FRAMING OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF

MAINSTREAM AND PARTISAN NEWS COVERAGE OF IMMIGRATION

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

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presented by Haley Reed,

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

To my parents: Thank you for the unwavering support of my every interest and creative pursuit. I am grateful you encouraged me to pursue a graduate degree and for your guidance along the way.

To my grandmother: Thank you for nurturing my curiosity from a young age by teaching me to question the status quo and never leave home without a good book.

To my family and friends: Thank you for making Missouri a wonderful place for me to grow and live.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the content that shaped people's perspective about Muslim immigration during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. A quantitative content analysis was performed to identify the primary and secondary frames in the sample of content and to identify if the members of the Islamophobia network were used as sources or mentioned in each selected story. The news articles with the highest engagement on Facebook about Muslim immigration from the first GOP debate on Aug. 5, 2015 to the inauguration of President Trump on Jan. 27, 2017 were analyzed using a content analysis tool, Buzzsumo. 50 news stories from 10 news outlets were analyzed. The news outlets consisted of mainstream, right-leaning and left-leaning partisan news outlets.

Results showed that right-leaning news outlets were more likely to frame immigrants and refugees as a risk to Western society and America, while left-leaning news outlets framed immigrants and refugees in news stories regarding their human rights. The members of the Islamophobia network were not found as sources in the sample of content. Further research found the presence of the Islamophobia network in news articles that received lower Facebook engagement than articles included in this study. A call for further research between the connection of the Islamophobia network and politicians concludes this study.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The 2016 U.S. presidential election season was not like any other. Islamophobic rhetoric soared from presidential candidates and partisan news outlets – that repeatedly published misinformation – reached wider levels of engagement and circulation than many mainstream media outlets (Silverman, 2016). Americans are confused by the present media climate – 64 percent say they have a "great deal of confusion" about the basic facts of many current events (Barthel, Mitchell and Holcomb, 2016). Citizens are continuously divided on what type of sources they rely on for news and information. Social media is the most prominent way millennials receive political news (Gottfried, Barthel, Shearer and Mitchell, 2016).

Partisan news outlets have framed refugees, immigrants and Muslims repeatedly as "The Other" in American society – individuals the public should fear (Abdelkader, 2016). Partisan news outlets, partisan think-tanks and politicians often use emotional and fearful rhetoric, combined with misinformation, to support their own agendas. President Donald Trump said in an interview with Yahoo News in November of 2015 he would not rule out special identification cards, warrantless surveillance and searches and a database for American Muslims (Walker, 2015). In an interview with CNN in March of 2016, Trump claimed 'Islam hates us' (Schleifer, 2016). The role of the news media in the dissemination of Islamophobic rhetoric from Trump and other politicians is considerable (Abdelkader, 2016). Although it cannot be proved that Islamophobic rhetoric was the direct cause, there is a correlation between anti-Muslim, negative sentiment in political rhetoric and the number of anti-Muslim hate crimes (Abdelkader, 2016). Some previous studies have researched how immigrants, refugees and immigration policy is framed in

news media. However, little research has sought to understand why political ideologies use certain frames and take certain positions surrounding immigration.

The purpose of this research study is to analyze the framing of refugees and immigrants in U.S. media coverage in the context of the 2016 presidential election. I will conduct a quantitative content analysis, comparing the framing of refugees and immigrants in news stories that received a high number of Facebook shares from mainstream news articles, partisan right-leaning news articles and partisan left-leaning news articles during the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. I wish to analyze the rhetoric and frames surrounding the contentious issue of immigration in the U.S. from the first primary GOP debate in August 2015, leading up to the signing of the Executive Order 13769 on Jan. 27, 2016 and Mar. 6, 2016.

Executive Order 13769 sought to temporarily ban refugees from Syria and five other majority-Muslim countries from entering the United States (Office of the Press Secretary). The executive order was said to not ban specific religions, but the countries included in the executive order all are Muslim majority countries (Radford, Connor, 2017). The religiosity of immigrants and refugees is a topic often discussed in political circles and society (Abdelkader, 2016). Analyzing news framing in mass media content can help 'determine the types of information that ultimately contribute to public opinion about particular religions' (Stout and Buddenbaum, 2009). Therefore, it is important to study the frames of immigrants and refugees in mainstream, right-leaning partisan news coverage and left-leaning partisan news coverage during the 2016 U.S. presidential election and immediately afterward.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review will discuss the role of frames in the media surrounding the topics of immigration, religion, immigration policy and in partisan news outlets. It will review the literature on conducting a content analysis, framing theory and frames used in news about immigration, religion and political journalism.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the most commonly used research methodologies in media and communication research. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) summarize the use of a content analysis as a systematic, objective, quantitative overview of a body of news media content. A content analysis must systematically collect a sample of content for analysis from a larger population of content. All content in the sample selected must have an equal chance of being evaluated. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), the sampling process and analysis must be objective and free of the researcher's personal biases.

In a quantitative content analysis, researchers numerically measure variables and use statistical analysis to test a hypothesis about a body of media content (Berger, 1998). A quantitative content analysis is the appropriate methodology to answer research questions, such as how much violence is shown on American television compared to British television, Berger (1998) states. However, it is important to carefully state operational definitions when conducting a quantitative content analysis. An operational definition refers to how researchers will measure variables and interpret concepts in a research study (Berger, 1998). If definitions of variables in a research study are too broad, other researchers can argue that measurements taken aren't reliable. If definitions

of variables in a research study are too narrow, other researchers can argue that important aspects of the topic were neglected. Researchers conducting an objective content analysis must clearly set universes of content, units of analysis and operational definitions in a way other researchers who replicate the research process may come to the similar conclusions (Fico, Lacy and Riffe 2014). By executing these measures, a researcher ensures that the study is reliable. Quantitative content analysis can answer hypotheses about media content, as long as careful attention is paid to constructing the research design.

When content analysis is a systematic, objective and quantitative study, the methodology allows researchers to describe content, test hypotheses of message characteristics, compare media content to the "real world," assess the image of particular groups in society, analyze news content and establish a starting point for research studies of media effects (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). It is also a fairly inexpensive method of collecting data and is fairly simple for other researchers to replicate. Content analysis has been a useful research methodology for studying political messages and propaganda since World War II (Neuendorf, 2002). Today, content analyses are used to study all forms of mass communication including television and video content. Quantitative content analysis can numerically measure media messages and extend the research results to validate a theoretical framework or theory.

While a content analysis can serve as an excellent research tool to systematically evaluate large populations of media content, the methodology does have limitations. As Fico, Lacy and Riffe (2014) discussed, a content analysis on its own cannot give insight into audience effects from news content frames. A content analysis can only evaluate the

content – and additional study would need to be conducted to study the effects of framing. Audience survey and focus groups can be used to make assertions about long-term effects on audiences (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). Therefore, a content analysis can answer a research hypothesis about a body of news media content, but not provide further information about the effects of the content on audiences.

Framing analysis

Iyengar and Scheufele (2011) say the concept of framing in communication, defines a dynamic, circumstantial process of opinion formation in which the prevailing modes of presentation in elite rhetoric and news media coverage shape mass opinion (p. 1). Further, the effects of communication framing are not what is being communicated, but rather how information or a particular topic is presented in public discussion (Iyengar and Scheufele, 2011). In popular mass communication journalism from 2009 to 2010, 15 percent of content analyses published focused on the frames found in news media reporting (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). According to Gitlin (1980), frames emerge in public discourse in part due to journalistic routines that allow media organizations to quickly identify and classify information and package it in an efficient way for audiences to process. Frames highlight some aspects of information and downplay others in order to ease the processing of information.

According to Cissel (2012), a frame in news reporting consists of a schema of interpretation, a collection of anecdotes and stereotypes that individuals rely on to understand and respond to events – and the effects of said media can be characterized as social constructionism (Scheufele, 1999). Budd, Craig and Steinman (1999) say those constructions not only permeate individual opinions, but can reinforce themes of

religiosity, patriarchy, white privilege and other ingrained values that uphold power in American society. Building frames requires organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time. They work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world (D'Angelo and Kuypers, 2010).

Since the deregulation of the media industry with the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, oligopolies have centralized economic power to media conglomerates. With this shift toward more capitalist tendencies, media owners have become increasingly concerned with financial results – allowing for investment and interest groups to offer indirect influences on content (Cissel, 2012). This change in the media industry can have an impact on the portrayal and frames of politicized and polarizing topics and events when comparing mainstream, high-circulation and legacy media coverage to alternative media sources (Cissel, 2012).

My study will compare the frames present in news media coverage about immigrants and refugees in mainstream and partisan news outlets. The religiosity of immigrants and refugees is currently a topic of public discourse, especially regarding the Syrian refugee crisis (Abdelkader, 2016). It is important to consider how frames in mass media content "determine the types of information that ultimately contribute to public opinion about particular religions (Stout and Buddenbaum, 2009)." For example, newspapers in Nazi Germany framed stories about Jewish people that ostracized them and invited persecution (Lasswell, 1971). There is a relation between the framing present in news media and social processes such as religious assimilation and accommodation (Stout and Buddenbaum, 2009).

Framing Immigrants and Refugees Transnationally. Immigration is one of the most polarizing political issues in many Western countries. Media coverage and reporting of immigrants and refugees contributes to how the public perceives this group of people (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015). If news media are able to guide and shape public opinion through the framing present in news content, it is important to study the way stories about immigrants and refugees are presented to the public.

In 2014, more than 200,000 refugees and migrants crossed the Mediterranean Sea mostly from African and Middle Eastern countries to Greece, Italy and other European territories seeking safety from conflict and spurring a massive refugee crisis (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015). Researchers Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) conducted a research study analyzing the framing, themes, sources and language used in media coverage in Germany, Spain, Italy, Britain and Sweden, commissioned by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. The study surveyed the country of origin of the refugees and asylum seekers and compared the solutions given by left-leaning and right-leaning politicians and media outlets for solutions to the refugee crisis (Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore, 2015).

The study found themes present in the coverage varied dramatically between countries and different media outlets and their political leaning. Humanitarian themes were more common in coverage of refugees in Italian coverage compared to media coverage in Britain, Germany and Sweden (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015). Even though themes of humanitarian work and human rights of refugees accounted for a third of Italian press coverage of the topic, further analysis found the articles stressed the need to encourage conflict resolution and human rights in countries such as Libya, where many

people fled from because of poor human rights (p. 8). Therefore, some of the coverage in the Italian press that contained a humanitarian theme was guided by self-interest, since Italy is one of the main points of entry to the European Union for asylum seekers (p. 105, 257). Further analysis of humanitarian work and human rights were portrayed in a negative sense in British media coverage. Much of news coverage in British media portrayed human rights groups as a potential obstacle to Britain deporting asylum seekers or refugees (p. 118). The sample of German media coverage was a stark contrast – humanitarian work and human rights of refugees were portrayed in a positive light and as something that needed protection (p. 118). Similarly, Sweden's press was found to be the most positive and favorable toward refugees and migrants of the countries analyzed (p. 11). The nuanced differences found within the themes of "humanitarian work" and "human rights" across news media coverage in multiple European countries suggests that researchers should be cautious when drawing conclusions about the presence of themes found in news media coverage.

Framing Immigrants and Refugees in the United States. According to Chavez, Whiteford and Hoewe (2010), immigration in the U.S. is a polarizing political issue with policy implications on the local and national level. The majority of social science literature about immigrants has focused on description and analysis of the immigrants lives, families and experiences in their communities (Chavez, Whiteford and Hoewe, 2010). News articles can shape how the public perceive immigrants and immigration policy through framing – influencing public policy regarding immigration (Chavez, Whiteford and Hoewe, 2010). Chavez, Whiteford and Hoewe (2010) conducted a study about immigration and Mexican immigrants by analyzing news stories from the most

widely circulated U.S. newspapers including the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and USA Today. The stories were analyzed based on frames, topics and implications on the influence of public opinion (e.g., attempting to provoke readers' emotions) and public policy (e.g., attempting to influence legislation). The study found a majority of the news stories in the sample were framed in emotional contexts. Drug trafficking, violence in Mexican border towns and organized crime were the most frequent topics across the sample of news coverage (Chavez, Whiteford and Hoewe, 2010).

Coverage of immigrants in news media often portrays people of color in an unfavorable manner, routinely covering violent crimes in a volume disproportionate to their actual occurrence in society. The coverage also features stories about crimes in which people of color are the perpetrators (Gilliam and Iyengar, 2000). In public discourse, there are labels various U.S. media outlets often use including "illegal immigrants," "undocumented immigrants," and "illegal aliens." (Pearson, 2010). There is disagreement among news media outlets and special interest groups as to what the label or wording should be – assuming presenting immigrants in different ways in media content results in different connotations (Lakoff and Ferguson, 2007). Some research has shown immigrants provide benefit to the American economy, even though they are often framed as a "problem" (Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2010).

Horn (2016) conducted a content analysis of the framing of children who are recipients of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an executive order signed by President Barack Obama. DACA temporary delays action on deportations of undocumented immigrant children and young adults in the U.S. The results of the study

found DACA recipients are overwhelmingly referred to as "illegal" and described as coming from a lineage of "criminal activity" in media coverage (Horn, 2016). The content analysis revealed that media coverage presented DACA recipients in frames reinforcing attitudes criminalizing the children – supporting attitudes of white supremacy, nationalism and a hegemonic social body (Horn, 2016).

How immigrants and refugees are described, categorized, and represented in news media coverage matters (Chalaby, 1998). Chalaby said it is important to study and analyze framing by politicians, who are representatives of their countries, and by news media whose 'cultural authority' is based in holding truth to power and representing events of the world. Regarding U.S. media coverage of immigration, the language and politics of the issue can prevent groups of people from being seen as deserving political and financial support (Newton, 2008).

> According to Newton, "the word 'immigrant' has long served as a condensation symbol for economic uncertainty, poverty, immorality, hard work, social mobility, remaking of the self, and the embodiment of the 'American dream'... And the term 'illegal immigrant' has become a condensation symbol for the invasion of the American Southwest, fiscal crisis, welfare abuse, crime, and Mexican immigration" (p. 19).

Mixed symbolism around immigration provides a wealth of political capital for legislators designing policy around the issue that selectively decide legal status, public benefits and access to entry the country (Newton, 2008).

Framing Muslims Transnationally. The use of the term "Islamophobia" to describe prejudice against Islam gained popularity in 1997 by a British think tank (Runnymede Trust, 1997). The study defines Islamophobia as "dread or hatred of Islam," "unfounded hostility towards Islam," and has served as the starting point for many subsequent analyses of Islamophobia in Europe and North America (Green, 2015). The

Runnymede Trust (1997) offered a list of eight closed and open views of Islam as a religion. Green (2015) analyzed the closed views of Islam in the context of views and representations found in Western culture and news media.

1. **Islam as monolithic and static.** The notion that Islam lacks diversity in internal disagreements – all Muslims hold similar worldviews and ideologies.

2. **Islam as separate and other.** The idea that Islam holds no core religious values found in other religions such as Judaism and Christianity – and Islam holds no respect for religious diversity in the West.

3. **Islam as inferior.** The view that Islam is barbaric, irrational and sexist – in contrast with the civilized, enlightened and gender-equal West.

4. **Islam as the enemy.** The representation that Islam is a hostile, violent and aggressive religion – therefore the 'clash of civilizations' between Islam and the West is inevitable.

5. **Islam as manipulative.** The view Muslims are strategically using their religion to gain military and political advantage. For example, the frenzy over "creeping Sharia" or Islamic law in the U.S. beginning in 2010 with an anti-Sharia lobby.

6. **Racial discrimination against Muslims is justified.** The view when Muslims are involved, racial prejudices get a pass. For example, profiling Muslims in U.S. airports based on outward appearance and skin color is 'unconstitutional' but often presented as normal.

7. **Muslim criticism of the West are invalidated.** The view that Western politicians, leaders and journalists can criticize Islam beliefs, but Muslim perspectives of Western values and practices are invalid.

8. **Anti-Muslim discourse as natural**. The idea that anti-Muslim discourse is so common in Western culture that many public figures who stand for human and equal rights may not actively deny prejudice statements about Muslims, since the statements are so pervasive commonplace (Green, 2015).

In writing about human society, a person is not doing mathematical equations. Therefore, no person can aspire for complete originality in thought (Said, 1981). Knowledge of other cultures is especially subject to "unscientific" imprecision and to the circumstances of interpretation (p. 163). That is why careful attention must be paid to the views and representation of Islam and Muslims in news media and popular culture. According to Said:

> "Knowledge of Islam and of Islamic peoples has generally proceeded not only from dominance and confrontation but also from cultural antipathy. Today Islam is defined negatively as that with which the West is radically at odds, and this tension establishes a framework radically limiting knowledge of Islam. So long as this framework stands, Islam, as vitally lived experience for Muslims, cannot be known. This, unfortunately, is particularly true in the United States, and only slightly less true in Europe" (p. 163).

People must be aware of historical and cultural interpretations of different cultures other than their own, in order to make their own critical interpretations. Citizens in Western countries today encounter Islam by virtue of the political oil crisis, fundamentalism and terrorism, intense news media attention or from the tradition of the expert – Orientalist – commentary on Islam in the West (Said, 1981).

"All our knowledge of so complex and elusive a phenomenon as Islam comes about through texts, images, experiences that are not direct embodiments of Islam but representations or interpretations of it. In other words, all knowledge of other cultures, societies, or religions comes about through an admixture of indirect evidence with the individual scholar's personal situation, which includes time, place, personal gifts, historical situation, as well as the overall political circumstances" (p. 168).

Media coverage of Islam can be the result of political influence of people and institutions producing the pervasive messages, which may not represent truth or accuracy (Said, 1981).

Said (1981) was one of the first scholars to conduct extensive research on Western media's portrayal and construction of Muslim societies and Islam. He showed that journalists and correspondents were unable to provide adequate understandings about the intricacies of Muslim life. They lacked an understanding about the histories and cultures of Islam in Western culture (Poole and Richardson, 2006).

The pervasive negative framing of Muslims in the news media has been present transnationally for over several decades. Poole (2006) conducted a study of the representations of Muslims in Australian media and traces the negative frames back to the 1990s.

"It is not until the late 1990s, when some criminals in the Lakemba area of Sydney began a violent shoot-up of the local police station, that a focus in the media turns to the Muslims within the Australian community. That response was fierce, confused race (Arabic) with religion (Muslim) – and, sometimes, anyone 'of Middle Eastern appearance' – and demonized class and region of young males" (p. 130).

Poole found that although Australia has no imperial legacy or guilt for the pursuit of its interests such as the U.S., Britain or France, the orientalist rhetoric of Islam that is pervasive in other Western countries also permeated Australian media.

Transnational news media represents Islamic fundamentalism through a distinct, frequently occurring set of images that communicate a vast amount of information without verbalizing it (Poole and Richardson, 2006).

> "A bearded 'Middle-Eastern-looking man wearing a black cloak and turban can trigger an entire series of images of a fanatical religious movement, of airplane hijackings, of Western hostages held helpless in dungeons, of truck bombs killing hundreds of innocent people, of cruel punishments sanctioned by 'Islamic law' and of the suppression of human rights – in sum, of intellectual and moral regression. (p. 118).

These cultural and historic representations of Islam were developed over centuries and many generations – and now serve as the primary frame of Muslims in mass media communication.

Framing Muslims in the United States. A total of 38,901 Muslim refugees entered the U.S. in 2016 – that's almost half (46 percent) of total refugees to the U.S. in 2016 (Connor, 2016). That's the highest number of Muslim refugees of any year since 2002, when data on self-reported religious identification became available from the U.S. State Department (Connor, 2016).

There is a rising sentiment of Islamophobia in the U.S. The views and attitudes towards Muslims comes against this backdrop and the violent actions of terrorists using Islamic culture as their cover (Abdelkader, 2016). The rise of Islamophobia in the U.S. is a guided effort by a relatively small group of misinformation experts that present messages with certain framing of Muslims to the American public and government through advocates, news media partners and grassroots organizing (Ali, Clifton, Duss, Fang, Keyes, Shakir, 2011). According to Ali, et. al (2011), the rise of this network has been working for over a decade to spread the messages of hate and misinformation about

the religion of Islam. This is nothing new. There is a long history of negative stereotypes of Islam in American, European and Western culture, dating back to medieval diatribes against Islam by Christian clerics (Ernst, 2013). Because Muslims comprise a large portion of recent refugees to the U.S., members of that faith are known to experience prejudice. As a result, it's important to review the history of prejudice against Islam, rising Islamophobia during the 2016 U.S. presidential election and the frames in news media content representing Muslims.

The terrorist attacks against American targets on September 11, 2001, served as a turning point in U.S. news media coverage. Muslims have come to occupy the position of "Other" once held by communists (Poole and Richardson, 2006). "Even though the entire 'Muslim world' is not always viewed as a singular threat in the manner that communism often was, the overall idea about Muslims is that they are Other whom the collective Self should be on guard" (Pool and Richardson, 2006).

Framing Government Policy. Media frames can also have an effect on polarizing social and political issues (Iyengar, 2010). Framing in stories about immigration policy can influence public support for current and future legislation (Fryberg et. al., 2012). For example, if news reports connect immigration with threats to public safety, increased terrorist attacks, crime rates and disease, then the media may influence the public toward an anti-immigration stance and affect the people's voting behavior (Fryberg et. al., 2012). Therefore, it is important to review previous effects of media frames on immigration policy and legislation.

Leem McLeod and Shah (2008) conducted a study analyzing the frames that journalists use to present contentious policy debates. The study conducted an experiment

that tested the news frame's role in shaping an individual's reasoning processes and opinions on an immigration policy. Lee, McLeod and Shah (2008) found that it is journalistic practice to present stories of issue dualism, which often leads news stories to adopt a "conflict frame." The researchers analyzed news stories about immigration policy with conflict frames, and found the stories were organized around the disagreement between political parties. Journalists portrayed conflicts over immigration policy within various conflict frames. Many immigration policy conflicts were framed as a clash of cultural values or as a strategic battle between competing actors (Lee, McLeod and Shah (2008).

Value frames involve linking values to the construction of issue debates, to give a compelling and easily comprehensible narrative to policy debates (Lee, McLeod and Shah, 2008). These frames typically depicted immigration policy debates as clashes of moral principles or basic values, with differing political parties countering each other on the basis of a particular set of values (p. 701). Neuman et. al. (1992) said although journalists rarely initiate moral arguments about values surrounding policy debates, news stories routinely feature a "legitimacy contest" indirectly through quotations and inferences. Whether in attributed content or not, value frames are salient in forming audiences' reasoning about policy debates (Lee, McLeod and Shah, 2008). Value frames have been powerful and efficient in shaping audiences understanding of complex policy issues without diving into detailed issues on said policy (Lee, McLeod and Shah, 2008). Lee, McLeod and Shah's study found that partisanship was significantly related to an individual's immigration opinions. Democrats were less likely to support stricter

immigration policy than Republicans, possibly due to value frames in partisan news stories about the policy (p. 710).

Horn (2016) conducted a content analysis to analyze the media frames surrounding the policy of DACA, known as the Dreamer Act. The Obama administration saw to temporarily defer deportations from the United States for undocumented youth and young adults (Horn, 2016). Horn (2016) found conflicting descriptions explaining the policy were used interchangeably. They included: "deferred deportation," "a protection from deportation," and "legal status" (p. 44). The study also found an overwhelming majority of coverage surround DACA focused on the applicant's ability to remain in the country without fear of deportation, rather than focusing on families of applicants being able to stay together (Horn, 2016). Further, one-third of the media coverage analyzed regarded the policy of DACA and its expansion as unconstitutional. Immigrant rights organizations who were represented in attributed content claimed the policy didn't go far enough to protect undocumented persons, and Minutemen militias were represented as trying to, "preserve the social body through direct force" (p. 45). Horn (2016) suggests that further research needs to done on significant immigration policy shifts.

Fryberg et. al. (2012) conducted a content analysis analyzing how liberal and conservative news media coverage and local and national newspapers differ in their coverage of immigration[1]. The study analyzed the framing of news articles supporting and opposing an anti-immigration bill, Arizona SB 1070. The bill, "expanded the power of state and local law enforcement officers to reduce illegal immigration by questioning a

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[1] Fryberg et. al. determined conservative newspaper coverage as The Arizona Republic, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Post and The Washington Times for the purpose of the study. The New York Times, Los Angeles Times and the Arizona Daily Star were included as liberal newspaper coverage in the study.

person's citizenship based on reasonable suspicion that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States" (Fryberg, p. 97). The bill was designed to discourage illegal immigrants from living in Arizona by increasing concerns about being arrested, fined, detained and deported (American Immigration Council, 2010). The researchers found conservative newspapers were more likely than liberal newspapers to frame the bill as a threat to public safety (Fryberg et. al., 2012). The framing of immigration policy found in the study contradicts reality – immigrants in the U.S. are five times less likely than American citizens to be incarcerated (The Immigration Policy Center, 2007). Further, research shows regardless of the growing number of immigrants living in the state prior to the Arizona SB 1070, violent crimes decreased in Arizona cities Phoenix, Tucson and Mesa (Ewing, 2010). Therefore, the framing of immigrants and policy regarding Arizona SB 1070 was not representative of reality, potentially affecting how the public perceived immigrants in society.

Emergence of Islamophobia industry

Poole (2002) stated, "Even if Muslim groups can sometimes set the agenda for coverage, it is in the way events are framed that gives newspapers the ability to define Islam for their audience" (p. 66). Messages and framing of religion and policy can work its way into legislation and cultural interpretations – which is why it is an important area for further academic research.

According to Alsultany (2012) after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the news media and public debated and disagreed about the issues and anxieties unleashed by the attacks. These included whether the USA PATRIOT[2] Act should be passed; whether Arabs and

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[2] The USA PATRIOT Act is: Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism. Since its passage after the September 11, 2001 terrorist

Muslims should be racially profiled, detained, and/or deported; and whether or not, or the extent to which, it was justifiable to suspend or violate the U.S. Constitution during a time of crisis (p. 47). Political conservatives, in the immediate aftermath and years following 9/11, argued that the freedoms of some must inevitably be sacrificed for the safety and security of the larger population (Alsultany, 2012).

According to Ali, et. al. (2011), a network of conservative foundations and wealthy donors are at the center of the Islamophobia network in the U.S., which seek to promote misinformation about the Muslim faith in ways that influence public policy. According to a report by the liberal Center for American Progress, there are five key think tanks that are primarily responsible for the majority of anti-Islam messages in public and public policy discourse: Center for Security Policy, the Society of Americans for National Existence, the Middle East Forum, Jihad Watch and Stop Islamization of America, and the Investigative Project on Terrorism (Ali, et. al., 2011). According to Bail (2015), the emotional valence of the political messages of anti-Muslim fringe organizations after the attacks on 9/11 explain the success of the network (p. 46).

David Yerushalmi, the founder of the think tank Society of Americans for National Existence, has been known to promote anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric and legislation (Ali, et. al., 2011). Yerushalmi authored "anti-Sharia" messages and campaigns that influenced legislation in more than a dozen U.S. states – framing Sharia, Islamic religious law and immigration as a totalitarian threat infiltrating America (p. 37).

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attacks, the legislation aims to improve counter-terrorism efforts by allowing investigators to use tools already available for investigating organized crime, facilitate information sharing and increase penalties for those who commit terrorist crimes. Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm

Direct language from Yerushalmi's "anti-Sharia" campaign appeared in three states'

legislation.

Right v. Left Partisan News Outlets

Different news outlets frame and represent immigrants, refugees and members of

the Muslim faith in various ways. According to Bail (2015), civil society organizations

that influenced media representations of Islam after the September 11th attacks enjoyed a

potent opportunity to shape America's understanding of Islam (p. 37). Civil society

organizations use financial and social resources to advertise their messages in mainstream

and fringe partisan discourses that resonate with prevailing cultural themes about

Muslims (Bail, 2015).

The U.S. is not the only place where partisan press, politicians and organizations

frame immigration and Muslims to fit a certain cultural framework. Berry, Garcia-Blanco

and Moore (2015) analyzed the press framing of refugees and migrants in left-leaning

and right-leaning partisan news outlets in the United Kingdom. Berry, Garcia-Blanco and

Moore's (2015) study found that newspapers that were politically left of center featured

arguments in favor of liberal asylum and immigration policies. Politically right of center

newspapers were found to be highly enthusiastic about Fortress Europe[3] style

immigration policy. The difference found in left and right politically-leaning newspapers

in the U.K. was how they framed immigration arguments.

> "Left of center titles featured opinion, primarily from NGOs and legal sources,
> which critically evaluated the moral, legal practical consequences of Fortress
> Europe approaches, whilst the right-wing press added layers of comment which
> justified such policies" (p. 245).

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[3] Fortress Europe immigration policy is defined as legislation that aims to prevent refugees and asylum
seekers from entering the United Kingdom and countries within the European Union.

The Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan and Stephan, 2000) explains that there are perceived threats posed by immigrant groups that elicit fear, anxiety and lead to prejudice toward immigrant groups. These threats include physical threats to one's group and symbolic threats to cultural and religious values (Fryberg et. al., 2012). "Political conservatism" is one factor that may influence the extent to which these perceived threats elicit fear and anxiety (Fryberg et. al., 2012). According to Jost, et. al. (2003), "political conservatism" is supported by existential and ideological motives of intolerance of ambiguity (the tendency to perceive ambiguous situations as sources of threat), mortality salience (existential anxiety about one's death), uncertainty avoidance, need for order, need for structure and need for closure (Jost, et. al., 2003). Together, the Integrated Threat Theory and Political Conservatism suggest that conservative news outlets, as compared to liberal news outlets, will be more likely to frame immigration policy in terms of threats to the American public (Fryberg et. al., 2012).

There is what some call a radical ideology within the right-leaning, conservative news media ecosystem, "fringe organizations" that seek to present a pervasive view of Islam as a totalitarian ideology and "legal-political-military doctrine" committed to destroying Western culture (Ali, et. al., 2011). These anti-Muslim fringe organizations receive more money and see their messages repeated in mainstream media more often when their messages frame Muslims with fear, anger, and misinformation about the religion, eliciting a negative emotional arousal from audiences (Bail, 2015). Displays of emotion by fringe organizations attract the attention of journalists. Mainstream news media coverage and amplification of peripheral messages creates a distorted representation of the cultural environment surrounding religion (p. 47). The leading

propagators of misinformation about Muslims according to Ali, Clifton, Duss, Fang, Keyes and Shakir (2011) are:

1. Steven Emerson, The Investigative Project on Terrorism

2. Frank Gaffney, Center for Security Policy

3. Daniel Pipes, Middle East Forum

4. Robert Spencer, Jihad Watch & Stop Islamization of America

5. David Yerushalmi, Society of Americans for National Existence

6. Nonie Darwish, Former Muslims United and Arabs for Israel

7. Zuhdi Jasser, American Islamic Forum for Democracy

8. Walid Phares, Future Terrorism Project

9. Walid Shoebat, Former purported Islamic terrorist turned apocalyptic Christian

10. Brigitte Gabriel, ACT! For America

11. Pamela Geller, Stop Islamization of America

12. David Horowitz, David Horowitz Freedom Center

These individuals disseminate fear-mongering myths and messages of Islam and Muslims (Ali, et. al., 2011). Their framing of Muslims has spread throughout public and public policy discourse due to the rise in money they receive from a fringe network of foundations that financially support Islamophobia rhetoric (p. 51). Organizations within the Islamophobia network have experienced a boost in funding because of "these dedicated grassroots organizers have built lists and established local citizens' groups they later rely on to turn out at rallies, make phone calls, testify on behalf of legislation, and donate money (p. 64).

Bail (2015) gives another reason for why fringe organizations have been able to push their framing of Muslims and immigrants into the mainstream media.

> "Journalists are compelled to identify new sources not only to produce entertaining narratives, but also because they are in competition with each other to do so. Thus, the search for new sources may propel journalists ever further toward the fringe of cultural environments… Fringe organizations also often attract media attention because covering dissenting views enables journalists to satisfy their professional obligation to cover all sides of a story" (p. 40).

Bail (2015) conducted a study of civil society organizations that seek to influence a shared cultural understanding of Islam (p. 45). The study found the emotional, fearful and angry rhetoric used by anti-Muslim fringe civil society organizations was most frequently picked up by right-leaning media outlets such as Fox News, the Washington Times and the Wall Street Journal (Bail, 2015). The Middle Eastern Forum's rhetoric directly influenced coverage in right-leaning partisan news coverage, as leader Daniel Pipes repeated his messages on Fox News. Mainstream and left-leaning partisan news outlets such as Newsweek, the Chicago-Tribune, The New York Times, USA Today, and the San Francisco Chronicle gave coverage to the Middle East Forum and its anti-Muslim rhetoric (p. 49). Mainstream and left-leaning partisan news outlets allowing the negative framing of Muslims into their coverage helped to spread Islamophobic messages to wider audiences.

Against this backdrop of rising Islamophobia, there was a surge of anti-Muslim rhetoric during the 2016 U.S. presidential election (Abdelkader, 2016). The emotional, fearful and threatening framing of Muslims made its way into political rhetoric of the presidential candidates (Abdelkader, 2016).

> "The insistence on retaining the word 'Islam' within descriptions of extremism or terrorism, even if moderated by adjectives that are intended to specify the threat, suggests that the religion is the primary driver of the terrorism or extremism. The

result of this is the unfortunate, and even dangerous, idea that all who follow the Islamic faith are more prone to acts of violence or terrorism" (p. 7).

Abdelkader (2016) says political leaders can contribute to an atmosphere of hostility toward Muslims and American Muslims. In November 2015, then Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump stated in a television news interview he would, "strongly consider" shutting down mosques as part of his counterterrorism strategy and claimed, "some bad things are happening and a lot of them are happening in the mosque" (p. 34). In March of 2016, Trump claimed on Fox News that 27 percent of Muslims are 'very militant.' Trump and other presidential candidates' Islamophobia rhetoric spread through mainstream media outlets, therefore disseminating the fear of Muslims across the U.S. and around the world (Abdelkader, 2016).

Although some studies have researched how immigrants, refugees and immigration policy is framed, little research has sought to understand how news media covers the ways political ideologies use certain frames and take certain positions surrounding immigration (Helbling, 2014). Helbling states it is necessary for researchers to have a more nuanced understanding of how political actors conceive and frame immigration (p. 22).

The public discourse surrounding the Syrian refugee crisis developed quickly into Islamophobic rhetoric about an influx of terrorists entering the U.S. as refugees (Abdelkader, 2016). The public discussion and general fear surrounding Muslims in the U.S. led to some politicians calling for religious standards in immigration policy (p. 30). Texas Senator Ted Cruz and Florida Governor Jeb Bush called for policy that only allowed Christian refugees entry to the U.S., preventing Muslim refugees from seeking asylum (Abdelkader, 2016).

The presidential candidate Donald Trump claimed "If you were a Christian from Syria it was impossible, at least very very tough to enter the United States. If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible." According to Qui (2017) in a report for Politifact, there was no basis for Trump's claim about prejudice against Christian refugees. Krogstad, Radford (2017) found there were 85,000 refugees admitted from all countries to the United States in the fiscal year 2016. Of refugees from all countries, the number of Christian refugees was 37,521 and Muslim refugees 38,901.

Trump's claim, along with other anti-Muslim rhetoric perpetrated by politicians and partisan news outlets, placed frames around the religiosity of refugees and immigrants to fit their harsh immigration policy agendas. According to a Pew Research Center survey, during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, 87 percent of Trump supporters said the U.S. doesn't have a responsibility to accept Syrians refugees, compared with only 27 percent of presidential candidate Hillary Clinton supporters who said the same (Krogstad, Radford, 2017).

Horn (2016) suggests more extensive qualitative and quantitative research should be conducted to measure how rhetoric about immigrants and immigration policy influences public opinion and public policy. Horn's content analysis analyzes the media framing of a new demographic in U.S. society – a group of undocumented children and young adults "who grew up in the country but remain in 'legal limbo' somewhere between allowed deferred deportation and without a path to citizenship" (p. 46). This call for further research suggests studying the framing of immigrant groups who have unclear

legal status as citizens of the U.S. is important and necessary in the context of the 2016

2016 presidential election.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Method

The purpose of this study is to analyze the framing of Muslim refugees and immigrants in U.S. news media coverage. A quantitative content analysis was conducted comparing the framing of Muslim refugees and immigrants in stories that received a large amount of shares on Facebook from mainstream news articles, partisan right-leaning news articles and partisan left-leaning news articles during the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. This study analyzed the rhetoric and framing surrounding Muslim immigrants and refugees during the presidential election leading up to the proposed travel ban by President Trump on Jan. 27 (Office of the Press Secretary).

Research was conducted surrounding the frames Muslims in immigration news coverage, how the frames differ between right-leaning partisan, left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage, and the extent to which members of the fringe network of organizations that repeatedly publish messages of Islamophobia are used as sources in news media content surround immigration. The study provides insight into how Muslim immigrants and refugees are framed in different groups of news media and how the voices of the fringe network of organizations that promote messages of Islamophobia are represented in news media coverage.

The research questions are:

RQ1: *What frames exist surrounding Muslims in immigration news coverage during the 2016 U.S. presidential election?*

RQ2: *How did the frames differ in coverage in right-leaning partisan, left-leaning partisan coverage and mainstream news media coverage?*

RQ2a: *Were frames of crime, threat to national security and cultural threat higher in right-leaning partisan news media coverage, as compared to left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

RQ2b*: Were frames of human rights and humanitarian higher in left-leaning partisan coverage as compared to right-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

RQ3: *To what extent were sources from the network of Islamophobia experts used as sources in direct quotes and paraphrased content?*

RQ3a: *How did the sourcing differ in right-leaning partisan, left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

Definitions

My study partially replicates the coding of main themes in the study by Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) commissioned by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. The study conducted by Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) analyzed the most frequently occurring themes in news coverage about refugees and migrants in the European Union.

My study coded for the main themes in news stories about Muslim immigrants and refugees. The themes present in right-leaning, left-leaning and mainstream news coverage were analyzed and compared within the context of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. See Appendix I for the full coding scheme. The themes coded for are:

1. Threat to national security: mention/discussion of threats to national security and security of the state including terrorist threats and attacks by

immigrants and refugees. This theme will not include safety threats to individuals.

2. Crime: mention/discussion of crime committed by individual immigrants and refugees against other persons.

3. Cultural threat: mention/discussion of any threats to the cultural identity or homogeneity of the U.S. or specific area by immigrants and refugees. This theme will include religious and linguistic threats imposed from immigrants and refugees.

4. Human rights: mention/discussion of human and civil rights of immigrants, refugees and Muslims such as the right to seek asylum, seek public assistance, access the courts and practice their religion.

5. Health risk: mention/discussion of increased health risk to the U.S. caused by incoming immigrants or refugees.

6. Humanitarian: mention/discussion of suffering of immigrants and refugees, presentation of the immigrants or refugees as suffering and/or under an empathetic light.

7. Integration to community: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees integrating into communities they have settled in. This theme can include cultural, community civic, political, linguistic and economic integration.

8. Political and policy response: mention/discussion of political response to immigrants and refugees and the policies surrounding their entry to U.S.

9. Education: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees receiving educational support or the transmission of values.

10. Economic: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees impact social services, benefits and welfare.

11. Success stories: mention/discussion of stories which focus on the achievements of immigrants and refugees, such as studying an academic degree and achieving as a professional. This is not simply integration into society, which would be considered as getting a residential permit, etc.

There is a network of people and organizations that organizes, coordinates and disseminates its ideology of hatred of Islam and Muslims through grassroots organizations, books, reports, websites, blogs, religious groups and television reports – the Islamophobia network (Ali, et. al., 2011). The Islamophobia network is backed by foundations and wealthy donors that provide direct funding to anti-Islam grassroots groups, which push and promote Islamophobic rhetoric and propaganda to mainstream media. According to a report and analysis by the progressive *Center for American Progress*, the top contributors who spread misinformation about American Muslims and Islam in the United States are:

13. Steven Emerson, The Investigative Project on Terrorism

14. Frank Gaffney, Center for Security Policy

15. Daniel Pipes, Middle East Forum

16. Robert Spencer, Jihad Watch & Stop Islamization of America

17. David Yerushalmi, Society of Americans for National Existence

18. Nonie Darwish, Former Muslims United and Arabs for Israel

19. Zuhdi Jasser, American Islamic Forum for Democracy

20. Walid Phares, Future Terrorism Project

21. Walid Shoebat, Former purported Islamic terrorist turned apocalyptic Christian

22. Brigitte Gabriel, ACT! For America

23. Pamela Geller, Stop Islamization of America

24. David Horowitz, David Horowitz Freedom Center

For the purpose of this study, the presence of the above main players and their respective foundations determine whether a source found in the content evaluated is part of the Islamophobia network. See Appendix I for the coding scheme and a coding sheet.

Sample

The sample of content is most widely circulated stories on Facebook from the first GOP debate on August 6, 2015, leading up to the proposed passage of the Executive Order 13769 on Jan. 27, 2016. The rhetoric and frames present in the sample were analyzed surrounding immigration and Muslim refugees in the U.S. during the selected time period. The time period was determined due to the surge of Islamophobic rhetoric during the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, starting with the first GOP debate (Abdelkader, 2016) and Executive Order 13769, which sought to temporarily ban refugees from Syria and five other majority Muslim countries from entering the United States (Office of the Press Secretary).

Buzzsumo, a content analysis search engine tool, was used to gather a sample of content from the media outlets selected for this study. Buzzsumo allows users to search by keyword, URL, time range and social media account engagement. The keywords 'immigration,' 'refugees' and 'Muslims' were searched within each selected news outlet to determine the most widely circulated stories around the topic according to Facebook engagement. High engagement on Facebook does not necessarily directly translate to

website traffic on news outlets websites (Silverman, 2016). However, 62 percent of Americans receive news from social media. Facebook is the largest social networking site for news, reaching 67 percent of Americans; therefore, it is a valid measure for this study.

The content of 50 news stories was analyzed from a selection of 10 news media outlets that are right-leaning, left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media outlets. The New York Times, Washington Post, CNN and Politico comprised the mainstream news media outlets in this study. Occupy Democrats, Think Progress and Addicting Info comprised the left-leaning partisan news outlets included in this study. Breitbart, Freedom Daily and Right Wing News comprised the right-leaning partisan news outlets included in this study. The selection of mainstream news media, left-leaning partisan news outlets and right-leaning partisan news outlets is a partial replication of studies conducted by Silverman (2016) and Silverman et. al. (2016).

Analysis was conducted on the top five most engaged stories on Facebook from each news media outlet containing the keywords 'immigrants,' 'refugees' and 'Muslims.' This provided a sample size of 50 news articles. The selection of 10 news media outlets and the choice to analyze 50 news articles is a convenience sample.

Chapter 4: Results

A quantitative content analysis was performed to identify the primary and secondary frames in each selected story and to identify if the members of the Islamophobia network (Ali, et al., 2011) were used as sources or mentioned in each selected story. The most shared web content based on the keywords 'Muslim,' 'immigration' and 'refugee' from the specified domains of the news outlets in this study were gathered from Buzzsumo.[4] Searches in Buzzsumo yielded social media shares from Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Pinterest and outside links for each article. Data collection for this study began July 12, 2017, and ended August 25, 2017, with 50 stories from 10 news outlets analyzed. The second round of coding occurred from October 23, 2017, to October 27, 2017, to ensure intracoder reliability.

Intracoder reliability is a research method that involves a single coder's consistency throughout the coding process over time, which aims to establish a high probability that relationships exist between content analyzed (Lacy, et al., 2015). High probability that relationships between variables exist is possible if scholars replicate the same design and measures to result in the consistent categorization of content (Lacy, et al., 2015). Intracoder reliability is employed in studies with a single coder and used in this research study. To ensure intracoder reliability, a coder codes a portion of 'text' under analysis at a certain time and later codes the same 'text' when the content from the first coding is forgotten (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). Coding in this research study occurred twice by a single coder and resulted in the same categorization of content,

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[4] Buzzsumo's (2017) 'most shared API' gives users the most shared content across social platforms for a specific domain, topic and keywords, within a certain date range. Retrieved from http://buzzsumo.com/knowledge/top-content-api/

establishing a high level of intracoder reliability. The researcher coded a sample of the content during the second round of coding.

The data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software to identify frequencies of variables and cross tabulations. Cross-tabulations were used to measure the frequencies of frames found in the news media content selected. Nonparametric statistics, in the form of Chi-Squared analysis, was used to check the significance between the variables chosen for the study.

RQ1: *What frames exist surrounding Muslims in immigration news coverage during the 2016 U.S. presidential election?*

Some of the frames measured for had a very low frequency of occurring within the sample of content. To better rationalize the results of the study, some of the frames were collapsed and combined together. The frames of 'threat to national security,' 'crime,' 'health risk' and 'cultural threat' were collapsed into a single frame, 'risk of immigrants' because each individual frame focused on the risk immigrants pose to society. The frames of 'human rights' and 'humanitarian' were collapsed into 'human rights of immigrants' because both individual frames focused on the right of immigrants and refugees to seek asylum, immigrate and have access to government services. The frames of 'integration to community,' 'education' and 'success stories' were collapsed to 'integration to society' because each individual frame focused on the cultural integration of immigrants and refugees. The frames of 'political and policy response' and 'economic' were collapsed to 'political response' because both individual frames focused on political impacts of immigrants and refugees. For a full list of all frames coded for a coding scheme, see Appendix I.

Table 1

Frequency of primary frame by publication

	Primary frame				
Publication	Risk of immigrants	Human rights of immigrants	Integration to society	Political response	Total
Addicting Info	0	2	3	0	5
Breitbart News	3	0	0	2	5
CNN	1	0	3	1	5
Freedom Daily	5	0	0	0	5
New York Times	0	2	3	0	5
Occupy Democrats	0	2	2	1	5
Politico	1	1	1	2	5
Right Wing News	5	0	0	0	5
Think Progress	1	3	1	0	5
Washington Post	0	3	0	2	5
Total	16	13	13	8	50

The table above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the frame (ex. Risk of immigrants) appeared as the primary frame in each news outlet.

The primary frame in each article in the sample of content was coded for. The frame was determined by the overall topic and sentiment of the article. Words and phrases that occurred multiple times and pointed statements contributed to what was determined as the primary frame of a specific article. For example, an article from Right Wing News said, "Islam joins a long line of uber evil movements and individuals that have felt they are above the rule of law… ISIS, Nazis, communists, despots and globalists (Monroe-Hamilton, 2016)." The primary frame of 'risk of immigrants' was the most frequently occurring frame in the sample of content among all publications.

Freedom Daily and Right Wing News had the highest frequency of the primary frame,

'risk of immigrants' among all publications (n=5).

Each article in the sample of content was examined on the basis of its secondary

frame. The secondary frame was determined by topic and sentiment that was most

prevalent in the article, behind the primary frame. For example, many of the articles

analyzed that discussed the human rights of immigrants and refugees also discussed the

politicians' comments, policy plans and response. An article analyzed from Politico that

primarily discussed the right of people fleeing violence to seek asylum in the U.S. also

focused on President Obama and former Vice President Joe Biden's attempt to veto and

speak out against legislation pushed by Republican congressmen that makes it difficult to

seek asylum in America (Gass, 2015).

Table 2

Frequency of secondary frame by publication

	Secondary frame				
Publication	Risk of immigrants	Human rights of immigrants	Integration to society	Political response	Total
Addicting Info	1	3	0	1	5
Breitbart News	3	0	0	2	5
CNN	0	1	2	2	5
Freedom Daily	5	0	0	0	5
New York Times	0	2	3	0	5
Occupy Democrats	0	1	2	2	5
Politico	3	0	0	2	5
Right Wing News	4	0	1	0	5
Think Progress	0	1	1	3	5
Washington Post	2	2	1	0	5
Total	18	10	10	12	50

The table above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the frame (ex. Risk of immigrants) appeared as the secondary frame in each news outlet.

The frames that exist in stories about Muslims in immigration news coverage during the 2016 U.S. presidential election were frames of the 'risk of immigrants,' 'human rights of immigrants,' 'integration to society' and 'political response.' Many of the stories about Muslims in immigration news coverage focused on the groups' right to or not to seek asylum and participate in American society. The frames found present in the sample of content were similar to the opposing positions in wide-scale public and political debate surrounding immigration.

A Chi-Squared analysis was performed on the results of the primary and secondary frames from the sample of content. The expected count for each cell is less than 5; therefore, it is impossible to determine if the results are statistically significant. The design of the study is flawed and could be changed and improved if expanded upon for a dissertation. The study could be improved by increasing the sample size, however the results do offer valuable insight of the content analyzed.

RQ2: *How did the frames differ in coverage in right-leaning partisan, left-leaning partisan coverage and mainstream news media coverage?*

Partisan leaning refers to the political leaning of a particular news source. The news outlets were divided by what partisan leaning they are, as a partial replication of Silverman (2016) and Silverman et al. (2016). AllSides Media Bias Ranking System[5], Pew Research Center's Report on Political Polarization & Media Habits (Mitchell, et. al., 2014) and Blue Feed, Red Feed from the Wall Street Journal[6] also contributed to the classification of news outlets' partisan leaning category for this study. It is important to acknowledge that although this study has based its classification of news organizations from a number of diverse research studies and information, it is impossible to remove all bias and opinion from classification. Depending on one's own political opinions, the classifications in this study may seem inaccurate. The classification of left, center and right publications in this study is based on multiple non-partisan organizations' previous

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[5] AllSides is a news website that presents multiple news sources next to each other in order to provide the full scope of news reporting. The site has a ranking system to classify news sources as left, center or right-leaning. The system is based on crowd-sourcing, surveys, internal research and third party research. Retrieved from http://bit.ly/2zDzLaf

[6] Blue Feed, Red Feed is an interactive tool from the Wall Street Journal that lets users "see Liberal Facebook and Conservative Facebook" next to each other. The ideological alignment of news sources on Facebook for the tool was based on the stated political affiliations of users who interacted with the content on Facebook. Retrieved from http://graphics.wsj.com/blue-feed-red-feed/#/immigration

classifications of news outlets and their biases. See Appendix I for further information on the partisan leaning of news outlets in this study.

Table 3
Frequency of primary frame by partisan leaning

		Primary frame				
		Risk of immigrants	Human rights of immigrants	Integration to society	Political response	Total
Partisan leaning	Center	2	6	7	5	20
	Left	1	7	6	1	15
	Right	13	0	0	2	15
Total		16	13	13	8	50

The table above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. The publications are grouped by their partisan leaning. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the frame appeared as the primary frame.

Stark differences in the frequency of the primary frame existed between the center, left and right-partisan leaning news outlets. Of right-leaning news outlets, 86 percent of the articles analyzed had 'risk of immigrants' as the primary frame. This is opposite of left-leaning news outlets, which only had 6 percent of the articles analyzed with the primary frame of 'risk of immigrants.' Left-leaning and center new outlets had higher frequencies of 'human rights of immigrants' and 'integration to society' as the primary frame. Of the left-leaning publications, 46 percent of the stories had the primary frame of 'human rights of immigrants' and 40 percent of the stories had the primary frame of 'integration to society.' Of the center publications, 30 percent of stories had the primary frame of 'human rights of immigrants' and 35 percent of stories had the primary frame as 'integration to society.' In contrast, right-leaning publications had zero articles

in which the primary frame was 'human rights of immigrants' and 'integration to society.'

Table 4

*Frequency of secondary frame by partisan leaning*

		Secondary frame				
		Risk of immigrants	Human rights of immigrants	Integration to society	Political response	Total
Partisan leaning	Center	5	5	6	4	20
	Left	1	5	3	6	15
	Right	12	0	1	2	15
Total		18	10	10	12	50

The table above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. The publications are grouped by their partisan leaning. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the frame appeared as the secondary frame.

The frequencies of secondary frames among center, left and right-leaning publications were similar to the frequencies of primary frames. 'Risk of immigrants' was 80 percent of the right-leaning publications secondary frame, while the same frame was 6 percent of the left-leaning publications secondary frame. The center publications had a more even distribution – 'risk of immigrants' was 25 percent of the group's secondary frame, 'human rights of immigrants' was 25 percent, 'integration to society was 30 percent and 'political response' was 20 percent of the group's secondary frame.

RQ2a: *Were frames of crime, threat to national security and cultural threat higher in right-leaning partisan news media coverage, as compared to left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

Figure 5
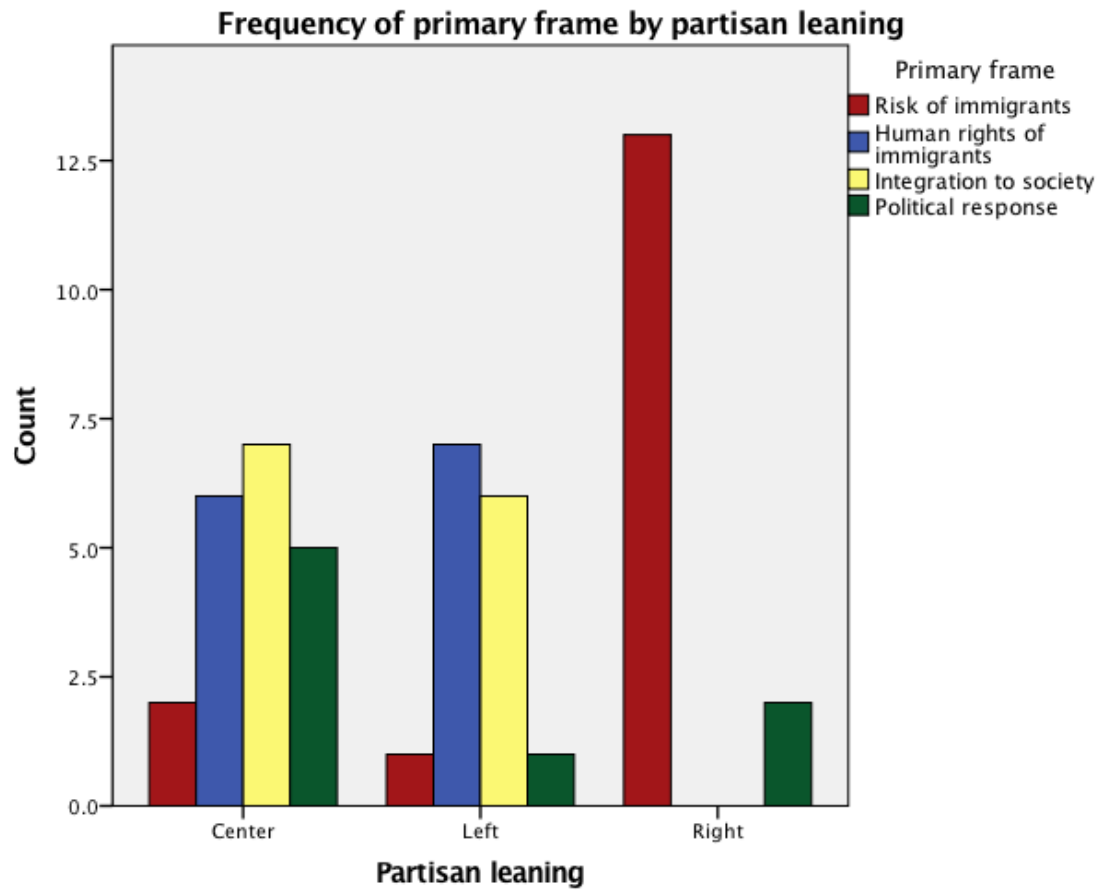
Frequency of primary frame by partisan leaning

The figure above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. The publications are grouped by their partisan leaning. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the frame appeared as the primary frame in Figure 5.

Figure 6
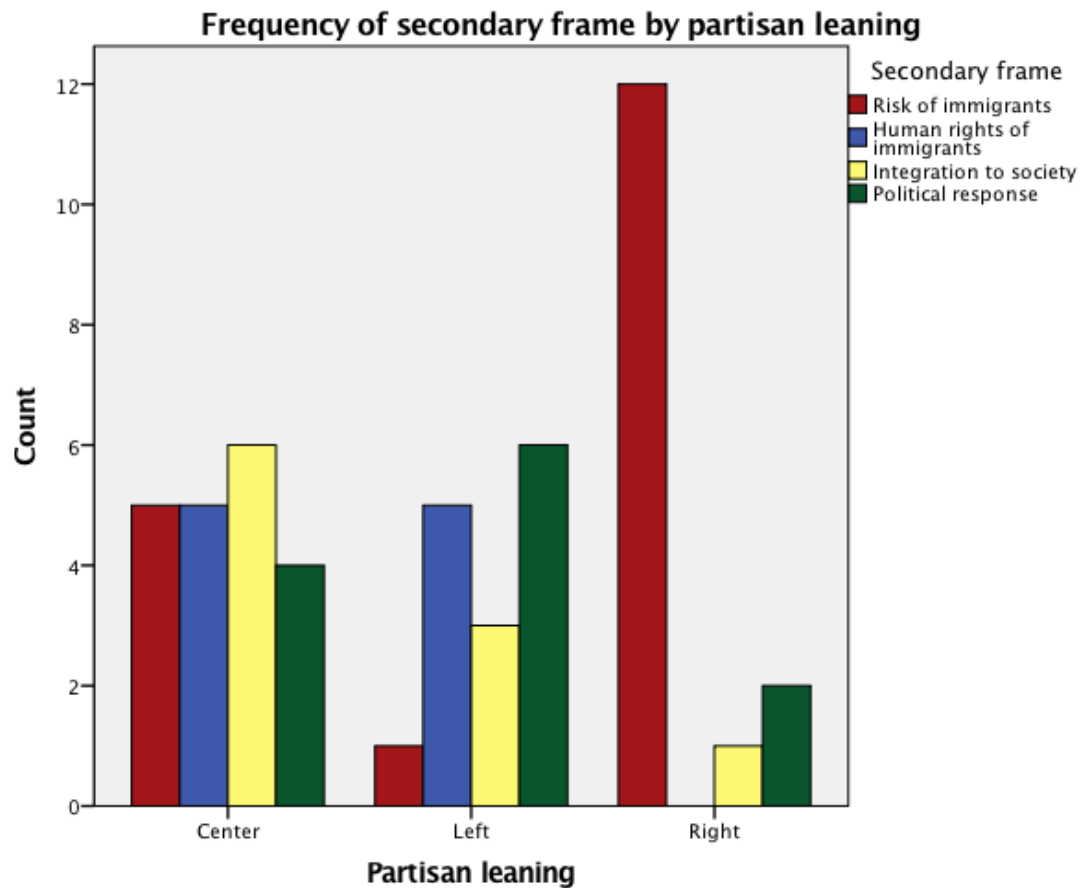
Frequency of secondary frame by partisan leaning

The figure above shows the appearance of different frames that occurred in the coverage of Muslim immigration from publications analyzed in this study. The publications are grouped by their partisan leaning. Frequency denotes the individual number of articles in which the theme appeared as the secondary frame in Figure 6.

The most frequent primary frame in the selected stories among the right-leaning partisan news was the frame of 'risk of immigrants' which included the frames of 'crime,' 'threat to national security' and 'cultural threat' before the frames were collapsed. The original most frequently occurring primary frames in the right-leaning news content all have a common notion that immigrants and Muslims are dangerous to American and Western society – whether the threat is a physical threat of terrorism to large group of people, a physical threat of violence and crime to an individual or a

psychological threat to American and Western culture and values. After the frames were collapsed, 'risk of immigrants' encompassed all of the original frames that implied Muslim immigrants and refugees are a threat to American society and its people.

Of the right-leaning publications, 86 percent of the primary frames and 80 percent of the secondary frames present in stories analyzed was 'risk of immigrants.' Of center publications, 10 percent of the primary frames and 25 percent of the secondary frames present in the stories analyzed was 'risk of immigrants.' Of the left-leaning publications, 6 percent of the primary frames and 6 percent of the secondary frames present in the stories analyzed was 'risk of immigrants.' The results of this study support RQ2a that the frames of 'crime,' 'threat to national security' and 'cultural threat' – collapsed into 'risk of immigrants' – are higher in right-leaning partisan news media coverage, as compared to left-leaning partisan and center news media coverage.

Inferentially, the threats posed by immigrants and refugees present in the right-leaning partisan news content seemed to be perceived, as many of the news articles did not contain facts or data from official sources to substantiate claims of threats. For example, the story "Obama's Attorney General says anti-Muslim speech will be prosecuted," (Monroe-Hamilton, 2015) in Right Wing News contained opinionated statements that are easily disproved by readily available federal government data. The article discusses Loretta Lynch's speech to a Muslim advocacy group, in which Lynch says the Department of Justice will go after hate speech that could incite violence against the Muslim community.

> "She also said her greatest fear is violence against Muslims. You've got to be freaking kidding me! As far as I know there weren't attacks against Muslims after 9/11 (p. 1)."

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2016) anti-Muslims hate crimes jumped from 28 to 481 incidents in 2001 and years following have never returned to previous levels. The claim in the news article could be easily disproved by federal government or other reliable sources of data. Easily debunked claims appeared multiple times in articles among right-leaning news outlets that had 'risk of immigrants' as their primary frame. However, whether or not the threats present in many of the right-leaning news articles were factual was not a variable that was quantifiable in this study.

RQ2b*: Were frames of human rights and humanitarian higher in left-leaning partisan coverage as compared to right-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

The frames of 'human rights' and 'humanitarian' were collapsed into 'human rights of immigrants' during the research phase of this study because both frames were relatively similar. Of the left-leaning partisan news articles analyzed, 46 percent of the primary frames and 33 percent of the secondary frames were 'human rights of immigrants.' Of the center news outlets, 30 percent of the primary frames and 25 percent of the secondary frames were 'human rights of immigrants.' Of the right-leaning publications, none of the primary or secondary frames in the articles analyzed were 'human rights of immigrants.

The frames 'human rights of immigrants and 'integration to society' are different in structure and content, however both tend to portray Muslims and immigrants positively, suggesting they have a legal right to seek asylum in the U.S. and have a place in professional, social and religious communities within American society. Of the left-leaning partisan news articles analyzed, 40 percent of the primary frames and 20 percent of the secondary frames were 'integration to society.' Of the right-leaning articles

analyzed, none of the primary frames and 6 percent of the secondary frames were 'integration to society.' This is another stark contrast between left and right-leaning partisan news outlets in the results of this study and how they portray immigrants and refugees. The data gathered supports RQ2b, that frames of 'human rights' and 'humanitarian' – collapsed into 'human rights of immigrants' – have a higher frequency in left-leaning publications, as opposed to right-leaning publications.

The center news outlets analyzed had the most frequently occurring primary frames of 'human rights of immigrants,' 'integration to community' and 'political response.' The frequencies of the primary frames in mainstream news content is more closely aligned to frequencies of frames in the left-leaning partisan publications as opposed to the right-leaning partisan publications. However, the frequency of each category of frame was more evenly distributed in the center publications. Of the primary frames, 10 percent were 'risk of immigrants,' 30 percent were 'human rights of immigrants,' 35 percent were 'integration to society' and 25 percent were 'political response. Of the secondary frames, 25 percent were 'risk of immigrants,' 25 percent were 'human rights of immigrants,' 30 percent were 'integration to society' and 20 percent were 'political response.' The results suggest that center news outlets tend to give a fuller spectrum of opinions, arguments and issues surrounding Muslim immigration and refugees seeking asylum in the U.S.

RQ3: *To what extent were sources from the network of Islamophobia experts used as sources in direct quotes and paraphrased content?*

> **RQ3a:** *How did the sourcing differ in right-leaning partisan, left-leaning partisan and mainstream news media coverage?*

The members of the Islamophobia network were not found as sources in the sample of content analyzed in this study. See Appendix I for the members of the Islamophobia network included. This study examined 50 stories about Muslim immigrants and refugees from 10 different news outlets. There was no presence of members of the Islamophobia network in the headlines, quoted or paraphrased material or any mention throughout the examined articles. See Appendix II to see all of the variables counted for the full codebook from this study.

The absence of main players of Islamophobia network raises serious questions. The inflammatory, anti-Muslim immigration speech was not absent from the articles examined in this study – but many of the people who typically propagate those messages were. In previous studies, members of the Islamophobia network have been found repeatedly as sources in news reports and articles about Muslims and immigration. Bail (2015) conducted a study that found members of the Islamophobia network, such as Daniel Pipes from the Middle Eastern Forum, routinely repeated anti-Muslim messages on Fox News and other right-leaning news outlets. The study found that rhetoric from Pipes influenced the coverage about Muslims in right-leaning news outlets as well as mainstream and left-leaning news outlets such as The New York Times, USA Today, Newsweek, the San Francisco Chronicle and the Chicago Tribune (Bail, 2015). This begs the question: where is the presence of Daniel Pipes and other members of the Islamophobia network in the most engaged content during the 2016 U.S. presidential election – a time when Muslim immigration was a widely covered topic.

There are several possible explanations as to why the main players of the Islamophobia network are absent in the sample of content in this study. Searches in

Buzzsumo revealed that the members of the Islamophobia network were used as sources in news articles about Muslim immigrants and refugees – but the engagement was significantly lower than news articles included in the sample of content. Searches in Buzzsumo found the most engaged articles for Daniel Pipes, Pamela Geller and Frank Gaffney as sources.

Pipes was used as a source in news articles that discussed the risk of Muslims to Western society. Rebel Media, an online news site that repeatedly publishes anti-Muslim speech, used Pipes as a source in articles about Muslim immigration. In a video news story, a conservative commentator for Rebel turned to Pipes as a source for his reaction about the threat of Muslims carrying out terrorist activities (Pipes, 2015). The article received 874 shares on Facebook – significantly fewer shares on Facebook than the articles included in the sample of content, which ranged from 1.7 million to 12,5000 shares.

Geller, of Stop Islamization of America, was as used as a source in news articles that discussed the threat of violence Islam poses on Western society. Breitbart used Pamela Geller as a source in many articles about Muslim immigration. Geller (2015) argued because of politicians such as Loretta Lynch and President Obama, American citizens are dying from Muslim terrorist attacks, and Muslims will impose Sharia law on the country. The article received 65,300 shares on Facebook, which is a significantly large amount of shares and the highest amount of shares any article containing the words 'Pamela Geller' between Aug. 6, 2015 and Jan. 27, 2017. However, the top five most engaged stories published by Breitbart during the date range and around the topic of Muslim immigration ranged between 842,700 and 105,200 shares on Facebook. Geller

was used as a source in stories that received high engagement on Breitbart, but she was not present in the most shared stories.

Gaffney, of the Center for Security Policy, was used as a source in news articles that defended Donald Trump and Ben Carson for discrediting Islam, Muslims and politicians such as President Obama and Rep. Keith Ellison. Breitbart and other right-leaning news outlets used Gaffney as a source in articles about policy surrounding Muslims and Islam. In a Breitbart article, Gaffney was framed as an expert on immigration policy and Islam.

> "Gaffney believes that Obama's policies should be the "subject of very concerted debate." He is hoping that what Dr. Ben Carson did on Sunday with his comments brings to light the fact that a president cannot "uphold, defend and support the constitution of the United States" and adhere to Sharia Law. "It cannot be done. Because Sharia says, 'No it's not the Constitution of the United States that must govern. It is God's law. It is Sharia. It is this repressive totalitarian, misogynistic program that must govern (Wilde, 2015).'"

The article received 22,900 shares on Facebook – lower engagement than most of the articles included in the sample of content for this study. Gaffney, like other members of the Islamophobia network is used as sources in articles about Muslims, however those articles did not receive as high of engagement as many articles included in the sample of content of this study that quoted then-candidate Donald Trump and other members of the GOP.

Examining the frequency of Donald Trump and other GOP candidates during the 2016 U.S. presidential election was not a parameter originally included in this study. However, the researcher empirically gathered that Donald Trump, Ben Carson, Ted Cruz and other popular GOP political figures were used as sources in many of the articles included in the sample of content. Then-candidate Trump and other prominent GOP

candidates were present as sources in many of the articles about Muslim immigration –

whether it be in right-leaning, center or left-leaning publications.

The GOP candidates were quoted or paraphrased voicing their disapproval for the

Obama administration's attempt to limit hate speech against Muslims, claiming that Islam

is a violent religion and inciting hate toward the religion. In the right-leaning publication,

Right Wing News, Ted Cruz said,

> "We need to immediately declare a halt to any plans to bring refugees that may
> have been infiltrated by ISIS to the United States. We need to redouble our efforts
> to prevent ISIS agents from penetrating our nation by other means. Such steps,
> however, are defensive reactions to an enemy that will continue to try to attack us
> until they succeed once again. We must immediately recognize that our enemy is
> not 'violent extremism.' It is the radical Islamism that has declared jihad against
> the west (Monroe-Hamilton, 2015)."

The article received 102,000 shares on Facebook.

Donald Trump was present as a source or paraphrased in many of the articles. The

researcher noticed this during the coding process and took note throughout a portion of

research. See Appendix II for the full codebook. As with other GOP candidates, Trump

was quoted or paraphrased in right-leaning publications analyzed in this study. Trump

and his stance on immigration and Muslims was also prevalent in the left-leaning and

center publications in the sample of content. In left-leaning Occupy Democrats,

> "Ever since an improvised explosive device injured 29 in Chelsea, New York
> City, Trump and his goons have revived one of their favorite talking points –
> vilifying Syrian refugees. 'These attacks and many others were made possible
> because of our extremely open immigration system, which fails to properly vet
> and screen the individuals or families coming into our country' yelled Trump at
> one of his notorious hate-rallies on September 19th (Taylor, 2016)."

The article was mainly about a Sikh naturalized immigrant whom the New York City

police credited with finding a bomber in the city. The article opened with quoting Trump

on his immigration standpoint, instead of leading with information and facts about the

man who was the protagonist in the article. Even though the article made it clear that the writer did not agree with Trump's immigration policy, it still gave a platform to inflammatory, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim hate speech. The article centered around the opinions of the writer, the publication's mission and used sensationalized journalism tactics. Although the articles in left-leaning publications in this study were found to typically frame immigrants in a positive light – as compared to right-leaning publications – all of the publications gave a platform for Donald Trump and other GOP candidates to voice their opinions about immigration policy and Islam.

Articles with GOP members as sources had some of the highest engagement around the topic of Muslim immigration – unlike the lower engagement many of the articles containing the main players of the Islamophobia network received. Both the GOP candidates and the Islamophobia network spoke about the threat of Muslim immigration during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. However, the general population may not be as familiar with members of the Islamophobia network as they are with Donald Trump, Ben Carson, Ted Cruz and other prominent members of the GOP – which may be the reason articles that quoted popular political figures reached larger audiences and higher engagement on Facebook.

Chapter 5: Discussion

From this research study, there is a better understanding of the role of framing in news coverage surrounding Muslim immigrants and refugees during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The time frame selected experienced a surge in Islamophobia rhetoric from politicians and partisan news outlets against many refugees. Differences in the portrayals and representations of immigrants and refugees in the context of their religiosity among partisan news outlets and mainstream news media could be telling of the impact of news frames. It is important to understand how immigrants and refugees are portrayed in news because media content has the ability to shape public opinion through the way stories are presented based on the theory of news framing.

With the political and policy debates surrounding the proposed travel ban on six Muslim majority countries, religiosity of immigrants and refugees is an especially important aspect of the news media to analyze. Although some research studies have analyzed the framing of immigrants, refugees, policy and religion in news media, there is no significant research on the framing of these groups during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. This study provides insight into some of the most popular news articles during the selected time frame and allows media organizations and journalists to evaluate their use of framing when covering immigration, immigration policy and religion.

This study found that right-leaning news outlets consistently frame immigrants as a threat to Western society – whether that be a physical threat of violence to an individual, threat of a terrorist attack or a cultural attack on Western and American values. Left-leaning publications consistently framed immigrants and refugees as having human rights, the right to seek asylum in the U.S. and integrate into American communities.

Center publications tended to frame news stories about Muslim immigration similarly to left-leaning publications, however center publications published more news stories about political responses to immigration debates. The findings from this study were similar to the results from a study by Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) which served as the basis for the framing and coding scheme of this study.

Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) analyzed the press framing of refugees and migrants in left-leaning and right-leaning partisan news outlets in the United Kingdom. The study found that left-leaning publications featured arguments in favor of progressive asylum and immigration policies. Right-leaning news outlets were found to promote immigration policy that aims to prevent refugees and asylum seekers from entering the United Kingdom and countries within the European Union. The differences in framing between right-leaning and left-leaning news outlets in Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore's (2015) study were similar – which suggestions the conservative, harsh stance on Muslim immigration extends transnationally.

My study found that the main players of the Islamophobia network speak about Muslims, immigrants and refugees and are used in sources in news articles across the spectrum of political leanings of news organizations – although more frequently occurring in right-leaning partisan publications. The change during the 2016 U.S. presidential election was more of the population engaged with news articles that use Donald Trump and other prominent members of the GOP as sources, rather than members of the Islamophobia network. Trump and some of the GOP candidates had anti-Islam messages that were similar to members of the Islamophobia network and their anti-Muslim immigration rhetoric. Donald Trump, Ben Carson, Ted Cruz and Rick Santorum

all have connections to the Islamophobia network whether it be accepting large scale donations or being keynote speakers at the events held by the foundations in the Islamophobia network (Abdelkaer, 2016). Why were the members of the GOP and now President Donald Trump promoting anti-Muslim messages during the 2016 U.S presidential election? Do news outlets no longer use members of the Islamophobia network as frequently as sources because Republican politicians promote the same anti-Muslim messages? Further research and investigation will have to answer these questions – but this study establishes a jumping off point for further research.

Limitations and Further Research

Some critical limitations of the design of the study should be addressed. After gathering data from the sample of content, an expected count of less than 5 for each primary and secondary frame was found. Therefore, it was impossible to run a valid significance test with the selected variables. If this research is continued for a dissertation or if it were to be expanded upon by another researcher, a larger sample size would be ideal in order for a valid test of significance. A valid significance test could provide confidence in the results of this study – that right-leaning publications may frame Muslim immigrants as a threat to society more often than center and left-leaning publications.

Content analysis cannot provide insight in the effects of news framing. Therefore, the study cannot give further insight into the effects of negative or positive framing of immigrants and refugees in news coverage. The study cannot measure how the use of framing in partisan and mainstream news coverage impacted the lives of refugees and immigrants during and after the 2016 U.S. presidential election. Further research on the

effects of the news frames in this study could be evaluated in experiments and surveys with news consumers.

A larger sample size should be evaluated in order to learn more about the framing of immigrants and refugees during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. It would be interesting to sample the news articles with the highest number of Facebook shares with the keywords 'immigrant,' 'Muslim,' and 'refugee' among all news outlets and content online, without predetermined publications by the researcher. This different measure could offer insight into a fuller spectrum of news content and potentially have news articles that contain the presence of the Islamophobia network.

One of the original goals of this study was to measure how often the members of the Islamophobia network were used as sources in stories about Muslim immigration that received high engagement on Facebook. However, the results found that the main players in the Islamophobia network were not present in news stories that received the highest engagement. Further empirical research found that many of the GOP candidates in the 2016 U.S. presidential election were present as sources in the sample of content and had many of the same messages as members of the Islamophobia network. The presence of the GOP candidates in the sample of content was only studied empirically. Quantifying the presence of Donald Trump, Ben Carson, Ted Cruz and other politicians is a necessary next step to understanding the presence of Islamophobia in Western society.

The presence of social media bots[7] in the news coverage about immigration during 2016 U.S. presidential should be a further point of research. It would be

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[7] Social media bots are automated accounts that appear to be social profiles of humans but are driven by algorithms. A study from the University of Southern California found that politics is one of the most important topics bots focus on. Retrived from http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2017/09/social-media-bots-tried-influence-us-election-germany-may-be-next

interesting to study if social media bots contributed to the number of Facebook shares in the news articles included in the sample of this study. The presence of fake news articles[8] during the 2016 U.S. presidential election could also be explored. This study empirically found that some of the news articles contained statements that can be easily proved false by government data and information. It would be insightful to quantify how many news articles contained statements and claims that can be disproved.

This study focused on examining the content that shapes people's opinions about Muslim immigration. A larger sample size should be studied in order to have confidence in the results. Further research also should study where anti-Muslim messages originate. The Islamophobia networks' anti-Muslim messages and politicians' stances on immigration should be studied and compared. Investigating the root of the funding that flows through the Islamophobia network should be researched further. Connections between the Islamophobia network, prominent politicians and anti-Muslim messages in news articles should to be explored – especially in the case of the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

Negative frames about Muslims have prevailed for centuries, and anti-Muslim messages are propagated in news stories currently. As of this writing, legislation that aims to prevent Muslims from seeking asylum and immigrating to America exists. Research surrounding news content about immigration, the Islamophobia network, politicians and messages that can influence the general population needs to be conducted.

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[8] Fake news articles are fiction, satire and efforts designed to fool readers into believing they are true. Fake news is not a new phenomenon but stories are able to reach people quickly via social media. Retrieved from http://www.factcheck.org/2016/11/how-to-spot-fake-news/

America, historically, is a nation of immigrants. The First Amendment protects the right of free press and practice of religion without persecution. It is necessary to analyze the messages presented in news media and to continue to think critically about the sources promoting those messages at a time when millions of people seek asylum and attempt to immigrate to America.

APPENDIX

Appendix I: Coding Scheme

Definitions

Partisan leaning. In this study, news outlets are divided and analyzed by their partisan leaning. For the purpose of this study, partisan leaning refers the side of the American, two-party political spectrum each publication tends to have bias toward. The classification is based on information from Silverman et. al. (2016), AllSides (2017), Pew Research Center (Mitchell et. al., 2014) and Blue Feed, Red Feed (Keegan, 2016).

Center = New York Times, Washington Post, CNN and Politico

Left = Occupy Democrats, Think Progress and Addicting Info

Right = Breitbart, Freedom Daily and Right Wing News

Frames. In this study, each story in the sample of content was analyzed for the following characteristics and story frames.

> 1 = Threat to national security: mention/discussion of threats to national security and security of the state including terrorist threats and attacks by immigrants and refugees. This theme will not include safety threats to individuals.
>
> 2 = Crime: mention/discussion of crime committed by individual immigrants and refugees against other persons.
>
> 3 = Cultural threat: mention/discussion of any threats to the cultural identity or homogeneity of the U.S. or specific area by immigrants and refugees. This theme will include religious and linguistic threats imposed from immigrants and refugees.

4 = Human rights: mention/discussion of human and civil rights of immigrants, refugees and Muslims such as the right to seek asylum, seek public assistance, access the courts and practice their religion.

5= Health risk: mention/discussion of increased health risk to the U.S. caused by incoming immigrants or refugees.

6 = Humanitarian: mention/discussion of suffering of immigrants and refugees, presentation of the immigrants or refugees as suffering and/or under an empathetic light.

7 = Integration to community: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees integrating into communities they have settled in. This theme can include cultural, community civic, political, linguistic and economic integration.

8 = Political and policy response: mention/discussion of political response to immigrants and refugees and the policies surrounding their entry to U.S.

9 = Education: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees receiving educational support or the transmission of values.

10 = Economic: mention/discussion of immigrants and refugees impact social services, benefits and welfare.

11 = Success stories: mention/discussion of stories which focus on the achievements of immigrants and refugees, such as studying an academic degree and achieving as a professional. This is not simply integration into society, which would be considered as getting a residential permit, etc.

After the initial coding, the researcher found some of the frames occurred very little in the sample of content. Therefore, the initial frames were collapsed and combined into four frames by the researcher. frames were coded in **V6** as the primary frame and **V7** as the secondary frame.

> 1 = Risk of immigrants: mention/discussion of risk to national security by immigrants, person-to-person crime enacted by immigrants, health risk imposed by immigrants and refugees and the threat to the cultural values of American the Western society.
>
> 2 = Human rights of immigrants: mention/discussion of the human rights of immigrants and refugees, humanitarian aid or causes directed at immigrants and refugees and the right of immigrants and refugees to seek asylum.
>
> 3 = Integration to society: mention/discussion of of immigrants and refugees integrating into communities they have settled in by cultural, community, civic, political, linguistic and economic integration. This theme includes immigrants and refugees succeeding in various aspects of Western culture, education system and adopting American cultural values.
>
> 4 = Political response: mention/discussion of mention/discussion of political response to immigrants and refugees and the policies surrounding their entry to the U.S. and economic impact on social services, benefits and welfare.

Members of the Islamophobia network. In this study, each story was examined for the presence of any of the main players of the Islamophobia network, as defined by the

Center for American Progress.[9] Members of the Islamophobia network were coded in V8, if they were present in the headline. In V9 and beyond, the quoted or paraphrased material was coded according to if a member of the network was the source.

1 = Steven Emerson, The Investigative Project on Terrorism

2 = Frank Gaffney, Center for Security Policy

3 = Daniel Pipes, Middle East Forum

4 = Robert Spencer, Jihad Watch & Stop Islamization of America

5 = David Yerushalmi, Society of Americans for National Existence

6 = Nonie Darwish, Former Muslims United and Arabs for Israel

7 = Zuhdi Jasser, American Islamic Forum for Democracy

8 = Walid Phares, Future Terrorism Project

9 = Walid Shoebat, Former purported Islamic terrorist turned apocalyptic

Christian

10 = Brigitte Gabriel, ACT! For America

11 = Pamela Geller, Stop Islamization of America

12 = David Horowitz, David Horowitz Freedom Center

Coding Sheet. On the next page, there is a sample coding sheet that can be used for further research or to replicate this study.

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[9] The progressive Center for American Progress released a report outlining the members of the Islamophobia network. Retrieved from https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2011/08/pdf/islamophobia.pdf

Coding sheet

Framing of immigrants and refugees: A content analysis of mainstream and partisan

news coverage of immigration

V1. Story identification number

—————————————

V2. News outlet

—————————————

V3. Story partisan-leaning (L = Left, C = Center, R = Right)

—————————————

V4. Facebook shares (can be found from analysis in Buzzsumo or social content analysis

tool)

—————————————

V5. Story title

———————————————————————————————————

V6. Primary story frame (1 = risk of immigrants, 2 = human rights of immigrants, 3 =

integration to society, 4 = political response)

—————————————

V7. Secondary story frame (1 = risk of immigrants, 4 = human rights of immigrants, 7 =

integration to society, 8 = political response)

—————————————

V8. Islamophobia network member in headline (N = No member of Islamophobia

network member in headline, 1 = Steven Emerson, 2 = Frank Gaffney, 3 = Daniel Pipes,

4 = Robert Spencer, 5 = David Yerushalmi, 6 = Nonie Darwish, 7 = Zuhdi Jasser, 8 =

Walid Phares, 9 = Walid Shoebat)

———————————————

V9 – V17. *(if applicable, see Appendix II for code sheet from previous study)*

Islamophobia network member in quoted or paraphrased material. (P = paraphrased

material from source, Q = quoted material from source, N = No member of Islamophobia

network member in headline, 1 = Steven Emerson, 2 = Frank Gaffney, 3 = Daniel Pipes,

4 = Robert Spencer, 5 = David Yerushalmi, 6 = Nonie Darwish, 7 = Zuhdi Jasser, 8 =

Walid Phares, 9 = Walid Shoebat)

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Appendix II: Codebook

V1 Story Identification	V2 News outlet	V3 Partisan leaning	V4 Facebook shares	V5 Story title	V6 Primary frame	V7 Secondary frame	V8 Islamophobia network member in headline	V9 Islamophobia network member in quoted/paraphrased material, Q/P 1	V10 Q/P 2	V11 Q/P 3	V12 Q/P 4	V13 Q/P 5	V14 Q/P 6	V15 Q/P 7	V16 Q/P 8	V17 Q/P 9
1	CNN	C	245.1K	Amputee soldier's heartfelt Muslim Facebook post goes viral	3	4	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N				
2	CNN	C	207.4K	Muslim restaurant to feed the homeless and elderly on Christmas Day	3	3	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N					
3	CNN	C	197.5K	Ramadan etiquette for non-Muslims	3	3	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N					
4	CNN	C	112.4K	Priebus, Ryan and McConnell rip Trump anti-Muslim proposal	4	2	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N					
5	CNN	C	109.6K	Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to U.S.	1	4	N	Q/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/Y			
6	New York Times	C	81.2K	Donald Trump Criticizes Muslim Family of Slain U.S. Soldier, Drawing Ire	3	3	N	P/N	P/T	P/N	P/T	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N
7	New York Times	C	83.7K	A Few Miles From San Bernardino, a Muslim Prom Queen Reigns	3	3	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	
8	New York Times	C	67K	The Statue of Liberty Must Be Crying With Shame'	2	2	N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N					
9	New York Times	C	49.1K	Campuses Confront Hostile Acts Against Minorities After Donald Trump's Election	2	2	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/T	Q/N
10	New York Times	C	45.1K	Do You Know Me? Do You Know My Heart?'	3	3	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N		
11	Washington Post	C	1.7M	Pope Francis washes the feet of Muslim migrants, says we are 'children of the same God'	2	3	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N					
12	Washington Post	C	874.1K	Anne Frank and her family were also denied entry as refugees to the U.S.	2	2	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N
13	Washington Post	C	225.1K	What Americans thought of Jewish refugees on the eve of World War II	2	2	N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N					
14	Washington Post	C	201.4K	I'm a Muslim, a woman and an immigrant. I voted for Trump.	4	1	N	Q/N	Q/T	Q/N	Q/N	P/T				
15	Washington Post	C	105.5K	Why Franklin Graham says Donald Trump is right about stopping Muslim immigration	4	1	Y	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/T
16	Politico	C	21.5K	Ted Cruz calls for halt on accepting Syrian refugees	4	1	N	Q/N (Cruz)	Q/N	Q/N	P/N (Cruz)	Q/N (Cruz)	Q/N (Cruz)	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N
17	Politico	C	16.3K	Ben Carson: America's president can't be Muslim	1	1	N	Q/N (Carson)	Q/N	Q/N (Carson)	P/N	Q/N	Q/T	Q/T	Q/T	
18	Politico	C	14.6K	Trump supporter cites Japanese internment 'precedent' in backing Muslim registry	4	1	N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N			
19	Politico	C	15.7K	Joe Biden: Syrian refugee furor threatens America's 'soul'	2	4	N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N				
20	Politico	C	13K	Father of fallen Muslim-American war hero to Trump: 'You have sacrificed nothing'	3	4	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	
21	Breitbart News	R	842.7K	Muslim Countries Refuse to Take a Single Syrian Refugee, Cite Risk of Exposure to Terrorism	1	4	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	P/N				
22	Breitbart News	R	201.3K	World's First Lesbian Bishop Calls For Church to Remove Crosses, To Install Muslim Prayer Space	1	1	N	P/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N
23	Breitbart News	R	163.8K	Paul Ryan Tells Sean Hannity He Will Not Support Any Cuts to Muslim immigration: 'That's Not Who We Are'	1	1	N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N
24	Breitbart News	R	114.2K	After Paul Ryan Funds Visas for 300,000 Muslim Migrants, House Republicans Give Him Standing Ovation - Breitbart	4	4	N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N			
25	Breitbart News	R	105.2K	Refugee Charity Stops Aid to Calais Because 97% Are Men With 'No Real Reason' To Be There	4	1	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N				
26	Freedom Daily	R	131.9K	Female Muslim-American Olympian Bashes U.S.A -- Goes Off the Hinges About Why America Sucks!	1	1	N	Q/N								
27	Freedom Daily	R	128.2K	McDonald's, Pizza Hut and KFC Refuse Muslim Demands to Serve Halal Meat -- Muslims ENRAGED	1	1	N	Q/N	Q/N							
28	Freedom Daily	R	123.6K	Muslim Infiltrators Angry that Small Town Colorado Christians Won't Sell Them Property to Build a Mosque	1	1	N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N
29	Freedom Daily	R	114.5K	Muslim With ISIS Affiliation Assaults Texas Cop; Doesn't Get Far When 2 Bystanders Appear	1	1	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N						
30	Freedom Daily	R	78.3K	HA ha! Anti-Trump Muslim Planting Bombs in Kentucky Shot And Killed By Fire Captain	1	1	N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N					
31	Right Wing News	R	113.9K	Muslim Leader: 'Americans Must Learn, Practicing Muslims Are Above The Law Of The Land'	1	1	N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N					
32	Right Wing News	R	102K	Ted Cruz Demands US/Syrian Refugee Program be Stopped After ISIS Attacks Paris	1	1	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N (Cruz)	Q/N (Cruz)					
33	Right Wing News	R	69.9K	After Muslim Girls Refuse Class with Boys, Gov't Refuses Their Application for Citizenship	1	3	N	Q/N	Q/N							
34	Right Wing News	R	69.7K	Obama's Attorney General Says Anti-Muslim Speech Will Be Prosecuted	1	1	N	P/N	Q/N	P/N						
35	Right Wing News	R	64K	Three Muslim Immigrants Spend Hours Beating a Christian Man to Death in Portland, Maine	1	1	N	P/N	P/N	P/N	P/N	P/N				
36	Occupy Democrats	L	246.2K	Muslim Vet Booted From Trump Rally, Told to "Get A Job." Guess What He Does For A Living...	2	3	N	Q/N								
37	Occupy Democrats	L	81.6K	Trump Just Ordered A Muslim Registry. Madeleine Albright's Response Is Perfect	2	4	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N						
38	Occupy Democrats	L	73.8K	AP Just Confirmed Melania Trump Worked Illegally As An Immigrant	8	4	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N						
39	Occupy Democrats	L	55.3K	Trump Silent As Police Credit A Sikh Immigrant With Capturing NYC Bomber	3	3	N	Q/N	Q/N							
40	Occupy Democrats	L	40K	JUST IN: Man Screams "There You Go, Muslim!" As He Throws Firebomb Into Car	3	2	N	Q/N	Q/N							
41	Addicting Info	L	130K	You're 7 Times More Likely to Be Killed By A Conservative Terrorist Than a Muslim Extremist	2	1	N	Q/T	P/N	P/N (Cruz)	Q/N	Q/N				
42	Addicting Info	L	26.5K	Muslim NYPD Officers Slam Donald Trump: We Served Our Country, What Have You Ever Done?	3	2	N	P/T	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N				
43	Addicting Info	L	25.1K	Muslim Congressman CLOBBERS Trump and Carson Over Islamophobic Fear-Mongering	3	2	N	P/N	P/T	P/N (Carson)	Q/N					
44	Addicting Info	L	24.5K	Democratic Rep Walks The Walk After Republicans Challenge Him To Take in A Refugee	2	4	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N		
45	Addicting Info	L	22.6K	Muslim US Marine DESTROYS Donald Trump In a Single Tweet, Drops Mic	3	2	N	Q/N	Q/N							
46	Think Progress	L	37.3K	You Are More Than 7 Times As Likely To Be Killed By A Right-Wing Extremist Than By Muslim Terrorists	1	4	N	P/N	P/N	P/N	Q/N					
47	Think Progress	L	34.3K	Trump surrogate cites Japanese internment camps as precedent for Muslim registry	2	4	N	P/N (Trump surrogate Carl Higbie)	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N
48	Think Progress	L	22.2K	Muslim Ninth Grader Built His Own Clock, Got Arrested Because Teachers Thought It Was A Bomb	2	3	N	P/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N		
49	Think Progress	L	19K	Madeleine Albright, Who Came To America As A Refugee, Slams Proposal to Ban Syrians	2	4	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N	Q/N	P/N	
50	Think Progress	L	18.7K	Internet Rallies Around Ahmed Mohamed, The Muslim Boy Arrested For Making A Clock	3	2	N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	Q/N	P/N				

Note: In this codebook, T = Donald Trump in V9 – V17. Measuring for Donald Trump's presence was not initially a goal of this study and was later added to the gathering of data. GOP nominees Ted Cruz and Ben Carson are also included in V9 – V17 if they appear as a source in a selected news article.

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