambiguous interpretation.

Table A9

Validity Test: Solutions and Outcomes Variables

Outcome & solutions	Occurrence	A ^a	%	U ^b	%
abandon*	1	0	0	1	100
backlash*	1	0	0	1	100
ban*	11	5	45.5	6	54.5
bar*	5	1	20	4	80
block*	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
delay*	1	0	0	1	100
exclu*	1	0	0	1	100
halt*	3	0	0	3	100
limit*	2	0	0	2	100
oppos*	8	1	12.5	7	87.5
prevent*	6	0	0	6	100
protect*	4	0	0	4	100
religious test*	1	0	0	1	100
restrict*	2	0	0	2	100
rigorous*	2	0	0	2	100
screen*	15	0	0	15	100
scrutin*	4	0	0	4	100
securit*	14	2	15.4	12	85.7
tighten*	1	0	0	1	100
values test*	2	0	0	2	100
vet*	5	1	20	4	80

^aRefers to an ambiguous interpretation, where the word was using in a manner that did not fit the variable definition or lacked a negative reference to refugees.

^bUnambiguous interpretation.

Table A10

Validity Test Summary

Outcome & Solutions	Occurrence	A ^a	% of total	U ^b	Validity %
Diagnosis	181	4	2.2	177	98.9
Interpretation	223	0	0.0	223	100.0
Moral evaluation	119	7	5.9	112	94.1
Solutions & outcomes	92	12	13.0	80	89.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>615</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>592</i>	<i>96.26</i>

^aRefers to an ambiguous interpretation, where the word was using in a manner that did not fit the variable definition or lacked a negative reference to refugees.

^bUnambiguous interpretation.

Table A11

Codebook for Media Framing of Refugees

SPSS variable name	Label	Level of measurement
<u>Tone</u>		
MT	Main tone	Continuous
PT	Negative tone	Continuous
NT	Positive tone	Continuous
Win_MT	Winsorized main tone	Continuous
Win_PT	Winsorized positive tone	Continuous
Win_NT	Winsorized negative tone	Continuous
<u>Frame</u>		
DV1	Diagnosis	Continuous
DV2	Interpretation	Continuous
DV3	Moral evaluation	Continuous
DV4	Solutions and outcomes	Continuous
Win_DV1	Winsorized diagnosis	Continuous
Win_DV2	Winsorized interpretation	Continuous
Win_DV3	Winsorized moral evaluation	Continuous
Win_DV3	Winsorized moral evaluation	Continuous
Win_DV4	Winsorized solutions and outcomes	Continuous
Mod_Win_DV1	Modified winsorized diagnosis	Continuous
Mod_Win_DV1	Modified winsorized interpretation	Continuous
Mod_Win_DV1	Modified winsorized moral evaluation	Continuous
<u>Other</u>	Modified Winsorized solutions and outcomes	Continuous
Country	Countries	Nominal
PNR	Page number	Nominal (Dich.)

Table A12

Outliers: Winsorization Summary

	IQR	Low outliers ^a	High outliers ^b	% total sample
<u>Main Tone</u>				
Canada	0.029	2%	1.2%	
United States	0.031	1.1%	0.2%	2.24%
<u>Positive Tone</u>				
Canada	0.019	0.4%	2.4%	
United States	0.015	0.6%	1.4%	2.35%
<u>Negative Tone</u>				
Canada	0.025	2.8%	2.1%	
United States	0.024	-	2.6%	3.76%
<u>Diagnosis</u>				
Canada	0.004	-	9.7%	
United States	0.012	-	2.6%	6.12%
<u>Interpretation</u>				
Canada	0.014	-	0.4%	
United States	0.014	-	1.2%	0.76%
<u>Moral Evaluation</u>				
Canada	0.002	-	8%	
United States	0.006	-	6%	7%
<u>Solutions & Outcomes</u>				
Canada	0.005	-	7.3%	
United States	0.006	-	4.7%	6%
<u>Frame</u>				
Canada	0.019	-	2%	
United States	0.031	-	0.9%	1.47%

^aLow extremes were replaced with the next low score that was not an outlier.

^bHigh extremes were replaced with the next high score that was not an outlier.

Table A13

Results of Tone Analysis

	Levene's Sig	t- statistic	Sig	95% CI	Cohen's <i>d</i>
<u>Main tone</u>					
Original state	.809	-18.120	$p < .001$	[-0.02370, -0.01907]	-0.88
Winsorized	.632	-18.757	$p < .001$	[-0.02363, -0.01916]	-0.91
<u>Positive tone</u>					
Original state	$p < .001^a$	-5.037	$p < .001$	[-0.00471, -0.00207]	0.24
Winsorized	$p < .001^a$	-5.269	$p < .001$	[-0.00462, -0.00211]	0.26
<u>Negative Tone</u>					
Original state	.111	19.793	$p < .001$	[0.01621, 0.01978]	0.96
Winsorized	.064	20.503	$p < .001$	[0.01620, 0.01962]	0.99

^aHomogeneity of variances not fulfilled, results are reported from Welch's test.

Table A14

Pearson Correlation Matrix for Original State Variables

	Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Canada</u>				
Diagnosis	1	-.001 ^{ab}	.397	.202
Interpretation	-.001 ^{ab}	1	.062 ^{ab}	.092 ^a
Moral evaluation	.397	.062 ^{ab}	1	.200
Solutions & outcomes	.202	.092 ^a	.200	1
<u>United States</u>				
Diagnosis	1	.179	.572	.275
Interpretation	.179	1	.128	.275
Moral evaluation	.572	.128	1	.131
Solutions & outcomes	.275	.275	.131	1

Note. Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), with noted exceptions.

^a Non-significant at the .001 level

^b Non-significant at the .05 level

Table A15

Pearson Correlation Matrix for Winsorized Variables

	Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Canada</u>				
Diagnosis	1	-.041 ^{ab}	.490	.262
Interpretation	-.041 ^{ab}	1	.084 ^a	.096 ^b
Moral evaluation	.490	.084 ^a	1	.305
Solutions & outcomes	.262	.096 ^b	.305	1
<u>United States</u>				
Diagnosis	1	.2	.629	.286
Interpretation	.2	1	.169	.298
Moral evaluation	.629	.169	1	.157
Solutions & outcomes	.286	.298	.157	1

Note. Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), with noted exceptions.

^a Non-significant at the .001 level

^b Non-significant at the .05 level

Table A16

Pearson Correlation Matrix for Modified Variables

	Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Canada</u>				
Diagnosis	1	-.041 ^{ab}	.49	.262
Interpretation	-.041 ^{ab}	1	.084 ^a	.096 ^a
Moral evaluation	.490	.084 ^a	1	.305
Solutions & outcomes	.262	.096 ^a	.305	1
<u>United States</u>				
Diagnosis	1	.185	.679	.298
Interpretation	.185	1	.165	.302
Moral evaluation	.679	.165	1	.164
Solutions & outcomes	.298	.302	.164	1

Note. Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), with noted exceptions.

^a Non-significant at the .001 level

^b Non-significant at the .05 level

Table A17

Summary of Multivariate Tests

	Value	<i>F</i>	Sig	η^2
<u>Original state</u>				
Hotelling's trace	.291	123.273	$p < .001$.225
Pillai's trace	.225	123.273	$p < .001$.225
<u>Winsorized</u>				
Hotelling's trace	.311	191.485	$p < .001$.311
Pillai's trace	.452	191.485	$p < .001$.311
<u>Modified</u>				
Hotelling's trace	.444	185.624	$p < .001$.308
Pillai's trace	.308	185.624	$p < .001$.308

Table A18

Hotelling's T2 Results: Summary for Various Sets of Variables

	Levene's test	Box's test	Hotelling trace	Pillai's trace
<u>Original state</u>		$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Diagnosis	$p < .0125$			
Interpretation	.954			
Moral evaluation	$p < .0125$			
Solutions & outcomes	$p < .0125$			
<u>Winsorized</u>		$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Diagnosis	$p < .0125$			
Interpretation	.589			
Moral evaluation	$p < .0125$			
Solutions & outcomes	$p < .0125$			
<u>Modified</u>		$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Diagnosis	$p < .0125$			
Interpretation	.348			
Moral evaluation	$p < .0125$			
Solutions & outcomes	$p < .0125$			

Table A19

Test of Between-subjects Effects with Original State Variables

	Type III sum of squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
<u>Corrected model</u>				
Diagnosis	0.019 ^a	341.864	<i>p</i> < .001	.168
Interpretation	0.004 ^b	39.777	<i>p</i> < .001	.023
Moral evaluation	0.004 ^c	163.791	<i>p</i> < .001	.088
Solutions & outcomes	0.004 ^d	119.764	<i>p</i> < .001	.066
<u>Intercept</u>				
Diagnosis	0.066	1190.129	<i>p</i> < .001	.412
Interpretation	0.236	2629.805	<i>p</i> < .001	.608
Moral evaluation	0.019	731.404	<i>p</i> < .001	.301
Solutions & outcomes	0.045	1430.664	<i>p</i> < .001	.457
<u>Country</u>				
Diagnosis	0.019	341.864	<i>p</i> < .001	.168
Interpretation	0.004	39.777	<i>p</i> < .001	.023
Moral evaluation	0.004	163.791	<i>p</i> < .001	.088
Solutions & outcomes	0.004	119.764	<i>p</i> < .001	.066
<u>Error</u>				
Diagnosis	0.093	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.153	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.043	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.053	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.178	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.393	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.066	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.102	-	-	-

(table continues)

	Type III Sum of Squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
<u>Corrected total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.112	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.156	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.047	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.057	-	-	-

^aR Squared = .168 (Adjusted R Squared = .167)

^aR Squared = .023 (Adjusted R Squared = .022)

^cR Squared = .088 (Adjusted R Squared = .087)

^dR Squared = .066 (Adjusted R Squared = .065)

Table A20

Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Original State Variables

		Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Intercept</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.066	0.124	0.035	0.054
	Interpretation	0.124	0.236	0.066	0.103
	Moral evaluation	0.035	0.066	0.019	0.029
	Solutions & outcomes	0.054	0.103	0.029	0.045
	<u>Country</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.019	-0.008	0.009	0.008
	Interpretation	-0.008	0.004	-0.004	-0.004
	Moral evaluation	0.009	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	Solutions & outcomes	0.008	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	<u>Error</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.093	0.013	0.033	0.017
	Interpretation	0.013	0.153	0.008	0.017
	Moral evaluation	0.033	0.008	0.043	0.007
	Solutions & outcomes	0.017	0.017	0.007	0.053

Table A21

Residual SSCP Matrix with Original State Variables

		Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Sum-of-squares and cross-products</u>	Diagnosis	0.093	0.013	0.033	0.017
	Interpretation	0.013	0.153	0.008	0.017
	Moral evaluation	0.033	0.008	0.043	0.007
	Solutions & outcomes	0.017	0.017	0.007	0.053
<u>Covariance</u>	Diagnosis	0	0	0	0
	Interpretation	0	0	0	0
	Moral evaluation	0	0	0	0
	Solutions & outcomes	0	0	0	0
<u>Correlation</u>	Diagnosis	1.000	.112	.528	.248
	Interpretation	.112	1.000	.102	.193
	Moral evaluation	.528	.102	1.000	.152
	Solutions & outcomes	.248	.193	.152	1.000

Table A22

Test of Between-subjects Effects with Winsorized Variables

	Type III Sum of Squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
<u>Corrected model</u>				
Diagnosis	0.022 ^a	536.368	p < .001	.240
Interpretation	0.004 ^b	45.186	p < .001	.026
Moral evaluation	0.004 ^c	327.469	p < .001	.162
Solutions & outcomes	0.004 ^d	203.674	p < .001	.107
<u>Intercept</u>				
Diagnosis	0.056	1371.138	p < .001	.447
Interpretation	0.233	2766.875	p < .001	.620
Moral evaluation	0.014	1077.964	p < .001	.388
Solutions & outcomes	0.039	1933.293	p < .001	.532
<u>Country</u>				
Diagnosis	0.022	536.368	p < .001	.240
Interpretation	0.004	45.186	p < .001	.026
Moral evaluation	0.004	327.469	p < .001	.162
Solutions & outcomes	0.004	203.674	p < .001	.107
<u>Error</u>				
Diagnosis	0.070	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.143	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.022	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.034	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.149	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.380	-	-	-

(table continues)

	Type III sum of squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
Moral evaluation	0.040	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.078	-	-	-
<u>Corrected total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.092	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.147	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.026	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.039	-	-	-

^aR Squared = .240 (Adjusted R Squared = .240)

^bR Squared = .026 (Adjusted R Squared = .025)

^cR Squared = .162 (Adjusted R Squared = .161)

^dR Squared = .107 (Adjusted R Squared = .107)

Table A23

Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Winsorized Variables

		Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Intercept</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.056	0.115	0.028	0.047
	Interpretation	0.115	0.233	0.057	0.096
	Moral evaluation	0.028	0.057	0.014	0.023
	Solutions & outcomes	0.047	0.096	0.023	0.039
	<u>Country</u>				
		0.022	-0.009	0.010	0.010
	Diagnosis	-0.009	0.004	-0.004	-0.004
	Interpretation	0.010	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	Moral evaluation	0.010	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	Solutions & outcomes	0.070	0.012	0.024	0.013
	<u>Error</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.012	0.143	0.007	0.015
	Interpretation	0.024	0.007	0.022	0.005
	Moral evaluation	0.013	0.015	0.005	0.034
	Solutions & outcomes	0.056	0.115	0.028	0.047

Table A24

Residual SSCP Matrix: Winsorized Variables

	Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Sum-of-squares and cross-products</u>				
Diagnosis	0.070	0.012	0.024	0.013
Interpretation	0.012	0.143	0.007	0.015
Moral evaluation	0.024	0.007	0.022	0.005
Solutions & outcomes	0.013	0.015	0.005	0.034
<u>Covariance</u>				
Diagnosis	0	0	0	0
Interpretation	0	0	0	0
Moral evaluation	0	0	0	0
Solutions & outcomes	0	0	0	0
<u>Correlation</u>				
Diagnosis	1.000	.124	.612	.271
Interpretation	.124	1.000	.133	.212
Moral evaluation	.612	.133	1.000	.182
Solutions & outcomes	.271	.212	.182	1.000

Table A25

Test of Between-subjects Effects with Modified Variables

	Type III sum of squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
<u>Corrected model</u>				
Diagnosis	0.020 ^a	529.758	p < .001	.240
Interpretation	0.004 ^b	49.856	p < .001	.029
Moral evaluation	0.004 ^c	308.542	p < .001	.156
Solutions & outcomes	0.004 ^d	203.859	p < .001	.109
<u>Intercept</u>				
Diagnosis	0.053	1399.027	p < .001	.455
Interpretation	0.227	2726.984	p < .001	.619
Moral evaluation	0.013	1058.579	p < .001	.387
Solutions & outcomes	0.039	1931.463	p < .001	.536
<u>Country</u>				
Diagnosis	0.020	529.758	p < .001	.240
Interpretation	0.004	49.856	p < .001	.029
Moral evaluation	0.004	308.542	p < .001	.156
Solutions & outcomes	0.004	203.859	p < .001	.109
<u>Error</u>				
Diagnosis	0.063	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.139	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.021	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.034	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.135	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.371	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.037	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.076	-	-	-

(table continues)

	Type III sum of squares	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial Eta squared
<u>Corrected total</u>				
Diagnosis	0.083	-	-	-
Interpretation	0.144	-	-	-
Moral evaluation	0.025	-	-	-
Solutions & outcomes	0.038	-	-	-

^aR Squared = .240 (Adjusted R Squared = .240)

^bR Squared = .029 (Adjusted R Squared = .028)

^cR Squared = .156 (Adjusted R Squared = .155)

^dR Squared = .109 (Adjusted R Squared = .108)

Table A26

Between-subjects SSCP Matrix with Modified Variables

		Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Intercept</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.053	0.109	0.026	0.045
	Interpretation	0.109	0.227	0.055	0.094
	Moral evaluation	0.026	0.055	0.013	0.023
	Solutions & outcomes	0.045	0.094	0.023	0.039
	<u>Country</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.020	-0.009	0.009	0.009
	Interpretation	-0.009	0.004	-0.004	-0.004
	Moral evaluation	0.009	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	Solutions & outcomes	0.009	-0.004	0.004	0.004
	<u>Error</u>				
	Diagnosis	0.063	0.010	0.024	0.013
	Interpretation	0.010	0.139	0.007	0.014
	Moral evaluation	0.024	0.007	0.021	0.005
	Solutions & outcomes	0.013	0.014	0.005	0.034

Table A27

Residual SSCP Matrix with Modified Variables

	Diagnosis	Interpretation	Moral evaluation	Solutions & outcomes
<u>Sum-of-squares and cross-products</u>				
Diagnosis	0.063	0.010	0.024	0.013
Interpretation	0.010	0.139	0.007	0.014
Moral evaluation	0.024	0.007	0.021	0.005
Solutions & outcomes	0.013	0.014	0.005	0.034
<u>Covariance</u>				
Diagnosis	0	0	0	0
Interpretation	0	0	0	0
Moral evaluation	0	0	0	0
Solutions & outcomes	0	0	0	0
<u>Correlation</u>				
Diagnosis	1.000	.111	.655	.280
Interpretation	.111	1.000	.129	.212
Moral evaluation	.655	.129	1.000	.189
Solutions & outcomes	.280	.212	.189	1.000

Table A28

Discriminant Analysis: Summary for Various Sets of Variables

	Canonical discriminant function coefficient (standardized)	Structure weight
<u>Original state</u>		
Diagnosis	.68	.83
Interpretation	-.45	.58
Moral evaluation	.21	.49
Solutions & outcomes	.38	-.28
<u>Winsorized</u>		
Diagnosis	.63	.84
Interpretation	-.43	.65
Moral evaluation	.26	.52
Solutions & outcomes	.39	-.24
<u>Modified</u>		
Diagnosis	.65	.84
Interpretation	-.44	.64
Moral evaluation	.20	.53
Solutions & outcomes	-.40	-.26

Table A29

Discriminant Analysis: Functions at Group Centroids

	Function
<u>Canada</u>	
Original State	-0.539
Winsorized	-0.672
Modified	-0.657
<u>United States</u>	
Original State	0.539
Winsorized	0.672
Modified	0.675

Table A30

Results of Frame Variables Analyses

	Levene's Sig	<i>t</i> - statistic	Sig ^a	95% CI	Cohen's <i>d</i>
<u>Diagnosis</u>					
Original state	$p > .05$	18.49	$p < .0125$	[0.0059, 0.0074]	0.89
Winsorized	$p > .05$	23.16	$p < .0125$	[0.0066, 0.0078]	1.12
Modified	$p > .05$	23.02	$p < .0125$	[0.0063, 0.0075]	-
<u>Interpretation</u>					
Original state	.96 ^a	-6.31	$p < .0125$	[-0.0038, -0.0020]	0.31
Winsorized	.59 ^a	-6.72	$p < .0125$	[-0.0039, -0.0021]	0.33
Modified	.38 ^a	-7.06	$p < .0125$	[-0.0040, 0.0023]	-
<u>Moral evaluation</u>					
Original state	$p > .05$	12.79	$p < .0125$	[0.0026, 0.0036]	0.63
Winsorized	$p > .05$	18.09	$p < .0125$	[0.0028, 0.0035]	0.86
Modified	$p > .05$	17.39	$p < .0125$	[0.0027, 0.0034]	-
<u>Solutions & outcomes</u>					
Original state	$p > .05$	10.94	$p < .0125$	[0.0024, 0.0035]	0.52
Winsorized	$p > .05$	14.27	$p < .0125$	[0.0027, 0.0035]	0.72
Modified	$p > .05$	14.21	$p < .0125$	[0.0027, 0.0036]	-

Note. *p*-values evaluated against alpha levels with Bonferroni correction, at $\alpha = .0125$. All tests produced violations of homogeneity of variances, with noted exception ^a.

^aEqual variances assumed

Table A31

Placement Analysis: Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients

		Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	5.073	1	.024
	Block	5.073	1	.024
	Model	5.073	1	.024

Table A32

Placement Analysis: Model Summary

	-2 Log Likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Pseudo R^2
Constant	1234.480	.003	.006

Table A33

Placement Analysis: Variables in the Equation

	β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(β)	95% CI
Countries	0.339	0.15 1	5.023	1	.025	1.404	[1.043, 1.889]
Constant	-2.184	0.11 4	368.779	1	$p < .001$	0.113	-

Appendix B: Figures

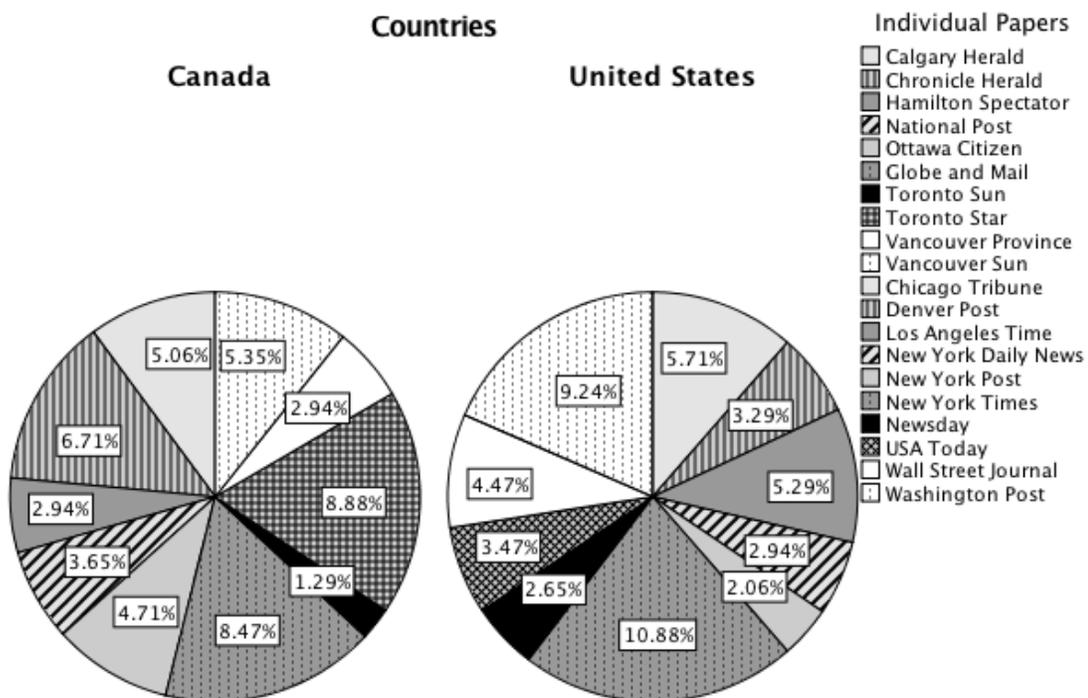


Figure B1. Sample distribution countries and newspapers.

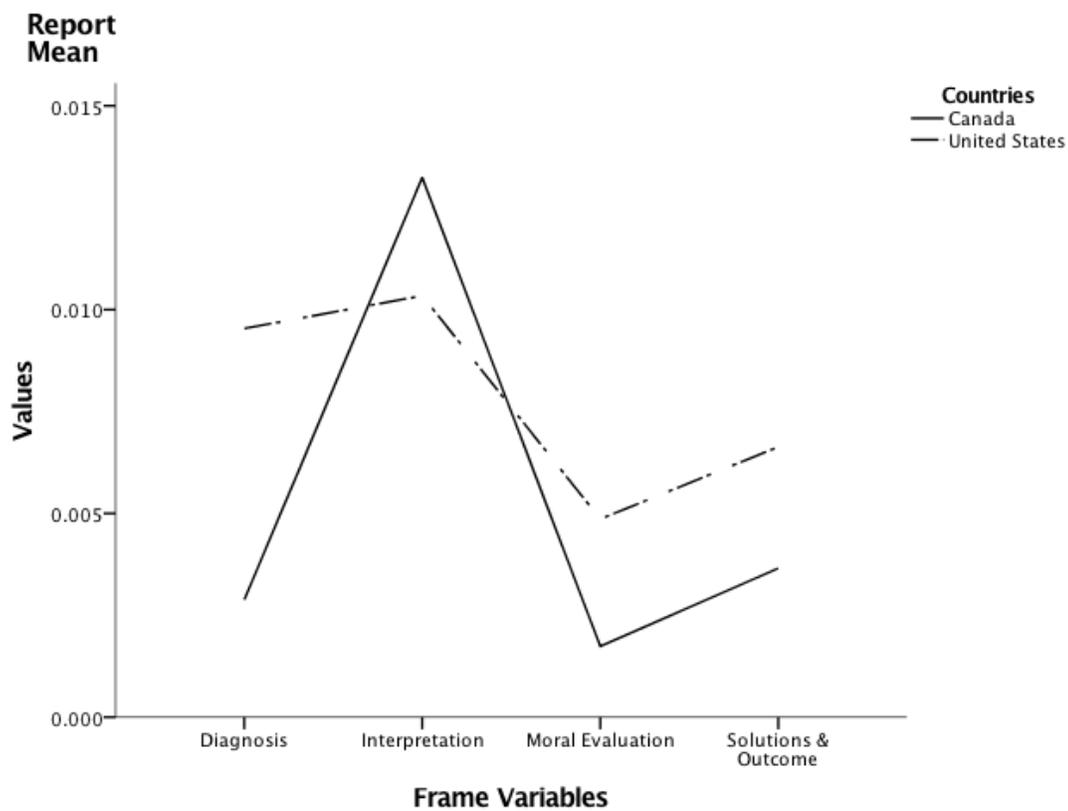


Figure B4. Discriminant analysis graph—frame construct.