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The Media Representation and Misrepresentation of Refugees: A Comparison between US and French Media

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The Media Representation and Misrepresentation of Refugees: A Comparison between US and French Media

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November 2018

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

The Media Representation and Misrepresentation of Refugees: A Comparison between US and French Media

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

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In

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by Ali Al-Thani

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis
has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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Abstract

This project is the study of the differences and similarities between news reporting, using specific media frames, in the US and France in regard to the representation of refugees in newspapers. I gathered a total of 213 articles written during the period of January 1, 2017 until September 30, 2018. Those articles were taken from two major newspapers in the US, The New York Times and the Wall Street Journal and two major newspapers in France, Le Monde and Le Figaro. For this research, I used content analysis in order to analyze the news articles reporting on the subject of refugees and to discover if important underlying messages were present. I chose major newspapers in the US and France with different political views, conservative and liberal in order to find out if the political tendency would somewhat be reflected in the choice of frames and the choice of certain words. The analysis revealed that political ideology did not influence the framing of refugees in terms of economic and security threats. While the *human-interest frame* should have been an important frame if not the most important frame related to refugees, this was not the case and was instead overshadowed by the *managerialist frame*. Even though labels such as liberal and conservative are subjective, newspapers choose how to report events and where they position the articles. This allows them to point to the readers the importance of the article in question.

Nevertheless, the study did not reveal that refugees could be portrayed differently because a newspaper was considered liberal or conservative. In regard to the most used-frames when covering refugees in the news, the newspapers were rather similar in the frequency of using certain frames. They tended to report stories that were consistent with the policies of their host countries and of other countries as well. Both

French and US newspapers reported on the refugee crisis both at home and abroad. In contrast, they differed in the use of certain terms, referred to as variables. Those terms were Islam/Muslim, integration/assimilation, and also using the term migrant/immigrant instead of refugee. The frequency of using certain terms were more predominant in the US newspapers and therefore set them apart.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

As a current graduate student at USF, I have been able to learn and to deepen my understanding of the world around me. Having taken various courses at USF, my first interest emerged while taking a class called Human Rights and International Law with Professor Bercault during Fall 2017. Later for the spring semester 2018, I took two subjects that really captivated my attention. One was called International Media and Social Change and the other was called Refugees and Forced Migration. As the semester went on, I became more and more concerned that the media was not an absolute objective channel for information and this led me to this study. During the media course, I was introduced to various theories that denounced media biases and misrepresentations of certain groups. With that in mind, I started thinking ahead in search of an interesting subject for my master thesis and decided to focus on the representation of refugees by the media. Then, to make it a little bit more challenging and to put into work my French skills, I also decided to compare two countries, the US and France, knowing that both countries had similarities, being democracies and having a high level of press freedom as well.

Statement of the problem

For my research, I chose two influential newspapers in the USA such as the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal and for France two also influential newspapers, Le Figaro and Le Monde. I used content analysis and media frames theories in order to analyze the articles. My goal was to determine which media frames were predominantly used to report on refugees and also if any political tendency was underlying the choice of frame. Another important objective was to analyze the language used through content analysis in order to detect any bias, negative or positive connotation associated with refugees. Furthermore, I wanted to verify if the word refugee was used correctly by the media and was not falsely replaced by immigrant or migrant. I believe that the conflation of terms is very important not only for journalistic accuracy but also for the readers who can be misinformed or misled by the incorrect word usage.

My research questions were the following:

- 1) What are the media frames the most often employed when reporting on refugees?
- 2) What are the differences and similarities between the US newspapers reports and the news reports in French newspapers on the representation of refugees?
- 3) Are political tendencies noticeable in the way refugees are being portrayed in the sample of news articles?

Why should the academic community be interested in this research?

This research aims at understanding the way that the media reports on a hot topic subject such as refugees. Most of the people have no direct contact with refugees and heavily rely on the media to be able to somewhat understand their lives and hardship. The news media is thus one of the most important channels to diffuse information, but the way they do is important because it also shapes public opinion. In the global world in which we are living today, each citizen should be able to read the news and be critical about it, but since it is not always the case, researchers and scholars are looking into it and denouncing certain practices that are becoming normal and often unperceived by the public.

Another important point in this research is the comparison between two important democratic countries that rank in the top ten economies in the world, USA in first place and France in seventh place. Both have had an interesting history about refugees coming to their lands in the past and both are being affected by the refugee crisis today.

While there have been many studies on media biases related to immigration, none has focused on refugees only while comparing US and France at the same time. Benson's extensive study on immigration in the French and American media was a thorough analysis of newspapers and television coverage dating back to the 1970s. He was able to show that the immigration debate was more and more directed to the dramatic and emotional frames of humanitarian order as well as public order (Benson, 2013). While this study cannot be compared to Benson's, it is more recent and covers a short period of time, from January 1, 2017 until September 30, 2018 and solely focuses

on refugees, not immigration as a whole. Furthermore, because this study is very recent, it presents an updated research on the matter and reiterates the use of particular frames by newspapers. This study can also provide valuable information to the public, governments and non-government actors alike regarding the subject of refugees. I hope that my research can fill some of the gaps in the literature and can illuminate some new trends or evolution in the way certain groups are being covered by the press.

Theoretical framework

The important theoretical frameworks in this study are media framing and agenda-setting. Entman (2003) has studied framing intensively and many more scholars have concluded that framing is in fact selecting and highlighting some aspects of facts and excluding others. In addition to selection and salience, some scholars have denounced the agenda-setting role of the media. Herman and Chomsky (2008) in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, have concluded that media were influenced and manipulated by government agendas and therefore played a role in world politics.

Organization of the study

Chapter 2 is a literature review of academic works relating to media framing and its impact on shaping opinions. I also review previous comparative studies of US-France news reports on refugees and immigration.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the research, the time period of the research and the reason for choosing media framing theories and content analysis.

Chapter 4 is the research results. It discusses the study results, stating which frames are most often used, and to what extent some important variables were used. Variables such as mentioning the Muslim religion, mentioning integration and misusing the word migrant instead of refugee were taken into account.

Chapter 5 is where I end my study by a conclusion and some recommendations for future studies.

Overview of the research

News media have often been accused of being biased when reporting on certain groups of people or certain issues. While news reporting is expected to remain neutral and to report objectively, many factors can put pressure on a news reporting agency. Such pressures can be due to political tendencies, to financial issues, to the expectations of the elites and to the aim of attracting more readers by offering sensational stories. As a result, news reports are selected, some aspects are made prominent by the use of media frames, while others are barely covered and sometimes ignored. With this in mind, this study is looking into the similarities and differences between the US media and the French media when reporting on refugees, focusing on the use of key media frames and the frequency of the use of certain terms associated with refugees. Furthermore, the political tendency of the newspaper was closely analyzed to discover any underlying messages or biases related to refugees.

Chapter 2: Literature review

The media and its role in shaping public opinion

News media play a key role in providing citizens with what is going on locally and internationally, by not only reporting facts, but also by providing a context as well. Rightfully, news consumers expect news outlets to be objective and balanced while reporting on all events, both domestic and international.

While the most important values in professional journalism is to be neutral and objective, a large number of academics have agreed that these standards were idealistic only. Said (2010) was a strong critic of the way Western media was reporting on Islam and the Islamic world, accusing them of propagating lies and falsehood. Overall, there has been an increasing body of evidence of bias in the media, often due to underlying political and socio-economic viewpoints as well. In fact, the media has become so powerful that it has been called the “Fourth Estate” which emphasizes on its role of influencing society (Norris, 2008).

Even though more people are travelling and are working more and more in a globalized world, the majority of people do not travel and instead rely on the news media to discover the world and this helps them shape their ideas. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, Lippmann (1997) was one of the first and a very predictive analyst of modern media. His book *Public Opinion* is still a masterpiece in the subject of American journalism. He wrote that Americans lived in a cave of media misrepresentations of “the world outside”, stereotypes and distortions- “not a mirror of social conditions, but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself.” Not all scholars

have been critical of the media and many have agreed that the press was doing a great job especially when it was recognized as being an important watchdog. In fact, two events, the Watergate Scandal and the Pentagon Papers, are still some of the most well-known examples in US history that have uncovered corruption and false reports by the US government. The Washington Post's investigation and report of Watergate resulted in the resignation of president Nixon. The classified information regarding the Vietnam War, known as the Pentagon Papers, had an immense effect by enabling the shift of public opinion about the war in Vietnam.

Other scholars, such as Herman and Chomsky (2008) in their book *Manufacturing Consent*, go even further, stating that the American government, along with certain news media, exercise control over what we hear, read and see. They believe that by picking and setting an agenda, news media are in a way manipulating the citizens. All this to say that the media are growing in power and have an important impact worldwide.

Now turning to the media's representation of certain groups of people such as refugees, there have been studies that have criticized the media's biases on the subject. Bias in the media is a global phenomenon, and affects all types of governments, democratic and autocratic as well. Bias can be found in many ways, from using certain words to framing a story. Framing theories have demonstrated that the way that information is being presented influences the news consumers. Entman (1993) noted that a message frame serves to "promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation". Furthermore, the framing process results in having the receivers think about the information and

remember the information in a manner that emulates the particular message frame (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). In turn, the receiver may be influenced, which could affect his opinion on the matter (Price and Tewksbury, 1997). Several studies have provided evidence of the impact of framing and also of the way that language choice is being used. Entman's (2003) work on framing has further demonstrated that public opinion is formed in relation to the way the media frame the event and not from the public contact with the issue. Iyengar (2014) has stated that when a person is regularly fed stories through a certain frame, that person will most likely make a decision based on the information consistent with the frame. Along the same line, Reese et al. (2001) clarified that "frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world." Haynes et al (2016) have further studied frames related to immigration issues and have concluded that negative frames presenting negative information are more persuasive than positive information. Negative information often captures the attention because it stands out "as extreme or as more novel."

Frames are often structured by what some scholars have called "media logic," which follows a specific pattern used by the media to select and to communicate information to the public (Altheide and Snow, 1979). This "media logic," includes the normal journalistic standards of covering important events and issues relevant to the readers, but also the commercial value. The goal here is to attract a large number of paying customers/readers and to sell a large number of advertisement spaces to companies and corporations.

Some researchers have studied the media's portrayals of refugees and migrants and the results showed that the media was not able to accurately portray those groups (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). In fact, most of the portrayals of both refugees and immigrants/migrants have been rather negative and some scholars have even insinuated that the news reports were often dehumanizing them (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013). In this case, the consequences would be very serious since Esses et al. (2013) claimed that dehumanization could lead to further resentment and negative opinions about refugees and immigrants/migrants among the public.

American views of immigration policies have evolved over the years. Immigrants and migrants used to be seen as a benefit to the economy and immigration policies were therefore designed to benefit the society as a whole (Fryberg et al, 2011). After the 9/11 terrorist attack, there was a shift and Americans felt under threat. Certain groups, whether immigrants, refugees or other foreigners were now seen as a threat. Furthermore, the 9/11 attack reignited the use of Middle Easterners stereotypes by often associating Islam with terrorism. As a result, many nationalist governments in Europe and in the US now, have been more reluctant to accepting refugees, seeing them as a threat and a liability to national security. With this in mind, this study will help in finding out if the portrayal of refugees is associated with negative views or not and if certain sentiments have permeated through press reports.

Media Framing theory

Studies of the representation of immigration issues in the media have identified various immigration-specific "master-frames" (Benford & Snow, 2000). Those frames

can be divided into four parts: *a human-interest frame, a threat frame, an economic frame, and a managerialist frame* (Benson, 2013). The *human-interest frame* is in favor of immigration, and here immigrants and refugees are portrayed as victims who require both help and compassion (Haenens and de Lange, 2001). Next, the *threat frame* frames immigration in a negative way, where immigrants are perceived as a threat to receiving countries (Horsti, 2003). Then, the *economic frame* discusses immigration and asylum in terms of economic benefits or disadvantages for receiving countries (Haenens and de Lange, 2001). Finally, the *managerialist frame* disregards the political challenge and instead focuses on ways to best manage the consequences of immigration (Haenens and de Lange, 2001). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) have also come up with a similar break down of frames: 1) conflict frame; 2) human interest frame; 3) economic consequences; 4) morality frame; and 5) responsibility frame. Here the morality frame is an added frame that can also be used according to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

Also, the use of news framing theory is useful for comparative news research as it gives us the tool to study how news articles are constructed. In this study, I have used the following 4 master frames: *human interest frame, threat frame, economic frame and managerialist frame*.

News media and foreign policy

Some media scholars have strongly suggested that news media were influenced by political agendas and that they were able to play an agenda-setting role in politics. Herman and Chomsky (2008), in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, have exposed that mass communication media of the U.S. "are effective

and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function, by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion", by means of what they called a propaganda model of communication. In the book, they use specific case studies that revealed that there was an unbalanced news coverage in the US when it benefited the powerful elites and government. As a result, information became power and it could be used both domestically and internationally through the news media. So, it would be fair to say that when the news media is closely connected to the elites and the one in power, the media can become a key tool in serving their interests and agendas.

Brief history and facts regarding refugees in the world

According to the UN Refugee Agency, there are 68.5 million forcibly displaced persons in the world today. 40 million people are internally displaced, 3.1 million are seeking asylum and the rest, 25.4 million are refugees. A large number of refugees are protracted refugees and Palestinians are the largest group ("UNHCR Global Trends - Forced Displacement in 2017"). An important turning point took place in 2011 with the Arab Spring, which prompted anti-government protests throughout the Middle East. Today Syria is still in the midst of a civil war and the conflict has led to as many as 4 million Syrian refugees fleeing the country.

Another important influx of refugees started in summer 2015, when boats full of refugees reached Europe. Most of them paid human traffickers to flee their country and many died drowning due to overcrowded boat and deplorable vessels. This would be

called the European refugee crisis and while it has slowed down, it is still going on today.

The Origins of the International Refugee Regime and the creation of the UNHCR

The end of World War II was the turning point in recognizing the necessity of addressing the problem of refugees (Loescher, 1993). In 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was created in order to financially help European nations and also to assist with the repatriation of refugees ("United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."). It only operated for four years because the US strongly disagreed with the repatriation policies and rehabilitation assistance in Eastern Europe, believing that it would benefit Russia's political control of the region (Loescher, 1993). Since the US was one of the major funder of the UNRRA, it decided to halt financial assistance in order to put an end to it. Then, the US worked on the creation of a new organization called the International Refugee Organization (IRO) (Loescher, 1993). This organization changed the way assistance was provided to refugees and instead of repatriation, resettlement was the solution (Loescher, 1993). The IRO operated for a few years until the creation of the UNHCR in 1950, which officially started on January 1, 1951. While initially, the UNHCR's goal was to address the post-World War II refugee crisis in Europe, it never stopped, as the problem of refugees would become an ongoing issue all over the world. In 1956, the Hungarian revolution led the way to a flow of refugees. In the 1960's, decolonization in Africa did not often go smoothly and often prompted wars and conflicts that in turn led to more refugees escaping their countries (Loescher, 1993). Since then, the UNHCR has continued

helping those in need. Today the majority of refugees entering Europe are escaping political persecution and conflicts. The United Nations reported in 2015 that 53% of people arriving to Europe by boats were Syrians, 18% were Afghans, 6% were Iraqis and 5% were Eritreans (UNHCR 2015, “Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response”).

Definition of a refugee

According to the article 1 of the 1951 Convention, “the term ‘refugee’ shall apply to any person who ... as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (Article 1, 1951 Refugee Convention). Clearly this article was limited due its time restriction of pre-1951 and many of the signatories did not apply this timeline. Nevertheless, the 1967 Protocol was added in order to eliminate both the time and geographical constraints that were present in the 1951 Refugee Convention. These changes were necessary as the Refugee Convention was becoming inadequate due to the recognition that the refugee problem was evolving into an universal obstacle with no definite time limit and no borders (Bantekas and Oette, 2016).

In addition, it is important to note that the 1951 Refugee Convention treaty addressed the concept of what is called “non-refoulement”, a French term that translates into “no return” which means that it is prohibited to push the refugees back into the

territory that they fled. Article 33 states: “No Contracting State shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.” (Article 33, 1951 Refugee Convention).

The US has always been the world’s top resettlement country. In 2015, it worked on resettling about half of the 107,000 refugees that the UNHCR were referring to for settlement. It also sought to resettle about 14,000 refugees from other resettling agencies, separate from the UNHCR (Mossad & Baugh, 2018). Today, the US has dramatically reduced the number of refugees coming to the US. The 2018 fiscal year has set a limit at 45,000 refugees. This number is decided by the president of the US along with the congress ("Fact Sheet: U.S. Refugee Resettlement").

In contrast, France does not have a system of quotas, but it has argued that there must be a fairer allocation of refugees among the European member states ("France Opposes Introduction of Migrant Quotas."). According to UNHCR, France has committed to resettle around 10,000 refugees between 2016 and 2017 (United Nations. "UNHCR Resettlement Handbook: Country Chapter - France.").

While many people escaping wars and civil wars should qualify for refugee status, an official investigation must be carried out before applying a refugee status to anyone. In fact, when a person flees his/her country because of a war, it does not automatically mean that he/she is being persecuted. This person is labelled a “person of concern” by the UNHCR, which provides assistance and protection on humanitarian grounds. So, the term refugee is rather narrowed down to specific cases linked to

persecution and only after sufficient proofs (Bantekas and Oette, 2016). As mentioned earlier, the term refugee has been misused by the media, which can mix immigrants, migrants and refugees together. This research also paid close attention to the use of the term refugee in order to make sure that it was not being conflated with the terms migrant/immigrant.

The role of the news media and a focus on French and American journalistic fields

The role of the media is to report and to inform the public. In addition to reporting, the media aims at scrutinizing the government and strives to provide accurate and impartial information. This is a must for a free press in a democratic country. The journalistic field, in both countries, mainly serves to mediate among a variety of elites and also between these elites and the rest of the public (Benson, 2013). Both countries also tend to have national journalists who come from relatively wealthy families (Benson, 2013). While they have this in common, the journalistic fields differ in various ways. The most important difference is that the American press relies on advertisement much more than the French press (Benson, 2013). Moreover, the French media is subject to restrictive policies such as strict defamation laws and other restrictions that prevents or limit the access to government documents. It is the opposite in the US where the First Amendment strongly limits restrictive regulation (Benson, 2013). While labels such as liberal and conservative are subjective, most newspapers cater to an audience with liberal or conservative views. In addition, newspapers exert a large power by choosing how to report events, how often to report on certain events and

where to position the articles, whether to appear on the front page or to be buried somewhere and to be barely noticed by the reader.

Who owns the selected newspapers?

Both countries have similarities in regard to the birth of newspapers. France and Great Britain's North American colonies saw the emergence of newspapers under monarchies around the middle of the seventeenth century (Benson, 2013). They were both under strict political censorship and as time passed they both became more and more openly politicized (Benson, 2013).

Le Monde is a French daily newspaper that was created in 1944 by a journalist named Hubert Beuve-Méry (Evenno, 2004). When he created this newspaper, he aimed at making **Le Monde**, a newspaper that was free from political tendencies, free from financial powers and free from the church (Evenno, 2004). More than half a century later, the newspaper has evolved and while it maintains that it is being free of any political tendency, Piet et al. (2010) wrote that **Le Monde** is a newspaper that positions itself in the center left of the political field, so it has liberal views. In June 2015, **Le Monde** was purchased by three businessmen, Pierre Bergé, Xavier Niel and Matthieu Pigasse ("Le Monde Gets a New Owner.").

Le Figaro debuted in 1826 as a weekly satirical newspaper and was considered as the newspaper for the middle-class (Chavagneux, 2007). It was founded by Maurice Alhoy and Etienne Arago in 1826 and remained operational until 1833. Then in 1854,

Hippolyte de Villemessant restarted the newspaper and made it a daily newspaper a few years later in 1866 (Chavagneux, 2007). According to Piet et al (2010), le Figaro is focused on the economy and politics, and positions itself on the right center of the political field. The former director of the redaction of the Figaro, Etienne Mougeotte, further stated in 2012 that Le Figaro was leaning to opinions on the right. That way, le Figaro fits with more conservative views. Today the paper is owned by Dassault, a French defence and aviation group.

The New York Times (NYT) was originally called the New York Daily Times and was founded in 1851 by journalist and politician Henry Jarvis Raymond and by George Jones who was a banker. After the death of Jones, the paper struggled due to economic instability and was purchased by Adolph Ochs in 1896. The new owner revitalized the paper and it became a respected daily newspaper in the US and abroad as well (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "The New York Times"). Today, the NYT is still under the helm of the Ochs Sulzberger family and is considered one of the most regarded newspaper in the United States while being recognized as having liberal tendencies.

The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) was founded by Charles Dow in 1889. It began as a newspaper that covered financial and business news only, but as years passed it slowly started to cover more subjects. The paper was owned by the Barron, Bancroft family for over a century before being sold to Rupert Murdoch in 2007 ("Bancroft Family"). The Wall Street Journal is regarded as a respected daily business and financial newspaper

both in the US and abroad and is seen as a slightly conservative newspaper (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "The Wall Street Journal").

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Methodology

This research is a cross-national comparison of reporting on refugees in the French press and the US press. In order to obtain the most comprehensive list of articles, I initially collected all articles between the specified dates that included the word “refugee” in the US newspapers and “réfugié” in the French press. After eliminating a large number of articles that did not have the word refugee or réfugié in their titles, and after eliminating all duplicates, I came up with a total of 213 articles. Each article has been closely analyzed in order to determine the predominant media frames used, the language used and the underlying meanings. 70 articles were collected in the newspaper Le Monde, 24 in Le Figaro, 48 in The New York Times and 71 in The Wall Street Journal. The research method followed a specific procedure: 1) data building by gathering samples, 2) determining variables and counting variables, 3) analyzing data.

Step 1: Sampling and data building.

The first step was to gather sufficient and adequate news reports to build data. In order to collect data, I opted for collection through electronic archives. I used the

electronic database Lexis Nexis for articles in the New York Times, Le Monde and Le Figaro. For The Wall Street Journal, I used the electronic database ProQuest. The key word was refugee and I chose articles that not only covered the subject of refugees but had the word refugee in the title as well. Refugees from all over the world were taken into account, whether they were about refugees in Africa, Australia, Europe, America and other countries, all were selected as long as their titled contained the word refugee(s) and not migrants and immigrants. The reason for selecting the term refugee only was that the terms “refugee” and “migrant” have been used interchangeably in the past and I wanted the research to solely focus on refugees’ representation by the press. Often, newspapers articles, TV reports and videos showing thousands of people crossing seas and lands, crossing borders in Europe and North America have both been called migrants and refugees and there has been a blurred line between the two terms.

While refugees are people fleeing armed conflict or persecution, migrants are people who are choosing to move in order to improve their lives. This distinction is important because countries that have signed the 1951 Convention and its additional 1967 Protocol, must give refuge to refugees but not to migrants. With this in mind, my research also aimed at checking if the newspapers articles accurately used the words refugees and did not replace them with the terms migrants and immigrants instead. During the sampling process, opinion pieces, letters and commentaries were discarded from the list of articles gathered. This was done in order to eliminate personal point of views and to offer more accurate results.

Step 2: Variables, determining and counting

The first types of variables were the media frames. I chose four frames that have been previously utilized by scholars: *the managerialist frame*, *the threat frame*, *the economic frame* and *the human-interest frame*. In order to be able to attribute a frame to an article, I followed a list of questions that I referred to when analyzing each article. The list of questions is listed in appendix A. Some articles carried more than one frame and when more than one frame were present, I only recorded the most predominant one. Originally, I wanted to include visual frames, but was not able to do so because the electronic archives did not always attach the photographs that went along with the articles. This would have been an important addition to the study because visual elements of a story do not always present the same thematic messages as the text and this could have led to further underlying meanings. Furthermore, visual elements can be extremely important because they often attract the reader's attention in an instant. Some audiences do not read complete articles and only scan through images and headlines instead. That is why images can be the only message that the reader will remember and pay attention to. Being able to analyze the images or photographs would have enabled a more thorough study by allowing the recognition of the recurrence of certain images and certain visual frames associated to refugees.

In addition to the focus on media frames, I also decided to pay close attention to certain words such as integration, assimilation, Islam, Muslim, migrant, immigrant, flood, exodus and wave. These words would serve as underlying elements and would also be required to differentiate the French journalistic practice from the US journalistic practice. Certain words, catchphrases and metaphors have always been used by journalists to report on a story. This type of framing practice is intended to attract the

reader, to keep him focused and this is usually done to exaggerate, to add a positive or negative connotation and as a result constitutes bias.

The above-mentioned variables that I have been using for this research are important because they helped in understanding how the articles are constructed, which language was used and what type of frames were the most used. This allowed to analyze not only the meaning but also to discover if the recurrence of certain words and media frames were more representative than others and if those findings could be aligned to a political tendency.

Selection of newspapers and time period selected

I selected four major newspapers for the study. Two in the US, the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal and two in France, Le Monde and Le Figaro. Two newspapers are leaning towards liberal views: The New York Times and Le Monde and two are leaning to more conservative views with a focus on business and finances: The Wall Street Journal and Le Figaro. The goal here was to find out if the political tendency of the newspaper could affect the way reports on refugees were made. Would conservative newspapers portray refugees more harshly, knowing that conservatives were usually strict on immigration issues? Or would liberal newspapers present a more humane representation of refugees, showing them as victims and not as a threat? Would newspapers such as WSJ and Le Figaro address the economic consequences of having refugees more often and more in depth since they were business and economy oriented? These were questions that would be answered once all the data would be entered.

The time period selected was from January 1, 2017 until September 30, 2018. These particular dates were selected because January 2017 was the beginning of President Trump's mandate. Furthermore, on January 27, 2017, a week after his inauguration, President Trump signed Executive Order 13769, titled *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the US*. This order was soon referred to as the Muslim Ban or the Travel Ban by the media. From that day, millions of people entering the USA would be affected by this new order. Refugees would be impacted as well since the order mentioned that terrorists had entered the US through the United States refugee resettlement program ("Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States").

With this in mind, the enactment of the order was a direct concern to refugees wanting and waiting to resettle in the US. The order sparked a lot of controversy and was repeatedly covered by the news media. On the other side of the Atlantic, the refugee crisis was still an ongoing issue and the time period selected was also relevant since it continued covering refugees in Europe and all over the world as well. Therefore, after consideration, the time period selected was deemed appropriate and because of its recent nature was deemed pertinent to the study.

Chapter 4: Study Results and Analysis

Key media frames

The initial collection of articles in the LexisNexis database and the Proquest database resulted in around 400 articles, but were trimmed down to 213 after eliminating duplicates, articles without the word refugees in their titles and after discarding opinion pieces, commentaries, letters and debates. Table 1 below has a detailed breakdown of the articles that were collected for the analysis.

Table 1

Final sample of articles collected for analysis			
Country	Newspaper	Political Orientation	# of Articles
France	Le Monde	Center Right	70
France	Le Figaro	Right Wing	24
USA	The New York Times (NYT)	Slightly Liberal	48
USA	The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)	Slightly Conservative	71

The first step for the analysis was to record the media frames used in each article. Since some articles had more than one frame, only the most predominant frame was taken into account.

Table 2 and chart 2 present the recording of the four different news frames used for the research: *managerialist frame*, *threat frame*, *economic frame* and *human-interest frame*.

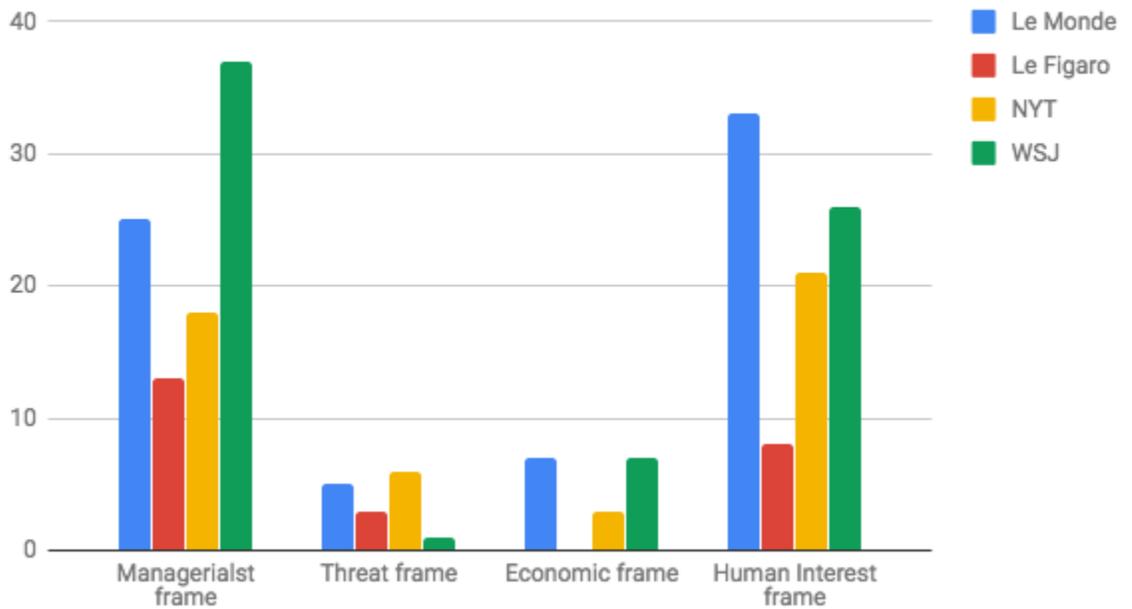
The most oft-used frame was the *managerialist frame* with 54.17% in Le Figaro, 52.11% in WSJ, 37.50% in NYT and 35.71% in Le Monde. The second most used frame was the *human-interest frame* with 47.14%, 43.75% in NYT, 36.62% in WSJ and 33.33% in Le Figaro (Table 2).

Table 2

	News Frames by Newspapers			
	Le Monde	Le Figaro	NYT	WSJ
Managerialist frame	25 (35.71%)	13 (54.17%)	18 (33.33%)	37 (52.11%)
Threat frame	5 (7.14%)	3 (12.50%)	6 (12.50%)	1 (1.40%)
Economic frame	7 (10.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (6.25%)	7 (9.85%)
Human Interest frame	33 (47.14%)	8 (33.33%)	21 (43.75%)	26 (36.62%)
Total	70	24	48	71

Chart 2

Media frames used by newspapers



The large amount of *managerialist frames* found in the US newspapers were mostly due to the articles reporting on the Executive Order signed by President Trump in January 2017. As soon as the president signed that order, there was a lot of reporting on the matter, where the executive order would eventually be referred to as the “Travel Ban” or the “Muslim Ban”. Those articles dealt with new rules, quotas and new policies related to the executive order and how it related to refugees. Other articles were published throughout the 19 months period covered and were related to the consequences of the order, particularly to various US judges denouncing the order and calling it unconstitutional and trying to bar the order from taking effect. More than half of the *managerialist frames* in the WSJ concerned US policies in regard to the admission of refugees in the US. The rest of the articles with a *managerialist frame* dealt with policies in Europe, Canada, Australia, Bangladesh and other countries who were receiving refugees. Similarly, more than half of the articles in the NYT with a *managerialist frame* were linked to the executive order and its consequences.

In contrast, the French press paid little attention to the executive order signed in the US and only 4 articles were recorded that related to the American policy in regard to their laws and quotas. Le Figaro did not cover the US Executive order at all. Most of the *managerialist frames* found in Le Monde and Le Figaro dealt with French and European laws and policies related to the influx of refugees and how to move forward. So, on an administrative point of view, the country of origin tended to cover more often domestic issues related to refugees than covering policies related to international countries. As a result, by reporting regularly on the executive order and the new policies being put in place by the government, it somewhat acted as a type of agenda-setting. Often, on a

daily or weekly basis, the government's actions and new laws and policies were being reported and were laying out the government's agenda.

Regarding the *threat frame*, all newspapers had a rather low percentage of articles with that frame: Le Monde 7.14%, Le Figaro 12.5, NYT 12.50% and WSJ 1.41% (Table 2 & Chart 2). Most of the articles with a *threat frame* reported on a specific incident. For example, in the WSJ (#26), there was a report titled "Iraqi refugee is accused of being a former ISIS fighter," another article in NYT (#6) was titled "ISIS Member Arrested in Sacramento, U.S. Says." The incident reported on one particular individual who was a refugee.

In the French press, it was rather similar with an article in Le Figaro (#3) titled "Comment la France a accordé l'asile à l'un des chefs de Daech; Haut cadre de l'EI, Ahmad H. a obtenu l'an dernier le statut de réfugié. Il est soupçonné de crimes contre l'humanité" (translation: How France gave asylum to one of Daech chief; a high level representative of ISIS, Ahmad H obtained refugee status last year. He is suspected of having committed crimes against humanity). This article denounced that France accorded the refugee status to a former member of ISIS. So, both the US press and the French press tended to personalize the *threat frame* to a particular individual and did not generalize the threat to refugees as a group. This was important because it did not establish an association between refugees and threat as well as refugees and crimes. Both countries were therefore similar in being careful when using the *threat frame* as to not overgeneralize the incidents and crimes being reported with a certain group of people.

In fact, the only time that refugees were portrayed as a threat was in the articles that reported on the executive order that had been signed by president Trump. The articles covering the executive order were recorded as a *managerialist frame* because they mostly dealt with the policies and laws that were being put in place, but the content of the article often reiterated that the Trump administration had signed this order in order to protect American citizens from terrorists. The title of the order spoke for itself “Protecting the nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the US” and since the articles also reported on refugees, this could entail that refugees were a terrorist threat as well. So, while the *threat frame* was rather low in the articles gathered, the NYT and WSJ were using the *managerialist frame* to cover the executive order and the refugees, which underlined the threat aspect at the same time.

The *economic frame* was also rather low with 10% in Le Monde, 0% in Le Figaro, 6.25% in NYT and 9.86 % WSJ (Table 2 & Chart 2). Most of the articles with an *economic frame* presented a positive view of refugees, where their work was needed in certain labor markets. For example, in the article titled “*Rust belt town relies on Refugees*” written by Miriam Jordan in the WSJ, the refugees were portrayed as a true force for the economic success of the region. The same positive view was present in the newspaper Le Monde (#2) titled “*A Chemnitz, PME cherchent réfugiés désespérément*” meaning that small enterprises were desperately in need of refugees. Le Figaro did not have a single article relating to the economic benefit or disadvantage of having refugees. This was unexpected, since the paper is a business paper and has a strong focus on the economic benefits and disadvantage of any group. On the other hand, the WSJ which is also a business paper, did what was expected by using an *economic frame* when needed

(Table 2 & Chart 2). However, it is important to note that the corpus of articles for the newspaper Le Figaro was much smaller (24 articles) and that may explain the absence of *economic frame* in the sample that was collected for the study. Overall, the use of *economic frames* was not most often used by financial newspapers such as Le Figaro and the WSJ and that showed that even though, those types of newspapers specialize in business and finance, they did not go out of their way to link refugees to economic advantages or disadvantages.

The last frame that was part of the research was the *human-interest frame* and I expected to find a large majority of those frames throughout the corpus because the subject of refugees is always closely associated to suffering, to being the victims and to documenting their struggle. The French newspaper Le Monde had 47.14% of *human-interest frame*, followed by 43.75% for the NYT, followed by 36.62% for the WSJ and last was Le Figaro with 33.33%. However, the results were not as high as I expected for both the American newspapers and the French newspapers and I believe that it was partly due to the large amount of *managerialist frames* that were being used instead and as a result were overshadowing the use of the *human-interest frame*. The large amount of articles linking refugees to the American executive order was certainly a factor for the lower use of the *human interest frame* in the NYT and the WSJ. Also, importantly, as mentioned earlier, when the articles were classified, only the predominant frame was taken into account, which meant that other frames might have been present as well but were not counted. Similarly, the French newspapers also had a lower amount of *human-interest frames* than expected and this was also due to the large amount of *managerialist frames*. France, like all Europe, has been faced with a refugee crisis that has sparked a

lot of debate and many articles related to refugees, were focusing on ways and new laws to control the influx of refugees. So, some of the articles would be about Germany or about Italy's policies on the subject of refugees and since many more countries were concerned with the refugee crisis, there was quite a lot to report on by the French press.

Needless to point out that the importance and the urgency of the refugee crisis led to a flow of rules and regulations and that as a consequence, the articles' main frames were often the *managerialist frame*. Nevertheless, whenever the *human-interest frame* was used, whether by the US press or the French press, the articles tended to use personalization, which gave the article a more compassionate aspect because each report focused on someone's personal endeavor. A large number of the articles with a *human-interest frame* were relating the personal account of a refugee, how he/she arrived in the host country and how he/she had suffered. Often the name of the person was written in the article and some of his/her own words were also written. Some of the articles had a happy ending, where the refugee was able to live a normal life while some articles were rather sad, where the refugee's future was uncertain and rather bleak. All those articles were reporting stories that would try to not only relate the event itself but also to expose the suffering and therefore bring emotion and compassion to the reader.

To summarize the overall usage of media frames, on average, the most oft-used frames were the *managerialist frames*, then the *human-interest frames*, followed by the *threat frame* and last by the *economic frame*. Both the French newspapers and the US newspapers were similar in their use of media frames and they all carefully and sparingly used the threat frame when reporting on refugees.

Frequency of variables

Now turning to other variables, I took note of other elements that I classified as variables related to the portrayal of refugees. Those variables were words that would appear a considerable amount of times in the articles collected. The variables were the following: mentioning the Muslim religion, using the word migrant instead of refugee, mentioning integration or assimilation and mentioning the definition of a refugee. Table 3 and Chart 3 below present a precise number of occurrences of those variables. Each time that an article mentioned those variables, it was recorded. An article could have one variable mentioned, two variables mentioned, three or four or none at all. If the word Islam or Muslim was written, it would be recorded and counted as one occurrence, no matter how many times it was repeated in the same article. So, the maximum of variables per article could be 4. Table 3 below shows the total for all articles per newspapers.

Table 3

	Variables Refugee portrayals			
	Le Monde	Le Figaro	NYT	WSJ
Muslim Religion Mentioned	10 (14.28%)	1 (4.16%)	26 (54.16%)	27 (38.02%)
Refugees called migrants	1 (1.42%)	1 (4.16%)	1 (2.08%)	2 (2.81%)
Integration / Assimilation mentioned	12 (17.14%)	4 (16.66%)	2 (4.16%)	6 (8.45%)
Definition of Refugee	2 (2.85%)	1 (4.16%)	1 (2.08%)	1 (1.40%)

Chart 3 below is a graph chart using the same data and was used in order to better view the differences between the 4 different newspapers. What stood out right away was the variable: mentioning of the religion of Islam. The two US papers, the NYT and the WSJ had a large number of occurrences of using the words Islam or Muslim throughout their articles. In the WSJ, most of the mentions of Islam were in the articles with a *managerialist frame* (15 out of 37), 1 out of 1 for the *threat frame*, 8 out of 26 for the *human-interest frame* and 2 out of 7 for the *economic frame*. For the NYT, 12 out of 18 articles with a *managerialist frame* mentioned Islam/Muslim, 5 out of 6 for the *threat frame*, 9 out of 21 for the *human-interest frame* and 0 out of 3 for the *economic frame*. The mentioning of Islam/Muslim was expected in the US papers when using a *managerialist frame*.

Chart 3

Le Monde, Le Figaro, NYT and WSJ

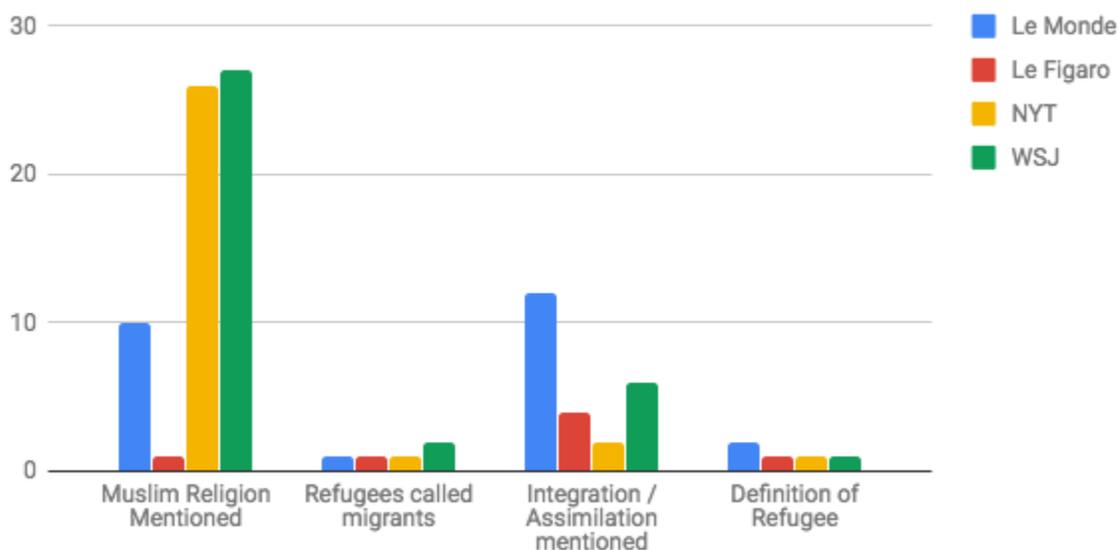


Table 3

As mentioned earlier, most of the articles using a *managerialist frame* were often related to the Executive Order signed by president Trump, which explicitly denounced nationals from certain Muslim countries as a threat. As a result, refugees who happened to come from those countries had to fall in that threat category as well. The use of *threat frame* itself was expected to reiterate that Islam/Muslim was a threat and it did. Many articles with a *human-interest frame* also mentioned Islam, but most of the articles related to the Rohingya refugees, who were being persecuted because of their Muslim faith and the Syrian refugees fleeing a civil war in Syria.

In contrast, the French press was much quieter about mentioning the Muslim religion. Le Monde had only 1 article out of 25 in the *managerialist frame* mentioning Islam/Muslim. 2 out of 5 in the *threat frame*, none in the *economic frame* (0/7) and 8 out

of 33 in the *human-interest frame*. Le Figaro mentioned Islam even less with only one time in an article with the threat frame (1/3).

Here the difference between the US newspapers and the French newspapers was more visible when analyzing the recurrences of the terms Islam and Muslim. The US press tended to mention the Islamic religion more often. As a result, it became an underlying factor that in a way permeated the article as a whole. The French press mostly mentioned Islam when it was relevant to do so. In the *threat frame*, Islam was mentioned, and it has been widely used by the French media as a threat in general. In the articles with the *human-interest frame*, Islam was also mentioned but usually when covering the flight of the Rohingya refugees or the Syrian refugees for example. Here the mentioning of the Muslim religion was not seen as a threat but more as a part of who those people were and why they were persecuted (Rohingyas). I was surprised by those results because France has had a long and bad “relationship” with Muslims. France has not been immune to terrorist attacks and xenophobia is a problem, especially towards Muslims. This is not a new phenomenon, but the French press seemed to be careful about not mentioning Islam excessively and unnecessarily.

The second important variable was the refugees being called migrants. All the four newspapers did it but sparingly. The NYT had 1 article out of 48 (2.08%), the WSJ had 2 out of 71 (2.81%), Le Monde had 1 article out of 70 (1.42%) and Le Figaro had 1 out of 24 (4.16%) articles. This variable was very important because journalists should be using the proper terms when reporting on refugees. If the term refugee was used interchangeably and inaccurately with migrant, the reader would be misinformed and might be confused and even unable to know that each term has a different definition.

The conflation of those two words would not only mislead the public but would also put in question the integrity of the journalist as well.

The results showed that there was in fact a rather low usage of using migrants and immigrants instead of refugees. A few articles in the corpus did conflate the terms refugee and migrant. For example, in article #64 titled "*Serquigny, 2 000 habitants, 30 réfugiés*" in the newspaper Le Monde, the article reported on a small village in Brittany, France, that had welcomed 30 refugees, mostly from Afghanistan. But then later it kept on referring to them as migrants. I found the conflation of terms troublesome because after reading the article, there was no difference between the two terms.

In the NYT, article #46 titled *E.U. Moves Against 3 Countries That Don't Take Refugees*, the term refugee was present in the title only. The rest of the article mentioned the term migrants 8 times. This was the only article out of the 48 articles that was misleading for the NYT. Most of the articles used the terms migrants, immigrants and refugees when reporting with any of the four media frames. However, the sentences would be formulated so that the two terms would not conflate. For example, "migrants and refugees arrived" the article "and" is used to show that those two groups are different; some are migrants and others are refugees.

In regard to another important variable, which was to give a definition of the term refugee in any article, it was done very scarcely. It seemed that journalists did not feel that reiterating the meaning of refugee was important. Out of the entire corpus, only 5 articles gave a definition of the term "refugee". One of the most detailed definition of a refugee was article # 4 titled "*A Refugee Caravan is Hoping for Asylum in the U.S. How Are These Cases Decided?*" written by Miriam Jordan in the NYT, in April 2018. Her

article was very explanatory and gave a good definition of a refugee and an asylum seeker. This article was written during the period of the so called “caravan” coming to the US last spring. Her article reiterated that “the goal is to provide a safe haven for those who can prove they are fleeing persecution in their homeland”.

Le Monde had 2 articles giving a definition of a refugee, the first one, article #20 had the definition of a refugee from the UNHCR written in quotation marks and the second article #22 reiterated that refugees had fled their country in order to save their lives. Le Figaro had article #7 that mentioned the 1951 Geneva Convention, stating that a refugee was someone who was persecuted or escaping a war-torn country.

In the WSJ, article #33, gave a brief definition stating “Historically, the U.S. has considered whether refugees demonstrate that they have experienced persecution or fear persecution.” Whether or not the definition of the term refugee was quoted from the Refugee Convention, the importance here was to mention what a refugee was in order to keep the reader well informed and be able to differentiate a refugee from a migrant/immigrant.

Now turning to the last variable which related to mentioning integration/assimilation, each newspaper did mention it more and less. The NYT had 2 articles out of 48 (4.16%), the WSJ had 6 out of 71 (8.45%), Le Monde had 12 out of 70 (17.14%) and Le Figaro had 4 out of 24 (16.66%). The results show that the French newspapers, both Le Monde and Le Figaro tended to discuss integration/assimilation more often than the US papers. In fact, many French articles emphasized on the efforts made to help with integration with language classes, workshop formations, community

gathering and more. In contrast the US press did not really highlight the efforts in regard to assimilation.

In addition to those variables, I also paid close attention to other terms that could be relevant in portraying refugees. These terms were: exodus, flood and wave and I decided to look for them because they are important and have been recorded by previous researchers who studied immigration. These terms have negative connotations and resonate with catastrophic and uncontrollable events. While I did find some of these terms, it was very rare and was therefore not counted.

Political tendencies

Another important goal of the study was to find out if any political tendencies were visible when reporting on refugees. In order to be able to do that, the 4 newspapers selected had a different political spectrum, the NYT and Le Monde could be seen as liberals, while the WSJ and Le Figaro would be ranked more conservative. Since previous studies have noted that conservative newspapers were harsher on the subject of immigration, I was expecting to find a similar pattern in my research. However, this was not the case and all four newspapers were reporting without noticeable political bias. Therefore, it would make sense that the subject of refugees is a special case among the complex and difficult subject of immigration, and that negative connotations are more seldomly used. We know that becoming a refugee is not a choice but an act of survival and therefore it should not be undermined by political views and unfair representations.

Limitations

This research is an attempt to contribute to a better understanding of the media in general. Of course, there are limitations that come along with all researches and there are a few that I would like to share. First, the time period will always be a limitation and I have chosen to start the study in January 2017 until September 30, 2018. The reason for the starting date is related to the Executive Order signed by president Donald Trump in January 2017 and is only 19 months old. By selecting a date linked to an important event, it gave me room for moving forward until the near present, being September 30, 2018. While some may find the time period too short, I believe that the period of nineteen months focusing on one subject, here the representation of refugees in newspapers, is a sufficient period in order to conduct a relevant study. Another limitation was the amount of newspapers articles used for the study. It would have been ideal to cover all news articles and news broadcasters in the US and in France, but it was just impossible to do so. I had to settle for a few of the most important newspapers in the US and in France. This is why I chose two important and well recognized newspapers in the US and two in France. Another limitation could be related to the selection of frames used to analyze the texts because they could be considered inconclusive by some; even though I am using a method that has been adopted by many researchers and scholars.

Also, some may argue that the comparison of the media representation of refugees between France and the USA is too narrow and should have included more European countries since France is not the only European country affected by the refugee crisis. However, the task would have been much more demanding, and the language would have been a barrier as well. Lastly, the study did not provide

information regarding how audiences processed the framing dimensions and how they felt that it shaped their opinions in regard to refugees. This would have been a good addition, but would have been much more difficult, especially for retrieving information abroad in France, with French readers.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

This comparative study about the portrayal of refugees by the US and the French press was the result of an interest that was sparked after studying three subjects, International Human Rights, International Media/ Social Change and Refugees and Forced Migration, all taught at USF. The first step of the study was to analyze the key media frames that were most used by the 4 selected newspapers. The literature review helped me in being aware of previous researches similar to my study and also to use the well accepted key media frames that had been used by scholars and researchers. This allowed me to have a good starting point and a model to follow for the analysis. The literature review also allowed me to come up with questions that needed answers. For example: what were the most oft used key frames used? Was the political tendency of a newspaper reflected on its portrayal of refugees? Was the French press more compassionate when reporting on refugees? The data showed that the most used frames by all 4 newspapers were rather similar and that their political tendencies were not noticeable. I found that the representation of refugees was not negative overall. It

seemed that refugees occupied a specific place in immigration as a whole and therefore were sheltered from the criticism that other migrants are often portrayed with. Even when many governments around the world have taken a hard line on immigration, some even viewing refugees as a liability to not only security but also to stability and identity, journalists have not fallen into the trap of stereotypes and misrepresentation. When journalists reported on a specific person calling a refugee a terrorist for example, it was made clear who said it and was not generalized to a group of people. Unlike previous studies on the portrayals of refugees by the media that denounced media bias and dehumanization of that group, I did not find noticeable negative connotations associated to refugees in any of the newspaper's articles sample.

Nevertheless, since the US president has repeatedly emphasized on the threat of terrorism by foreigners, often by associating terrorists to Islam, there was a large amount of news articles with the words Islam and Muslim when reporting on refugees. Sadly, the reader might also become accustomed to the association of Muslim/terror/ refugee and in turn might have a negative opinion on refugees. In comparison, the French press did not report extensively on the Executive Order and President Trump, which resulted in omitting the terrorism and Islam association. In fact, the French press did not use the terms Islam and Muslim as often as the US press when reporting on refugees.

One of the main differences between the French press and the US press was the mentioning of integration of refugees. Overall, the articles in both French newspapers were much more adamant about discussing integration and ultimately about the welfare of refugees. It gave a sentiment of solidarity and compassion that I did not find as much in the US newspapers. This in turn gave a more positive image of refugees as a whole.

They were seen as a group of people who were thankful and who were trying to fit in their new society.

I hope that this study can serve as a reference point for future research on the media representation of certain groups of people. While the approach utilized in this study had many limitations, I believe that the data collected represents a good snapshot of contemporary newspapers covering the refugee crisis that is going on in the world today.

Recommendations:

While this study has put some more light on the way that the French press and the US press portray refugees in the world, future studies are needed to continue monitoring the media and to see if those results are being consistent or if they are evolving. Optimally, more studies should include a wider range of types of media such as television, internet forums, podcasts and more in order to widen the study and to generalize the findings.

Furthermore, moving beyond the written news media, as I mentioned earlier, examining images and photographs accompanying articles about refugees should also be studied. As we know, a picture can be worth a thousand words and it would be interesting to find out what type of images and photographs are mostly used when reporting on refugees. Another interesting research would be to study the use of metaphors by the press in relation to the portrayal of refugees. Metaphors have become a commonly used rhetorical device used by a large number of actors and the press is one of them. Metaphors can then go beyond rhetorical devices and influence the reader as

well. Lastly, having participants' feedback on the way they view the portrayal of refugees would be very informative. That way it would give an idea of the influence that the press has on the reader.

Appendix A: List of questions related to identifying key media frames

Economic Frame:

- 1) Is the article discussing financial effects of refugees whether positive or negative?
- 2) Does the article discuss the costs that refugees may have to a country, an organization, a business or other?
- 3) Is there a discussion regarding the number of refugees coming into a country and its costs or benefits?

Human interest frame:

- 1) Does the article include personal stories by refugees?
- 2) Is the article presented from the refugee's point of view?
- 3) Is the article focusing on the suffering of refugees, and presenting them under a sympathetic or empathetic light?
- 4) Is the article portraying them as victims?

Threat frame

- 1) Is the article portraying refugees as a threat?
 - a) national security threat, terrorism
 - b) individual security threat, crimes
 - c) welfare system threat
 - d) cultural identity threat

Managerial frame

- 1) Is the government coming up with policies to assist or curb refugee admission?
- 2) Are organizations laying out their plans to assist, welcome refugees?
- 3) Are certain countries refusing to assist, open their borders to receive refugees?

Appendix B: Articles from the NYT

1) Specia, Megan. "**The Five Conflicts Driving the Bulk of the World's Refugee Crisis**". *The New York Times*. June 19, 2018 Tuesday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5SKV-2VW1-DXY4-X2VW-00000-00&context=1516831>.

2) Rao, Tejal. "**For Refugees, a Chance To Bridge the Divide Across the Dinner Table**". *The New York Times*. June 15, 2018 Friday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5SJS-NNH1-DXY4-X3WR-00000-00&context=1516831>.

3) Specia, Megan. "**Syrian Refugees Face Disease and Dehydration in Border Camps**". *The New York Times*. July 7, 2018 Saturday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5SRG-1KX1-DXY4-X029-00000-00&context=1516831>.

4) Miriam Jordan. "**A Refugee Caravan is Hoping for Asylum in the U.S. How Are These Cases Decided?**". *The New York Times*. April 30, 2018 Monday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5S75-H8J1-DXY4-X310-00000-00&context=1516831>.

5) Cohen, Patricia. "**Eager Refugees Courted for Jobs In Tight Market**". *The New York Times*. April 2, 2018 Monday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5S10-V371-DXY4-X0M4-00000-00&context=1516831>.

6) Stevens, Matt and Cohn, Gabe. "**ISIS Member Arrested in Sacramento, U.S. Says**". *The New York Times*. August 15, 2018 Wednesday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5T20-D261-DXY4-X3F9-00000-00&context=1516831>.

7) Nordland, Rod, Cochrane Joe and Kingsley Patrick. "**'Dreams Die' for Refugees on Verge of Coming to U.S. as Trump Closes Door**". *The New York Times*. January 28, 2017 Saturday. <https://advance-lexis-com.proxy4.athensams.net/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5MV9-K5M1-JBG3-650X-00000-00&context=1516831>.

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