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GROUP-THREAT IN THE NEWS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EXPRESSION OF GROUP-THREAT AND MEDIA FRAMING IN EUROPEAN UNION IMMIGRATION NEWS STORIES

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This work is dedicated to my love Maureen, and to my children Camilla and Vincent. Thank you for your patience and tolerance. I could not have done this without you.

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Abstract

The member nations of the Europe Union (EU) faced a dilemma born of troubling economic times during the years between 2000 and 2012. The political turmoil currently plaguing the continent created an environment rife with nationalism and rejection of EU sovereignty over *national affairs*, specifically immigration. Ironically, The EU needed immigration to grow its stagnant populations and to contribute to its national and supranational economies. Fueled by these dilemmas, the citizens of member–nations increasingly expressed anti-immigrant sentiment. As media is reflective of public sentiment, this dissertation examines whether media coverage of immigration news reflected group-threat sentiment expressed by citizens and consequently, anti-immigrant sentiment, through the theoretical lens of group-threat theory. The data reveled that media expressed and reported expressions of group threat sentiment, operationalized as ethnocentrism and nationalism, with some concurrence of reports of economic downturn and migrant population growth. This research also revealed that expressions of group threat also concurred with established immigration news frames and with particular news topics such as terrorism and references to Islam. Expressions of group-threat sentiment did not increase in conjunction with coverage of events significant in European Union history. Future research should be directed towards the examination of group threat as expressed in ethnic minority media and via the usage of new media.

Introduction

This cross-cultural comparative study examines the propagation of societal bias via the media. Specifically, I examine the possibility that media parrot dominant group ideology by expressing group-threat sentiment in their reporting of issues related to European Union immigration, through the theoretical lens of group-threat theory (Quillian, 1995). I approach this research by conducting a quantitative content analysis on European Union news sources. The news sources used are a collection of prestigious European newspapers and wire services that reflect the diversity of perspective and opinion that exists across the European continent. The goal of this analysis is to provide insight into the journalistic expression of cultural bias, to determine whether the expression of group-threat in newspaper reporting is consistently utilized throughout the European press.

Group-threat theory

I have chosen Quillian's (1995) "group-threat theory" as a theoretical lens to assess what factors contribute towards the development and expression of threat perception. Group-threat theory puts forth factors such as economics, immigrant group size and the proximity of immigrants, all leading to the development of hostile feelings (or threat perception) amongst the dominant populace or "in-groups" (Bircan & Hooghe, 2010; Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 1995; Schlüter, 2007; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Wilson, 2001), towards out-groups, or primarily immigrants. Dominant groups develop this hostility based on their desire to maintain their dominant positions and economic

advantages over subordinate groups (Espinosa, 2009). Because media both influence society and are influenced by society, I hypothesize media must express threat perception in a manner similar to dominant groups.

Group-threat is an expression of bias, which is considered by journalistic definitions the opposite of objectivity (Hartley, 2008). Hallin (1984) observed for instance, that the media will perpetuate a perspective while it is typically supported by the political elite. This suggests that the media serves as a vanguard of majority opinion regardless of the relative stance of this opinion. Noting that the expression of group-threat is rarely explicit, or consciously intended to compromise journalistic standards, I contend threat perception is less an expression of bias and more an expression of a cultural or societal value. There is precedence in the notion that journalists express cultural values while reporting the news. Ideology can be thought of as the expression of particular cultural values. Threat perception, as defined in-group-threat theory, represents a specific cultural value (McLaren, 2003; Quillian, 1996). This perspective follows Hall's (1989) position on the media in his cultural studies theory, which states the media serve as a means of maintaining the ideology of those in power (Griffin, 2008; Hall, 1989).

I contend group-threat sentiment, and consequently, anti-immigrant sentiment, are likely expressed in the media utilizing media frames. Media frames are linguistic devices that lend understanding to news events and convey meaning via the use of rhetorical structures (Mann & Thompson, 1988), also known as rhetorical schemas (Van Dijk, 1983) or frame elements (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Reese (2001) contends

frames are an exercise in power, affecting our understanding of the world. I share this interpretation and believe that frames act as cultural filters through which to view reality. News outlets serve as the primary vehicle through which the public receives information and are therefore exposed to media frames. Those frames reflect cultural values and more directly, dominant group points of view.

Justification for this Research

Group-threat theory itself has been researched extensively from a sociological perspective regarding public attitudes (De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2005). Therefore, most group-threat research is survey based; aiming to identify public salience of immigration issues, as well as correlates relating to public opinion on the topic (Pichler, 2010; Schlueter, Schmidt, & Wagner, 2008). The bulk of the research related to Quillian's theory has been conducted amongst European nations (Escandell & Ceobanu, 2009; Kraus, 2008; Schlueter et al., 2008), likely because of Quillian's initial focus on European Union immigration. Immigration issues are major concerns for European Union nations, as they serve as popular destination nations. Little research though, has been devoted to exploring press coverage of immigration regarding the content of news articles, and specifically taking into consideration the expression of cultural points of view. I have chosen to take a different approach to the examination of group-threat, a grounded approach – focusing the expression of threat perception as expressed within the media, in a manner similar to Rigby (2009) and Schlüter (2007), both of whom have investigated group-threat and its expression in the media. In pursuing this approach, I aim to contribute to the group-threat theory literature based on differences in technique.

Immigration is also a concern for developed nations across the globe (destination countries), as well as developing countries, which must deal with the consequences of loss of human resources. I therefore seek to expand the scope of framing and opinion research by conducting a cross-national comparative study using non-western nations in addition to western nations.

I justify this research on group-threat based on developments that have occurred since Quillian first proposed his model in 1995. Further study should include variables relating to the influence of the media, as well as the significant historical developments that have occurred, especially over the past decade. The developments include the expansion of the European Union and the growth in power of the EU as member countries have ceded sovereignty to the central government. The expanded borders and free movement of people amongst countries serve as factors worthy of consideration. I also state the significant terrorist events and subsequent wars that occurred since 1995 must also be examined as contributors to the development of anti-immigrant attitudes. These societal changes have guided me in the development of my research questions.

The terms "immigration," "migrants" and "asylum" are frequently referenced in this study. The terms immigrants, migrants and refugees refer to individuals who have traversed national borders with the intent of settling in a nation other than the country of birth. Though they are not the same term and are investigated independently in other surveys, "asylum seekers" and "refugees" are migrants will be referred to as "immigrants" in this study, though those other terms will be referenced on occasion. The term "out-groups" and "subordinate groups" refer equally to ethnic and racial minorities, and especially immigrants, as they compare to the native populations of

European Union countries. Native populations will be referred to as "in-groups," or "dominant groups."

In this first chapter, I summarized my research interest, which relates to the expression of group-threat perception within the media, reflecting anti-immigrant sentiment. I explain my interest in conducting a cross-comparative study, utilizing content analysis as a research method. I intend to add depth to the discussion of the extent to which dominant culture beliefs contribute to media coverage of European Union immigration issues in European newspapers. In chapter two, the literature review, I explore the theoretical foundations of this study, integrating discussion of group-threat theory with media framing theory. Chapter three consists of a detailed description of the research methodology. I utilize content analysis to examine press reporting of immigration within the European Union. I follow the approach taken by Schlüter (2007), and Schlüter and Scheepers (2010) who utilized content analysis of news sources to examine the structure, content and tone of news related to immigration coverage. I also examine the framing of immigration issues, utilizing the approaches of Nickels (2005), Van Gorp and Semetko and Kohring (2000). Research findings will be detailed in chapter four. Chapter five will contain the discussion of the study and the conclusion. Figures and Appendices will follow the reference section.

Literature Review

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical foundations guiding this research. I begin with a discussion of group-threat theory, which I focus upon as I examine press coverage of immigration in the EU. I continue this literature review discussing media coverage, as well as research on culture and media bias. Respective of its importance to this research, I now begin this discussion with an examination of group-threat theory.

Theoretical foundation: group-threat theory

This work is based on Lincoln Quillian's group-threat theory (1995). The theory states dominant groups (or in-groups) develop perceptions of threat concerning subordinate groups (or out-groups). Essential to this theory is the development of group identity (Chen & Li, 2009; Kramer & Brewer, 1984), which can contribute to the development of dominant group identification especially when the group is the majority of a population. Group identity is not in and of itself a negative attribute. Blumer (1958) though, observed members of dominant groups, who develop strong group identification, often develop feelings that can lead to the development and expression of prejudice. He summarizes these feelings as follows:

> (1) a feeling of superiority; (2) a feeling the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien; (3) a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage; and (4) a fear and suspicion the subordinate race seeks to intrude on the dominant race's domination over resources (p. 4).

Quillian builds on Blumer's (1958) conceptions of the group-based shared notions of superiority and entitlement, and contributes to them the concept that the degree to which a population expresses prejudice towards minority groups is based on economic factors, such as the desire to protect the dominant group's economic interests. Quillian also states the perception of threat is fueled by the relative size of the minority group to the dominant group – the larger the minority group, the stronger the perception of threat felt by the dominant group.

Quillian tested his theory by examining Eurobarometer survey responses from citizens of European Economic Community (EEC) countries (the in-groups or dominant groups) relating to the perception of immigrants (out-groups or subordinate groups) within these countries. He found correlation between anti-immigrant attitudes and the tenets of his theory. His work has been cited by over 750 other researchers dealing with a large variety of subjects (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; McLaren, 2003; Putnam, 2007; Steenbergen & Jones, 2002). Amongst the public, group-threat can be expressed in a variety of ways – from base incivility to the pursuit of threat-inspired actions, such as the crafting of legislation restricting immigrant access to land (Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002).

Quillian states the theoretical foundations of his theory are as follows:

- prejudice is a response to the perceived threat posed by immigrants to the dominant group;
- the size of the subordinate group influences the development of group-threat;

- the worsening of economic conditions influence the development of group-threat – as conditions decline, dominant groups are more likely to express threat perceptions towards subordinate groups, and lastly;
- micro-level differences in individual characteristics contribute to the likelihood of developing group-threat.

Again, Quillian posited that negative changes in economic conditions, and increasing sizes of migrant populations contributed to the development of group-threat. He also noted that individual characteristics served as indicators of the expression of group-threat. However, these tenets need not all be present for the activation of group-threat. Worsening economic conditions could trigger group-threat alone, as could increases in out-group populations. These conditions could also occur concurrently, increasing the likelihood of the activation of group-threat amongst the public. I now continue the exploration of group threat theory by discussing the individual tenets, as well as the operationalization of the first tenet via the operationalization of ethnocentrism and nationalism.

First tenet: group derived racial prejudice. The first tenet, group-derived prejudice, results from feelings amongst dominant group members that their status is subject to challenge by subordinate groups. Regarding immigrants, this means members of the in-group perceive them as encroaching on their position of collective strength (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999). As stated earlier, Blumer defined group-derived prejudice as dominant groups developing feelings of superiority over subordinate groups based on their group status. They also feel the subordinate group is intrinsically different and

alien. They tend to claim certain areas of privilege and advantage over subordinate groups and finally they exhibit fear and suspicion concerning subordinates' pursuit of resources (Quillian, 1995, p. 588). The culmination of these feelings leads to group-threat perception.

The United States, because of its history of racial tensions, has provided an ideal setting for the study of threat perception. Much of the research within the U.S. has focused on white-black relations. More recently, research has been dedicated towards examining white Americans (the dominant group) bias towards other groups, as different minority groups have gained traction in society. Not all groups are perceived as posing as much a threat as others. Dixon's (2006) research focused on perceptions of minorities in America, in which the dominant racial and ethnic minorities are black, Hispanic and Asian. Dixon observed group-threat, when associated with particular races, is stratified, meaning some races are considered more threatening by perception than other races. Comparing the social strata of racial and ethnic minorities, he claimed group-threat theory relates best to present day black white relations, based on decades of cautious and hostile interaction. Dixon also stated Hispanics and Asians "ascended in this hierarchy" and they aroused less threat and had more comfortable interactions with whites than blacks had.

Kraus' (2008) research, serving as an illustration of dominant group prejudice, is supportive of the notion that threat perception is based on a dominant group's feelings of superiority over subordinate groups. In examining xenophobia (which can be an expression of threat perception) in Russia, Kraus noted wealthy Russians expressed xenophobia towards immigrants basing their feelings on their Russian group identity

and feelings of superiority. She attributed the xenophobic feelings to Quillian's interpretation of the first tenet of group-threat theory, which focuses on the feeling of privilege held by the dominant group, or in her words, "xenophobic expression by wealthy ethnic Russians may be a creation and defense of the new, privileged Russian identity" (p. 22). This is indicative of group derived prejudice as conceived by Blumer (1958).

Despite decades of socialism, newly wealthy Russians' ethnocentric belief that only native Russians should accumulate the country's wealth may be based on the fact they now control resources, making them the dominant group. All others, especially non-natives, regardless of numbers, become out-groups or subordinate groups. Their sense of race-based privilege expresses itself as intolerance, which supports Quillian's views on the dominant group anti-immigrant sentiment.

Dominant group composition and the expression of prejudice. Group composition is not solely based on race or ethnicity, but may also be based on other characteristics that unify the group. Those characteristics can be anything to which a group of people find common cause, be it religion, nationality or even sports team affiliation (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). All of these characteristics serve to unify groups and can lead to the development of group-derived prejudice (Blumer, 1958), or anti-immigrant sentiment. Raijman and Semyonov (2009), for instance, studied the expressions of anti-immigrant sentiment in Israel, noting anti-immigrant sentiment is very pronounced in the country and has been manifested politically, in the support for staunch restrictionist policies. The researchers suggested threat perceptions of new

immigrants within Israeli society were strongly influenced by both private and government actions. Immigrants instead are subject to "racial and ethnic labor market inequality, segregation of housing, and general inter-group tension" (p. 22) as a result of anti-immigrant sentiment. Most interestingly, the Israeli population is a population of immigrants. The populace is composed of those automatically granted citizenship by the country's Law of Return, established in 1950, and the Law of Nationality, established in 1952 (Toren, 1978).

Those that have been granted citizenship have been two distinct groups, Jews of European and American descent and Jews of Middle Eastern and North African descent. Despite the differences in these two groups in race and ethnicity, they have found commonality in culture and national identity, which grants access to resources. This has allowed the two groups to forge a union as the dominant group. The more recent immigrants to Israel have largely been economic, non-Jewish migrants; those who migrate to Israel without the shared religious heritage of the majority become the out-group. This suggests dominant group unity is not solely based on racial homogeny, but also emerges based on common culture. This supports Quillian's notion both ethnocentrism and nationalism influence the development of group-threat perception.

Group threat, ethnocentrism and nationalism. Important to the discussion is the notion of a collective perception, specifically the collective perception of threat posed by an out-group. The group perception is manifest as an expression of unity, or as Quillian states, "the crucial importance of a notion of "our" race or nationality and the "other" race or nationality in the formation of prejudice" (p. 592). In other words, Quillian states that expressions of collectivism, either in the form of ethnocentrism

(Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998; King, 2007) or nationalism (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003), are key components of group-derived prejudice. Quillian borrows from Anderson's (1983) notion of "imagined community," of the nation or racial group as being the primary collectives through which prejudice is expressed towards out-groups. The operationalization of the dependent variables for this study was accomplished by attempting to capture expressions of both racial (or ethnic) and national group identities.

Ethnocentrism. Threat perception is not simply a phenomenon of racial bias. Threat perception is also expressed amongst groups sharing common racial heritages. Ethnocentrism is a belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group (King & Wheelock, 2007), which can supersede the commonalities of race. Ethnocentrism contributes to the expression of threat perception (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998; Grant, 1991), which has been demonstrated to manifest in environments in which people have similar racial backgrounds, but different cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Nationalism. The characteristic known as "national pride," is also an individual variable which can be measured, though there can be a group attribute of "nationalism." Studying this characteristic, De Figueiredo and Elkins (2003) examined whether national pride can be measured, and can it be seen as contributing towards anti-immigrant sentiment. They determined national pride could be operationalized as two separate variables – nationalism and patriotism. Nationalism was regarded as a positive regard for one's nation in comparison to other nations, implying respect for the cultural, linguistic and ethnic homogeneity of the nation. Patriotism was regarded as implicit pride in one's nation and love for one's homeland. Whereas nationalism was considered

competitive, patriotism was considered non-competitive and self-referential. Utilizing survey data, the researchers determined nationalistic ideology contributed towards the development of anti-immigrant sentiment. Patriotism on the other hand, was not seen as contributing towards anti-immigrant sentiment in any great measure.

As evidenced by these conclusions, those holding nationalistic views seem to be more capable of anti-immigrants sentiment than those expressing patriotism. Alternatively, supranationalism in the form of support of the European Union (EU), which juxtaposes nationalism, may also suggest a more likely embracing of pro-immigrant policy, reflecting pro-immigrant sentiment. Research suggests Europeanization, especially concerning immigration, is unpopular amongst the public (McLaren, 2002). I argue later that support for the European Union, or Europeanization (another word for EU supranationalism) is indicative of acceptance of EU autonomy and authority amongst journalists. In the context of immigration, support for Europeanization should negatively correlate to anti-immigrant sentiment, again, amongst the populace.

Second tenet: subordinate group size. The second tenet of group-threat theory concerns the importance of out-group size. Quillian (1995) states dominant group members developed threat perception based on subordinate groups relative to the size of their own, with the perception of threat increasing as subordinate groups increase in size. Essentially, subordinate groups represent increased competition for resources and power. Therefore, Quillian (1995) states "group size can increase the potential for political mobilization and result in a greater threat to the dominant group" (p. 589).

Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders (2002) set out to test European citizen support for benefits for non-citizens. They found support evidence of threat perception, as well as evidence supporting the notion ethnic group size contributes to the development of anti-immigrant sentiment.

Evidence supporting this tenet is manifest in voting behavior. For instance, Rink, Phalet and Swyngedouw, (2009) investigating group-threat and voting behavior in Belgium, observed voting for the anti-immigrant party "Vlaams Blok" was positively influenced by the size of immigrant populations. The researchers also found positive correlations between lower economic status and support for this extremist political party. They observed, however, education served as a mitigating factor on the influence of extremist ideology on voting preferences, despite the presence of ethnic minorities. Interestingly, they noted individual unemployment increased the likelihood of support for the Vlaams Blok, but "there is no added contextual effect of the scarcity of jobs in one's municipality, not even when there are many immigrants present" (p. 420). This reinforces the notion that individual perception (the fourth tenet) may influence threat perception and therefore voter preferences to a greater extent than economic conditions (the third tenet). I discuss both of these factors below.

Subordinate group and voter behavior has been examined in America as well. For instance, Giles and Hertz (1994) demonstrated in America that rising Republican voter turnout correlates with the growth of black populations (an established subordinate group) within common communities. This suggests predominantly white and conservative Republicans (the in-group) become more politically active to thwart

the increasing voting presence of out-groups such as African-Americans, who vote predominantly Democratic.

Citing another example relating to voting behavior, this time focusing on Eastern European countries, Brustein and King (2005) observed in Bulgaria and Romania, anti-Semitic sentiment increased in comparison with the perceived growth of the Jewish population (a subordinate group) and therefore political power, prior to World War II. This anti-Semitism, an expression of group-threat, increased based on the interpretation of the increased political power of the Jewish community attributed to its increasing size relative to the dominant group.

In concluding the discussion of the second tenet of group-threat theory, it should be noted other types of studies have been conducted relating to group-threat perception beyond the realm of politics. An example of this is the study conducted by Tolsma, Lubbers and Coenders (2008). One of the most interesting conclusions they observed was that an increase in the proportion of ethnic subordinate groups within a community specifically contributed to dominant group members' opposition to inter-ethnic marriage. Higher education levels mitigated this opposition. Contact with members of other groups, therefore contributed to resistance to the notion of interracial relationships, which is likely perpetuated by stereotypes – and quite possibly by resistance to the sharing of resources across races and ethnicities. As discussed previously, dominant groups seek to preserve status and resources amongst themselves. This tendency is especially prevalent during times of economic crisis, (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Scheepers et al., 2002) which is the subject of the next tenet of group-threat theory, economic conditions.

Third tenet: economic conditions. The third tenet of Quillian's group-threat theory relates to economic conditions within a region or country. Residents of regions experiencing economic strife are more likely to perceive threat posed by subordinate groups (Esses et al., 2001; Lubbers & Scheepers, 2001). Economic strife implies scarcity, causing fear amongst dominant group members that they will be challenged by out-groups for those resources. Changes in economic conditions can lead to the development of fears relating to the wellbeing of the majority, who then view subordinate groups as threats. This fear of scarcity results in anti-immigrant sentiment. Pichler (2010) concurs with this conclusion, stating changes in economic conditions, such as a decrease in gross domestic product, or an increase in unemployment rates, leads to "collective negative response to immigration" (p. 446).

Sanchez (1997), for instance, writing of the development of anti-Latino immigrant sentiment in America, claimed tenuous economic conditions for whites trigger the embracing of "meritocratic rhetoric," or the avowing of achievement based on accomplishment. This line of thinking involves the assumption of meritless gains by minority groups, contributing to the elevating of anxiety amongst the white majority, fears of victimization and resource abuses of minorities. The implication is that "whites" according to Sanchez, "who are faced with economic failure or insecurity in spite of their racial privilege become a sure breeding ground for the scapegoating of racial others" (p. 1042).

Examples focusing on the correlation between changes in economic conditions and anti-immigrant sentiment include Somerville and Sumption (2009) who observe citizens in the United Kingdom hold strong negative opinions on immigrants, believing

they impact local economies by decreasing wages. Valentova and Alieva (2010) drew similar conclusions, noting economic conditions explain threat perception expressed as anti-immigrant sentiment in Luxembourg.

Forth tenet: individual characteristics. The fourth tenet of Quillian's theory relates to individual characteristics. According to the theory, these serve as predictors for an individual's inclination for perceiving subordinate groups as threats. Examples of individual characteristics include gender. Males, for instance, are more inclined to express out-group bias than females (King, 2007; Quillian, 1995; Stephan et al., 2002; Strabac & Ringdal, 2008). Education levels serves as important determinants of threat perception. Lower education levels correlated with greater levels of threat perception (Quillian, 1996; Schlueter & Davidov, 2011). Higher education decreased the individuals' fear of inter-ethnic competition, which in-turn reduced anxiety associated with the diffusing of dominant group societal positioning. Tolsma, Lubbers and Coenders (2007) observed education levels correlated negatively to threat perception, which in turn led to greater support for interracial marriage. Kraus (2008) also noted education mitigated xenophobic feelings amongst Russians, implying increased knowledge of other cultures and exposure to other ethnicities and nationalities during schooling contributed to greater levels of tolerance.

Other individual characteristics, such as language proficiency and reading preferences also seem to contribute to threat perception. For instance, in analyzing threat perception amongst first and second generation Korean Americans, Lee and Ulmer (2000) observed low English language proficiency and preferences for ethnic media were significant variables contributing to fear of crime, which relates to fear of

minority members, based upon stereotypical associations between race and the engagement in criminal activities.

Fear of crime was analogous to threat perception, in that respondents believed that crimes were most likely to be committed by other ethnic minorities solely upon acceptance of stereotypes. Consequently, those who preferred ethnic media were more likely to express threat perception. They were much more likely to be fearful of crimes than those who were more fluent and used English language media. English speakers and those partaking in English media are more likely to encounter stereotype-dispelling images, which were instrumental in reducing perceived threat of other ethnic minorities.

The individual characteristics I focus on in this study are race (along with ethnicity), religion and gender. Race is often mentioned when discussing subjects in news articles. For instance, minority members' race is mentioned while reporting crime stories (Bjornstrom, Kaufman, Peterson, & Slater, 2010; Fair & Astroff, 1991), unconsciously or consciously implying a link between race and crime. Gender references in news coverage usually involve distinguishing women from men (Anastasio & Costa, 2004; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991). Surprisingly in reporting on immigration, most depictions of women were not necessarily positive. This is contrary to my expectation, which is immigration news emphasizing human nature or human plight frames, such as those observed by Nickels (2005), would express sympathy towards women. This is not necessarily the case.

For example, Lemish (2000), who conducted a study on the portrayal of female migrants in Israel, observed newspapers focused on sexual servitude, as opposed to other potential problems encountered by female migrants. The articles rarely focused

upon the contributions migrants have made to Israeli society. The study also focused on the "otherness" of the women, highlighting features or attributes that distinguish them from Israeli women. The study demonstrates the manner in which gender can play into the discussion of anti-immigrant sentiment. Though the study did not clearly examine anti-immigrant sentiment – the attitudes expressed within the articles seemed to infer the notion that immigrant women were not of equal footing to Israeli women. This sentiment could be seen as an example of bias based upon dominant group identity.

In another example, Bullock and Jafri (2000) noted Canadian media poorly represented Muslim women in their discussions of the "Canadian woman's identity" (p. 35) and emphasized immigrant status. They also wrote that the media does not determine what people think, but does contribute greatly to helping the public define who "we" are. They do this by comparing "others," such as migrants to the dominant group and emphasizing their differences. Provided the media's preference for highlighting both race and gender in news reports, one of my hypotheses is race and gender will be emphasized in coverage of immigration news, especially considering the likelihood that migrants to EU countries come from countries in which the dominant race is not Caucasian.

Summary of the "tenets" or theoretical foundations. In summary, group-threat is composed of four tenets. The first relates to racial bias, and states dominant groups will express some bias towards immigrants, perceiving them as a threat to their societal position. The second states that as immigrant populations increase in size, the dominant group will feel increasing levels of threat aimed at the immigrant population. The third states economic conditions will influence the degree to which native

populations will express threat towards immigrant populations. The fourth tenet and final of the group-threat theory states individual characteristics, such as race and gender, will contribute towards threat perception. Quillian notes that changes in migrant group size, worsening economic conditions and some individual characteristics may all serve as indicators of the first tenet, group-derived prejudice, leading to group-threat perception. He does not claim that all of the tenets must be present for the expression of group threat. Beyond immigration issues (Quillian, 1995), group-threat has been applied to many areas of research. As initially conceived, group-threat primarily focused on with political and economic questions. The theory is, though, inherently a theory concerning social conditions. To illustrate the breadth of it application, I continue this discussion briefly summarizing some of the research that has been conducted utilizing the theory.

Anti-immigrant sentiment in politics

Much research has been conducted on group-threat relating to immigration within the European Union, as well as countries bordering the EU. This logically makes sense considering the eastward expansion of the European Union borders and the adaptation of the Schengen Agreement (Grabbe, 2000), which eases travel restrictions for EU citizens and credentialed migrants amongst most EU countries.

The nations of Europe are learning to adjust to the large waves of immigrants from non-European countries. Almost all migrants bring with them their own languages and cultures, which can propagate mistrust and resentment among destination nation residents. Because of this discord, politicians and political parties seeking to capitalize

on anti-immigrant sentiment have used immigration as a divisive issue. Immigrants have been cast as abusers of EU benefits and as dangers to EU members by media and the political elite (McLaren, 2002). This targeting of immigrants has been especially embraced by right wing parties within the EU. According to Ellinas (2007), all far-right political parties oppose immigration within the union. They have sought to tap into nationalistic urges among populations to preserve cultural homogeneity, as well as to gain political traction (Lubbers, Gijsberts, & Scheepers, 2002). Immigrants, or "out-groups," pose a threat to cultural homogeneity, making them and any legislation supportive of immigration rights convenient targets and political lynchpins for opposition, which can serve to empower the "in-group," or dominant group (Schlueter et al., 2008).

Antagonism towards European integration is linked to fear of "other" cultures and anti-immigrant sentiment (de Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2005, 2006) as well as group-threat (McLaren, 2002). Researchers de Vreese and Boomgaarden (2005) argued anti-immigrant sentiment has proven significant as a predictor in assessing public support for the EU, its sovereignty and European integration. The EU, for instance, is seen by those harboring anti-immigrant sentiment as exacerbating immigrant tensions by enacting of pro-immigrant legislation (McLaren, 2002). There also appears to be little or no research indicative of the inverse – support for European integration mediates – or fuels anti-immigration sentiment and racial bias.

Expressions of anti-immigrant sentiment are not unique to the European Union, or modern phenomena. Dominant groups across the world express suspicion and fear, if

not outright opposition, concerning out-groups, especially in regards to immigrants. This opposition, though often subtle, is expressed in the popular media.

Support for opposition to immigration rights in the United States, for instance, was key in recent congressional elections. Researchers have associated this American opposition to immigrant rights with group-threat (Sanchez, 1997; Wilson, 2001). Political conservatives, who largely support the Republican Party, embrace this stance. However, the GOP has stated that the party needs to embrace a more inclusive stance on the disposition of the millions of migrants that had previously entered the country unlawfully – softening their paths to citizenship (Weiner, 2013). This is despite evidence that the Republican Party's stance on immigration did not influence the troves of Latino voters who supported the Democrats in large numbers during the 2010 and 2012 elections (Hawley, 2013; Leal, 2013).

In America, Stuart, Pitts and Osbourne (2011) describe how the term "illegal immigrant" is often used euphemistically to describe Latino immigrants in American media outlets, owned predominantly by the dominant group, or Caucasians. In another example, writing in response to the question as to whether third world immigration is a danger to America, conservative commentator and former presidential candidate Pat Buchanan (2009) says of the large "invasion" of Mexican immigrants:

> Mexicans are not only from another culture, but of another race. History has taught different races are far more difficult to assimilate than different cultures. The 60 million Americans who claim German ancestry

> are fully assimilated, while millions from Africa and Asia are still not full participants in American society.[1]

The nation most famously been exposed to Buchanan's controversial views on migrants and race, via his 1993 juxtaposition of Zulus versus Englishmen. In comparing the two, he declared the Englishmen would be the most likely to assimilate into society, implying they would pose the least threat, serving as ideal migrants into the state of Virginia. Though Buchanan stated his comments were not meant to denigrate the Zulus, he was roundly criticized as being racist and xenophobic (Finsterbusch, 2009). Buchanan argued the introduction of huge numbers of immigrants into this country, especially those of races other than white, would be economically and culturally disruptive. Based on this logic, he called for the restriction of immigration from developing countries such as those in Central America, from whom the United States receives a large number of its immigrants. While often considered extreme in his views, Buchanan expressed a viewpoint with these comments that is not isolated, but is the belief of many people, not only in America, but also in places like the European Union, into which vast numbers of ethnically and culturally diverse people migrate annually. This implies welcoming those from other backgrounds still holding allegiance to their native cultures would somehow diffuse American or EU culture. This sentiment is indicative of the fears dominant groups have concerning out-groups, as they imply a

[1] This text was published originally in 2002 in Buchanan's *The Death of the West* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2002, St. Martin's Press) and republished in the Taking Sides Anthology. The quote is printed on page 40.

loss of cultural homogeneity, which actually refers to a loss of status and power. These sentiments reflect a commonality with the tenets of group-threat theory, as relating to migration.

Considerations have been given to the transformative effects of globalization (specifically mobilization) on the cultural and socio-economic "political spaces" of European countries (Kriesi et al, 2006). Of this changing political space, Kriesi and Lachat (2004) stated, "in the immigration countries, ethnically different populations become symbols of potential threats to the collective identity and to the standard of living of the natives" (p. 3). Natives are seen as "globalization losers," who, stripped of their national protections by the "denationalization" of a pan-national Europe, seek to protect their interests and resources from the arrival of immigrants by engaging in "exclusionary measures" (p. 5). Some of those exclusionary measures include supporting anti-immigrant political parties, aimed at reasserting local independence from supranational immigration law and restricting migration at national levels.

Group-threat and criminal justice

Research in criminal justice has been an area in which group-threat theory has been frequently utilized. King (2007) observed constituencies were less likely to comply with sentencing guidelines defined by federal hate crime laws in communities with large African American populations. This suggests the white majority populations (dominant groups) may be influenced by fears of large numbers of African Americans into offering more lenient sentences for white defendants than dictated for by federal guidelines for hate crimes. King finds differences after controlling for regions, noting

there was a positive correlation with his theory of minority group size contributing to sentencing lenience in the north. He observed an inverse correlation in the South, where large populations of African Americans have lived amongst whites and white supremacy had been brutally enforced for decades. Lee and Ulmer (2000) also observed this bias, not only amongst white, dominant group members, but also amongst another minority group, Korean-Americans, who expressed threat perception towards African Americans, which positively impacted the Korean-Americans' fear of crime, as noted earlier in this document.

In investigating support for the "desire to punish criminal offenders more harshly," (p. 1256) King and Wheelock (2007) observed that citizens, residing in communities with large African American populations, responded positively to survey questions supporting stronger sentencing. This led the researchers to conclude white members of communities exhibited threat perception regarding African Americans. The support for harsh penalties reflected a supposition that those penalties would mostly affect the African Americans, who were assumed by local citizens to be the most likely to commit crimes. The researchers concluded the majority of white residents viewed African Americans as threats to security and resources. By supporting more punitive laws, the dominant group would reduce the population of the threatening subordinate group, reducing its power and potential threat. King and Wheelock also found unemployment and the size of the African American groups within a predominately-white community to be relevant factors in justifying support for harsh penalties for criminal activities.

Johnson (2005) examined how social contexts and group-threat perception influenced sentencing departures, or consciously straying from existing sentencing guidelines. He observed increasing Hispanic populations (the out-group) within white communities contributed to increasing upward departure (or increased lengths of sentences outside of judicial guidelines and decreased downward departure), possibly indicating that the presence of Hispanics triggered threat perception amongst the larger dominant group population. This threat perception was manifest as longer sentences issued for crimes.

Ward, Farrell and Rousseau (2009) noted the racial composition of a courtroom setting might be valuable to the dispensation of justice. Courtrooms and courtroom actors reflect the values of the communities in which they exist. Those communities may represent racial and ethnic proportions that favor the dominant group, which in the context of the United States, is usually white. While testing the "power-threat" aspect of group-threat theory, they examined racial representation in 89 federal districts as factors relating to the racial disparity in sentencing. They noted while the number of African American judges had no influence on the severity of sentencing in a racial context, the number of African American prosecutors negatively influenced the severity of sentencing for minority defendants, while positively affecting the severity of sentencing for white defendants. This result suggests when minorities gain positions of power; they offset the "power-threat" position held by dominant groups. Gaining power allows them control of resources and the ability to exert power over minorities based on the perceived threat posed by those minorities.

In another example of group-threat applied to criminal justice, Johnson, this time working with Ulmer, (2004) observed the size of black and Hispanic populations in white communities positively correlates with the severity of minority sentencing outcomes. Stated another way, trials conducted in predominantly white communities will result in juries seeded predominantly by white people. Additionally, in trials of minority defendants, Ulmer and Johnson have found correlations between increases in minorities amongst white populations and the increase in length of sentences for comparable crimes. This observation suggests the size of minority groups within white communities can serve as motivation for increased threat perception. This threat perception can in turn be expressed as longer sentences for minority defendants. This observation supports Quillian's theory, that an increase in out-group presence within a community can trigger a communal response of threat perception.

In contrast, Chiricos, Welch and Gertz (2004) noted "racial typification," a term relating to the stereotypical association of crime behaviors to a particular group, was a greater indicator of the support for harsh sentencing than other variables such as conservatism, crime salience and expressed racial prejudice. This conclusion does not necessarily contradict the conclusions of group-threat theory, as "racial typification" does seem to suggest the expression of the acceptance of racial and ethnic stereotypes. This can manifest as a sense of threat and lead to the advising of harsh sentences to minority group members on behalf of dominant group members.

Group-threat and communication

Group-threat theory serves as a model of behavior and has predictive power. All behaviors have a communication component – in fact, behaviors themselves are units of communication (Barna, 1998; Ruben, 1976) – therefore, studies should be directed towards the outputs of perceived threat in the form of communication. Outputs based on perceived threat generated by innate feelings can manifest themselves in a variety of manners related to communication – as blatant physical hostility aimed at immigrants or more passive expressions of judgment, such as ostracism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia, in the manner suggested by McCroskey (1997).

Bjornstrom et al, (2010) noted that media are instrumental in shaping public opinion on crime, as well as shaping racial attitudes concerning those who commit crime by setting that specific agenda. By over-representing specific races and ethnicities in the reporting of crime, the media have the power to influence the public into believing crimes are predominately committed by minorities. In their study, they found support for group-threat, or racial threat, theory in the reporting of crime news. Blacks were disproportionally reported as committing crimes compared to the baseline population. They concluded based on threat theory, blacks are considered a resource threat to the resources of the white majority, who seek to protect their positions of power.

The popular media, reflecting the viewpoints of the dominant societal group, use their forums to report stories about minorities in a manner that weakens the power of minorities or out-groups. To quote the researchers, “thus, the frequent reporting of black perpetrators may be a case of media reflecting dominant groups' views through

delegitimizing blacks by portraying them as criminal[2].” According to these researchers, the media reflect and express the attitudes of the dominant group. As dominant groups exhibit bias towards sub or out-groups, the media, reflecting dominant group values, should express similar sentiments in their reporting. That sentiment is the expression of threat perception, which manifests as the over-representation of minorities during news coverage.

Iyengar (2010) observed that news media gravitate towards coverage of crime. He noted for example, the speed with which the national media began covering the Katrina disaster by emphasizing crime frames. Iyengar also commented the news media often associates crimes with minorities during its coverage. He also noted whites react more harshly to black criminal suspects than white criminal suspects, which is suggestive of a group prejudice likely fueled, by media coverage linking minorities to crimes.

Group-threat compared to other theories

Group-threat theory shares characteristics with other theories, and in some cases, may have influenced the development of other theories (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Schlueter et al., 2008). Social research has written extensively about the relationships between in-groups and out-groups. Examples of theories emerging from this research

[2] The article was downloaded from the following URL on July, 27, 2012: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/pmc/articles/PMC2904566/ .

are Tajfel's and Turner's social identity theory (1979), integrative intergroup conflict theory, (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) and intergroup contact theories (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Pettigrew (1998) helpfully defines some of the groups, which can be deemed subordinate or out-groups and have been researched in relation to intergroup conflict. Some of them include the "elderly, homosexuals, the mentally ill, disabled persons, victims of AIDS, and even computer programmers," (p. 68). Out-groups then, tend to be those who does not fit the norm and whose exceptional status does not necessarily grant them any powers over the in-group. World-class athletes, as exceptions to the norm, do not fit the definition of an out-group, as their exceptional prowess produces status and power. Immigrants, on the other hand, usually have very little status within a destination culture. They especially fit the out-group category, as defined by intergroup contact theory and of course, group-threat theory.

Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) compare group-threat to their conception of cultural theory. Like Quillian, they base cultural theory on Blumer's (1958) conception of group-derived prejudice. Dixon and Rosenbaum also state group-threat, which explains threat perception in terms of economics and migrant group presence, differs from cultural theory in that it focuses on concrete and tangible variables. However, they differ in terms of causation. Cultural theory, according to the researchers, "suggests the largely negative collective images of minority groups—particularly of blacks— are rooted in history and culture and transmitted through socialization" (p. 258). The economy has a direct, tangible effect on citizens. Increased migrant groups have direct impact on communities. Culture and history, contrarily, have indirect impacts, according to Dixon and Rosenbaum. Interestingly, Dixon and Rosenbaum did not find

support for one of the important conventions of cultural theory. They hypothesized preconceived prejudice was intractable, regardless of intergroup contact – when testing it. Intergroup contact was thought, as is postulated in cultural theory, to mitigate threat perception. The researchers suggested additional research should be conducted on this facet of cultural theory.

Ethnic competition theory. Ethnic competition theory, which is based on Coenders and Scheepers (2003) concept of ethnic exclusionism, shares ideology with group-threat theory. According to Tolsma, Lubbers and Coenders (2007) ethnic competition, whether it occurs at the individual or group level, serves as motivation for the development of hostility towards out-groups (or subordinate groups) based on the perceived or actual threat to the dominant group's resources. Ethnic competition theory shares with group-threat theory the notion that dominant group members will develop increasing hostility towards the out-group as percentages of out-group members grow within a community. It differs from group-threat in explanation. Ethnic competition theory does not promote an inherent prejudice amongst dominant group members. Out-group hostility is attributable to the perceived competition for resources. Ethnic competition theory also does not embrace changes in economic conditions as a factor in the development of out-group-threat. Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner (2008) in their overview of published racial and ethnic research studies in recent years, notes ethnic competition theory, because of its focus on realistic threats, has become prevalent among European researchers.

For example, Vervoot, Scholte and Scheepers (2011) tested ethnic competition and contact theories amongst adolescents in school settings and found majority group or

dominant group students develop anti-minority group sentiment as the out-group grew in size. They also noted contact did not mitigate the feelings of the majority group. However, they drew the same conclusions in the minority group towards the majority group. Interestingly, the only mitigating relationships found were quality relationships amongst majority and minority group members, which suggest perhaps emphasis should be paid towards fostering quality contact amongst youth to develop positive intergroup relations.

In another example, Schneider (2008) tested ethnic competition theory on European Social Survey data, but found its definitions narrow. She differentiated economic and cultural resources as motivation for competition, noting economic standing of immigrants mattered to respondents, as well as cultural distance, or cultural dissimilarity. She found cultural dissimilarity mattered more than economic status in the development of anti-immigrant sentiment. She also recommends the definitions of out-groups be broadened. While assessing respondents, for instance, she coded for birth nation versus citizenship, which seemingly proved significant in terms of response influence. She also recommends attention be directed towards intergroup contact as a mitigating factor for the development of subordinate group hostility.

Social dominance theory. Social dominance is another theory that relates to group-threat theory in that it explains the social dynamics of a society in terms of dominant and subordinate group relations. According to Pratto, Sidanius and Levin, (2006) social dominance theory was developed to explain how social hierarchies are maintained. It is a systems theory, incorporating tenets from several other theories, including realistic group conflict theory, (Blumer, 1958) which also serves as a basis for

group-threat theory. Social dominance theory argues economically viable societies maintain hierarchies in distinct areas, which include an age system, a gender system and what the researchers call an "arbitrary system" (p. 274). The arbitrary system refers to the utilization of sociological categories such as race, ethnicity and class, all of which determine the degree of access to things of positive and negative social value. The systems influence societies in varying manners; age has a greater great impact on Chinese societies than American and gender impacts fundamentalist Muslim societies in a greater manner than in secular societies.

Intergroup conflict theory. Prejudice and bias, which can lead to actual intergroup conflict, are the results of dominant groups' perception of threat from subordinate groups, often because of nonconformance. In the case of Western Europe, conflict often emerges amongst populations by the degree to which out-groups or minority groups do not conform to the Euro-ideal of cultural and behavioral norms (Kim, 1994). For example, German citizens often resent Muslim populations because of their tendencies to maintain close-knit communities adhering to their linguistic and cultural norms, while resisting true assimilation into the dominant culture. This notion fits group-threat theory (Quillian, 1995, 2006), while also following Blumer (1958).

The lack of assimilation into the cultural norms of the dominant or in-group can lead to the perpetuation of stereotypes and bias concerning out-groups, such as is the case in Germany with Turkish immigrants. Because communication channels are controlled by dominant groups, one could expect that the media within a particular region or country would tend to exhibit bias towards out-groups or minorities, reflecting threat perception (Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner, 2008). When out-group members seem

to not adhere themselves to the cultural norms of the dominant group, the out-group members are likely painted as unwilling and uninterested in assimilating via the primary media (controlled by the in-group), which perpetuates intergroup conflict. Out-groups, specifically immigrants, rarely have political or media power within destination nations. They are subject to media depictions produced by the dominant group, which reflect the values and cultural influences of the dominant group (Hallin & Paolo, 2006).

Social structures. Intergroup contact usually takes places within "social structures" which are composed of norms, values and rituals (Delalieux & Kourula, 2011), shared among those with common cultures, or taught to those who are unfamiliar with the culture. The sharing of norms and values within social structures serves to encourage interaction, and therefore lesson perceived threat, as explained by Sobczak (2007). Within the context of intergroup contact, Sobczak argued "social structures" liberally mitigate anti-immigrant sentiment amongst white American populations with growing ethnic minority populations holding positive views of minorities. However, exposure to minorities in heterogeneous settings did not mitigate anti-immigrant sentiment where negative economic conditions or interethnic employment competition exists. Intergroup contact and social structures relate to increased proximity, which will be discussed at length in this chapter.

Intergroup conflict and intergroup bias can manifest itself in terms of religion and reporting. Tension amongst groups, particularly between white Europeans and the growing populations of Muslim migrants, has been exploited by far-right and right-wing political parties, who have used anti-immigrant platforms to gain traction in political bodies across Europe. Barber (2010) states the rise in Europe's anti-immigrant parties is

fueled by increasingly negative European views of immigrants, who view migrants as growing competition for jobs and benefits. This lends credence to the notion that economic conditions do contribute to the negative perception of immigrants, and to the reality that anti-immigrant parties use the platform of threat perception as a political staple. The 9/11, London and Madrid attacks also likely accelerated the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment referenced by Barber (Woods, 2008). I discuss terrorism as a factor of anti-immigrant sentiment later in this study.

Terror management theory. Terror management theory (TMT) (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997) focuses on mortality salience, which inspires groups to cling to their cultural world views in an attempt to quell the anxiety associated with knowledge of the temporary nature of our existences. TMT states groups experience anxiety regarding members of other groups who do not share their cultural worldviews. Sidanius and Pratton (1999) noted TMT researchers have observed that when exposed to evidence of death, people will denigrate people who do not share their own views, while elevating other who do share their views. As suggested by group-threat theory, TMT puts forth the notion that one group will develop hostility, perhaps expressed as prejudice, towards groups that differ in worldview.

Social identity theory. Researchers have examined intergroup relations by coupling the principals of group-threat theory with social identity theory (Orend, 2002; Schuster, Solomos, Saggar, Levitas, & Krieger, 2004). Social identity theory explains the manner in which individuals develop identity based on the influence of the various groups to which they belong (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; H. Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Doosje, Spears and Ellmers (2002), for example, explored dominant group bias towards

minority groups based on the dissimilarities between minority groups and the dominant group. They found group membership identification to be a significant variable in the development of out-group bias. They also noted "high identifiers," or those with the strongest affiliation with the dominant group, were more likely to exhibit threat perception against out-groups than those who were low identifiers.

Criticism of group-threat theory

Group-threat theory has been the subject of criticism. The basic causal relationships between its principal tenets have been called into question as not offering substantive explanations of perceived threat and prejudice (Schuelter, Schmidt and Wagner, 2004, Schuelter and Scheepers, 2010). In this section, I explore the prominent research that has disagreed with the conclusions group-threat theory. These examples are organized according to the tenet on which the researcher(s) focused on their investigations.

For example, while examining survey data in Germany and Russia, Schuelter, Schmidt and Wagner (2008) found evidence supporting Quillian's conception of group-threat. They also, however, found two similar but competing models to be inconclusive.[3] Additionally, the researchers tested a r*everse model*, which posited that

[3] The researchers conducted a longitudinal study using "multi-wave" panel studies from both Germany and Russia, allowing for "the cross-national generalizability of the dynamic microsocial processes underlying out-group derogation…" (p. 568).

perceived threat was not a consequence of in-group prejudice, but a consequence of "out-group derogation." Out-group derogation relates to the extent to which out-groups deviate from societal norms, which are dictated by the in-group. They also tested a *reciprocal model,* which postulated that "prior levels of perceived group-threat are causally antecedent to later levels of out-group derogation and/or vice versa," (p. 568), meaning threat perceptions directed at out-groups preceded, or perhaps instigated derogative behavior. They concluded explanations of group-threat were too numerous and therefore too diffuse to be explained by one theory.

Gilliam, Valentino and Beckmann (2002), investigated the influence on neighborhood proximity and media-expressed racial stereotypes on the development of racial biases. In doing so, they observed direct exposure to minorities mitigates threat perception. Whites living in homogeneous neighborhoods were more likely to express anti-black attitudes than those in heterogeneous neighborhoods. They also stated living in proximity to minorities mitigated their exposure to stereotypical television images of minorities, which lends credence to the notion that direct exposure to subordinate group members could stem the development of group bias and the expression of threat perception. This notion diverges from group-threat theory and is discussed in the criticism section of this study.

Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) observed media coverage contributed to changes in the perception of immigrants. Examining survey data in Germany, they observed the frequency of framing of immigrant news coverage positively affects the perceptions of immigrants amongst citizens. Specifically, when immigrant causes were

examined using the "problem identification" frame (Entman, 2004), respondents were less likely to harbor anti-immigrant sentiment than when other frames were used.

Haubert and Fussell (2006) rejected the notion dominant group prejudice served as a predictor for anti-immigrant bias in the United States, concluding that education served as an effective buffer to stem ethnocentrism. As stated earlier, Quillian (1995) does in fact associate ethnocentrism with group-derived prejudice. They determined groups could be separated by social classes, and those of the "cosmopolitan class," or well-educated and well-traveled white collar workers, were less likely to harbor anti-immigrant sentiment and more likely to support immigrant rights. The cosmopolitans were juxtaposed by the "parochial class," who were more likely to harbor anti-immigrant opinions. Haubert and Fussell state regarding the growth of white-collar employment, that they expected an increasing number of people to develop favorable views of migrants. This declaration was based on the notion that America will be an increasingly white-collar country, as American labor markets continue to shift toward service and knowledge industries. This shift will lead to less identification with racial groups and more with occupational peer groups, which will in turn lead to greater acceptance of immigrants. A lack of discussion concerning intergroup contact has been a criticism of group-threat theory.

Criticism of out-group population size relating to threat. Group-threat theory puts forth the notion that the growth of immigrant populations contribute to the development of threat perception. Group-threat theory, though, does not specifically address the effects of intergroup contact. Increased percentages of immigrants within a population could lead to increased contact between dominant, in-group populations and

the out-group immigrant populations. No conclusions can therefore be drawn based on this theory concerning intergroup contact, which is one of the criticisms of the group-threat theory.

Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner (2008) came to several contradictory conclusions regarding group-threat theory. They concluded immigrant population size could increase the perception of threat amongst the dominant group *as well as* serve as a mediating force in diffusing perceptions of threat. This perceptual dichotomy could be accounted for by the opportunities for interaction between groups, which could diffuse and stoke negative perceptions simultaneously. They also observed the individual variable "education," or lack thereof, specifically in Eastern Europe, did not serve as a predictor of prejudice. This means the assumption that less education does not correlate with more prejudice, as would have been hypothesized. This was especially true, according to the researchers, in regions with more homogenous populations, in which education levels tended to be more uniform than in western countries. This infers some other variable relating to cultural homogeneity might explain the perception of threat. Additionally, there may be regional or cultural elements that supersede education levels in terms of influencing attitudes towards out-groups.

Proximity compared to out-group size. A prominent divergence from Quillian's group-threat theory relates to proximity (Rydgren & Ruth, 2011), in that the physical proximity of subordinate groups to dominant groups is related to the second tenet of group-threat theory, increases in out-group size. To restate, the second tenet of group-threat theory states increases in the size of out-groups or subordinate groups positively correlates with the development of threat perception amongst in-groups or

dominant groups. The proximity of out-groups relates to the literal closeness to which out-group members reside to in-groups (Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000). This variable is similar to group size growth, but dissimilar enough can be seen as an individual factor and is often examined in the literature as a different variable. As subordinate groups grow in size, they spread out amongst members of dominant groups, increasing exposure or proximity, to segments of dominant group populations. Proximity serves as a mitigating factor, meaning the proximity to which one lives to those of different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, often immigrants, serves as factor to influence support for immigration rights.

Rydgren and Ruth (2011) drew these conclusions in their study. They examined the importance of socioeconomic factors versus the size of immigrant populations in explaining support for right wing political parties in Sweden. They concluded while support for group-threat theory was mixed, public support for xenophobic political parties was best explained by proximal living *near* migrant groups, as opposed to living *amongst* migrants. As noted earlier, Gilliam, Valentino and Beckmann (2002) also noted living in heterogeneous neighborhoods negatively affected the development of anti-black sentiment, despite the exposure of whites to negatively stereotypical images of black people on television.

Schlüter and Wagner (2008) found support for increases in anti-immigration attitudes contributing to anti-immigrant sentiment, both between European regions and within regions. However, they also noted as subordinate groups increase in size, the opportunity for intergroup-contact within communities also increased, which can serve to reduce perceived threat of subordinate groups at the level of individual interactions.

This contradicts findings on the affect of increased group size and the development of anti-immigrant bias. However, while also suggesting increased out-group populations contribute to threat cognition, Schlüter (2007) noted increased group size also increased exposure to dominant groups. This therefore increased opportunities for the mitigation of bias and prejudice. Intergroup contact therefore increases opportunities for lessoning threat perception at the individual level and this occurs because of increased opportunity.

Proximity to other races and ethnicities, though, does not necessarily ensure contact. Proximity only ensures physical closeness. Contact with immigrants in the form of friendship and acquaintances (the most ideal contact) serves to reduce anti-immigrant sentiment, as concluded by McLaren (2003) and Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004). Members of various ethnic and racial groups can live within close contact of each other, without having actual contact. This could be based a variety of factors, including language and cultural barriers. While proximity does not necessarily involve interaction, it does influence perception, and not necessarily positively. Proximity can reinforce stereotypes and promote the development of fear amongst groups of the "other." Putnam (2007) explains this phenomenon. He states of the development of fear of members of other races, that "the more we are brought into physical proximity with people of another race or ethnic background, the more we stick to 'our own' and the less we trust the 'other'" (p. 142). This lends credibility to the notion increasing an immigrant population may cause members of the dominant group to feel threatened and withdraw amongst themselves, minimizing actual contact and decreasing the likelihood of dispelling stereotypes. Proximity to subordinate groups seems to affect poor

communities to a greater extent than more affluent communities. For instance, in examining the impact of immigrants on attitudes amongst citizens in Swedish municipalities, Hjerm (2009) concluded immigrant population size impacted anti-immigrant attitudes, but primarily in poor communities. This conclusion follows logic; immigrants are most likely to reside in poor communities as opposed to affluent neighborhoods. The subordinate groups, or immigrant groups, live amongst the dominant group, possibly resulting in a literal competition for resources, which may contribute to the fostering of anti-immigrant attitudes amongst citizens. I will explore proximity as a single variable during the methodology section of this study.

Criticism of economic conditions relating to threat. From both a political science and sociological perspective, economic conditions represent considerable areas of research regarding intergroup relations (Esses et al., 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). There has been some dispute concerning the nature of the economic conditions as a predictor of perceived threat, particularly involving anti-immigrant sentiment. Kehrberg (2007), for instance, noted both long term and short term economic conditions in the European Union were important determinants of anti-immigrant sentiment. More important than both of those determinants was per capita gross domestic product (GDP). Kehrberg noted political tolerance, or the "acceptance of civil liberties under all circumstances" (p. 265), was also a key determinant. Kehrberg stated political tolerance should be considered as a variable in assessing tolerance. The higher the level of political tolerance or acceptance of civil liberties, the less likely a person was to harbor anti-immigrant sentiment.

Cultural influences. Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) observed evidence supporting "realistic threats," or measurable economic indicators such as unemployment rates, as strongly correlating with anti-immigrant bias in cities within the United States, but did not find the same correlation in countries like Israel. This finding suggests cultural influences may supersede the development of threat perception. In an additional example of research questioning the validity of economic conditions serving as a predictor of perceived threat amongst dominant groups, Kunovich (2004) sought to explore further the relationship between individual variables across countries in relation to prejudice. He observed little correlation between poor economic conditions, structural variables such as labor market position and income to prejudice, calling for further consideration of one of key tenets of group-threat theory. Restated, Kunovich questioned whether changes in economic conditions serve as a reliable predictor of out-group bias or prejudice.

Economic framing. The literature suggests the framing of messages regarding the contributors towards economic declines may influence the public's opinion and expression of anti-immigrant sentiment. For instance, Bloom (2010), examined elections survey results in Latvia. He argued that economic turndowns actually decreases support for prejudice, opposing Quillian's viewpoint regarding economic conditions influence on the growth of prejudice and anti-immigrant sentiment.

Bloom observed that left-leaning political elites, faced with combating the rise of nationalistic right-wing parties, sought to steer discussion of responsibility for Latvia's dire economic conditions away from immigrants. Right leaning parties often

used the platform of anti-immigrant sentiment as launching points for election victories by linking the nation's fiscal failures with the economic abuses of migrants. This approach fed into dominant group nationalism and ethnocentric anxieties relating to immigrants. Bloom discovered that the left leaning political elite chose a different tactic, deemphasizing nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment. They chose to frame the discussion of the nation's dreadful economic conditions by highlighting the "shared pain" suffered by those experiencing unfavorable circumstances. The "shared pain" hypothesis, according to Bloom, posits that economic frames take precedence over ethnic or immigration frames during times of economic crisis. Survey data revealed to Bloom that the strategy worked. Of this, he wrote, "support for Latvian nationalism was *lower* in localities with the worst economic conditions" (p. 9). He also observed support for nationalistic political parties in Latvia actually increased when the economy in the country improved. This suggests strongly that despite right-wing political elites attempting to evoke nationalism by scapegoating "minorities for economic woes, competing elites can adopt economic frames focusing on individual rather than group suffering" (p. 4), which did not conveniently target immigrants as the cause of Latvia's economic woes. This also suggests that member of a nation's dominant group will recognize the extent to each person in the nation were all affected by troubling economic circumstances, with the appropriate framing.

Criticism of individual characteristics as predictors of threat perception.

The importance of individual characteristics are called into question by researchers regarding group-threat theory, especially considering group-threat relates to a collective

group expression or sentiment. I have previously referenced education as a mitigating factor in the development of threat perception. To illustrate further this point concerning education levels, Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner (2008) found contradictory conclusions concerning the validity of education as a predictor of threat perception, as stated previously. They noted education was not a reliable predictor of threat perception in Eastern Europe, suggesting the homogeneity of the populations, combined with years of intercultural isolation may be stronger predictors of threat perception than education. Krysan (2000) also disputed the impact of education on prejudice. In a metastudy of articles addressing the mitigating effects of education on prejudicial expression in policy development, Krysan stated rather than serving as a mitigating factor to lesson racially biased policy, racism itself serves as a better predictor. "Racism," she wrote, "predicts equally well, if not more so, the policy attitudes of those with higher levels of education" (p. 158), Stated in another manner, Krysan states those expressing racist viewpoints will predictably support biased legislation, regardless of education levels.

Though conventional thinking would suggest that educated individuals would support racial equity, education, it seems, may also be used as a means to preserve an unbalanced status quo. Though published before Quillian's conception of group-threat, Jackson and Muha (1984) examined education as a means to encourage the development of more liberal racial viewpoints. They concluded that education does not mitigate racism, but actually assisted individuals with the intellectual tools to conceal true viewpoints. They also found that educated people of dominant groups often engaged in legitimizing of the continuation of the "status quo" in terms of keeping minority groups at bay. In other words, intellectuals often used their intellects, training

and access to suppress the progress of minority or out-groups, while working to maintain the status dominant groups. This study then, is relevant to the notion put forth by researchers Lubbers and Scheepers (2001) that education mitigates anti-immigrant sentiment.

Group-threat perception and migrants as "symbolic threats." Migrants are often depicted negatively in the press, based not on real events or occurrences, but based on anticipatory anxieties of what migrants could potentially do. They become "symbolic threats," the knowledge of which contributes to the development of threat perception. Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (2006) advance a theory of threat perception that consists of four variables, which are symbolic threats, realistic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Realistic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes correlate well with Quillian's conceptual tenets of racial prejudice, realistic threats, as does symbolic threats to an extent.

Theories incorporating the concept of symbolic threats (Stephan et al., 2002) take into account that symbolic threats challenge dominant groups' value systems. Symbolic threats "arise because of perceived group differences in morals, values, norms, standards, beliefs and attitudes," (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000) and contribute to the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about the group (Chang, 2009). Though members of the dominant may never actually encounter subordinate group members in person, dominant group members create perceptions of subordinate groups internally – the perceptions are not factual – they are symbolic in the sense that stereotypes are symbolic. Subordinate groups, regarded as symbolic threats, represent

challenges to the dominant group's worldview, and are therefore regarded with suspicion.

The perpetuation of symbolic threats is something to which media can contribute through the use of frames (Grimm, 2009; Hayes, 2008) regarding immigrants. Through framing, the media can bind symbolic threats to immigrants by focusing on the differences between out-groups and in-groups. The examination of frames to cast migrants in the light of symbolic threats is therefore a worthy endeavor, in that commonly used framing schemas can be located and quantified in terms of their significance. The use of media frames in immigration news coverage is explored further in this study.

Conclusion of group-threat discussion

Overall, I have discussed group-threat theory in detail, having established it as my theoretical focus. I now turn my attention towards the discussion of the media and media framing. Almost all of the research conducted on group-threat has focused on issue salience and public attitudes as determined via survey data. Some researchers have sought to examine correlates between news coverage and the public perception of threat, primarily Schlüter (also spelled Schuelter in English) and colleagues (Schlueter et al., 2008; Schlüter, 2007). Few studies have examined group-threat expressed as bias or as a cultural value in the media, focusing on the content of the news article. This research continues in this direction by examining the expression of group-threat perception in the news media.

The role of the mass media

Mass media. Mass media are an essential element in a liberal democracy, informing public debate and specifically enabling the public to monitor the effects of news events and governmental policy. This is based on the oft-quoted notion that media serves as the "fourth estate" (Gentzkow, Glaeser, & Goldin, 2006), functioning as the "watchdog" over government (Schultz, 1998). Media informs the public on changes in society. It is key to the development of social movements (Riggins, 1992), affecting the perception of historical events throughout the social movements' lifecycles. The media contributes to public issue salience by acting, according to Pfetsch (2007), as an "institutionalised forum of debate, which serves as a central linkage between the public and the political structure" (p. 402). The media undertakes their role as the primary conveyor of information to the public, prompting public inquiry into political practices, enabling the public to act somewhat independently, and uninfluenced by the will of elected officials. Singleton (2009) points out that an informed public serves as a buffer to the unfettered machinations of government, which is capable of acting independently and without regard to public input.

Overview of mass media. The American people have traditionally cherished a healthy skepticism concerning governing officials (Cook & Gronke, 2005). This skepticism is a traditional value and is reflected in news coverage, as well as, who's role it is to question the motives of government. As summarized by Davis and Owen (1998), news coverage has evolved with technology; technological advances have created an environment in which the news was made available to the common person. The "penny

press," took the newspaper out of the hand of the elite and placed it into the hands of the public. This advance pushed the development of journalism through the "yellow journalism" years. The advent of radio and television further created competition for the print journalist. Those developments, along with the wars of the past century – fueled the development of journalistic standards.

The World Wars were times of patriotism and journalism reflected that sentiment. Further societal changes caused fluctuations in journalism and news coverage (McNair, 2007). For example, though news coverage initially reflected support for government policy during the Vietnam conflict, Hallin (1984) established that as public support for the conflict waned, news coverage also reflected the public's worsening opinion of the situation. The Vietnam conflict, along with the civil rights movement, created a climate in which the American people developed skepticism for government officials. This doubt of the war's legitimacy was reflected in news coverage. Interestingly, through dwindling public support for the conflict, McNair noted the "journalists never challenged the fundamental legitimacy of US war aims" (p. 185), which lends credence to the notion the American media may also parrot deep-seated cultural views or popular cultural myths, such as the infallibility and righteous of the American military.

Empirical analysis of journalism and media. Löffelholz (2008) states empiricism, the analytical analysis of journalism, was introduced by American scholars and was imitated by scholars around the world. Empiricism competed with the normative approach to journalistic analysis, which sought to approach journalistic scholarship by identifying ideals and the degree to which journalists represented the

normative journalistic standards in their work (Bennett, 2004; Boomgaarden et al., 2010; Hafez, 2002). The empiricist approach called for the examination of consistent theories, which contain at least two variables and defined concepts. Causation is not necessarily the goal of journalistic empiricism, but the examination of the implicitness of variable interaction, which mirrors causation research in social action research (Parsons, 1949).

Objectivity is viewed internationally as the goal of journalism is the (Schudson, 2001). European Union journalists, like journalists throughout the globe, adhere to normative journalistic standards established by the ethical organizations to which they belong. Researchers such as Donsbach and Klett (1993), however, have determined there is some degree to which political leanings influence objective reporting. Donsbach (1982) argued that journalists occupy elitist or privileged roles "with far greater chances of political participation than the remaining citizens have, but with no appropriate social authentication" (p. 19). This means Donsbach posited journalists operate within social and political strata beyond the public - and while serving the public good, they did not "represent the population at large with their features, interests and opinions" (p. 19). I put forth the opposite to be true. Journalists operate with less impunity than the public at large, but they still express societal views and largely represent in their discourse the views of mainstream society – that is the dominant group. In other words, journalists may operate within social and political strata outside of most societal circles, but they are not separated from the influence of society and culture (Hanitzch, 2008; O'Neill & Harcup, 2009). Regardless of an individual's social or political stratus, individuals still

belong to a society and culture. They are influenced by society and that influence should manifest in one's work, including journalism.

Culture as a variable. The analysis of the importance of culture in journalism outgrew functionalism, which suggests all elements of a society or culture serves a purpose. This extension was journalistic culturalism (Carey, 2008), which identified culture as a means through which journalist codified their representations of the world (Löffelholz, 2008). Cultural studies, according to Löffelholz, do address not the manner in which media messages are produced, but the manner in which messages are constructed within the context of a set of rules, standards and traditions, as well as to convey meaning to the public via shared conventions.

Cultural studies of journalism were initiated as a means of explaining social changes. Traditional functionalism and systems approaches relied on examining politics and economics (Hartley, 2008) and were inadequate in explaining social change, especially as it occurred in the early twentieth century. The influence of culture serves as a better explanation. Cultural theory emerged as a means of examining societal phenomena, which, in the case of journalism, meant the examination of changes in the approach to the journalist profession. As Hartley states, economic and political theorists saw culture as a result of political and economic actions, whereas cultural theorists saw culture as the driver of actions. The embracing of culture as an influence led to the examination of the importance of consumers of news and subjectivity, and the relations between providers and receivers.

A direct result of the embracing of the cultural influence on journalism was the expansion of examination areas. From the roots of politics and economics, which

focused on traditional social classifications such as workers, voters and social classes, emerged approaches that also emphasized other classifications such as gender, race and non-traditional identities. The cultural approach, though, begins "at its destination, with the readers/audience or consumers of news media, understood as part of the culture" (p. 45). This means that the cultural approach concentrates on the message recipients. Researchers have traditionally analyzed recipients' responses to messages, to gauge affects. While acknowledging the embrace of culture as the driver of journalistic expression, this study departs from this cultural perspective approach in that it also deals with cultural orientation, but specifically with the authorship of news as a reflection of culture. More specifically, I examine *the message*, or news item, in order to capture evidence of culture beliefs, which the journalist cannot avoid including without some concerted effort.

The literature has continuously demonstrated support for the notion of media reflecting current values, and even serving as an instrument through which values or ideology, especially of the powerful, are propagated (Hall, 1989; O'Neill & Harcup, 2009). Pan and Kosicki (1993) support the notion of the media as societal mirror, reflecting the viewpoints of the dominant culture. They write:

> The domain in which the news discourse operates consists of shared beliefs about a society. These beliefs, despite the elusive nature of their content, are known to and accepted by a majority of the society as common sense or conventional wisdom (p. 58).

As examples of conventional wisdom, Pan and Kosicki offer well regarded aphorisms such as "equal opportunities are desirable," and "competition is good." These

are accepted as desirable values within our liberal democratic society. Amongst the purposes of news articles, Lee and Craig (1992) argue the news serves as "cultural text," complying with social constraints and institutional relations in which the media exists. This means while the news media understandably attempt to uphold journalistic standards of objectivity, the institution must operate within the confines of a society in which accountability counts. Therefore, the news media must perform to the expectations of a supportive government, (in the case of a non-profit medium) a corporate overseer. Either way, the news media must balance the need for complete operational autonomy to report the news with the desires to the placate those who support the entity. The public domain also influences the manner in which the news operates. Freedom of press is a desired commodity within a western society – but that freedom still must be exercised within the confines of societal acceptance, which literally pays for the continued existence of the news medium. Herman and Chomsky (2002) propose that the modern media operate under propaganda and corporatist models. This concern is logical, especially in America, based upon the media's adversarial relationship with government.

In documenting their observations (creating news) Donsbach (2008) states journalism is an intertwined reflection of a journalist's social valuation of his/her perceptions and a reflection of predispositions. He argues here that news is constantly recorded with the psychological components of expressing one's own ideology, while also seeking to appease an audience. Both the social valuation and predispositions are therefore reflections of culture. Hall (1989) presents a more pointed perspective in arguing journalism serves as the transmission medium of dominant group ideology. In

this regard, American journalists, for instance, always frame stories from the perspective of the legitimacy of democracy and capitalism, whereas journalists from other cultures such as those stepped in socialism and collectivism would frame news articles from the their own perspectives (Griffin, 2008; Hall, 1989).

The consuming public can vote for the viability of a news outlet with its financial support. A news outlet faces extinction, should it choose to stake its journalistic perspective in an ideological area that is considered too extreme for a viewing public. Though niche markets exist for a variety of viewpoints such as the online stalwarts Drudge Report[4] for conservative viewpoints and the Huffington Post[5] for liberal viewpoints, they must still comply with the wishes of their clientele and stakeholders. If the Drudge Report were to carry suddenly only liberal viewpoints, it would risk alienating its supporters and its viability.

In contrast to a journalist's dedication to the ideals of his or her craft, members of the news media are likely to report news items based on presuppositions. Media organizations must exercise tremendous discretion while selecting news items to publish. Donsbach (2008) speculates editors must reject 90% of the news items that arrive via news wires – requiring them to select what news items are newsworthy. This mandate cannot be adhered to without judgment. Several studies, including those conducted by Keplinger (1989) and Mann (1974) demonstrated news selection was

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[4] The URL for the Drudge Report can be found here: http://www.drudgereport.com/ .

[5] The URL for the Huffington Post can be found here: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ .

influenced by personal opinions. News items reflecting the views of the editor were more likely to be deemed newsworthy. If group perspectives are influential on an individual's personal views, then news reporting should reflect group viewpoints, just as they could reflect individual perspectives.

The pursuit of objectivity. Lee and Craig (1992), citing Hartley (1983), emphasized that media attempts to maintain a strict adherence to the pursuit of objectivity and relative autonomy. This emphasis may not be achieved though, as this autonomy often serves as a screen to disguise "exploitive and antagonistic social relations…," including the necessity of catering to corporate goals. Maintaining antagonistic social goals can also relate to the notion of promoting the agenda of controlling interests, which most often are dominant groups within a society, interest groups or stakeholders. I previously mentioned two popular online news outlets, one conservative and one liberal. Regardless of political disposition, the American values such as support for democracy and freedom of the press must be represented in the reporting of the news.

Language. Despite the goal of objectivity, the news media cannot be judgment free, by virtue of language habits. Language use creates symbols, which impart meaning and connotation – therefore judgment. Lee and Craig stated newspapers, through the use of language, create symbols which are not "value free," but impart judgment. Determining the nature of judgment is the intent of this research. For instance, Vergeer, Lubbers and Scheepers (2000) observed newspapers in the Netherlands consistently used language-emphasizing characteristics of ethnic minorities that were usually negative.

The headline, "Israeli soldier, Gaza gunman killed in clash[6]," published June 1, 2012 in the Chicago Tribune, serves as an example of the transmission of cultural values. This headline frames the clash between a soldier, or a sanctioned agent of the state, and a "gunman." The use of the word "gunman" infers criminality on the Palestinian. The stance suggests the Chicago Tribune views the encounter in a manner favorable to Israel, which reflects the American policy stance as a supporter of Israel. A brief "Google News" search for headlines relating to the subject revealed that most top ranked (search position) articles referenced the "Gaza gunman" as a "Palestinian militant," including the Huffington Post and the BBC News online[7]. The word "militant" connotes something more legitimate than "gunman" does. Alternatively, a report originating from the for-profit "citizen's journalism" news site Allvoices.com[8] posted a summary and redirect of the BBC article. The headline was changed to read, "Palestinian fighter and Israeli soldier killed in Gaza border clash." The word "fighter" connotes a moral legitimacy (i.e. "freedom fighter") that "gunman" does not – gunman connotes lawlessness. The use of the word fighter in these instances seems to reflect the

[6] The story can be found at the following URL: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-06-01/news/sns-rt-us-palestinians-israel-violencebre8501b6-20120601_1_israeli-soldier-egyptian-frontier-cross-border-attack

[7] The BBC news link can be found at the following URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-18293186

[8] The AllVoices article link can be found at the following URL: http://www.allvoices.com/contributed-news/12292974-palestinian-fighter-and-israeli-soldier-killed-in-gaza-border-clash

values of the contributor of the article, who appears to have implied approval of the culprit's use of force.

Bias. As illustrated in the previous example, the press does reflect the dominant cultural values of a society. Logic should therefore follow if the press reflects dominant *values,* which are positively connoted – the press could also serve as a mirror for societal biases and prejudice. The media therefore can and do express bias. Entman (2007) states news-related bias can take three forms: distortion bias, content bias, and decision-making bias. Distortion bias refers to the intentional distortion or falsification of reality. Content bias is demonstrated when news coverage favors one side of an argument over another. Decision-making bias regards the personal beliefs and motivations expressed by journalists. Like Entman, it is my belief that instances of distortion bias are rare, as is the deliberate falsification of news, and when discovered by the self-policing media, it is universally decried. Objectivity, according to Hackett (1984), remains a "keystone" of American journalism, and across the world. The media strive to report the news as objectively as possible. Toward this aim, journalists engage in "strategic rituals" aimed at promoting objectivity protecting the journalists from publishing mistakes and criticism, Tuchman states (1972).

Content and decision-making bias is more common. Entman concluded in his article that it could be measured via content analysis in a systemic manner. Bias does not necessarily have to be based on nefarious intent; the expression of bias can simply reflect the views of the day.

Transmission of bias. Bias can be transmitted to the public through the use of specific words. This was illustrated in the Gaza gunman/Palestinian Fighter example. Journalists can also transmit bias via frames (Entman, 2004; 2007). Frames increase an audience member's standing of particular issues and activate schemas, which suggest readers should interpret and react to a news event in a certain way. Schemas are clusters of interconnected ideas and feelings that are stored in memory, facilitating reactions and decision-making (Entman, 2004). I will discuss schemas, along with rhetorical structures and elements further in this review.

Frames shape the public's reception of stories and activating schemas. Because we tend to have common beliefs and values – we develop and utilize common schemas to create easily communicated units of knowledge. In fact, the sum of beliefs and schemas may be summarized as societal and personal values, defined by researchers such as Hofstede (2001), or as relational schemas in social psychology (Baldwin, 1992). The journalist and the publication must pick the schema to activate. Choosing which elements of news events to emphasize is fueled by their own beliefs and schemas. In short, journalists and news organizations must employ schemas in order to frame news events and create schemas for the public. Schemas are our beliefs that are informed by our ideas and memories.

Entman (2010) prefers the use of slant in place of bias. Bias can be conceived, according to Entman, as content bias, which refers to "consistently slanted framing or mediated communication promotes the success of a specific interest, party or ideology" (p. 393), utilized in efforts to gain political power during elections, for example.

Therefore, slant is a component of bias, or a consistently applied effort at delivering slanted content. This definition seems to be concerned with the effect of bias, and not necessarily towards to application of bias. As my research is more concerned with the application of bias, it is best aligned with Entman's second conception of bias, which he referred to as decision–making bias. Decision-making bias is defined as editors and reporters "allowing their personal ideologies to guide their news decisions" (p. 393). All individuals are influenced by personal biases and/or cultural values in their daily interaction – therefore, journalists and editors are just as likely to be influenced by their personal biases or values.

There is precedent for examining values as a mediator of opinion. Hackett (1984) wrote political partisanship is evident in news coverage. He cited, for example, a study conducted by the International Association of Machinists in 1981, which determined "U.S. network news was overwhelmingly procorporate rather than prolabor" (p. 229). This statement reflects dominant group attitudes toward corporate entities and labor unions, such as those championed during the Reagan administration.

Redefining bias as values. Bias, as it is defined is somewhat limiting and negative in connotation. Regarding individual reporters, Baron (2006) states bias in the media occurs when reporters are influenced by the following personal attributes: a lack of political balance, ideology, partisanship, fabrication and personal views. Bias, regardless of the motivation behind it, implies a conscious and willful act to deceive. Hackett (1984), for instance, describes bias as the opposite of objectivity. Bias is referenced in a variety of manner, all of which are negative, as illustrated by Doll and

Bradley (1974). They examined the synonyms for bias in journalism textbooks and came up with the following list (p. 256):

> preferential, loaded, partisan, one-sided close-minded, opinionated, warped, slanted, distorted, colored, dressed-up, indirect, partial, hints, touched-up, angled, special pleading, prejudiced, manipulatory, editorializing, stereotyped, prepossessive, dishonest, and subjective.

The list contains strong words that imply intent to deceive and manipulate on the part of the journalist and editorial staff. In strict journalism terms, this may apply. From a psychological or sociological perspective, I do not believe the expression of bias in news is necessarily meant to deceive or manipulate, nor do I think expressions of bias are conscious, and necessarily the opposite of objectivity. In addition to the synonyms gathered by Doll and Bradley, bias can also reflect value systems, which are used to frame news events in contexts that are understandable by their societies. It is my contention that bias could also be synonymous with values. I also contend that report news reports based on value systems are reflective of the journalist's society and culture.

Bias expressed via media frames. The phrase "media bias" connotes an effort to shade news coverage in a conscious manner, which opposes the journalistic standard of objectivity. This is not to suggest a philosophical viewpoint be considered bias. News outlets such as the Spanish El Pais (liberal) and the British Daily Telegraph (conservative) may consciously embrace an ideological point of view in its news reporting – but both of these media organizations serve as the epitome of journalistic

standards. As I contend, bias is too limiting a phrase with which to term presenting a societal point of view in journalism. Hallahan (1999) also supports this perspective. He supports the use of the phrase "framing" as a better description of reporting news events with a particular perspective in mind.

Hallahan (1999) suggests media framing serves as a better description of the process of presenting news within a certain ideological and cultural context. The understanding of media and cultural expression is important. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) noted that "communication messages contain particular images, ideas, or themes that reflect the important – and clearly antecedent – values of the culture or its leaders" (p. 11). They also stated symbols and images delivered by the mass media are a reflection of the dominant culture. These symbols and images can reflect cultural negativity, as the dominant culture can be composed of values containing negative attributes, depending on the perspective of the message sender and receiver.

Conclusion of discussion on media, culture and bias

The expression within news media of group-threat perception is the focus of this research, more specifically the expression of group-threat perception, which reflects cultural values. Group-threat can be expressed explicitly or implicitly, relying on tools such as schemas and frame elements to convey meaning. This suggests a link between group-threat perception and media framing.

The media transmits cultural and societal values to the public, but also reflects the values of the society of which the media are a part. Members of the press are also

members of society – they are subject to the same morals, values and biases as any other citizen. Just as other members of society are capable of expressing threat perception in their work environment, so too are journalists.

Media framing

In the preceding section of this study, I discussed the media as a reflection of societal values. For the most part, we embrace those values, especially when they reflect well on the public. Because journalists report the news within the confines of their values, they also report news reflecting their biases, which are negatively connoted expressions of values (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Trumbo, 1996).

I now move the discussion towards media framing. During this section, I generally and briefly discuss media frames and their usage. I follow this by discussing the framing theories of Entman (1993), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Nickels (2005), all of which I use as guidance in developing this work, as well as others. Having previously discussed his contributions to the discussion of bias, I turn now to Entman's influential research on media frames.

Entman's framing discussion. As reality is at all times subject to interpretation, news must be framed in order to convey meaning (Entman 1993; 2004). According to Entman (2004), frames involve "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation or solution," (p. 5). Frames impart meaning to an event linguistically, versus inferring importance to an event based solely on the amount and degree of coverage. In context of politics, frames offer particular units of understanding.

They lend meaning to an event and increase public salience of the event by "painting a picture" of the events. Frames not only assist people find an understanding of what has occurred, but what should be understood about the occurrence itself.

Entman's common frames. Entman defines framing as a process of selection and salience. Selection involves selecting some aspect of reality and making those aspects more salient to the message receiver. Simply, framing involves directing attention toward an overall viewpoint that summarizes a perspective on a given issue. Entman identified four common news frames, which he explains in the following passage (I have included definitional emphasis in bold):

> Frames, then, **define problems**-determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; **diagnose causes**-identify the forces creating the problem; make **moral judgments**-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and **suggest remedies**-offer and **justify treatments** for the problems and predict their likely effects. A single sentence may perform more than one of these four framing functions, although many sentences in a text may per-form none of them. And a frame in any particular text may not necessarily include all four functions (p. 52).

A Problem Definition frame explains the actions taken (concerning the issue) by the "causal agent" (story actors) and producing an effect. This is the most commonly observed framing device used in a news story. This frame is also commonly used in the headline and lead paragraph of a story (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Peake, 2007). A clear

definition of a problem contains an actor initiating or performing action. In an example from the New York Times, published on January 10, 2005, "**European Union** officials say they are planning to **introduce a centralized visa database** by the end of next year to help curtail illegal immigration." The problem is clearly defined in this article. An actor, the European Union, plans to introduce a new migrant database aimed at better controlling and curbing migration flows, which is the issue or the action taken.

The *Problem Diagnosis* frame identifies the motivating forces behind the story and asks whether a story provides an explanation about the person(s) responsible for the actions described in a story. I refer again to the above example. Entman (1993) stated that several common news frames could be utilized in the same paragraph or even sentence. The following example from the New York Times and cited previously as an example of the problem definition variable illustrates this point, "European Union officials say they are planning to introduce a centralized visa database by the end of next year to help curtail illegal immigration."

This example defines the problem, stated simply, that the EU plans to create a migrant database. This same sentence also provides the problem diagnosis, which explains why the action was or will be taken – to "curtail illegal immigration." Attempting to curb immigration is the motivating factor behind the story.

Moral Evaluations frames assess "causal agents" and their effects. This means that article authors offer judgments over the actions of story actors, and assessing the results of their actions. Because of the general journalistic commitment to objectivity, a journalist is less likely to include a moral evaluation in a story than a problem definition or diagnosis, as a moral evaluation can be subjective. Such an evaluation would be more

appropriate in an opinion piece or editorial. This avoiding of judgment through the use of language is of course almost completely impossible, as even the most basic word convey opinion. As previously mentioned, the use of words "gunman" and "fighter" in the article on the Palestinian shooter both offered completed different connotations in relation to the news item reported.

Treatment Recommendations frames suggest solutions to a problem or an endorsement of an existing or proposed policy. Sommer and Ruhrmann (2010) state that the treatment recommendation is a "call for or against a certain action, in most cases in a political and/or normative direction" (p. 2), and that a treatment recommendation can be an absolute requirement or an inspirational goal. This is because a treatment recommendation often refers to the presence of a recommendation or a criticism of an *existing or proposed policy* (Giunchiglia et al., 2009).

These framing functions form the basis of all frames and are likely to some degree to appear in every news story, though Entman notes that not every from will appear in every story. Entman's definition of common frames are considered a standard in the literature, and are frequently cited as guidance for further specification of frames (Hallin, and Mancini P., 2006; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Scheufele, 1999) including researchers that have been instrumental in the development of the this study (David, Atun, Fille, & Monteroia, 2011; Nickels, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Providing an interpretation of reality is the means to assist others to understand and remember news events – this is what political elitists and the media do when framing the news. Lilleker (2006) states media is instrumental in framing news items

and stories by providing "predefined and narrow contextualization," which assists the public's understanding of an issue through the implementation of "cognitive shortcuts," linking stories to the "bigger picture" (p. 82). The framing allows the public to conceptualize an event and determine what is important. Through this tool, the media serves as political actors (McNair, 2007), providing information, education and platforms for public discourse (p. 19).

Examples of common news frames are the "conflict" frame and the "horserace" frame. The conflict frame emphasizes the encounter of a news story, stressing both sides of the argument (Nickels, 2005, p. 25). The horserace frame is often utilized in political coverage, placing emphasis on competition, winning and losing. An appropriate example of a horserace frame (Benoit, Stein, & Hansen, 2005) is provided by CBE news online, which headlines Monotpoli's article on the Super Tuesday Republican primary elections, entitled "Super Tuesday: High Stakes for GOP Hopefuls[9]." This article highlighted the highly competitive nature of the primary race between Republican hopefuls during the 2012 Republican primaries. The headline borrows the horse racing metaphor "stakes," which invokes gambling, and more importantly, winning. Monotpoli invoked the horseracing frame within the article by stressing the lack of a "winner take all" delegate split. Delegates were distributed by

[9] The article was posted to CBS News online on March 6, 2012. It was retrieved the following day from the following URL: http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544_162-57391068-503544/super-tuesday-high-stakes-for-gop-hopefuls/ .

percentage of votes received, eliminating the possibility of weeding out contenders for the nomination.

Framing plays an important role in influencing public opinion regarding issues related to threat perception (Nelson & Kinder, 1996). In studying group attitudinal centrism, Nelson and Kinder noted the type of framing associated with political issues that could sway survey respondents' opinion on the worthiness of group beneficiaries. This could be a reflection of threat perception. The researchers used affirmative action as a test case. In doing so, they observed that when the issue was presented using stereotypic frames concerning African Americans, survey respondents were more likely to express racially prejudiced attitudes than otherwise. The researchers found similar results when testing respondents on their attitudes towards poverty policy and federal spending on AIDS, which is indicative of the notion that threat perception can be directed at subordinate groups other than those determined by race. This view is shared by deVreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko, (2011), who studied that EU citizen's viewpoints concerning Turkish migrants and Turkish membership in the EU. They observed that public opinion was heavily influenced by elite media discussion of the matter, especially in regard to the types of frames used. More discussion of the specific frames noted in their research follows.

Issue frames. Issue frames construct news narratives and define issues. A perspective of how the issue should be considered is suggested and recommendations are made to remedy the issue (Entman, 2004; Nelson & Kinder, 1996). Issue frames also give rise to the rhetorical structures, which define issues in simple, identifiable manners. These ultimately become culturally iconic metaphors, such as the "Cold War"

and the "War on Terrorism," (Fan, 1996; Iyengar, 1991; Kellstedt, 2003; Van Dijk, 1983, 1988) and less political news items such as the framing of "Welfare Mothers" and "Deadbeat Dads," (Nelson & Kinder, 1996).

These issue frames relate to Khong's (1992) discussion of the use of analogies to frame military situations. In a discussion of the use of schemas, analogies and issue frames in Korea and Vietnam, Khong theorized schemas were important in unifying foreign policy decisions by providing context for defining new situations. Providing context and meaning to a new situation is done by tapping into previous knowledge and memory formations. The use of issue frames selecting appropriate familiar words to define an issue and assist the populace in conceptualizing it. For instance, "asylum shopping" (Samers, 2004) utilizes familiar terms separately, but creates new meaning when used together. This manner of framing is also referred to as the use of rhetorical structures.

Rhetorical structures. Frames are often brought to life by the use of rhetorical structures. Pan and Kosicki (1993) define rhetorical structures as the "stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects" (p. 61). They are used again, according to Pan and Kosicki, "to invoke images, increase salience of a point, and increase vividness of a report" (p. 62). Rhetorical structures, also referred to as rhetorical devices (Van Dijk, 1983), assist the public in quickly assigning meaning and historical context to a particular set of circumstances, which allow the political leaders and the media to reference these events without constantly redefining the structure.

Rhetorical structures are composed of what Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to as the five framing devices, which are metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases,

depictions, and visual images. Though journalists ultimately decide the use of rhetorical structures, news actors can contribute to the development of rhetorical structures, often times intentionally. Political actors commonly manipulate rhetorical structures in an attempt to structure a news frame. Examples of such manipulation are world leaders delivering news in front of a national flag or monument. They often will also use a metaphor to exemplify a concept they wish to impart. These are attempts to control the tone of the news events to increase audience salience of particular aspects of the news.

"Asylum shopping" is also an example of a rhetorical structure, as described by Mann and Thompson (1988). The BBC news wrote about the EU's aborted attempts to control this practice back in 2006[10]. The article cited the EU Commission's steps undertaken to curb the refugee practice of applying "for asylum in countries thought to be more amenable than others." These steps, the article stated, were the first efforts toward the adaptation of common EU immigration policy. Asylum shopping is an example of an analogy used to convey a concept and aptly fits the practice of seeking favorable asylum terms in the most accommodating country.

Rhetorical structures therefore serve a key purpose of keeping a concise and understandable narrative as it progresses through time (Black, 1996; Hallahan, 1999; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This is done by creating and controlling the metaphorical narrative. Frames and rhetorical devices shape perception in a specific perspective that

[10] The news brief "EU delays 'asylum shopper' curbs" was published May 24, 2006 and can be found at the BBE news online portal. The item was retrieved on March 4, 2012 from the following URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5011022.stm

is offered to the public. They also assist by offering a cognitive perspective with which issues are readily recalled and invoked. “Islamic terrorism” is such a structure. This rhetorical structure groups two familiar words to create a new term, to which both the press and the public can reference, (regardless of the fairness of its application.) Western newspapers for instance, are much more likely to frame issues related to the coverage of bombings in the Middle East using an “Islamic terrorism” frame than news coverage from other cultures (Black, 1996; Hayes, 2008; Nickels, 2007).

Media frames and discourse. Media frames serve as discursive tools that influence opinions. Therefore manipulating frames can facilitate change. Domke, McKoy and Torres (1999) demonstrated that the manipulation of media frames relating race and immigration positively correlate to changes in public perception (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). The literature supports the notion that the press can influence public perceptions either favorably or negatively (Floss, 2008). With the influence of the press on the formation of public opinion, one could speculate changes in press coverage could also influence changes in attitudes. A similarly derived conclusion was proposed by Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001). Media reporting is first and foremost a discursive exercise (Garrett & Bell, 1998), which aims to communicate facts, and also to influence. They observed changing imagery associated with minority groups that could influence intergroup perceptions, both positively and negatively.

Changing frames with the changing times. Frames are not necessarily static. They change as the times and the culture changes. Ricard (2010) follows Gamson (1985) statement that frames are culturally created, but also influence culture. Most importantly, frames do not represent a true depiction of reality, but paint a picture of

what reality looks like from a particular point of view. Framing assists media elites in constructing a perspective concerning an issue but perspectives can also change. Nickels (2005) points out British coverage of Eastern European migrants changed as the Cold War concluded. Prior to the collapse of the Berlin Wall, migrants were frequently referred to using "political rhetoric," (p. 6). The frames associated with Eastern European migrants changed after the collapse to reflect a more economic posture, painting pictures of undeserving non-citizens utilizing scant resources and receiving undeserved financial benefits from western governments (Coole, 2002).

Framing of the post 9/11 wars. The public receives war information indirectly and almost exclusively through media reports (Hallin, 1984; Ryan, 2004). Klocker and Dunn (2003) state the media, specifically journalists, are part of the "machinery of representation" (p. 74), referring to the notion that journalists are an integral part of the information continuum and contribute to the development of group knowledge. Iyengar and Simon (1993) support this notion, demonstrating that exposure to television media coverage on the first Iraq conflict enhanced viewers support for military conflict over diplomatic solutions. The frames identified by the researchers were presented under the context of "public order," which reinforces the fabled role of America as the world's enforcer for justice. In this way, the media influence public opinion.

Gans (1979) determined in his study of American media outlets that broadcasts journalists reflected meta-values such as democracy, capitalism and pastoralism and framed their coverage of news events to reflect those meta-values. Research on framing effects on public sentiment has been mixed. Despite its role as an intermediary in the

information flow between government and the public, the media assert their independence. Regarding the post 9/11 wars, for instance, Edy and Meirick (2007) determined frames were highly mutable among the public. While examining the adaptation of war or crime frames in reference to news coverage of 9/11 and the Afghanistan war, the public appeared to cobble together these frames to create their own narrative (Woods, 2008). The joining of the frames served to explain support for military action in Afghanistan, though the public's motives for support were not unified. All told, support for the war involved linking the events of 9/11 to military action, as a result of "cultural resonance" (p. 153). Edy and Meirick also recommended additional research should be devoted to the manner in which the public interprets news frames.

The framing of immigration issues

In addition to discussing the effect of group-threat perception and newspaper reporting on immigration, this research is also concerned with the correlation between the expression of threat perception and media frames, specifically immigration frames. Immigration frames are news frames that are specifically directed towards the coverage in immigration stories. Like most news stories, immigration stories are composed of basic structures and they can convey common information, as defined by Entman (1993). Some immigration frames that have been identified in previous research relate to border security. Zhang (2005) observed, for instance, that American newspapers employed a "symbolic borders," frame, which divided migrants from the destination country in terms of acceptance. American newspapers also predominantly employed a "confrontation and frustration" frame while covering immigration news. This frame

related to the back and forth dialogue between destination nations and origin nations regarding what should be done about the illegal immigration problem. Zhang also noted, interestingly, that U.S. papers often did not differentiate between illegal and legal migrants in their discussions of migration-related problems.

As noted previously, framing is instrumental in shaping public opinion regarding migration. In an example of the power of framing, Cheng et al (2010) state that frames used in the Spanish press are frequently associated with the social or individual consequences of immigration. They identified correlations in opinion polls concerning the public's attitude toward immigration, which is labeled as the third biggest societal problem in Spain, after unemployment and the economy. These conclusions were drawn despite severe economic problems and the constant threat of Basque separatist actions (Bermeo, 1997; Nevin, 2003). These examples suggest the media frames can influence the public issue salience and interpretation of the severity of specific social problems.

The media can influence the discussion of immigration by framing it as an immigration debate, or as an immigration battle (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The immigration "debate" connotes a more deliberate and orderly discussion of the issue, whereas immigration "battle" implies hostility that contributes to the perception of immigration as immediately problematic. These perspectives highlight viewpoints indicative of the vitriol generated by both supporters and the opposition of immigration rights and reforms. These two examples are examples of competing frames, meaning they can be utilized in reporting the same story. The literature, according to Chong and

Druckman, is not yet conclusive about the effects of competing frames or determining which two competing frames have the greatest impact on public opinion (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004).

Right wing framing of migrants. Bigo (2008) states strongly that press coverage throughout the west can be compared to the views put forth by right wing anti-immigrant groups, stating the narrative has been narrowly defined in terms of restrictionist, administrative, and terrorist prevention frames. This is accomplished by fostering a climate of insecurity, which succeeds in creating a public mindset of free-floating fear. Developing an anti-immigrant rhetoric focuses on the worst-case scenario for the future, and by discussing criminal activity, political violence and war, all immigrants become framed as associated with these activities.

The adaptation of these frames has created a rhetorical climate, according to Bigo, in which the discussion of border crossings by migrants amount to the activities of a "virtually infinite criminal network," (p. 92). Immigrants are therefore thought of as participants in crime and terrorist acts. This insinuation is juxtaposed with the more benign depiction of refugees seeking asylum, whom are often cast as political victims in need of rescue from their plight (Layton-Henry, 2001; Rydgren, 2008).

Victims and intruder frame. Van Gorp's (2005) into the framing of asylum, refugees and immigration in Belgium newspapers is, like Nickels research, critical to my analysis of immigration frames as compared to group-threat theory. Van Gorp observed that two frames emerged significantly in his analysis – the victim frame and the intruder frame. These frames essentially primed readers' attention towards the

juxtaposition of immigration debate, which characterizes debates not only in the European Union, but also across the globe. Essentially, these two frames put forth the arguments. The first argument stated that asylum seekers were victims, who should be considered for refugee status and given full access to aid and protective status by Belgian, EU law and the Geneva Convention (Quigley, 1960). The second argument, embodied in the intruder frame, put forth the notion that conversation concerning the disposition of migrants was an EU security issue. Much of the discussion concerning migrant therefore consisted of dialogue concerning methods of keeping "unwanted intruders" (p. 490) out of member countries.

Though both frames were significantly present in Belgian press stories, the intruder frame was more prominently featured in Flemish language papers versus the French language papers. Flemish, French and German are the national languages of Belgium, but also to a degree represent literal and cultural divides in the country (Horsti, 2007). The right wing nationalist party Vlaams Blok is a Flemish party. The intruder frame was also used more frequently by tabloids than regular papers (Witteborn, 2011). These frames have been noted by other researchers, as example being Cheng et al. (2010), who observed that the intruder frame (concurrent with undocumented or illegal) was also used by Spanish papers to describe members of foreign criminal organizations seeking to enter the country illegally. They also have been observed by other researchers, albeit under different guises. Igartua and Cheng (2009) observed that Spanish survey respondents were more like to consider migration a problem, especially when primed with a "crime growth" frame, versus an "economic contribution" frame, especially when correlated with the Moroccan migrants. The

addition of Moroccans into the experiment activated an "us against them" mentality, according to the researchers, which essentially suggested that Moroccan migrants to Spain might be considered intruders, in a similar manner as observed by Van Gorp.

The debate between the victim and intruder frames is similar to the debate captured in one of the frames identified by Nickels (2005), namely the genuineness frame. I discuss Nickels in greater detail later I this chapter. As stated, the genuineness frame related to the discussion as to whether claims of the legitimacy of an asylum claim. Migrants deemed illegitimate were considered those who attempted to enter EU countries under false circumstance. The victim frame is also captured somewhat in the human dignity frame, which serves as a means to focus upon the plight of the migrant. Though the victim and intruder frames illustrate the dichotomous nature of immigration debate quite well, I will focus upon the Nickels frames during my frame analysis, as his frames encompass these constructs well.

Portraying minorities as the "other." Haynes, Devereaux and Breen (2004) also noted leaders recognize the power of fear, targeting "the other" as a means of unifying key populations. These tactics have been employed by politicians across the globe to motivate voters by tapping into their fears. This expression of otherness is also a means of differentiating subordinate groups from dominant groups, which is to say that the subordinate group is a lesser group than the dominant group. This is an expression of dominant group superiority by inference, following Blumer (1958). Right wing political groups in Europe frequently define migrants and asylum seekers as the "other." Haynes, Devereaux and Breen (2004) also note the media play roles in promoting "the other" as a frame regarding migrants and asylum seekers. The usage of

this frame is fueled by fear of the unknown (Domke, 2001). In context of the migration discussion, fear is the motivating factor in the development of prejudice and group perception (Blumer, 1958). Essentially, the media serve as societal mirrors, which reflect the views of the dominant group within a society. Who will seek to preserve its existence, to the exclusion of those considered "the other."

Migrants are often depicted as posing symbolic threats in the media. For example, Helly (2008) wrote about the rhetorical debates concerning issues relating to immigrants in the Canadian province of Quebec. Migrants, according to Helly, serve as a "lightning rod for the fears and frustrations produced by the socio-economic and cultural change from 1980-2000," (p. 51). Much like the literal lightning rod draws electricity, the metaphorical lightning rod of immigrants draw out the "fears and frustrations" of a populace subjected to economic changes over which they have no control. This fear can be vented in a variety of ways, from something as internal as spite and resentment, to more concrete means of expression such as ostracism, protest and violence. The expression of otherness relates to Ethnocentrism, in that ethnocentrism is an expression belief in the superiority of one's own culture in comparison to another's culture. Those expressing ethnocentrism are therefore likely to conclude that someone originating from a dissimilar background hail from an inferior of "other" culture. I will explore otherness as part of the "ethnocentrism" variable.

Linking migration to terrorism. Helly (2008) stated immigrants were portrayed by media as symbolic threats throughout the nineties – meaning they became a means through which in-group members via the media vented fears concerning the

economic uncertainty of the times. I would expand the application of this metaphor to encompass to include the entire decade of the 2000s, especially after the terrorist activity that took place during that time span. Migrants went from being symbolic threats in many people's minds, to actual threats based on the proliferation of terrorism and its association with migration.

Nickels news frames of immigration. Key concepts in this research are modeled on the work of Nickels (2005), who conducted a content analysis of news sources based in the country of Luxembourg relating to immigration and asylum news coverage. His work therefore directly relates to the framing of immigration issues – and it is upon his work on frames that I draw guidance. Nickels identified four dominant frames in the Luxembourgish press related to this topic: administrative, genuineness, human dignity and the return home. These frames relate well to the three frames identified by Dursan (2005), who identified the following immigration-related frames: those of political consequences, economic consequences and sociological consequences.

Nickels (2005) stated that the "administrative frame relates to administrative aspects of the refugee and asylum question that are covered in the news" (p. 90). Examples include dealing with such political and legislatively intensive issues such as defining refugees, dissolving administrative blocks, fake marriages, family reunification, residence permits, visa violations, European policy harmonization and ratifying the EU constitution. The category is a consolidation of many topics coded before, including elements relating to EU sovereignty.

The "genuineness" frame determines whether asylum seekers had legitimate claims, or whether they were "political or economic" refugees. Political refugees are

considered more legitimate than economic because they are seeking to escape from persecution and are not seen as opportunists. Economic refugees are those seeking entry into destination countries based solely on the desire to profit from generous western benefits while only pretending to be persecuted, according to Nickels. Economic refugees are abusive of European Union nations' philanthropy towards people seeking protection.

The "human dignity" frame defines asylum seekers and refugees as human beings but emphasizes their suffering. Rather than depreciate their plights, the frame identifies them as problematic. Nickels also noted political support of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees to work encouraged lawful behavior, versus supporting restrictive work policies, which might lead to migrants toward criminal activity. Supporting the right to work is therefore considered supportive of dignity.

Nickels defined the "return home" frame relating to public actors in countries such as Luxembourg, who feel refugees and asylum seekers should be returned to their homelands. Nickels noted there are two factions among public actors regarding the "return home" – those who support deportation of asylum seekers and refugees and those who feel that once these individuals have established lives in destination countries, they should be allowed to remain.

Nickels (2005) observed two additional frames, "conflict" and "criminality," in his research, though he found that they were less frequently used in Luxembourgish news coverage than the other four frames. Nickels noted that these frames were more

frequently used by public actors than journalists were. These frames have been identified by other researchers as utilized in other countries (Tamul, 2011; Vergeer, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2000). Given Luxembourg's uniquely powerful economic positioning within the global banking economy as well as its small military stature may indicate that these issues are less prominent in that country than others. The conflict frame refers to coverage of military conflicts and other organized usage of weaponry, typically on a large scale. The criminality frame refers to the coverage of crimes and their association with migrants. I will discuss these two frames in depth in the methodology section.

Conclusion of framing discussion

I have discussed the role of the media in this section of this study, summarizing the literature pertaining to the reporting of news relating to migration. I have also summarized the literature pertaining to framing. I have specifically discussed the application of news frames to immigration coverage. I have discussed the work of Nickels, who studied media frames of immigration news in Luxembourgish newspapers. Nickels determined the Luxembourgish media framed immigration in a utilizing the explanatory frames as suggested by Entman (2004).

I have previously discussed group-threat theory, summarizing its general application in a variety of research genres. I have also discussed the literature covering group-threat and media coverage. Most group-threat research utilized survey data to examine public attitudes as they apply to migration. Some researchers have sought to

examine group-threat in the media, seeking to establish correlations of public attitudes. As the literature has established that media coverage does contribute to issue salience, I have taken a grounded approached to this research regarding the expression of group-threat in news media. Specifically, there is a dearth of study regarding the expression of group perception within the media itself. The news media, despite professional and ethical codes of objectivity and balanced reporting, does in fact mirror and express societal/attitudinal norms. These norms can be regarded as bias. Bias, though negatively connotes the expression of societal norms. Framing, which involves reporting news through a normative lens, best reflects the expression of a particular societal view. Hallin and Mancini (2006) broadly defined "media systems" as relating to the societal/political and ethical points of view that shape the manner in which news is reported. I too examine the societal/political and ethical manner in which immigration news is coverage, although in a more specific manner.

To conclude, I approach immigration news coverage by examining whether the media expresses group perception – if they frame news events from this perspective and can the instances be quantified. My research questions relate to this line of reasoning.

Overall research question

The central research question of this study can be summarized as follows: do the media express dominant-group beliefs and cultural biases via frames, as defined by Quillian's group-threat theory? Using European Union immigration news coverage as the subject matter, I utilize content analysis to measure media expressions of anti-

immigrant sentiment, factoring into the analysis whether variables such as economics and immigrant group size contribute to the expression. The literature supports the notion that media reflect society's values and viewpoints (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), which supports utilizing content analysis of media sources to quantify expression of societal values (Moravcsik, 2002; Schmidt, 2004). I have developed research questions and hypothesis related to the tenets of group-threat theory and media framing of European Union immigration issues, using this central research question as a guide.

Group-threat theory related research questions. Group-threat theory (Quillian, 1995) proposes that groups, particularly dominant groups, develop common convictions of privilege and entitlement based on feelings of superiority to subordinate groups. These feelings lead to the development of bias or prejudice towards subordinate groups. Changes in economic conditions and increases in subordinate group size can lead to the development of threat perception towards subordinate groups. I have chosen to examine the expression group-threat sentiment in newspaper articles. Based on my focus on this theory in the study, I have developed the following research questions:

> RQ1a: In terms of EU immigration news, how does the frequency of appearance of the four tenets of group-threat theory differ amongst European newspaper stories?
>
> RQ1b. How are the expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism associated with the other tenets of group-threat?

RQ1c. Of the multichotomous variables such religion, are there significant correlations between the most frequently observed categories and the group-threat perception variables (ethnocentrism and nationalism)? Answering this question requires the creation of dummy variables for the most frequently observed categories of the race and ethnicity variable, as well as the religion variable, which are the multichotomous group-threat variables.

RQ2a: What publications most frequently covered immigration news during the examined time periods? I answer this question by creating dummy variables for the most frequently observed publications reporting immigration news.

RQ2b. Were there any associations between specific publications and the use of group-threat perception sentiment in immigration news articles?

RQ3: Does the media coverage of immigration news evolve in terms of the expressions of the anti-immigrant or group-threat sentiment after the occurrence of a significant news event?

This research question is designed to determine if a connection can be established between monthly and yearly dates and the frequency of expression of threat-sentiment. This study longitudinally examines articles published over an three distinct time period that correspond with significant events in EU history, in the years 2004, 2005 and 2010. Writers may have expressed anti-immigrant sentiment more frequently in after specific events than in other time periods.

RQ4a: What “issues in the headlines” or story topics appear most frequently along with the expressions of group-threat perception in EU immigration news stories?

RQ4b: How are individual immigration article topics correlated with expressions of group-threat sentiment? I answer this question by creating dummy variables of the most frequently observed article topics.

RQ5a: Are certain group-threat tenets used more frequently along with certain actors or article subjects?

RQ5b: How do references to individual article subjects correlate with expressions of group-threat sentiment?

RQ5c: How frequently are article sources, which are closely related to article actors, represented in the sample? Are they strongly associated with the expressions of group-threat sentiment?

Comparing the use of group-threat tenets to the actors referenced could shed some light on which actors most frequently express threat sentiment. For example, this question may shed light as to whether national leaders used as sources in news articles more frequently express threat sentiment than European Union officials.

RQ6a: What origin-countries are most frequently written about in articles containing group-threat sentiment?

RQ6b: Do references to migrant origin countries in immigration news articles correlate with the expression of group-threat sentiment?

RQ7a: What destination-countries are most frequently referenced in articles that also contain the tenets of group-threat? Destination nations are captured in the article-setting variable.

RQ7b: How are the most frequently referenced destination countries correlated to expressions of group-threat sentiment in immigration related news articles?

Destination nations refer to the European Union countries to which migrants settle. The destination countries are operationalized in this study using the "article setting" variable. These are the locations in which the action of a news event takes place.

European Union sovereignty and terrorism. I have included research questions on these topics because of their elevated importance to European Union political and media elites. The legislation adapted by the European Union also impacts members nations, as prosperous destination nations such as the United Kingdom and France seeks means to restrict migrant flows from poorer entry nations such as Portugal, Greece and Italy. Regarding terrorism, as previously discussed in the literature review – terrorism has been catapulted to the forefront of thinking on migration based upon attacks undertaken by primarily non-EU citizens against citizens of member nations. These subjects are therefore operationalized as separate variables based upon their coverage in the literature.

RQ8a: How frequently are references to EU legislation published along with the tenets of group-threat?

RQ8b: Is there a correlation between references to EU legislation and expressions of group-threat in EU immigration articles?

RQ9a: How frequently are articles written using terrorism frames along with expressions of anti-immigrant sentiment?

RQ9b: Are there any significant associations between the use of terrorism frames and expressions of group-threat in EU immigration articles?

Frequency of frames and group-threat. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) wrote that the *modus operandi* of the *descriptive, generic approach* "involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news" (p. 94). This approach is valuable because it allows for comparative, cross-country and longitudinal research (Nickels, 2005). Since this research aims to answer some qualitative questions, I also take this approach, by examining pre-identified frames from established descriptive codebooks, captured in the following research questions:

RQ10a: Which immigration of the news frames documented by Nickels (2005) are most frequently used in EU immigration stories? Those are the "administrative," "human dignity" and "return home" frames.

RQ10b: Is there an association between references to Nickels' immigration frames and expressions of group-threat in EU immigration articles?

RQ11a: How frequently are expressions of group-threat sentiment concurrently used along with common (non-Nickels) news frames in immigration news articles? Those frames are the "conflict or war" and the "criminality" frames.

RQ11b: Are there associations between use of the “conflict or war” frame, the “criminality” frame and expressions of group-threat sentiment in EU immigration articles?

RQ12a: How frequently are the tenets of group-threat concurrently represented with cultural conflict frames?

RQ12b: Is there an association between use of the cultural conflict frame and expressions of group-threat in EU immigration articles?

Conclusion of the literature review

Through this point, I have described the theoretical foundations of this study. Having discussed immigration, as it relates to the European Union – I state the EU has low birth rates and needs immigrants to bolster sagging worker roles and therefore must extend invitations to migrants to venture to member nations. By virtue of this need and its legal fulfillment, I also present the notion the EU has to deal with significant illegal immigration issues, making immigration an important news item. Immigration issues that are reported in the news influence the ideation of EU citizens, contributing to the development of their attitudes and opinions, including perceptions of threat regarding migrants. During this study, I examine group-threat theory, as it relates to immigration in the European Union.

I have discussed discussing the tenets of group-threat theory and provided definitions of media framing, as well as discussed the notion of media bias and how the media can reflect societal values and beliefs. I then presented literature relating to the media and their tendency to reflect national interests and policy objectives. I have stated that media not only reflects the journalistic traditions of their countries of origin, but should also reflect the dominant societal attitudes of their countries of origin. I have explored the notion the press should serve as a societal mirror for not only societal ideal but also societal biases. The press should therefore express group-threat perception in the form of anti-immigrant sentiment, if this sentiment is prevalent within a society. I explained media coverage of European Union immigration issues should reflect threat perception and bias against migrants. This bias should be reflected in the framing of the

issue by the media. Having summarized the introduction and literature review of this study, I move on to presenting chapter three, which discusses the methodology employed in this study.

Methodology

This chapter describes my intended data sources and the methods I used to answer the research questions developed for this topic. I have detailed my research questions in the literature review chapter. To summarize my research interest, I investigated whether news media express group-threat sentiment via frames in the coverage of European Union immigration news. I begin this chapter with a discussion with a description of the research from which I have drawn inspiration in developing this dissertation.

While group-threat theory serves as my primary theoretical lens, I was guided by several efforts in constructing this cross-comparative study. I conducted a study of European Union immigration news coverage using both content analysis (Riffe, Lacy, Fico, & Fico, 2005) and frame analysis (Nickels, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In composing my content analysis, I referenced the work of Rigby (2009), who conducted a comparative content analysis of elite media coverage, public expressions of threat perception and the American economic crisis. He used group-threat theory as the theoretical foundation. Rigby operationalized standard news-content variables in the manner of Riffe, Lacey and Fico (2005). He also operationalized the tenets of group-threat theory by examining news content dedicated to anti-immigrant sentiment (the dependent variable), as well as the following variable categories, legal threat, economic threat and population threat (migrant group size) and social services threat. I also took guidance from Schlüter (2007) and Schlüter and Scheepers (2010), who utilize content analysis to examine threat perception related variables in news publications.

In analyzing media frames relating to immigration news coverage, I followed Nickels (2005), who conducted a content analysis of Luxembourgish newspapers for immigration and asylum frames, as well as de Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko (2011), who did similar work on immigration framing in Belgium. Nickels identified immigration specific frames and "framing elements," which fit the framing definitions developed by Entman (2004). This approach is an a *priori approach,* in that this method uses predetermined frames, frame elements or schemas to answer my research questions. The variables they used in their study were gathered from the codebooks of previous studies, allowing them to assess their usages in media studies. Nickels (2005) is guided by the work of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in utilizing frame schemas or elements identified in previous works.

Procedures

I conducted a longitudinal time series study aimed at capturing data related to the framing of immigration news according to the tenets of group-threat theory. Following Lacy, Riffe and Fico (2005), I will use the multi-step and "constructed week" methods to gather data published in the calendar months before and after each significant news event. The data supports this approach as a viable means of developing a representative sample. Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) declared the construction week method as a superior approach over randomization and consecutive day selection for creating a representative sample, because of the cyclic nature of news coverage. Typically, a single constructed week would be sufficient to represent a six-month period of news content. Hester and Dougall (2007) noted that a larger constructed week period

maybe needed for online content, depending on the variability of the variables analyzed, to which Hoffman (2006) concurred, having conducted her study the mobilization ability of online political content.

Sampling. I selected news articles using the search criteria "immigration." The articles were downloaded to a hard-drive from the individual databases of the newspapers used in this study. Those newspapers are the Mirror (UK), The Times of London (UK), the Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DDP) wire service, the Welt and the Deutsche Welle (Germany), Agence France Presse Wire Service (France), the Athens News (Greece), the ANSA English Media Wire Service, as well as the Corriere dell Sera Milan and La Stampa Turin newspapers (Italy) and finally, the CTK News Agency (Czech Republic). These newspapers are all published in English and have extensive articles available for search and download.

All articles were selected from the LexisNexis aggregate news portal. I selected news sources that published in English, or published translations of news items from original sources. The news sources were also selected to provide a broad perspective of countries across the European Union. The sources represent the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and the Czech Republic. A stratified technique was used to select articles, in order to span the three time frames selected. BBC monitoring provided translated items. The Czech Republic was largely represented by the CTK News Agency. I did not include news summaries or items that stated "This press review has not been edited for content, nor have personal names and party names, abbreviations, etc. been amended."

I selected the stratified sample using the search criteria, "immigration or migrant or asylum or refugee." I selected sources to maximize the news coverage in each country. I therefore chose to utilize popular press agencies in addition to newspapers. I selected news items from Agence France Presse, Deutsche News Agency, the previously mentioned CTK news agency of the Czech Republic and ANSA news service out of Italy. BBC monitoring provided translated items. To gauge UK threat perception, I chose the most read newspaper out of the United Kingdom, the Mirror, as well as the elite Times of London. I also chose newspapers such Die Welt from Germany, La Stampa and Corriere della Sera out of Italy.

From these sources, I used the constructed-week technique to create a representative sample of news coverage, ensuring that items were selected from each day of the week. Only stories based in the European Union were selected. Since my goal was to sample approximately 100 articles per period of coverage, I sought to collect 20 samples per five countries, or approximately 3 constructed weeks per country, per period. The literature supports constructed-week concept as producing representative samples.

Constructed week. I used the constructed month method both prior to the significant event and after the event (Luke, Caburnay, & Cohen, 2011). Therefore, for the May 1, 2004 Expansion of the European Union, I selected a stratified sample of articles within the dates of April 1 to June 30, 2004. I similarly selected items for the 2005 London bombing (June 1 to August 31, 2005) and the 2010 European debt-crisis, beginning with the 131 billion Euro bailout of Greece (April 1 to June 30, 2010). To complete the each constructed month, I developed a sample of 50 articles published

before the event and 50 articles published after the event, totaling 100 articles surrounding each event, for a total of 300 articles. The 10 newspapers with which I worked represented five nations. My aims was to retrieve approximately (should the sample allow) 30 articles per newspaper. I discuss this further in justification. I downloaded the articles as "pdf" documents for ease of comparison, search function and transference. I then printed out each individual article for analysis.

Justification. In focusing on these events, I was able to narrow the examination period to a time frame in which tumultuous political, social and cultural events took place within the European Union. These events also provide me with three distinct periods in time that have been and continue to be vital to the further development of the European Union. The vast 2004 expansion of the European to include Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia resulted in near doubling of the size of the Union, but also brought about the inclusion of Eastern European countries who had not shared the fiscal success and stability as had their Western neighbors. As of April 2013, the European Union provided funds to bail out a near insolvent Cyprus.

The terrorist attacks that targeted the public transportation systems in Spain and England in 2004 and 2005 brought the extremist wars previously directed at other countries including the United States into the center of the European Union. Though both of these countries had struggled in previous decades with domestic terrorism (often at the hands of Basque separatists and the IRA), those attacks represented the first time that culprits had claimed extremist Islamic doctrine as the motivation behind the attacks.

The global financial crisis shook the foundations of the global banking, resulting in the near insolvency of many enormous financial institutions. Only an enormous infusion of funding from the American government saved many of the nation's financial giants. The Crisis culminated with the Europeans in 2010, as Greece, was the first country to receive bailout money, to the tune of 131 billion Euros to stave off defaulting on its securities. With the addition of the Eurozone, whole countries which had previously conducted their financial affairs independently were now the subjects of bailout consideration by the European Union.

Content Analysis. To complete the analysis, I manually coded variables based on group-threat theory (Quillian, 1995). This theory is a cultural theory and has been previously analyzed via secondary survey data. I used variables from codebooks developed for the analysis of newspaper content by Bauer et al., (1995) which was provided as supplementary information to Neuendorf's guidebook (2002), as well as additional guidance from MacNamara (2006) and Riffe et al (2005), who's *Analyzing Media Messages* is an academic standard for content analysis. Fist (2005) provides a concise explanation of content analysis, from which I took guidance in producing my own data. He defines it as a quantitative method of analyzing written words, which produce results in "numbers and percentages." Conducting a content analysis allows researchers to produce statements such as the following, taken from Fist's research: "27% of programs on Radio Lukole in April 2003 mentioned at least one aspect of

peacebuilding, compared with only 3% of the programs in 2001[11].” Similarly, using commonly coded quantitative variables will allow me to determine for instance, the percentage of news articles contain anti-immigrant sentiment expressed as the tenets of group-threat within my sample. I then assessed the significance of these results using a chi-square test. This approach also lends itself well to the cross-comparative approach I took in examining the expression of group-threat sentiment in European Union publications. I elaborate on the specific variables I use in the coding section of this chapter.

Unit of Analysis. To conduct this research, I aimed to assess the overall tenor of media expression on immigration, asylum and the European Union influence on the topic. I randomly selected a stratified selection of 30% from my proposed sample to conduct the analysis, to achieve good inference (Riffe, Lacy, Fico, et al., 2005). Because the articles archived in the LexisNexis database do not preserve their original paragraph formatting during their download and conversion to PDF files, I used the first 400 words of an article as my unit of analysis (Rourke, Anderson, Garrison, & Archer, 2001), accept where specified. This word limit also allows plenty of latitude in examining supporting information relating to news stories (D'angelo, 2006; Peters, Sifft, Wimmel, Brüggemann, & Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2005). Analyzing chunks of text is a common practice in qualitative content analysis (Spiggle, 1994; Zhang & Wildemuth,

[11] From the audience dialogue site, entitled “Know your audience: chapter 16 Content analysis.” URL: http://www.audiencedialogue.net/kya16a.html

2009); therefore, I utilized this practice as well, specifying the number of words in the chunk. Specifically to code the issue and actor variables, I guided coders to examine to article headline and lead paragraph. This approach is supported in the literature (Nickels, 2005).

Framing Analysis. I used frames that were established in previous literature for this study, specifically, the immigration specific frames identified by Nickels (2005). These frames were operationalized as binary variables because of the high inter-coder reliability of this method (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Having discussed framing extensively in the literature, I present here a brief review of the subject in order to explain my rationale for the operationalization approach I am taking in defining these framing variables.

Framing unit of analysis. In examining frames, my intent was to limit the coding to single items per variable category. This approach is established in the literature (Nickels, 2005, 2007). The purpose of this approach was to limit the discussion to the dominant frame, which is usually established in either the headline or lead paragraph of the article (Calloway, Jorgensen, Saraiya, & Tsui, 2006; Taylor-Clark, Mebane, SteelFisher, & Blendon, 2007; Trumbo, 1996), even if articles contain more than one frame. Coders were instructed to code the first and likely most important occurrence each variable as well.

Previous work on group-threat. Almost all studies relating to group-threat were conducted using survey data to measure respondents' degree of threat perception (Brader et al., 2008; Schlueter & Davidov, 2011). These studies utilized dependent variables constructed of multiple survey responses, resulting in composite scores

resulting in indices of threat perception. Quillian (1995, 1996) created his threat perception variable in this manner. Examples of other researchers who have also constructed threat perception variables are Scheepers, Gisjberts and Coenders (2002), who used Eurobarometer responses to construct measure of ethnic exclusionism and perceived ethnic threat. King and Wheelock (2007) created an independent variable called "aggregate threat," which is a combination of economic condition indices combined with community demographic composition (p. 1262). Escandell and Ceobano (2008) similar used survey results as indices to code the dependent variable "foreign exclusionism," in their study of the effect of proximity and contact to foreigners on anti-immigrant attitudes.

This study aimed at identifying the specific incidences of threat perception manifested in newspaper articles. Most group-threat studies were designed to access the influence of the media on audience members, as evidenced by the public's response to news content (Alieva & Valentova, 2010; Rosenstein, 2007). I was interested in well-defined *latent content itself*, such as an established frame, which entails conducting a quantitative content analysis. I therefore directly examined newspaper article content, focusing upon the message versus the response to the message. Manifest content (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005; Woodrum, 1984) is easier to quantify, as there is less interpretation required. Items are coded according to established dictionaries, developed from existing codebooks created by other researchers, or by preliminary investigations.

Development of variables. In developing the codebook from this study, I used materials from many sources. I adopted some common news-article variables from

established sources such as Riffe, Lacy Fico (2005) and Krippendorff (2004). As stated in the literature review, group-threat has been primarily researched utilizing audience member survey methods, seeking to determine the affect of environmental changes on recipients' perceptions. I chose to operationalize group-threat to examine manifest news content for its presence, primarily in the form of frames.

In developing group-threat sentiment variables, I was initially guided by the work of Rigby (2009), from whom I received the insight that group threat perception could be operationalized in a manner conducive to content analysis. Rigby operationalized group-threat as legislative threat, economic and population threat. Quillian does not include legal threat as part of his theory. I choose to try to remain as true as possible to Quillian's conception of group-threat while operationalizing variables for this codebook. He drew inspiration from Blumer's conception of group-derived prejudice, which included the expression of out-group otherness. Quillian expanded on Blumer's conception, concluding that the expression of dominant group prejudice originated primarily from expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism. I thus operationalized those concepts as variables separately (see De Figueiredo and Elkins, 2003, p. 16 for definition).

Ethnocentrism and nationalism as dependent variables. The key to these variables (ethnocentrism and nationalism) is that the expression of anxiety associated with the out-group or migrant group is developed from a sense of group identity (Chen & Li, 2009), which Quillian (1995) specified as racial identity and national identity. Both of these characteristic are external associations composed of collective characteristics. I therefore chose expressions of ethnocentric and nationalistic

identifications to serve in place of race and national identities because of their conceptual similarity and the fact that these concepts are already well-defined.

I also operationalized the other tenets of group-threat theory as separate variables. Those variables include the expressions of "increases in population size," "negative changes in economic conditions" and "individual characteristics." Because the individual characteristic category was so broad, I created separate variables for "race and ethnicity," "religion" and "gender."

All of these variables are coded dichotomously, with the exception of race and ethnicity and religion, which have multiple categories each. A full listing of the variables used in this study with examples is available in the codebook, which is in the appendix.

Intercoder Reliability. Intercoder reliability refers to the degree to which trained coders agree on the application of a coding scheme. It is important that a coding scheme of sufficient consistency be developed to eliminate ambiguity, increasing the possibility two or more coders classifying data in the same manner (Jablin and Putnam, 2001). In this process, every coder will review the units that coded by colleagues. An intercoder agreement for each variable will be cross-examined and calculated. Reliability between the two coders and my own coding will be established using Holsti's (1969), Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa and Krippendorff's Alpha reliability formulas.

To establish intercoder reliability, I trained two coders to code news articles based upon the codebook articulated in chapter two and the appendix. I assigned the

coders the same 30 articles, selected independently of but representing ten percent of the intended sample, which I also coded for comparison. Two coders, one a current and one recent graduate student, were trained to code articles that were selected using the previously described procedure. Initially, the coders were then given nine articles taken from a different portion of the total sample for initial coding. An analysis of 198 coding decisions revealed an intercoder reliability of approximately 71% of simple agreement, (141 agreements out of 198 coding decisions).

After an initial analysis of the coding decisions, I established that the code sheet was too broad, and that several coding categories needed to be rewritten. I changed several variables to include fewer coding elements, by consolidating some elements that were close enough in meaning to belie independence. I also included several coding elements that were suggested by coders as important elements not included in the initial coding scheme. For example, several articles included references to military actions initiated to stem border breaches. Therefore, a coding element relating to military actions was included in the coding scheme under the "topics" variable.

Modifications and additions to frame coding. Based upon feedback from the coders, I modified several instructions to minimize coding decisions. I worked with coders to re-explain carefully the coding of each variable in detail. Additionally, I developed additional instructions developed for variables and provided additional examples to illustrate what constituted an affirmative response to framing variables. For example, since news articles can include more than one frame, I chose to focus upon the first frame presented in an article and instructed coders to code only one frame affirmatively per article, marking the others "0" for no, or not present. One exception

was made to this rule. Several rounds of coding illustrated the need to recognize "cultural conflict" as a frame utilized in immigration news coverage. Coders were instructed that they should code this one frame affirmatively in addition to coding the first frame identified in an article. I also expanded explanations of the "ethnocentrism" and "nationalism" variables, in an effort to distinguish between the two. The additional training session with coders produced considerably better results. Coders were provided with 20 articles, which amounted to 620 coding decisions. Of those coding decisions, there were 39 disagreements, which amounts to 93% simple agreement, well over the criterion established by Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005). This high level of agreement was achieved through the use of a host of binary variables, in the manner suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), which increases the possibility of intercoder-agreement.[12]

Of the disagreements, most were clustered around more complex coding decisions, particularly concerning the existence of frames within articles. As stated previously, because an article could contain more than one frame, coders were instructed to examine and mark the first and most prominently featured frame, which

[12] The high degree of intercoder reliability achieved was for the overall number of coding decisions examined. Some variables had less agreement, such as variable 18, ethnocentrism, though the level of agreement still fell within the parameters of acceptance, given their overall level of Scott's Pi and Cohen's Kappa values. It is also believed that as the number of cases examined continued, intercoder reliability of a variable such as ethnocentrism given increased coding opportunities and increasing comfort with the operationalization of the variable. Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Campanella Bracken (2002) note, for instance, that Pi levels of .7 are acceptable for exploratory and qualitative data. As this study is grounded in that this approach to examining this theory is unique, I found these reliability levels acceptable. Future studies should include more preliminary coding to increase the possibilities of intercoder reliability.

was usually presented in the first paragraphs of the article (the "cultural conflict" frame was to be considered separately). In addition, the gender variable proved to be the most difficult to code, with the lowest level of agreement (75%). This was based upon the difficulty determining whether the speaker was male or female based upon foreign names. Previous assessments of group-threat would not have encountered this problem (determining gender) because of the use of surveys, allowing participants to score their own gender. For this reason, I will recommend that future analysis not include this variable for coding. In the following section of this chapter, I explain the measures of intercoder reliability and the tools used to calculate these measures.

Group-threat theory code sheet and intercoder reliability

I used Holsti's (1969) formula to calculate reliability, which is written as follows: C.R. = $2M/N_1 + N_2$, where "M is the number of coding decisions on which the two judges are in agreement, and N_1 and N_2 refer to the number of coding decisions made by judges 1 and 2, respectively" (p. 140).[13]

Following this formula, the overall reliability of between the coders was 94%. Holsti's formula is considered simplistic, as it does not take into account the degree to

[13] A description of the Holsti coding system was found at John R. Baldwin's, professor of communications at Illinois State University, notes page on reliability (2008).

which chance could play contributing to agreements. I calculated Scott's Pi to get a more accurate determination of reliability.

Additional intercoder reliability calculations: Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa and Krippendorff's Alpha. To counteract the limitation of Holsti's reliability formula, I calculated reliability scores using Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa and Krippendorff's Alpha. I have included the scores for the individual variables in the appendix. The total numbers of agreements were 581 items out of 620 coding opportunities, equaling almost 94%. The Pr(e) is a calculation of the estimated agreement, which is a calculation of the joint proportions of coder margins. Coder margins are defined as the summary of the category selections per variable. These margins are summed, the divided by the total number of categorical responses. These are then squared and summed to obtain the estimated agreement Pr(e). The actual calculation is then constructed using those numbers. Cohen's Kappa is a similar calculation, accept that Pr(e), or the number of category judgments are estimated to have been achieved by chance (Rourke, Anderson, Garrison, & Archer, 2000). Krippendorff's Alpha (Krippendorff, 2007) is also similarly calculated, though the formula differs slightly.

I chose to use an online reliability calculator, ReCal, to compute these results because of the complexity of the calculations required to achieve results. ReCal is an online calculator specializing in reliability calculations, specifically Scott's Pi, Cohen's

Kappa and Krippendorff's Alpha[14]. It has been used in tested internationally across a vast number of computing platforms and utilized by hundreds of users since 2008, according the Freelon (2010). Following the site guidance, I constructed a nominal spreadsheet including the coded responses of coders side by side and uploaded the data to the online calculator. The results are presented in Table 1. Scott's Pi and Krippendorff's alpha can be used interchangeable when there are two coders and the data coded is nominal because of the expectation of an equal rating scale and coder bias is assumed to be negligible (Hughes & Garrett, 1990). The Scott's Pi cumulative value for all variables was .744, the Cohen's Kappa value was .748 and the Krippendorff's Alpha value was .758. Though researchers such as Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) have called for higher measures, Scott's, Cohen's and Krippendorff's formulas are considered conservative standards, consideration standard values above .7 as acceptable (Krippendorff, 2007; Macnamara, 2003). The results returned from the ReCal analysis as therefore considered acceptable for reliability. Table four is presented on the next page.

[14] Intercoder reliability values calculated per variable at drfreelong.org using the ReCal reliability calculator on 5 July 2013. This online calculator can be found at the following URL: http://dfreelon.org/utils/recalfront/ .

Table 1 Percent Agreement, Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa and Krippendorff's Alpha Calculations for Intercoder Reliability

	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Variable 1 (cols 1 & 2)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 2 (cols 3 & 4)	90%	0.849	0.85	0.853	18	2	20	40
Variable 3 (cols 5 & 6)	95%	0.914	0.915	0.916	19	1	20	40
Variable 4 (cols 7 & 8)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 5 (cols 9 & 10)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 6 (cols 11 & 12)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 7 (cols 13 & 14)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 8 (cols 15 & 16)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 9 (cols 17 & 18)	95%	0.909	0.91	0.912	19	1	20	40
Variable 10 (cols 19 & 20)	75%	0.722	0.724	0.729	15	5	20	40
Variable 11 (cols 21 & 22)	80%	0.768	0.769	0.774	16	4	20	40
Variable 12 (cols 23 & 24)	85%	0.818	0.819	0.823	17	3	20	40
Variable 13 (cols 25 & 26)	95%	0.771	0.773	0.777	19	1	20	40
Variable 14 (cols 27 & 28)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 15 (cols 29 & 30)	90%	0.8	0.802	0.805	18	2	20	40
Variable 16 (cols 31 & 32)	90%	0.608	0.615	0.618	18	2	20	40
Variable 17 (cols 33 & 34)	75%	0.134	0.167	0.156	15	5	20	40
Variable 18 (cols 35 & 36)	85%	0.314	0.318	0.331	17	3	20	40
Variable 19 (cols 37 & 38)	95%	0.64	0.643	0.649	19	1	20	40
Variable 20 (cols 39 & 40)	90%	0.761	0.762	0.767	18	2	20	40
Variable 21 (cols 41 & 42)	95%	0.884	0.884	0.887	19	1	20	40
Variable 22 (cols 43 & 44)	85%	0.658	0.659	0.667	17	3	20	40
Variable 23 (cols 45 & 46)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 24 (cols 47 & 48)	80%	0.524	0.545	0.536	16	4	20	40
Variable 25 (cols 49 & 50)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 26 (cols 51 & 52)	100%	1	1	1	20	0	20	40
Variable 27 (cols 53 & 54)	95%	-0.026	0[15]	0	19	1	20	40
Variable 28 (cols 55 & 56)	95%	0.827	0.828	0.831	19	1	20	40
Variable 29 (cols 57 & 58)	95%	-0.026	0	0	19	1	20	40
Variable 30 (cols 59 & 60)	90%	0.608	0.615	0.618	18	2	20	40
Variable 31 (cols 61 & 62)	90%	0.608	0.608	0.618	18	2	20	40

[15] These zero values are rounded.

Cumulative Percent	0.744	0.7485	0.7505

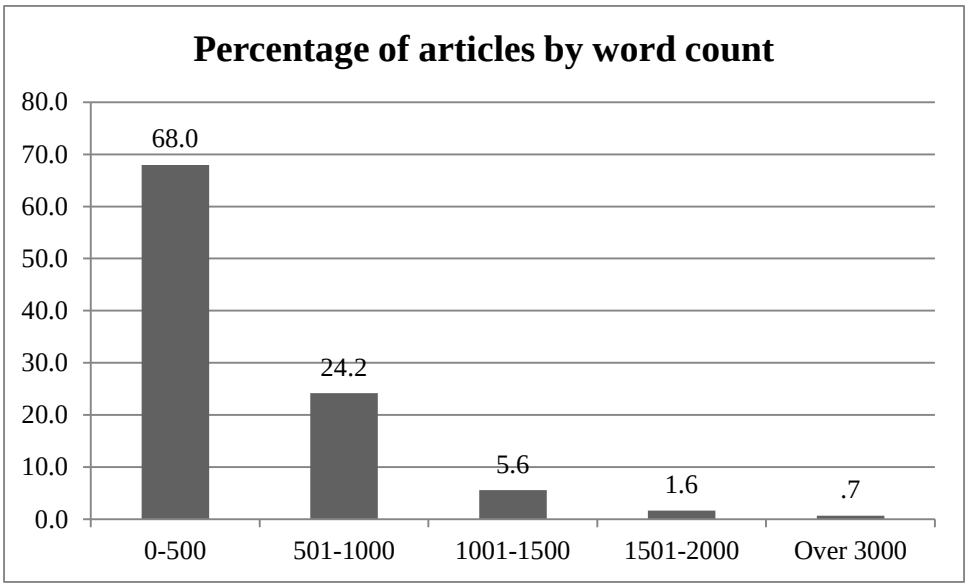
Results

In this chapter, I provide responses to research questions developed for this study, which were listed in the literature review. The statistical test used to answer the questions was the chi-square test (Cox, 1972, Riffe et al, 2005) for association and Cramer's V (Volker, 2006) for effect size. A Cramer's V value of .1 is considered small, .3 is a medium effect and anything over .5 is considered large. With the exception of the continuous "actual publication date" and "actual word count" variables, all of the other variables used in this study were categorical. SPSS 21.0 automatically calculates Fisher's exact test in addition to chi-square in cases in which there are small counts per cell (Riffe et al, 2006). I have included these results, expressed solely as the *p*-value for a two-tailed test instead of the chi-square value, when appropriate. Additionally, I created dummy variables for the most frequently observed categories within the multichotomous variables, to test them separately for association to the group-threat sentiment variables.

Construction of the sample

In the previous chapter, I discussed the methodology used to examine the presence of group-threat sentiment in newspaper articles. The articles were chosen from the LexisNexis database and contained the keywords "European Union," "immigration" and/or "asylum and/or refugee." The resulting sample consisted of 306 articles. The majority of articles were short, 208 of the 306 articles contained less than 500 words, representing 68% of the sample. A distribution of the articles by word count in presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Percentage of articles sorted by word count category



The articles were also chosen to encapsulate time-periods occurring before and after events significant to the European Union: the 2004 admission of ten additional countries into the European Union, the 2005 London bombing, and the 2010 economic collapse of several EU countries.

I used the constructed week approach to collect a representative sample of articles from each day of the week (Riffe et al., 2005), while also aiming to collect approximately 300 articles, representing 100 articles per year. An equal distribution of selected articles would have resulted in 43 articles per day. The distribution of articles is represented in Table 2.

Table 2 Frequency distribution of articles by weekday

Frequency of articles selected per day			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Sunday	39	12.7
	Monday	55	18.0
	Tuesday	45	14.7
	Wednesday	42	13.7
	Thursday	41	13.4
	Friday	44	14.4
	Saturday	40	13.1
	Total	306	100.0

Yearly distribution of articles. In building my sample, I sought to create a distribution of roughly 100 articles per year examined. Additional in-depth breakdowns of article topics by month and year are available in the appendix. The sample was composed of 111 articles published in 2004, 104 articles published in 2005 and 91 articles published in 2010.

Months by year. The frequency distribution of articles per month is misleading. Sampled articles dated April-June were published in both 2004 and 2010. Therefore, a more specific cross tabulation breakdown of the distribution of articles across year and month is contained in the Table 3. Responses to the research questions follow.

Table 3 Cross-tabulation of articles by year and month

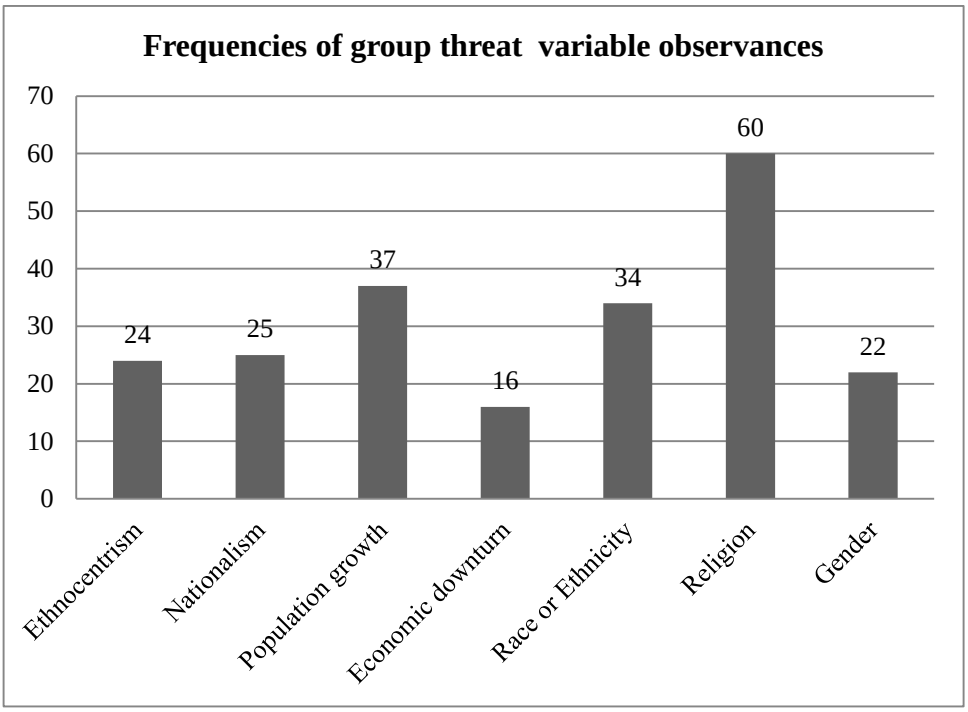
Year * Month Cross-tabulation							
		Month					Total
		Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	
Yr	2004	54	50	4	2	1	111

2005	0	0	41	50	13	104
2010	43	47	0	1	0	91
Total						306

Findings

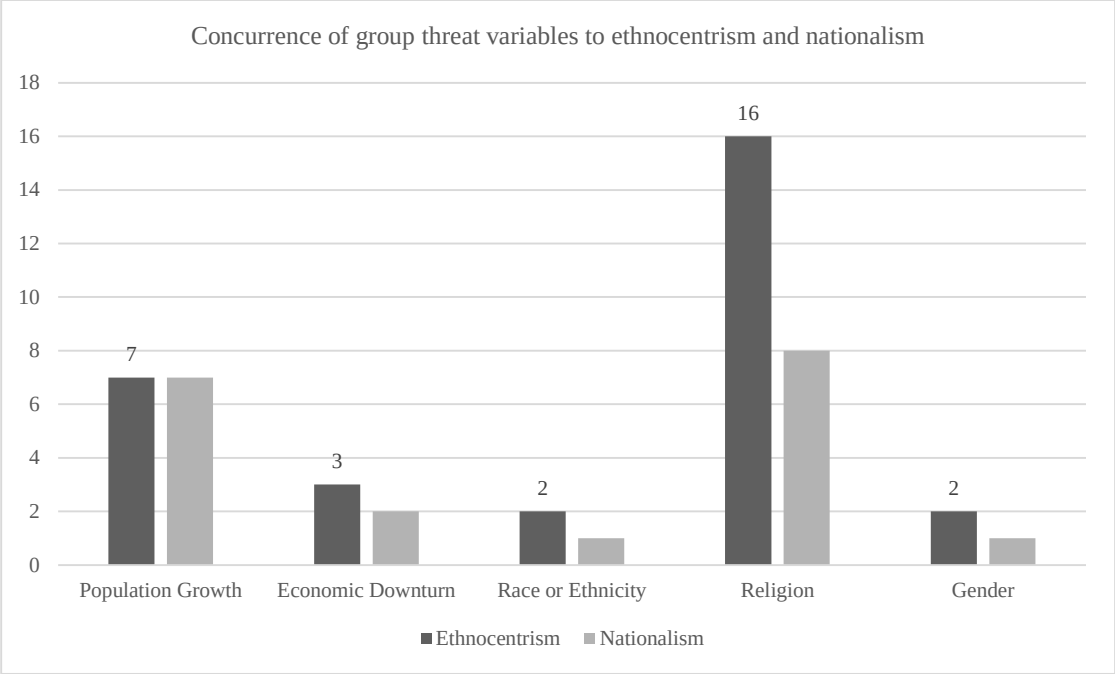
Research question one. Research question one addressed the frequency with which group-threat variables were represented in the sample, which was composed of EU newspapers. The variables examined with this question were the group-threat variables, which were operationalized as ethnocentrism, nationalism, economic downturn, increases in migrant group population, race and ethnicity, religion and gender. Figure 2 details the number of observances of each group-threat variable in the sample.

Figure 2 frequencies of observed group-threat variables in sample



Cross-tabulations and associations of group-threat variables (RQ1b). The concurrences of the group-threat variables are depicted in Figure 3. These variables were most often observed concurrently with religion, of which there 16 concurrences with ethnocentrism and eight with nationalism. Of the 16 examples of concurrences of ethnocentrism with religion, 15 of those were articles containing references to Islam. The second most observed associations with between the outcome variables and migrant population growth, with nine total observances total (seven of ethnocentrism and two of nationalism.)

Figure 3 Concurrence of group-threat variables



Frequency distribution of ethnocentrism and nationalism. These two variables were chosen to represent the expression of group-threat sentiment in the manner defined by Quillian (1995). Expressions of ethnocentrism were observed in 24 cases, representing a slightly less than 8% affirmative rate. Nationalism was observed in 25 cases, also representing 8% of the sample.

Population Growth. This variable was operationalized to record written instances of increases in migrant populations. There were 44 articles, or 14%, observed in the sample. There were seven concurrences of references to population growth with both expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism, as presented in Table 4. The association between ethnocentrism and population growth was (χ^2= 4.63, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.03*), indicating significance but a small effect size, Cramer's V, .12. Similarly, the nationalism chi-square score was (χ^2= 4.10, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=.04), which also indicates a significant association and also a small effect size, Cramer's V, .12.

Table 4 Cross-tabulations of population-growth to ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Population Growth	No	Count	245	17	262	244	18	262
		% within	86.9%	70.8%	85.6%	86.8%	72.0%	85.6%
	Yes	Count	37	7	44	37	7	44
		% within	13.1%	29.2%	14.4%	13.2%	28.0%	14.4%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Economic Downturn. References to economic downturn were not prevalent in the sample. There were only 16 cases coded affirmatively as having some reference to an economic turndown, representing slightly more than 5% of the sample, as depicted in Table 5. There were three observed concurrences with ethnocentrism and two with nationalism. The association between economic downturn and ethnocentrism was not significant, (χ^2= 2.78, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.096*, w=.10). The effect size, Cramer's V, was small, .10. The nationalism chi-square values were (χ^2= .42, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.52*). The Cramer's V for effect size was also small, .04. Again, the interaction was not significant. There was no difference in the association of reports of economic downturn and expression of either manifestation of group-threat sentiment.

Table 5 Cross-tabulation of economic downturn to expressions of group-threat sentiment

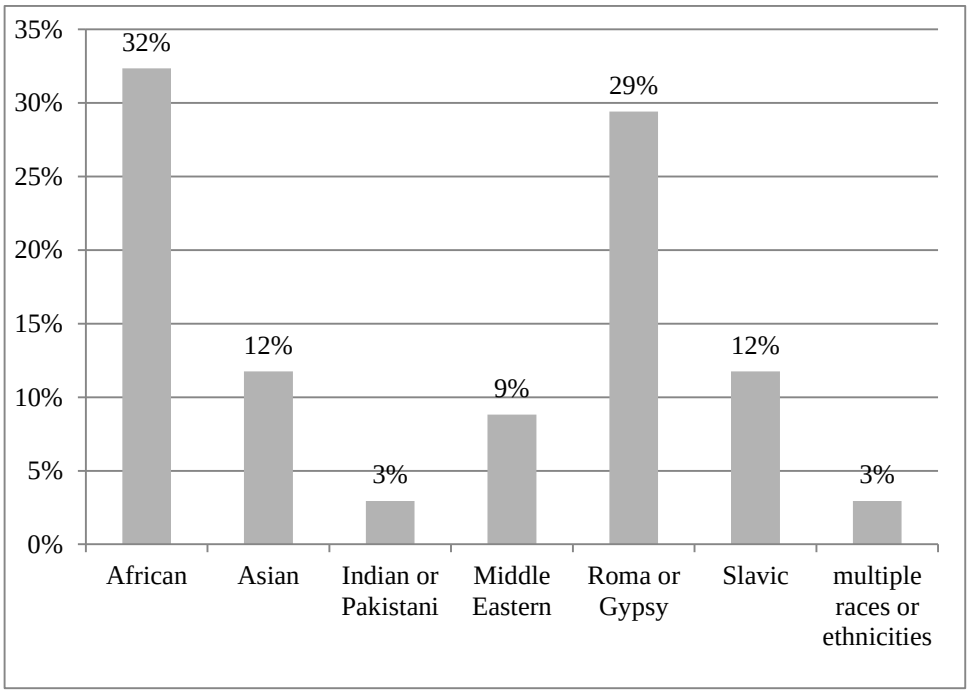
			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Economic Downturn	No	Count	269	21	290	267	23	290
		% within	95.4%	87.5%	94.8%	95.0%	92.0%	94.8%

	Yes	Count	13	3	16	14	2	16
		% within	4.6%	12.5%	5.2%	5.0%	8.0%	5.2%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Race and Ethnicity. Race or ethnicity was specifically referenced 11.1% (34) in the sampled articles. The majority of those referenced races and ethnicities were African, Roma and Middle Eastern, as depicted in the Figure 4[16]. The cross-tabulations are depicted in Table 6, which clarifies that there were almost no concurrences with expressions of ethnocentrism or nationalism.

[16] This table excludes "no race or ethnicity cited" from the chart). Race or ethnicity was observed in a total of 11% of sample.

Figure 4 Percentage of races or ethnicities referenced in EU immigration articles



The chi-square tests confirm this. The association between race and ethnicity and expressions of ethnocentrism was not significant, (χ^2= 5.45, *df* = 7, *n* = 306, *p*=.*60*), with a small effect size, Cramer's V of .13, nor was the association between race and ethnicity and nationalism, (χ^2= 4.33, *df* = 7, *n* = 306, *p*=.74). The effect size, Cramer's V, .12, was small.)

Table 6 Cross-tabulations of race and ethnicity to ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Race or Ethnicity	African	Count	11	0	11	11	0	11
		% within	3.9%	0.0%	3.6%	3.9%	0.0%	3.6%
	Asian	Count	3	1	4	4	0	4
		% within	1.1%	4.2%	1.3%	1.4%	0.0%	1.3%

	Indian or Pakistani	Count	1	0	1	1	0	1
		% within	.4%	0.0%	.3%	.4%	0.0%	.3%
	Middle Eastern	Count	3	0	3	3	0	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%
	Roma or Gypsy	Count	10	0	10	10	0	10
		% within	3.5%	0.0%	3.3%	3.6%	0.0%	3.3%
	Slavic	Count	3	1	4	3	1	4
		% within	1.1%	4.2%	1.3%	1.1%	4.0%	1.3%
	Multiple races or ethnicities	Count	1	0	1	1	0	1
		% within	.4%	0.0%	.3%	.4%	0.0%	.3%
	No race or ethnicity	Count	250	22	272	248	24	272
		% within	88.7%	91.7%	88.9%	88.3%	96.0%	88.9%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

African, Roma and Middle Eastern (RQ1c). I created dummy variables for the most frequently referenced races and ethnicities in EU immigration articles. In order of frequency, those were African, Roma or Gypsy and Middle Eastern. The cross-tabulations for those variable categories are presented in Table 6. There were no concurrences of any of these categories with the group-threat sentiment variables. Chi-square tests of association confirmed that the associations between these variables were not significant and the sizes were small. The results of those tests are represented in Table 7.

Table 7 Chi-square and Cramer's V values for individual race and ethnicity associations to group-threat sentiment variables

Race or Ethnicity	Group-Threat Sentiment

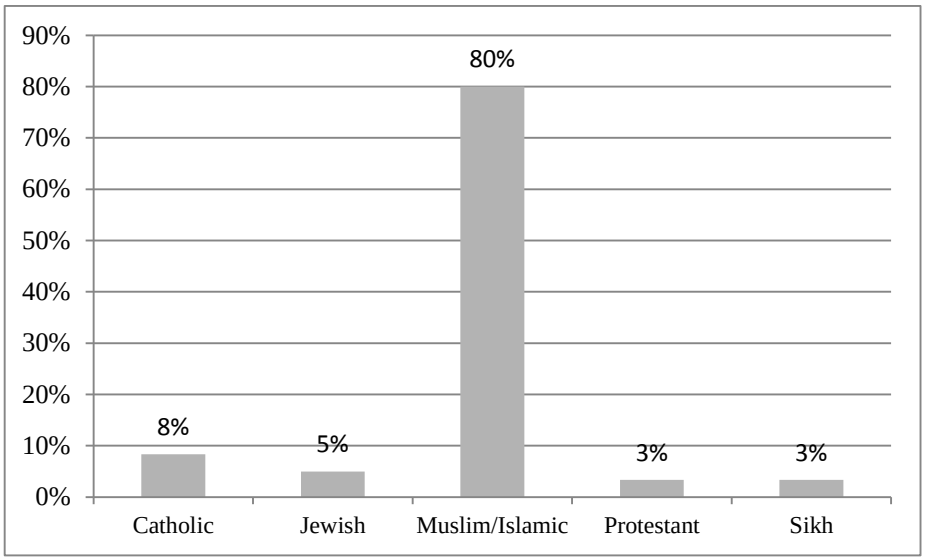
		Chi-square	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
African	Ethnocentrism	.971	1	.324	.056
	Nationalism	1.015	1	.314	.058
Roma or Gypsy	Ethnocentrism	.88	1	.348	.54
	Nationalism	.92	1	.338	.055
Middle Eastern	Ethnocentrism	.88	1	.348	.054
	Nationalism	.92	1	.338	.055

Religion. There were 60 total references to specific religions out of the 306 articles sampled, or in almost 20% of the articles sampled. Of the religions discussed in the news articles, Islam or the Muslim religion was discussed most frequently, by a considerable margin, accounting for nearly 16% (48) of the cases in the sample. These percentages are depicted in Figure 5. Cross-tabulations are presented in Table 8.

Table 8 Cross-tabulations of religion to ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Religion	Catholic	Count	5	0	5	5	0	5
		% within	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%
	Jewish	Count	3	0	3	2	1	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	.7%	4.0%	1.0%
	Muslim/ Islamic	Count	33	15	48	41	7	48
		% within	11.7%	62.5%	15.7%	14.6%	28.0%	15.7%
	Protestant	Count	1	1	2	2	0	2
		% within	.4%	4.2%	.7%	.7%	0.0%	.7%
	Sikh	Count	2	0	2	2	0	2
		% within	.7%	0.0%	.7%	.7%	0.0%	.7%
	No religion cited	Count	238	8	246	229	17	246
		% within	84.4%	33.3%	80.4%	81.5%	68.0%	80.4%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure 5 References to religion by percentage (excluding no religion cited)



Cross-tabulations with religion. The chi-square score was (χ^2= 49.33, *df* = 5, *n* = 306, *p*=.00), indicating a strong association with ethnocentrism and a fairly large size effect, Cramer's V, .40. The nationalism association was not significant, (χ^2= 6.48, *df* = 5, *n* = 306, *p*=.26). The effect size was small, Cramer's V, .15. Therefore, there was a significant difference in the association between references to religion and expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism.

Islam (RQ1c). Of the religion variable, the most frequently observed category was the Muslim religion, which accounted for 80% of the references in the sample. Of the 48 references to the Muslim religion, there were fifteen concurrences with ethnocentrism and seven with nationalism, as presented in Table 9. I created a dummy variable for this category and tested for associations with the group-threat sentiment variables. There was a significant association between references to the Muslim religion and expressions of the ethnocentrism (χ^2= 49.15, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=.00), as well as

considerable size effect, Cramer's V, .38, but not with nationalism, (χ^2= 3.12, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=.08). The effect size, Cramer's V, was small, .10.

Table 9 Cross-tabulations of Muslim references to expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism

Crosstab								
			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Muslim References	No	Count	249	9	258	240	18	258
		% within	88.3%	37.5%	84.3%	85.4%	72.0%	84.3%
	Yes	Count	33	15	48	41	7	48
		% within	11.7%	62.5%	15.7%	14.6%	28.0%	15.7%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gender. There were 22 total observations of women as subject or source in the sample, amounted to 7.2% of the total, as illustrated in Table 10. The concurrences with the group-threat sentiment variables were few, only two with ethnocentrism and one with nationalism. The gender association with ethnocentrism was not significant, (χ^2= .51, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.821*), with a small size, Cramer's V, .13. The scores of gender association with nationalism were also not significant, (χ^2= .415, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.519*) and the size is also small, Cramer's V, .37.

Table 10 Cross-tabulation of gender to ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Gender	No	Count	262	22	284	260	24	284
		% within	92.9%	91.7%	92.8%	92.5%	96.0%	92.8%
	Yes	Count	20	2	22	21	1	22
		% within	7.1%	8.3%	7.2%	7.5%	4.0%	7.2%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Question one summary. Overall, the group-threat variables were not largely represented in the sample. There were few associations between the group threat variables and expressions of group-threat sentiment, the exception being significant associations between population-growth and both ethnocentrism and nationalism. There also were correlations between references to Muslims in news articles and expressions of ethnocentrism, but not nationalism.

Research question two. The second research question examined how the expression of group-threat in news articles differed among EU news sources. To answer this question, I cross-tabulated the publication with ethnocentrism and nationalism variables, capturing the observed frequency of the different publications used in the sample. As publication number is a multichotomous variable, I created dummy variables for the most frequently observed news sources, to perform chi-square tests for association.

Distributed by country. News sources originating in the United Kingdom accounted for the largest number of articles (74), followed by Italy (72), France, (58), Germany (52) and the Czech Republic (50), as represented in Table 12. As the individual source level, the frequency distribution of the articles shows that most of the articles examined were taken from the Italian ANSA news agency (60), followed by the French Agence France Presse agency (59), the Czech CTK news agency (49), the British Mirror newspaper (49) and finally German Deutsche Presse Agentur (42). Those five sources accounted for 259 articles of the total sample, or 85% of the articles in the sample. Table 11 presents the cross-tabulations of articles as they are distributed by newspaper home-country.

Table 11 Cross-tabulation of newspaper countries to ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Newspaper Country	Czech Republic	Count	47	3	50	47	3	50
		% within	16.7%	12.5%	16.3%	16.7%	12.0%	16.3%
	France	Count	55	3	58	54	4	58
		% within	19.5%	12.5%	19.0%	19.2%	16.0%	19.0%
	Germany	Count	42	10	52	49	3	52
		% within	14.9%	41.7%	17.0%	17.4%	12.0%	17.0%
	Italy	Count	68	4	72	68	4	72
		% within	24.1%	16.7%	23.5%	24.2%	16.0%	23.5%
	United Kingdom	Count	70	4	74	63	11	74
		% within	24.8%	16.7%	24.2%	22.4%	44.0%	24.2%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12 Frequencies of ethnocentrism and nationalism by publication

Newspaper	Ethnocentrism				Nationalism			
	No	Yes	Tot	%	No	Yes	Tot	%
The Mirror	47	2	49	16%	40	9	49	16%
Times of London	23	2	25	8%	23	2	25	8%
CTK News Agency	47	2	49	16%	46	3	49	16%
Agence France Presse	56	3	59	19%	55	4	59	19%
Deutsche Presse-Agentur	35	7	42	14%	39	3	42	14%
Die Welt & Welt am Sonntag	4	2	6	2%	6	0	6	2%
ANSA News Agency	57	3	60	20%	58	2	60	20%
Corriere della Sera	7	1	8	3%	7	1	8	3%
La Stampa	3	0	3	1%	2	1	3	1%
Il Sole 24 ORE	1	0	1	0%	1	0	1	0%
Mlada fronta Dnes	0	1	1	0%	1	0	1	0%
Der Spiegel Online (Daily)	2	1	3	1%	3	0	3	1%

The most frequent concurrence of ethnocentrism in relation to specific news sources was to the Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA), with seven concurrences out of 42 total cases. The ANSA news agency and Agence France Presse (AFP) follow in concurrences with three cases each. As shown in Table 12, there was a significant association between publication and ethnocentrism (χ^2= 28.16, *df* = 11, *n* = 306, *p*=.00), and a medium effect size, Cramer's V, .30, but not to expressions of nationalism, (χ^2= 12.86, *df* = 11, *n* = 306, *p*=.30), with a relatively small effect size, Cramer's V, .21.

Associations with individual publications (Rq2b). Table 13 presents the results of the chi-square tests for the dummy variables created of the most frequently observed publications in the sample. Articles published by the Deutsch Presse Agentur were significantly associated with the expression of ethnocentrism, while articles

published in the British newspaper the Mirror demonstrated a significant association with the expression of nationalism, though the effect size was small. The data did not demonstrate significant associations between the other publications and expressions of group-threat sentiment.

Table 13 Chi-square and Cramer's V results of individual publications to group-threat sentiment variables

Publication	Group-Threat Sentiment	Chi-square	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
ANSA Wire Service	Ethnocentrism	0.835	1	0.361	0.052
	Nationalism	2.327	1	0.127	0.087
Agence France Presse	Ethnocentrism	0.769	1	0.361	0.05
	Nationalism	0.188	1	0.664	0.025
Deutsche Presse Agentur	Ethnocentrism	5.244	1	0.022	0.131
	Nationalism	0.068	1	0.794	0.015
The Mirror	Ethnocentrism	1.142	1	0.285	0.061
	Nationalism	8.087	1	0.004	0.163

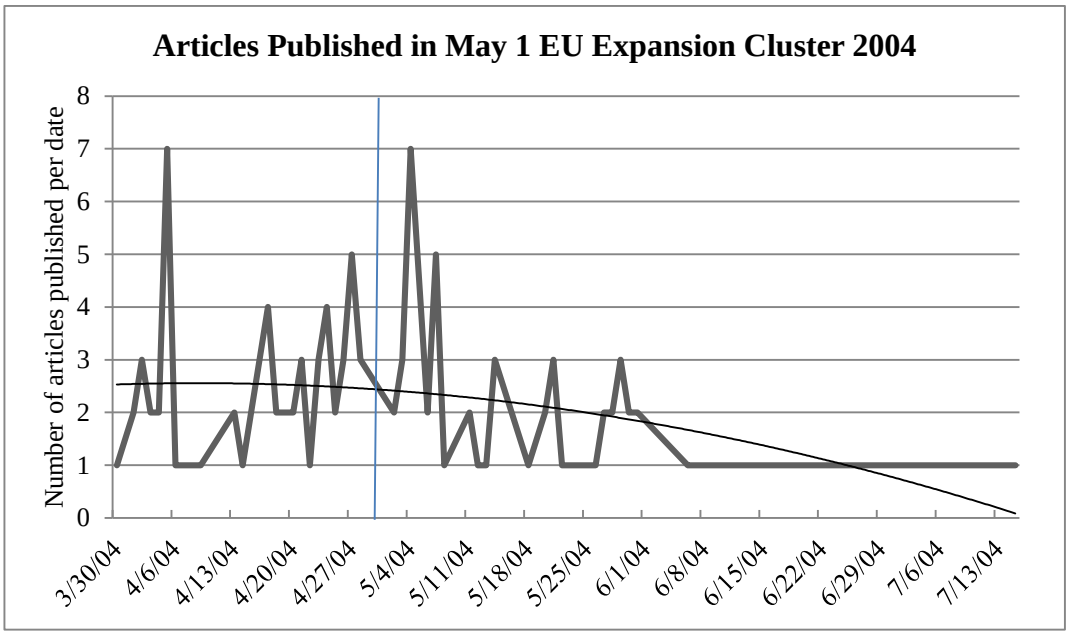
Summary. The association between news sources and the expression of ethnocentrism was significant, whereas the opposite is true of the expression of nationalism. Of the individual news sources, articles published by the German Deutsche Presse Agentur demonstrated significant association with expressions of ethnocentrism, whereas the British Mirror demonstrated significant associations with expressions of nationalism. Both variables had small effect sizes though. There were no relationships between the other variables.

Research question three. Research question three addresses the expression of group-threat in the news and the manner in which that expression changes based upon developments in the news. Specifically, this question asks if expressions of group-threat in immigration news increases after the occurrence of a significant news event.

Dates of significant events. The years and months chosen for this study represent three-month periods enveloping significant events in European Union history. The first event was the May 1, 2004 expansion of the European Union to include 10 additional member countries. The second event considered was the July 7, 2005 bombing of the London Underground, a terrorist attack that led to deaths of 52 people and injured more than 700. Finally, the articles examined in 2010 surrounded the May responses to the financial crisis that had originated in the United States with the sub-prime mortgage collapse, leading to the bailouts of countries such as Greece, Ireland and Cyprus.

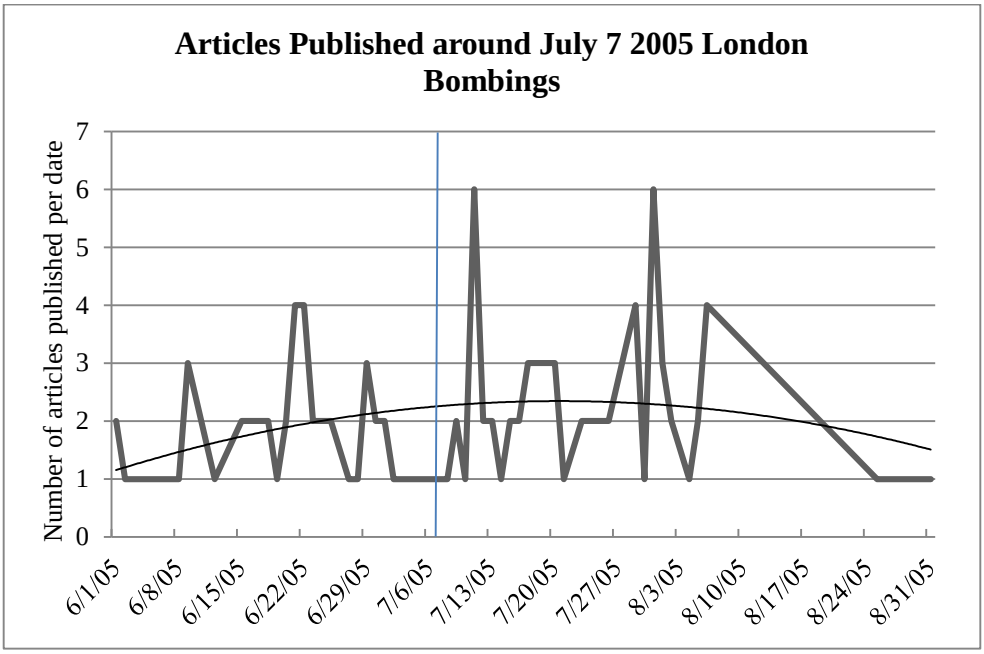
EU Expansion, 2004. The publication of 2004 articles is depicted in Figure 6 with includes a polynomial trend-line. There was no significant increase in immigration news coverage after the expansion. By design of the constructed week, the articles selected in the sample were distributed evenly across the time-periods, but specific article subjects were complete random. An examination of the articles in the entire sample *(n=306)* revealed that only three articles specifically addressed issues relating to the European Union expansion. The number of articles actually seemed to trend downwards after the event.

Figure 6 Articles Clustered Around May 1 2004 EU Expansion (Apr-Jun 2004)



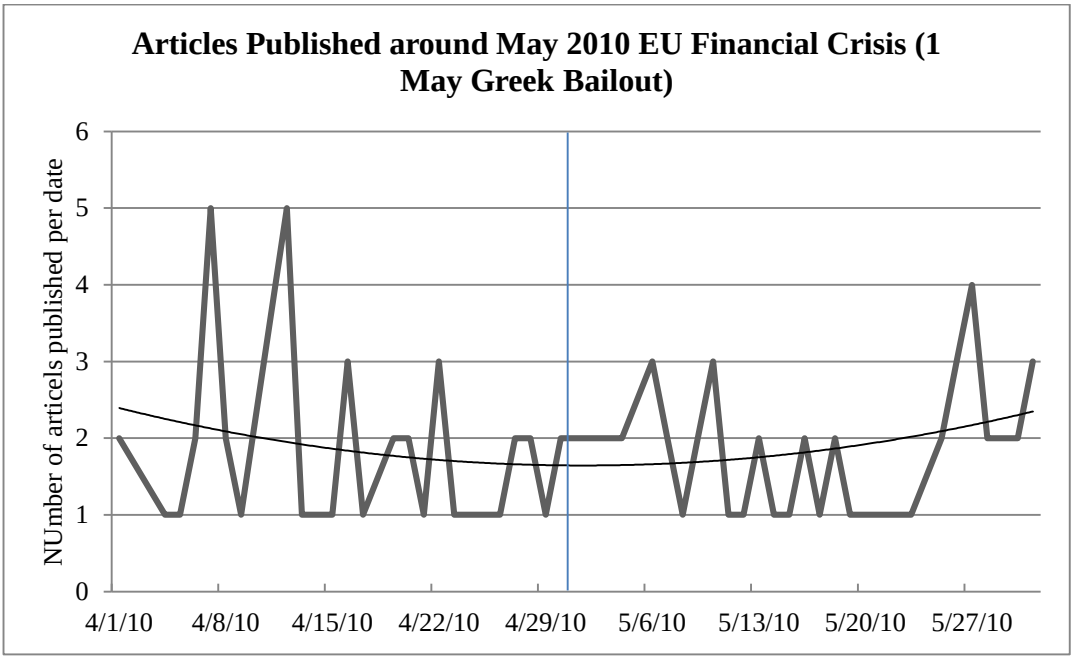
The London bombings. As depicted in Figure 7 with includes a polynomial trend-line, only 15 articles dealt specifically with the topic of the London bombings. Each of those articles dealt with efforts to apprehend bombing suspects, most of whom were migrants to the United Kingdom. There seemed to be a peak around the time of the beginning of the crisis, but the coverage receded after that.

Figure 7 Chart of immigration-related articles published around the July London bombings (Jun-Aug 2005)



The EU financial crisis, May 2010. There was no increase in expressions of group-threat sentiment after the beginning of the EU financial crisis. There were almost as many articles published prior to the Greek bailout (43) as were published after (48), as depicted in Figure 8, with includes a polynomial trend-line. No articles in the sample actually addressed the financial crisis directly. There actually appears to be a dip in the coverage of immigration articles around the beginning of coverage of the crisis.

Figure 8 Chart of immigration articles clustered around May 2010 EU financial crisis events (Apr-Jun 2010)



Summary. To summarize responses to question three, the sample was constructed to examine publication of articles relating to immigration, asylum and refugee status published by European Union news sources clustering around important dates in EU history. The data did not reveal significant increases of expressions of group-threat sentiment after the occurrence of significant events, nor were there any clustering of usage of group-threat related statements around these events.

Research question four. Question four addresses the concurrence of story topics with the expression of group-threat in the news. Specifically, the question seeks to determine what story topics are most frequently covered concurrently with expressions of group-threat sentiment. In answering this question, I constructed frequency tables and conducted chi-square analysis. The cross-tabulations of article

topics to expressions of group threat are presented in Table 14. Because this is a multichotomous variable, I also created dummy variables for the most frequently observed categories to conduct chi-squares on these values individually.

Table 14 frequency distribution, top-ten most observed topics among EU immigration articles

Rnk			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
1	Political Proceedings	Count	45	3	48	41	7	48
		% within	16.00%	12.50%	15.70%	14.60%	28.00%	15.70%
2	Migratory Experiences/ Human Interest	Count	40	2	42	39	3	42
		% within	14.20%	8.30%	13.70%	13.90%	12.00%	13.70%
3	Migration Legislation/ Legal Proceedings	Count	35	3	38	33	5	38
		% within	12.40%	12.50%	12.40%	11.70%	20.00%	12.40%
4	Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	Count	30	4	34	33	1	34
		% within	10.60%	16.70%	11.10%	11.70%	4.00%	11.10%
5	Illegal Border Crossing	Count	24	0	24	24	0	24
		% within	8.50%	0.00%	7.80%	8.50%	0.00%	7.80%
6	Criminal Activity and Prevention	Count	19	2	21	21	0	21
		% within	6.70%	8.30%	6.90%	7.50%	0.00%	6.90%
7	Elections, National or International	Count	16	0	16	13	3	16
		% within	5.70%	0.00%	5.20%	4.60%	12.00%	5.20%
8	Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	Count	14	0	14	14	0	14
		% within	5.00%	0.00%	4.60%	5.00%	0.00%	4.60%
9	Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	Count	8	5	13	11	2	13
		% within	2.80%	20.80%	4.20%	3.90%	8.00%	4.20%
10	Economic Contributions of Migrants	Count	8	2	10	7	3	10
		% within	2.80%	8.30%	3.30%	2.50%	12.00%	3.30%

The most commonly reported topics within the sample, presented in Table 15, were political proceedings, at 16% (48), followed by the stories concerning the migratory experience at 14% (42), migration legislation, 12% (38) and terrorism or terrorism prevention, 8% (34). The top ten topics accounted for 87% (262) of the topics in the sample. The tests of association with ethnocentrism was not strong, (χ^2= 29.60, *df* = 19, *n* = 306, *p*=.06) with medium effect sizes, Cramer's V, .31. The association with nationalism was also not significant (χ^2= 24.66, *df* = 19, *n* = 306, *p*=.17), though the effect size values, Cramer's V, were considered medium sized, .29.

Table 15 Top ten topics observed in the sample (*n*=306)

Topic	Frequency	Percent
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	14	5%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	21	7%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	13	4%
Elections, National or International	16	5%
Illegal Border Crossing	24	8%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	38	12%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	42	14%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	11	4%
Political Proceedings	48	16%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	34	11%
Remaining Topics - Totaled	45	15%

Associations to individual topics (RQ4b). After creating dummy variables for the top four topics, I conducted chi-square tests for each. The results are presented in Table 16. Accept for terrorism and terrorism prevention, none of these variables demonstrated significant associations with expressions of ethnocentrism or nationalism, meaning there was no difference in the two.

Table 16 Chi-square values for individual article topics in association to group-threat sentiment

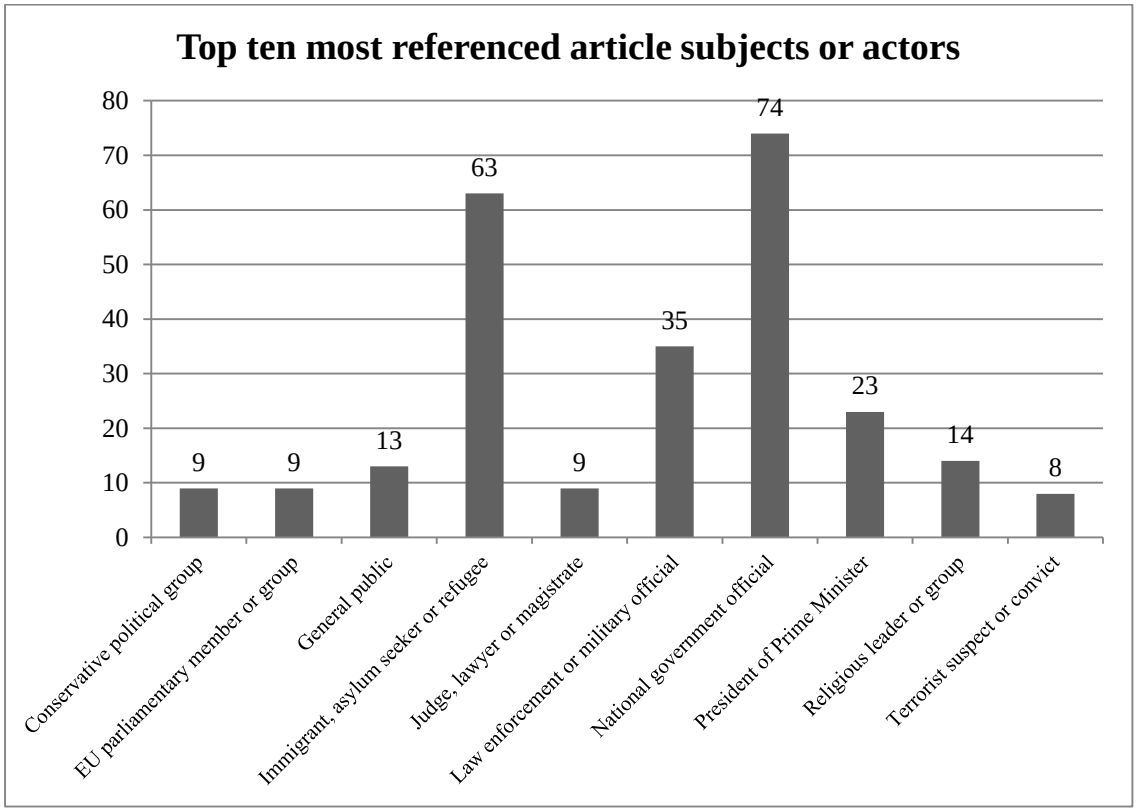
Article Topic	Group-Threat Sentiment	Chi-square	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
Political Proceedings	Ethnocentrism	0.2	1	0.655	0.026
	Nationalism	3.121	1	0.077	0.101
Migratory Experiences	Ethnocentrism	0.639	1	0.424	0.046
	Nationalism	1.439	1	0.23	0.069
Migratory Legislation	Ethnocentrism	0	1	0.99	0.001
	Nationalism	1.439	1	0.23	0.069
Terrorism and Prevention	Ethnocentrism	0.814	1	0.0367	0.052
	Nationalism	1.314	1	0.238	0.067

Summary. The top four topics observed in the sample account for 50% of the topics in the sampled articles. Overall, the top ten topics out of 21 categories accounted for 84% of the article topics. Article topics, both as a multichotomous variable and as individual topics, did not demonstrate significance when associated with expressions of group-threat sentiment.

Research question five. Research question five was composed to capture the most frequently referenced article actors as well as the sources quoted, which often are the articles subjects as well. Figure 9 details the top ten most referenced actors. The clearly most referenced actors were national government officials, with 74 cases observed. The second most observed with migrants themselves, found in 63 cases in the sample. The drop-off is considerable from there. Interestingly, the ratio of immigrants cited as actors to those quoted was starkly different. I discuss this further in the sources

quoted section. The next most observed category of actors was law enforcement or military officials (35).

Figure 9 the top ten most referenced subjects or actors in EU immigration articles



Cross–tabulations. The cross-tabulations for article actors to the expression of group-threat sentiment are presented in Table 17.

Table 17 Cross-tabulation with top-ten article actors as paired with expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism

Rank			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
1	National government official	Count	67	7	74	68	6	74
		% within	23.8%	29.2%	24.2%	24.2%	24.0%	24.2%
2	Immigrant, asylum seeker or refugee	Count	60	2	62	56	6	62
		% within	21.3%	8.3%	20.3%	19.9%	24.0%	20.3%
3	Law enforcement or military official	Count	32	3	35	34	1	35
		% within	11.3%	12.5%	11.4%	12.1%	4.0%	11.4%
4	President of Prime Minister	Count	23	0	23	20	3	23
		% within	8.2%	0.0%	7.5%	7.1%	12.0%	7.5%
5	General public	Count	13	0	13	11	2	13
		% within	4.6%	0.0%	4.2%	3.9%	8.0%	4.2%
6	Religious leader or group	Count	13	1	14	14	0	14
		% within	4.6%	4.2%	4.6%	5.0%	0.0%	4.6%
7	Conservative political group	Count	8	1	9	5	4	9
		% within	2.8%	4.2%	2.9%	1.8%	16.0%	2.9%
8	Criminal(2) or organized crime	Count	7	1	8	8	0	8
		% within	2.5%	4.2%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%
9	Judge, lawyer or magistrate	Count	7	1	8	8	0	8
		% within	2.5%	4.2%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%
10	State or city government official	Count	6	2	8	8	0	8
		% within	2.1%	8.3%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%

There were no significant associations between article subjects and the expressions of ethnocentrism (χ^2= 23.53, *df* = 21, *n* = 306, *p*=.32) and the effect size

was relatively small, Cramer's V, .28. There additionally were no significant associations between article subjects and expressions of nationalism, (χ^2= 32.40, *df* = 21, *n* = 306, *p*=.053), with a medium effect size, Cramer's, .33.

Associations with individual article actors (RQ5b). I created dummy variables to test for associations between the most frequently observed actors and expressions of group-threat sentiment. The results are presented in Table 18.

Table 18 Chi-square test of the most frequently referenced article subjects to group-threat sentiment

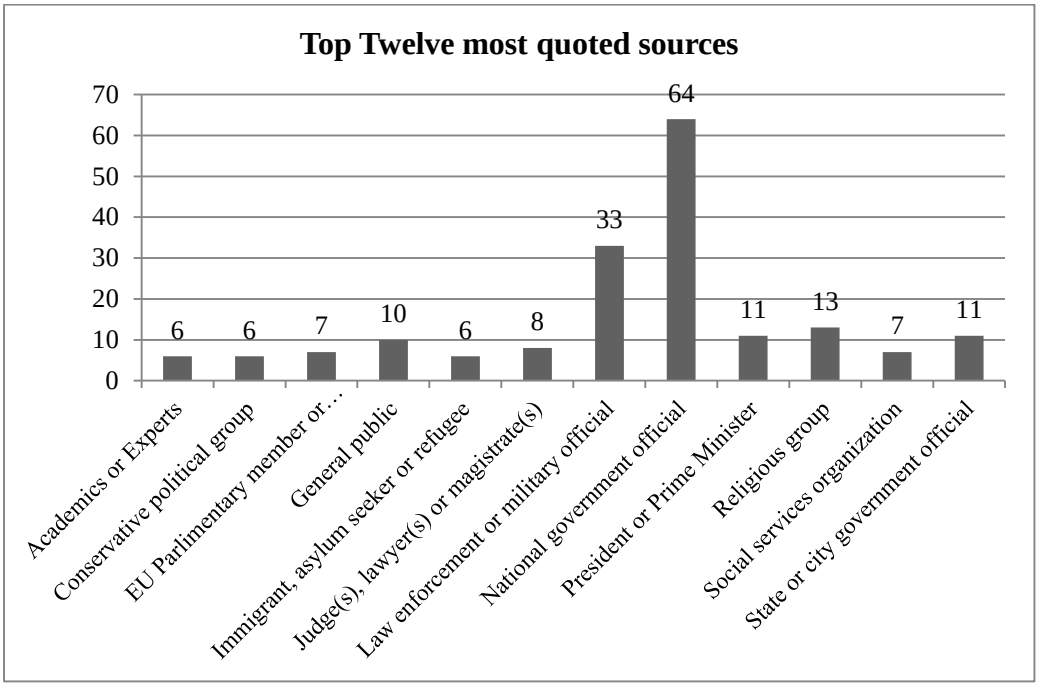
Article Subject	Group-Threat Sentiment				
		Chi-square	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
National Government Officials	Ethnocentrism	0.353	1	0.553	0.034
	Nationalism	0	1	0.982	0.001
Immigrants or Asylum Seekers	Ethnocentrism	2.293	1	0.13	0.087
	Nationalism	0.236	1	0.627	0.028
Law Enforcement or Military Officials	Ethnocentrism	0.029	1	0.865	0.01
	Nationalism	1.487	1	0.223	0.07

As with the multichotomous topics variables, the individual topics did not demonstrate significant associations with expressions of group-threat sentiment. The size effects, as indicated by the Cramer's V values, were very small.

Sources quoted (RQ5c). Closely related to the article subject, because they are often the same, the "sources quoted" variable was included to determine if the tenets of threat perception were more strongly associated with quotes from particular sources. Articles were coded affirmatively if quoted statements were included and the sources identified. Only first sources encountered in the each story were coded. The most quoted sources in the sample were national government officials, with 64 observances,

representing 21% of the sample. Law enforcement officials, with 11% of the sample, followed this. See Figure 10 for details.

Figure 10 Top twelve observed sources quoted ("no-source" excluded)



The drop off is considerable from that point on. The next most frequently observed source was religious leaders or groups (13), followed by presidents or prime ministers and state government officials (11). The data support that the most quoted sources would be national government and law enforcement officials, because most of the topics covered involved national-level political and legislative proceedings, as well as terrorist and criminal investigations. Concerning the concurrence between "sources quoted" and the group-threat-sentiment variables, most occurred between "national government officials" (7) and ethnocentrism, followed by "law enforcement" (4) and "state government officials" (3). I note hear that while 63 immigrants were cited in the

sample as actors in news articles, only six were directly quoted. Compare this to the number of government official actors and those quoted. The causes of this type of disparity lends itself to future research. The association of article sources to ethnocentrism was not significant, (χ^2= 20.16, *df* = 20, *n* = 306, *p*=.45) and the effect size, Cramer's V, was fairly small, .28. Sources quoted was strongly associated with expressions of nationalism, (χ^2= 43.43, *df* = 20, *n* = 306, *p*=.002) with a medium to large effect size, Cramer's V, .38. I created dummy variables for the three leading categories, none of which had significant relationships with the group-threat sentiment variables. The Fisher's exact values are listed in Table 19.

Table 19 Fisher's exact values for associations to ethnocentrism and nationalism

Dummy Variable	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
National government officials	.312	.802
Immigrant or asylum seeker	.185	.608
Law enforcement or military official	.745	.332

Summary of research question five. This research question examined the frequencies of article actors or subjects, as they appeared in EU immigration articles and their associations with group-threat. National government officials were the most frequently written about subject in the sample, followed by immigrants and law enforcement officials. None of these categories demonstrated significant associations with expressions of group-threat sentiment. Those same categories were also most

frequently quoted as sources in immigration articles. However, while the overall category showed significant associations with expressions of nationalism, the individual elements did not show strong associations with ethnocentrism or nationalism.

Research question six. Research question six sought to determine which migrant origin countries were most frequently referenced in articles containing group-threat sentiment, expressed as ethnocentrism and nationalism. The most frequently referenced origin nations were Algeria (10), followed by China (7), Ukraine and Turkey (6 each), Nigeria and Pakistan (5 each) and Albania (4), as detailed in Figure 11. The cross-tabulations to expressions of group-threat are presented in Table 20.

Figure 11 the top twelve most referenced migrant origin countries

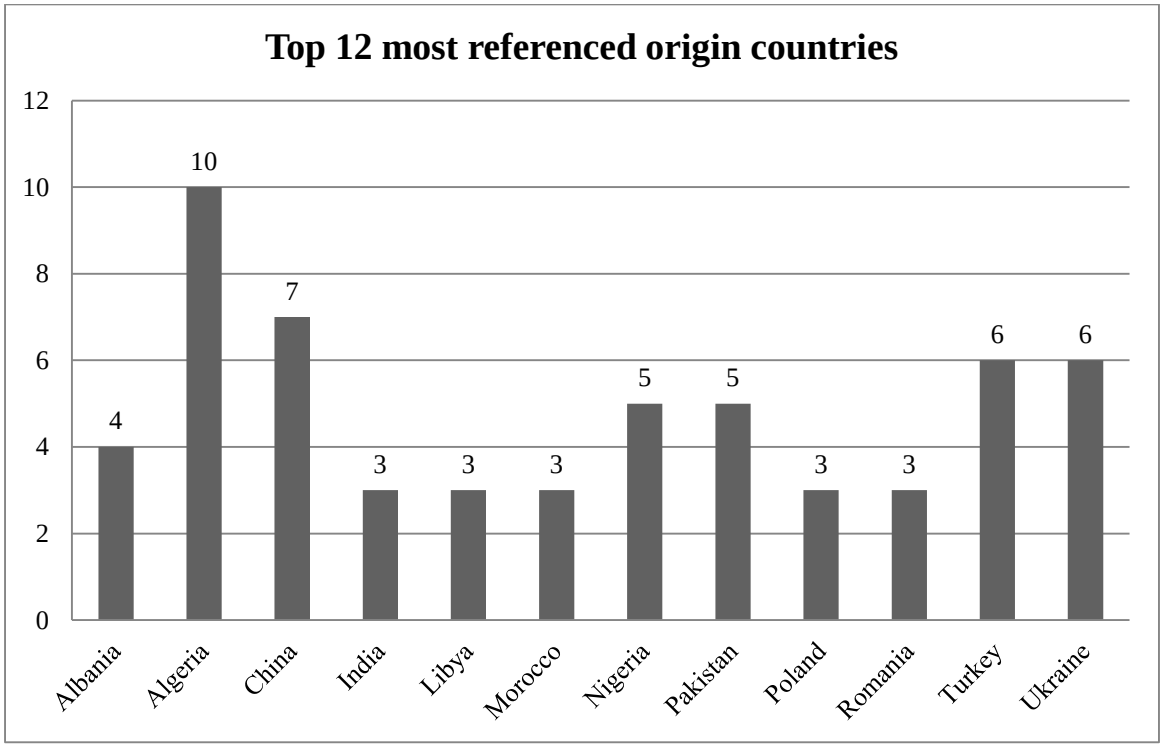


Table 20 Cross-tabulations of the top-twelve origin countries compared to ethnocentrism and nationalism (other, multiple and no country excluded)

Crosstab								
			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
1	Algeria	Count	8	2	10	10	0	10
		% within	2.8%	8.3%	3.3%	3.6%	0.0%	3.3%
2	China	Count	7	0	7	7	0	7
		% within	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%
3	Turkey	Count	4	2	6	4	2	6
		% within	1.4%	8.3%	2.0%	1.4%	8.0%	2.0%
4	Ukraine	Count	6	0	6	6	0	6
		% within	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%
5	Nigeria	Count	5	0	5	5	0	5
		% within	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%
6	Pakistan	Count	3	2	5	5	0	5
		% within	1.1%	8.3%	1.6%	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%
7	Albania	Count	4	0	4	4	0	4
		% within	1.4%	0.0%	1.3%	1.4%	0.0%	1.3%
8	India	Count	3	0	3	3	0	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%
9	Libya	Count	3	0	3	3	0	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%
10	Morocco	Count	3	0	3	3	0	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%
11	Romania	Count	3	0	3	3	0	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%
12	Poland	Count	2	1	3	2	1	3
		% within	.7%	4.2%	1.0%	.7%	4.0%	1.0%

The chi-square results for the association of origin country to ethnocentrism was (χ^2= 45.51, *df* = 25, *n* = 306, *p*=.01), indicating significance with a medium size effect, Cramer's V, 3.58. The association between origin country and nationalism was not significant, (χ^2= 19.18, *df* = 25, *n* = 306, *p*=.*76),* with a relatively small size effect, Cramer's V, .25.

Algeria (RQ6b). I created a dummy variable for Algeria because it the most frequently observed migrant home country. I also chose this category because all of the references dealt with terrorism and arrests associated with terrorism. The cross-tabulations are presented in Table 21. The associations were not significant with ethnocentrism, (χ^2= 2.114, *df* = 1, *n* = 306), Cramer's V, .15 or nationalism, (χ^2= .92, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.34*), Cramer's V, .08.

Table 21 cross-tabulations for Algerian origin country associated with group threat sentiment variables.

Crosstab								
			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Algerian Origin Country	No	Count	274	22	296	271	25	296
		% within	97.2%	91.7%	96.7%	96.4%	100.0%	96.7%
	Yes	Count	8	2	10	10	0	10
		% within	2.8%	8.3%	3.3%	3.6%	0.0%	3.3%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Summary of question six. The origin countries observed in the sample were diverse, with the most frequent being Algeria (10), China (7), Turkey (6) and Ukraine (6). Overall, references to migrant origin countries were significantly associated with ethnocentrism, but not nationalism. Migrants from Algeria were referenced in conjunction with terrorism and terrorism prevention in the sample, though references to this country were not significantly associated with the two expressions of group-threat sentiment.

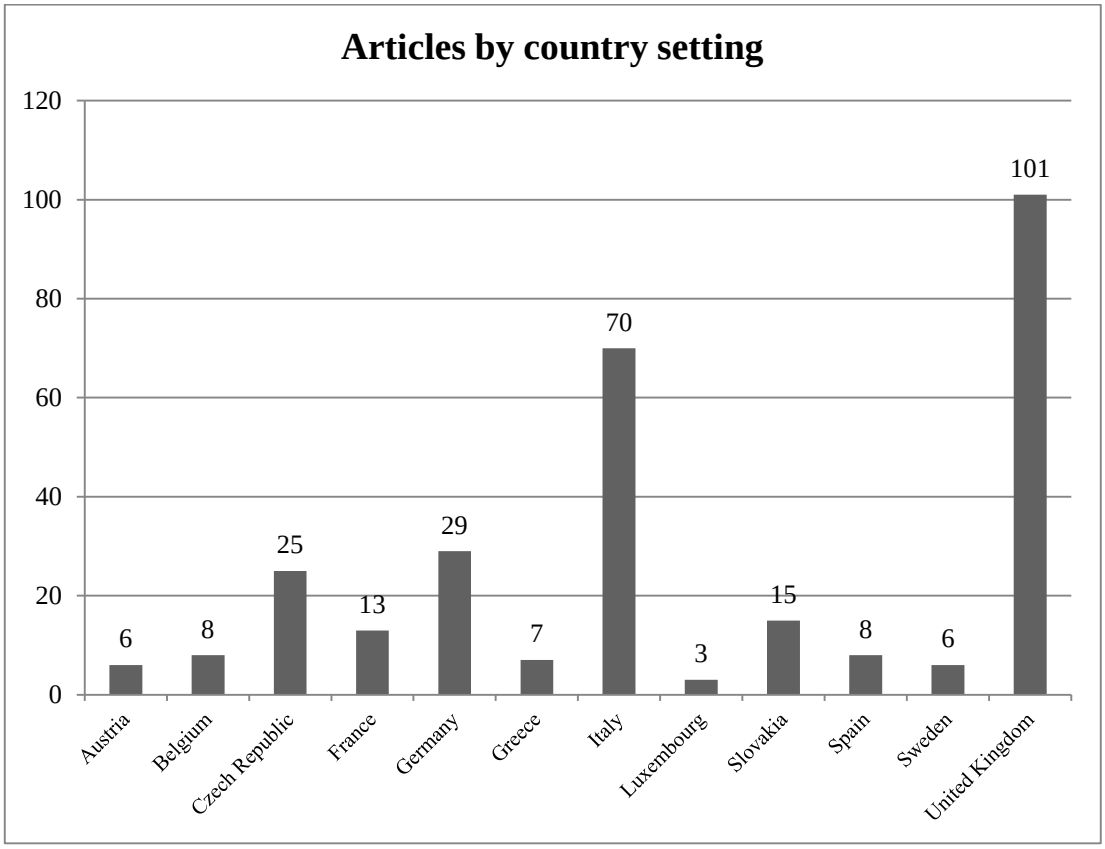
Research question seven. Research question seven examined the countries in which destination countries were most frequently associated with group threat sentiment. The variable examined was the "article setting" variable, which captures the EU country in which the article is set and is therefore likely a migrant destination country. A frequency tabulation reveals that 33% (101) of the articles in the sample were set in the UK, followed by 23% (70) Italy. Germany follows distantly at 9% (29). The Czech Republic, one of the newest members of the European Union, accounts for 8% (25). The top four countries observed out of 27 possible categories (multiple excluded) accounted for 224 of 306, or 73% of the articles within the sample. The cross-tabulations are depicted in Table 22.

Table 22 Top – twelve cross-tabulations of article settings to expressions of group-threat sentiment

Crosstab								
			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
Rank			No	Yes		No	Yes	
1	United Kingdom	Count	94	6	100	86	14	100
		% within	33.3%	25.0%	32.7%	30.6%	56.0%	32.7%
2	Italy	Count	64	6	70	67	3	70
		% within	22.7%	25.0%	22.9%	23.8%	12.0%	22.9%
3	Germany	Count	24	5	29	27	2	29
		% within	8.5%	20.8%	9.5%	9.6%	8.0%	9.5%
4	Czech Republic	Count	22	3	25	23	2	25
		% within	7.8%	12.5%	8.2%	8.2%	8.0%	8.2%
5	Slovakia	Count	15	0	15	15	0	15
		% within	5.3%	0.0%	4.9%	5.3%	0.0%	4.9%
6	France	Count	12	1	13	12	1	13
		% within	4.3%	4.2%	4.2%	4.3%	4.0%	4.2%
7	Belgium	Count	8	0	8	8	0	8
		% within	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%
8	Greece	Count	7	0	7	7	0	7
		% within	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%
9	Austria	Count	6	0	6	6	0	6
		% within	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%
10	Sweden	Count	6	0	6	6	0	6
		% within	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%	2.1%	0.0%	2.0%
11	Spain	Count	5	3	8	8	0	8
		% within	1.8%	12.5%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	2.6%
12	Luxembourg	Count	3	0	3	2	1	3
		% within	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	.7%	4.0%	1.0%

The top twelve countries out of 29 categories, depicted in Figure 12, represent 291 of the 306 articles, or 95% of the total.

Figure 12 Top twelve county settings for immigration articles



Article setting and tests of association. The results of the chi-square tests were (χ^2= 19.54, *df* = 23, *n* = 306, *p*=.*68*) for association with ethnocentrism, with small to medium size effects, Cramer's V, .25. The chi-square test value for nationalism was, (χ^2= 18.07, *df* = 23, *n* = 306, *p*=.*22*). The associations were not significant and the size effects were medium sized, Cramer's V, .30.

Association to individual article settings (Rq7b). Table 23 depicts the results of the chi-square tests conducted on the most frequently observed articles settings, for which I created dummy variables. Of the four, only articles set in the United Kingdom demonstrated a strong association with nationalism, with a healthy effect size. Articles set in Germany were significantly associated with expressions of ethnocentrism. The effect size was more than medium sized.

Table 23 Chi-square test of association between individual article settings and expressions of group-threat sentiment

Article Setting	Group-Threat Sentiment	Chi-square	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
United Kingdom	Ethnocentrism	0.698	1	0.403	0.048
	Nationalism	6.73	1	0.009	1.48
Italy	Ethnocentrism	0.067	1	0.798	0.015
	Nationalism	1.825	1	0.177	0.077
Germany	Ethnocentrism	3.915	1	0.048	0.113
	Nationalism	0.069	1	0.792	0.015
Czech Republic	Ethnocentrism	0.651	1	0.42	0.046
	Nationalism	0.001	1	0.974	0.002

Summary of question seven. To summarize, the United Kingdom accounted for 33% of the articles, followed by 23% from Italy. The top four countries accounted for 73% of the articles within the sample. While the multichotomous variable did not demonstrate significance, articles individually set in the United Kingdom were significantly associated with expressions of nationalism and the effect size was extremely large. Articles set in Germany were significantly associated with expressions of ethnocentrism, though the effect size was miniscule.

Research question eight. Research question eight addresses the concurrence of references to European Union legislation with expressions of group-threat sentiment. There were 25 observances of references to EU legislation in the sample, amounting to 8.2% of the sample, as illustrated in Table 24.

Table 24 Cross-tabulation of EU legislation to expressions of group-threat sentiment

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
European Union Legislation	No	Count	257	24	281	260	21	281
		% within	91.1%	100.0%	91.8%	92.5%	84.0%	91.8%
	Yes	Count	25	0	25	21	4	25
		% within	8.9%	0.0%	8.2%	7.5%	16.0%	8.2%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Associations (RQ8b). There were no concurrent references to EU legislation and the expression of ethnocentrism in the sample. The chi-square value for this association was (p=.24), suggesting no significant association. Regarding nationalism, there were four articles coded affirmatively for nationalism in association with EU legislation. As with ethnocentrism, the associations were not significant (p=.13)

Summary of research question eight. Addressing question eight revealed that very few references were made to EU legislation in the sampled immigration articles. All of the observances involved discussion of the Schengen Agreement. The chi-square

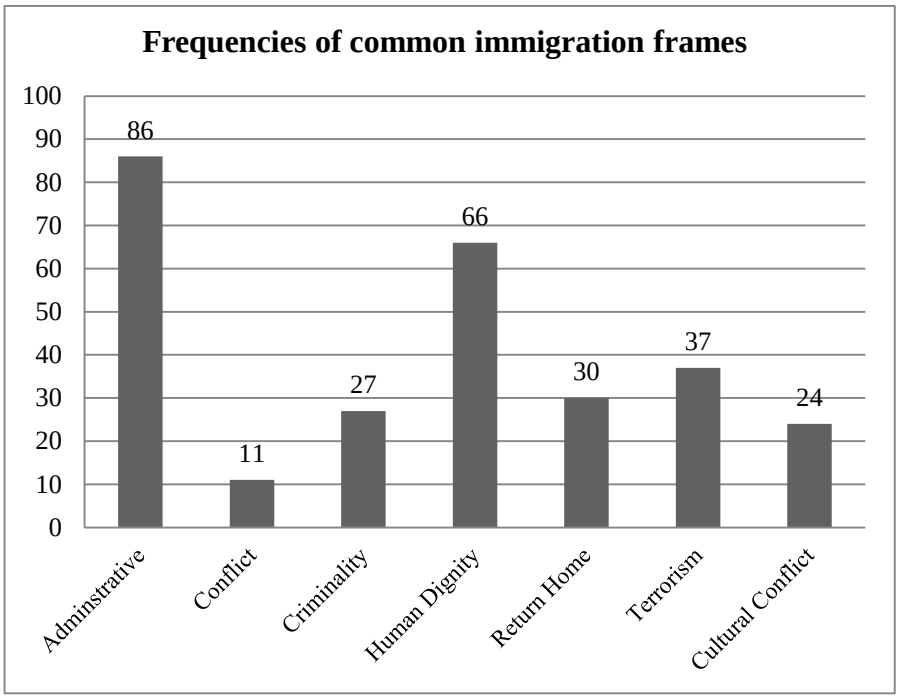
test did not reveal significant associations to expressions of ethnocentrism or nationalism.

Frequencies of common immigration frames

Common immigration frames observed by researchers are those used often in journalism to frame immigration stories. The "human dignity" and "return home" frames have been adopted from Nickels' (2005) research on immigration news coverage in Luxembourg. I did not include Nickels' "genuineness" frame, as it was not encountered in any of the coding for this research. I included "conflict or war," "criminality" and "terrorism" frames based upon previous research. Finally, I included the "cultural conflict" frame (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004) based upon encountering it during initial coding sessions. The frequencies of common immigration frames observed in the sample are depicted in Figure 13.

The predominant frames used were the administrative frame and the human dignity frame. These two frames were observed in 49.6% (152) of the cases. The results of cross–tabulations with these frames to the outcome variables ethnocentrism and nationalism are explained in the research questions nine through twelve.

Figure 13 Frequencies of common immigration frames, including Nickels



Research question nine (RQ9a and b). Research question nine dealt with press coverage of migration and the use of terrorism frames. This frame was used in 37 cases, accounting for 12.1% of the sample, which is depicted in Table 25. Additionally, the expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism were associated with the use of the terrorism frame in only four and three cases respectively. There was no significant relationships between the use of the terrorism frame and expressions of ethnocentrism (χ^2= .513, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.04*), with small effect sizes, Cramer's, .04. There also was no significant associations between the terrorism frame and nationalism (χ^2= .000, *df* = 1, *n* = 306, *p*=*.99*), with very small effect sizes, Cramer's V, .00.

Table 25 Cross-tabulations of the terrorism frame to expressions of group-threat sentiment

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Terrorism	No	Count	249	20	269	247	22	269
		% within	88.3%	83.3%	87.9%	87.9%	88.0%	87.9%
	Yes	Count	33	4	37	34	3	37
		% within	11.7%	16.7%	12.1%	12.1%	12.0%	12.1%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Summary. To summarize my response to question nine, the data did not support a strong association between the terrorism frame and the outcome variables. Therefore, use of the terrorism frame within the context of immigration and its association with expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism was not significant.

Research question ten (RQ10 and b). Research question ten addresses the use of immigration frames identified by Nickels (2005) and there possibly association with the expression of group-threat sentiment. Those frames are the "administrative," "human dignity" and "return home" frames.

Administrative. Of the 86 usages of the administrative frame observed in the sample, there were six concurrences with the expression of ethnocentrism, by far the largest number, as presented in Table 26. The association was not strong, (p=.82). There were only three concurrences with nationalism. The association was also not strong, (p=.66).

Table 26 Cross-tabulation of administrative frames to group-threat sentiment variables

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Administrative	No	Count	202	18	220	198	22	220
		% within	71.6%	75.0%	71.9%	70.5%	88.0%	71.9%
	Yes	Count	80	6	86	83	3	86
		% within	28.4%	25.0%	28.1%	29.5%	12.0%	28.1%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Human dignity. This was the second most commonly observed frame, with 66 observed usages in the sample. Table 27 illustrates the cross-tabulations with ethnocentrism and nationalism. The chi-square association test for the human dignity frames was not as supportive of an association. Ethnocentrism results were (p= .79). The association with nationalism was also not significant nationalism, (p= .62).

Table 27 Cross-tabulation of the human dignity frame to expressions of group-threat sentiment

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Human Dignity	No	Count	220	20	240	219	21	240
		% within	78.0%	83.3%	78.4%	77.9%	84.0%	78.4%
	Yes	Count	62	4	66	62	4	66
		% within	22.0%	16.7%	21.6%	22.1%	16.0%	21.6%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Return home. The return home frame was observed in 30 cases in the sample, or in less than 10% of the cases. Neither ethnocentrism nor nationalism was associated

with the return home frame. Ethnocentrism was observed in only one case concurrently with this frame. Nationalism was observed in only five cases. The cross-tabulations with ethnocentrism and nationalism are demonstrated in Table 28. The data did not support significant associations with ethnocentrism, (p= .49) or with nationalism, (p= .08).

Table 28 Cross-tabulations of the return home frame to group-threat sentiment variables

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Return Home	No	Count	253	23	276	256	20	276
		% within	89.7%	95.8%	90.2%	91.1%	80.0%	90.2%
	Yes	Count	29	1	30	25	5	30
		% within	10.3%	4.2%	9.8%	8.9%	20.0%	9.8%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Summary of research question ten. This question addressed the frequencies of the usage of Nickels' immigration frames. The most common frames observed were the administrative, human dignity and return home frames. The data did not suggest significant associations or correlations with expressions of group-threat sentiment.

Research question eleven (RQ11a and b). The two frames used for this question are the "conflict or war" frame and the "criminality" frame. I also perform chi-square tests for association between these two variables and expressions of group-threat sentiment.

The "conflict or war" frame. The conflict or war frame is used to associate war with migration (Lacasse & Forster, 2012). There were 11 observed usages of this frame, with one each associated with the expression of ethnocentrism and nationalism, as depicted in Table 29. The associations were not significant with ethnocentrism, (p= .60). There also was no significant associations with nationalism, (p=.99).

Table 29 Cross-tabulations of conflict or war frames to group-threat sentiment variables

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Conflict or war	No	Count	272	23	295	271	24	295
		% within	96.5%	95.8%	96.4%	96.4%	96.0%	96.4%
	Yes	Count	10	1	11	10	1	11
		% within	3.5%	4.2%	3.6%	3.6%	4.0%	3.6%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The "criminality" frame. The criminality frame is used deliver stories in a context suggestive of a connection between criminal behavior and migration (Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2005). There were 27 observed usages of the criminality frame in the sample, as presented in Table 30. There was very little association with either ethnocentrism or nationalism and the usage of the criminality frame. There were no significant associations between use of the criminality frame and ethnocentrism (p=.99) nor with nationalism (p= .15).

Table 30 Cross-tabulations of the criminality frame with group-threat sentiment variables

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Criminality	No	Count	257	22	279	254	25	279
		% within	91.1%	91.7%	91.2%	90.4%	100.0%	91.2%
	Yes	Count	25	2	27	27	0	27
		% within	8.9%	8.3%	8.8%	9.6%	0.0%	8.8%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Summary. There were only 11 observed usages of the conflict or war frame and 27 usages of the criminality frame, with few concurrences with expression of group-threat sentiment. The data did not support associations or correlations between the uses of the "conflict or war" frames nor was there evidence of support for the "criminality" frame in association with the outcome variables.

Research question twelve (RQ12 a and b). The cultural conflict frame was observed in 7.8% (24) of the sample, as depicted in Table 31. There were concurrences 11 with ethnocentrism and six cases with expressions of nationalism. The associations were not strong for either ethnocentrism ($p < .00$) or nationalism ($p = .08$).

Table 31 Cross-tabulations of the cultural conflict frame with expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism

			Ethnocentrism		Total	Nationalism		Total
			No	Yes		No	Yes	
Cultural Conflict	No	Count	269	13	282	263	19	282
		% within	95.4%	54.2%	92.2%	93.6%	76.0%	92.2%
	Yes	Count	13	11	24	18	6	24
		% within	4.6%	45.8%	7.8%	6.4%	24.0%	7.8%
Total		Count	282	24	306	281	25	306
		% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Question twelve summary. The cultural conflict frame was added to this research after conducting several rounds of coding. Observed in 24 cases within the sample, the use of the cultural conflict frames were strongly associated with expressions of both ethnocentrism and nationalism.

Summary of observations

To summarize briefly the answers to the research questions developed for this study, there were few observances of expressions of group-sentiment, nor were there many observances of associations of ethnocentrism, nationalism and the other group threat variables. Group-threat sentiment, operationalized as ethnocentrism (Ahmed, 1982; Grant, 1991) and nationalism (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003; Coenders & Scheepers, 2003) were observed in 24 and 25 cases respectively. The data supported that references to migrant population growth and use of the cultural conflict frame had significant associations with both expressions of group-threat sentiment.

Several variables had associations solely with ethnocentrism, individual newspapers and references to migrant origin countries. Both the use of the administrative frame and references to article subjects were observed to have associations with the expression of nationalism. A summary of associations are depicted in Tables 32 and 33.

Table 32 Comparison of observed associations with group-threat variables

Variable	Group-threat sentiment variable	
	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Actual Date	X	X
Administrative Frame	X	YES
Article Setting	X	X
Article Sources	X	YES
Article Subjects	X	YES
Article Topics	X	X
Conflict or War Frame	X	X
Criminality Frame	X	X
Cultural Conflict Frame	YES	YES
GTT Economic Downturn	X	X
EU Legislation	X	X
GTT Gender	X	X
Human Dignity Frame	X	X
GTT Migrant Population Growth	YES	YES
Newspaper	YES	X
Origin Country	YES	X
GTT Race or Ethnicity	X	X
GTT Religion	X	X
Return Home Frame	X	X
Terrorism Frame	X	X

Table 33 Associations of dummy variables to expressions of group-threat sentiment

Dummy Variable	Group-threat sentiment variable	
	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
African	X	X
Roma or Gypsy	X	X
Middle Eastern	X	X
Muslim religion	YES	X
ANSA wire service	X	X
Agence France Presse	X	X
Deutsche Presse Agentur	YES	X
The Mirror	X	YES
Political Proceedings	X	X
Migratory Experiences	X	X
Migration Legislation	X	X
Terrorism Prevention	YES	X
National Government Officials	X	X
Immigrant or Asylum Seeker	X	X
Law Enforcement or Military Official	X	X
National Government Officials – Source	X	X
Immigrant or Asylum Seeker – Source	X	X
Law Enforcement or Military Official - Source	X	X
Algerian Origin Country	X	X
United Kingdom	X	YES
Italy	X	X
Germany	YES	X
Czech Republic	X	X

Discussion

In this chapter, I review responses to the research questions detailed in chapter four. I also delve into some additional findings. Those findings include discussions concerning the frequency of article sources, as well as cross-tabulations of article topics with news source countries and individual publications. I also elaborate on additional observations such as the incorrect usage of the term "Islamists." I conclude this chapter by discussing this research's contribution to the literature, as well as its limitations and suggestions for future research. I begin this chapter by briefly discussing the theoretical foundation of this study, group threat theory.

Group Threat. Group threat theory shares similar theoretical foundations with other social interactionist theories (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Howard, 2000) such as intergroup threat theory (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998), social dominance theory (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) and social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). All of these theories support that the construction of individual identities is composed of multiple influences provided by the various groups to which individuals belong. They also support the notion of in-groups or dominant groups developing conceptions of out-group threat based upon realistic or symbolic competition (Chang, 2009; Van Slooten, 2010).

Group-threat perception is firmly established in the literature as contributing the such divergent reactive thinking such as simple fear of ethnic minorities (Lee & Ulmer, 2000) to support for restrictionist immigration policies (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay,

2008; Wilson, 2001) to more punitive laws for minority offenders (King & Wheelock, 2007) and finally, to support for rightist political parties (Rydgren & Ruth, 2011).

Group threat has been almost exclusively researched using survey data (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Ionesco, 2009; Rydgren & Ruth, 2011; Elmar Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010), as this theory lends itself well to the developing attitudinal aggregates based upon survey responses. This study took a grounded approach in that there is very little research dedicated toward examining group threat theory via content analysis.

Schuelter, Schmidt and Wagner, (2004) Schuelter and Scheepers, (2010), as well as Rigby (2009), incorporated content analysis in their assessments of anti-immigrant sentiment, though this technique was not the primary foci of their studies. I aimed to include elements of their approaches into my own study, while focusing exclusively on performing a content analysis. It was with the goal in mind that I included the study of framing in this research.

Summary of the research findings

Research question one addressed the frequency and concurrence of group threat variables. The data were consistent in demonstrating that group-threat sentiment, evidenced by the presence of group-threat variables, was infrequently observed in the sample *(n=306)*. Neither ethnocentrism nor nationalism (Grant, 1991; Jardina, Valentino, & Brader, 2010), operationalized to represent expressions of group-threat sentiment, were observed in more than 25 cases in the sample, representing less than 8% of the sample. Of the group threat variables, only references to migrant population

growth demonstrated significant associations with ethnocentrism and nationalism. References to economic downturn, race, ethnicity and religion were not significantly represented in the sample, nor were they significantly associated with expressions of either ethnocentrism or nationalism. Indicative of the times, however, most of the articles that did reference religion referred to the Muslim religion. The Muslim religion category was significantly associated with ethnocentrism, but not nationalism.

Research question two examined the associations between publications and expressions of group threat. Few articles published in individual publications were significantly associated with ethnocentrism, though articles published in the German wire service DPA were significantly associated with expressions of ethnocentrism. Articles published in the British newspaper, The Mirror, were significantly associated with expression of nationalism. This study did not demonstrate any significant increase in the expression of group-threat in EU immigration articles after the occurrence of a significant news event.

The series of questions addressed the associations of news topics (four), actors and sources (five) and migrant origin countries (six) as they were associated with expressions of group-threat. This study revealed that newspaper topics as a whole were not significantly associated with expression of group-threat sentiment, but articles written about terrorism and terrorism prevention were significantly associated with expressions of ethnocentrism. The inclusion of particular article actors or article-sources did not prove to have significant associations with expressions of group-threat, though the inclusion of migrant origin countries did have significant associations with

expressions of ethnocentrism, but not nationalism. The most frequently referenced individual origin-country, Algeria, did not demonstrate associations with either expression of group-threat sentiment though. None of the other countries was represented in the sample with any great frequency.

Question seven examined the associations of destination countries with group-threat sentiment. Question eight addressed references to EU legislation. The most frequently referenced destination countries, operationalized as article settings, were the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the Czech Republic. Articles set in the UK were significantly associated with the expression of nationalism, while articles set in Germany were significantly associated with expressions of ethnocentrism. Articles referencing EU legislation were not significantly associated with either expression of group-threat sentiment.

Questions nine through twelve examine the use of immigration frames in association to expressions of group-threat. The literature supports that journalists use immigration frames to negatively contextualize immigrants (Cheng, Igartua, Palacios, Acosta, & Palito, 2010; de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2011; Grimm, 2009). However, very few frames were assocaited with expressions of group-threat. Terrorism frames were not strongly associated with group-threat sentiment. Of the immigration frames identified by Nickels, only the administrative frame, which was also the most frequently observed frame, was significantly associated with one of the expressions of group-threat, nationalism. None of the articles using conflict (war) or criminality frames had significant associations. Finally, the articles that contained a "cultural conflict"

frame were shown to have significant associations with both expressions of group threat.

Research contribution

Based upon the depth of research dedicated to the survey approach to studying group threat, one could conclude that group threat theory is best-studied using that methodology versus media content analysis but I do not agree with this notion. Like Krysan (2000) and Bobo (1999), I too believe that more complex means should be employed to assess dominant group attitudes, but I extend that argument beyond developing more comprehensive survey methods. Group threat theory could serve as an excellent vehicle for providing tenets for the operationalizing of societal values. The variables developed to represent group threat could serve as an excellent instrument in developing more complex and varied means of analyzing dominant group attitudes towards out-groups, especially as they are expressed via the media.

This study contributes to future research by developing a coding scheme aimed at operationalizing the expression of anti-immigrant sentiment. The goal that I set out to accomplish was the develop a means to analysis news content within the theoretical confines of group threat theory in a systematic and replicable manner, assigning numeric values to quantifiable units (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005) that facilitated an orderly examination of the data.

Framing. This study additionally fills in the gaps in the literature by linking the expression of group-threat sentiment in media to the use of frames. Group-threat, which

is often based on exposure to stereotypes, should be considered an expression of a societal attitude (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003) put forth by members of a dominant group. Like Timberlake and Williams (2012), who argue that "threat and therefore stereotypes likely derive at least partially from the framing activities of the news media," (p. 871), I too argue that the group-threat perception is passed on to the public via the use of frames to cast a particular light on the subject of immigration and to stereotype migrants. By framing news articles in a negative manner, journalists could unintentionally contribute to the maintenance of discrimination (Falomir-Pishastor, Munoz-Rojas, Invernizzi, & Mugny, 2004), which could be done by "individuals adhering to a rhetoric legitimating discriminatory ideology" (p. 150). Stated differently, if frames are "information processing schemata" (Entman, 1991), then group-threat perception could serve as a schemata through which journalists reported immigration related news or as a frame. Framing immigration discussion in a manner suggestive of group-threat would contribute to discriminatory ideology.

Journalistic values. Finally, this study makes an important contribution to the literature by explicating that media adhere to professional values in the reporting of immigration news, despite research indicating that media both adheres to (Hallin, 2006; McQuail, 1977) and reflects societal norms (Baron, 2006; Entman, 2010; King, 2007; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Trumbo, 1996). In much the same manner that individuals are a conglomerate of group influences and value systems, so too are media. Of media, Brown's (2013) observations are apt, writing that journalists hold the same beliefs and biases of their countrymen, and that "news values that decide what makes it to print or

air are part of a society's political, cultural and economic structures, in addition to the institutional practices of a news agency" (p. 68).

In other words, like individuals, media demonstrates the ability to choose the values and norms to which they choose to conform. This study offers support to the notion that despite the societal pull of anti-immigrant sentiment, European media demonstrated their commitment to adhering to the values put forth by their peers and ethical organizations (Boomgaarden, Vliegenthart, de Vreese, & Schuck, 2010; Hanitzsch, 2004), reporting immigration news as dispassionately as possible.

Viability of group threat theory. Quillian (1996) wrote that elites could contribute to the establishment of racial equalitarianism by the adaptation of language aimed at diffusing racial stereotypes. Though many factors contribute to societal change including intergroup engagement, elite discussion of matters of race and culture (via media) can change the very language used to frame these discussions (Entman, 2004). The media are "essential to the construction and dissemination of shared meaning, perceptions and understandings without which there is no common identification or orientation of action," (McQuail, 2001, p. 195). Media plays a role in the changing of this dialogue and creating new memes in the discussion of race and ethnicity. The examination of group in the media could spark this changing dialogue.

The operationalization of group threat provides researchers with the means to identify words-choices or memes which depict group-threat sentiment. More importantly once identified, these words can be changed. Attention could be directed

towards deemphasizing disparaging depictions of immigrants in media, which could serve as a catalyst for changing migrant stereotypes at a societal level.

Future research

Despite the notion that prejudice is categorized as a significant social force (Bobo, 1999) that bolsters dominant group positions of power within societies (Ionesco, 2009), this study revealed that media did not express extensive prejudice, nor were they used as platforms to support dominant group claims to power. However, the sample used for this study was limited to the specific analysis of news selected using "immigration" as a delimiter. Future research should examine expressions of group-threat under differing contexts. For instance, news articles focused on subjects such as global affairs, finance or even sports should be examined for the presence of group-threat sentiment. Future studies of group threat should also be conducted using a multi-method regression analysis, employing content analysis with other quantitative data to assess correlations between, for example, crime statistics and the expression of group-threat sentiment. This approach is similar to Colomb's and Damphousse's (2004) investigation of the reporting of hate crimes, which involved the triangulation of statistics and newspaper editorials on the subject.

Assimilation and the changing nature of dominant groups. Future research should examine the nature of the dominant group itself. Content analysis lends itself quite nicely to this type of analysis. Group membership is fluid (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998). Group composition is largely determined by the extent to which subordinate or out-group members are allowed to assimilate (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002; Reed

& Aquino, 2003). Irish Catholics, for instance, were considered out-groups in early twentieth century America (Jacobson, 1998). They have largely assimilated into the dominant group of White Americans. Future research on media content and group threat perception should examine the changes associated with dominant group membership and its affect on media content.

Ethnic minority media. The study of the changing composition of the population of the European Union logically leads to the study of the increasingly significant presence of ethnic minorities and their usage of media. Migrant groups grow in population and resources as they settle into their new lands (Chang, 2009). Though most desire to assimilate, migrants also tend to maintain their cultural identities. Media serves as one tool used to maintain identity. The diasporas of Europe (Georgiou, 2005), use media to maintain their cultural heritages and identities. Some outlets, such as Al-Jazeera (Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2002)[17], have gained considerable position within the media landscape in Europe. Al-Jazeera is a global network of course. Better examples are the London based Al-Arab[18] or the German based Ōu Huá Dǎo Bào[19], a Chinese news portal. As these ethnic minority media grow in power,

[17] Al Jazeera is an Arab language news network based in Qatar, though its viewership is considerable in Europe based upon the large number of Arab-descended migrants in Europe.

[18] The URL for the Al-Arab news portal can be found here: http://www.alarab.co.uk/.

[19] The URL for the Ōu Huá Dǎo Bào can be found at the following link: http://www.chinesen.de/
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future group-threat research should address the extent to which these outlets themselves express group-threat perception. Given the religious bent of outlets such as Al-Jazeera (Seib, 2005), future research could also focus on examining the group threat and the comparison of media topologies, such as the "North American" versus the "Mediterranean" models defined by Hallin and Mancini (2006), or secular versus religious press (van der Veer & Munshi, 2004).

Significant events. In this study, I examined the extent to which significant events affect the expression of anti-immigrant sentiment in media (D'Appollonia, 2008; De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2005, 2006). While the specific events examined did not prove to influence media expressions of group-threat perception, future research should focus on examining the affects of other events on the expression of group-threat sentiment. Future research should also focus on news coverage of news events occurring outside of the EU, such as the ongoing civil strife in Syria and the political upheavals in the "Arab Spring" nations (Anderson, 2011; Huang, 2011).

EU institutions. As suggested by Fouse (2005), future research regarding threat perception should focus on media coverage of European institutions, particularly the European Court of Justice and the Directorate General for Home Affairs (Europa, 2010), without the delimiters of "immigration" used to search news stories. Examining news stories concerning these institutions could shed additional light on the manner in which individual ministers and representatives of member nations frame immigration from the perspective of serving and protecting the interests of their home nations. It is also recommended that future research focus upon examining the direct statements

published by European Union organizations in the form of press briefings and policy statements (Castles, 1986).

Online sources. Hansen (2004) emphasized the importance of newspapers over television as a news source for political communicators because newspapers are better at delivering issue knowledge to the public. Newspapers are therefore still important and relevant to the conveyance of information to the public. The industry is changing of course, as it evolves from a paper-based medium to an electronic delivery medium.

Newspapers, even as they evolve into "online newspapers," will remain superior to television as a means of delivering knowledge to the public, because of their ability to deliver in-depth, multi-format news discussions. Online newspapers also serve as archives, which can be searched by the consumer at any time, unlike television, which requires appointment viewing.

The Internet has increased competition among news providers. Formerly upstart news aggregators and content producers like the Huffington Post[20] or the Drudge Report[21] are now mainstream and compete directly with traditional content providers such as CNN and the BBC, for instance. Specialist news portals, such as the

[20] The URL for the Huffington Post can be found at the following: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/.

[21] The URL for the Drudge Report can be found at the following: http://www.drudgereport.com/.

multilingual Euractiv[22] and PressEurop[23] are news forums dedicated to the coverage of European Union news, targeted towards EU elites. They, and similar sites, merit study because of their ability to target European Union decision makers.

Social media has altered the manner in which news is generated. Social media sites such as Facebook[24] and LinkedIn[25] allow users to post updates that can be shared exponentially with contacts. Additionally, Facebook has become the de facto global public forum of choice, not only allowing individuals to create profiles, but also organizations and entities, including traditional media outlets such as the New York Times[26]. Facebook as a medium essentially allows any entity, governments included, to generate news.

Twitter[27]and Instagram[28] are more recent additions to the social media milieu, allowing users to instantly create content, albeit brief, that can be pushed into the

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[22] The URL for Euractiv: http://www.euractiv.com/ .

[23] The URL for Presseurop: http://www.presseurop.eu/en.

[24] The URL for Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/

[25] The URL for LinkedIn can be found at the following: http://www.linkedin.com/.

[26] The Facebook page of the New York Times can be found at the following URL: https://www.facebook.com/nytimes.

[27] The URL for Twitter: https://twitter.com/. Popular news items can be found instantly by searching for hashtags, which serve as bookmarks for particular topics.

[28] The URL for Instagram: http://instagram.com/#/ Instagram allows for the instant sharing of photos via mobile phones.

computers and mobile devices of "followers" instantly. Twitter was used prominently, for instance, to report events occurring during the "Arab Spring" uprisings (Huang, 2011). Future researchers should conduct comparative studies on group-threat expression as presented in the various online content delivery methods. For instance, group-threat should be studied, comparing coverage by traditional news sources such as the online version of the New York Times, versus coverage at sites such as the liberal Huffington Post and the conservative Drudge Report or the alternative delivery methods such as Twitter.

References to Islamists. While this research effort found few cases of group-threat sentiment, the sample constructed for this study could have been used to demonstrate that EU was decisively pro-western and therefore, essentially ethnocentric (Hallin & Paolo, 2006). They write from the same perspective as their fellow citizens and frames stories based upon their common cultural influences and beliefs.

While the EU is in no way a monolithic entity, common values and beliefs abound. As a collective, they are predominantly Judeo-Christian, paternalistic, individualistic societies (Hofstede, 1985). Therefore, so is their press. The literature supports that European Union media is ethnocentric (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Razack, 2004). This is especially true regarding discussions of Islam and Muslim culture. Hussain (2007) wrote for instance that Western media often times refer to "Allah" and Mohamed connectedly and interchangeably, whereas in Arabic, the word Allah is akin to "God" in English or "Dieu" in French. This usage of Allah points to the lack of cultural knowledge necessary to characterize properly this religion and the worshipers.

In addition, specific to the sample taken for this study, reporters used the term "Islamist" (Heinen, 2004) on several occasions (11) to refer to extremists, whereas the word originates as a designation for a scholar steeped in the knowledge of Islam. This word has also been used to designate a supporter of an Islamist-based political system (Houston, 1999; Kundnani, 2008). This as an example, as Hussain (2007) states, of "misleading use of foreign language vocabulary in an English sentence, as well as the ambiguous phrasal construction," which can "lead to gross misconceptions among the public consuming such media reports" (p. 116). The misleading use of language by media to mischaracterize a people is both ethnocentric and an expression of bias. Future studies of group-threat expressed in the media should examine usage of words like Islamist and their associations with the expression of group-threat.

Further observances beyond research questions

The grounded nature of this study lent itself to the development of observations that reached beyond answering the research questions. I examined several variables that were not previously identified as having relevance to the expression of group threat. Those were "article genre," which is a standard content analysis variable (MacNamara, 2006; Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005), usage of "anti-immigrant metaphor" and use of the term "illegal immigrant." The genre variable demonstrated some slight significance only between the "commentary" category and expressions of group-threat sentiment, but this variable is similar to "sources quoted" variable, and was not included in this analysis. As stated in the methodology chapter, the variables representing anti-immigrant metaphor and references to illegal immigrants were identified in during

initial coding phases. Though they were not observed large percentages of cases, they could have some bearing on future research.

The use of anti-immigrant metaphor. The use of anti-immigrant metaphor refers to the use of descriptive language that paints vivid pictures of migrants, assigning to them negative characteristics (El Refaie, 2001; Santa Ana, 1999), while also disassociating migrants from the majority or dominant group (Biria, 2012). Examples include referring to migrants as "animals," "invaders," "armies," or commonly using water metaphors such as "flooding" a destination country. The use of anti-immigrant metaphors was not observed on a great scale in the sample. There were only 19 observed uses of anti-immigrant metaphors, amounting to 6.2% of the sample. Future research should continue to examine the use of dissociative metaphors to exclude migrants from the majority, as well as its association with group-threat.

Illegal immigration references. Literal usages of the phrases "illegal immigration" and similar constructions were observed in only 21.9% (67) of the sample. This result is surprising in itself, as the sample was constructed using "immigration, asylum and refugees" as keywords. As stated earlier, future research should examine the expressions of group-threat regarding migrants in articles selected using different sampling criteria. This could possibly shed light on different discursive approaches used to address migration related news, such as the use of phrases such "third party nationals," (Eurofound, 2007; Freeman, 1992) as well as the degree to which group-threat is in different news venues.

Limitations of this study

This research had obvious limitations. Though using group-threat as a theoretical foundation, this study was not aimed at examining public opinion, but at examining expressions of anti-immigrant sentiment via media content. Refinements in the operationalization of threat variables would improve the ability to quantitatively code sampled articles. Future research should also aim to examine the correlation of immigration frames and expressions of group-threat perception, as well as possibly expanding the tenets of group-threat to include predictors such as terrorism.

Secondary data. I used secondary data in conducting this research. This approach, of course, is not so much a limitation, as use of archived data is a standard approach to content analysis. The limitation was my own. My own linguistic shortcomings required that I focus upon English language translations of international news sources. Translations of text could possibly result in lost subtleties of meaning. Having the ability to code news articles in their original languages may have provided me with a measure of nuance in identifying relevant words and phrases that I did not have. Continued commitment to research in this area will allow researchers eventually to glean those subtleties, contributing better, more reflective research to the literature.

Gender. Coding for gender proved to be ineffective, primarily because of the difficulty in identifying the gender of a source or subject without referring to gender specific pronouns. Names do not readily lend themselves to identifying sex, especially when examining the names from non-western cultures and unfamiliar languages. I would therefore recommend that future researchers not use this variable, unless more reliable means of coding cross-culturally are developed.

Multiple frames. I conclude this discussion of limitations by focusing on the use of multiple frames in news articles. Entman (2007) stated that news articles often contain more than one frame. He also stated that fully developed frames serve four purposes, which are to define a problem, to diagnose the nature of the problem, to recommend a solution and to attribute responsibility (Nickels, 2005). To contain the scope of this research, I intentionally focused on examining the frames and expressions of group-threat perception as they may have appeared in the first 400 words of an article, restricting my efforts towards identifying the first frame encountered. Future research should examine entire articles regardless of length to capture all of the immigration frames and/or expressions of group-threat sentiment present.

Summary of conclusions

In summary, this research served as an initial endeavor into establishing parameters for operationalizing the tenets of group-threat and coding for its presence in European Union immigration news. The data did not support the notion that threat perception is expressed to any great extent in the reporting of immigration, asylum and refugee related news. Ethnocentrism and nationalism were not widely observed, with only 24 and 25 cases respectively in the entire sample *(n=306)*. There were few significant associations between the predictor and outcome variables operationalized to represent group-threat theory.

Similar conclusions were drawn concerning the common immigration frames. Very few associations were observed between those and the outcome variables. This

research also revealed that media did not associate specific news events such as the EU expansion, the London bombings or the economic crisis with increased expression of group-threat sentiment. These conclusions lend support to the professionalism of media reporting immigration related news.

Future research should continue to refine the examination of group-threat via content analysis of news items. Additionally, future group-threat research should aim at expanding the dimensions through which group-threat sentiment is manifest possibly to include predictors such as terrorism. Increasing our understanding of this theoretical construct as a means to examine immigration coverage could contribute to a better understanding what is classified as fair and unbiased journalism.

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Appendix A: Description of Variables

Publication number assigned. These are numbers assigned to individual data entries.

Weekday. This variable has been chosen to code the day of the week that an article was published.

Date Month. This variable codes the month on which the article was written.

Year. This variable is used to capture annual data by separating years from the day and month.

Actual Date. This variable is used to record the full publication date of an article. The format for this variable is mm/dd/yyyy.

Publication Country. This variable captures the countries represented in this study. The options are, in alphabetical order, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom.

Newspaper. This variable identifies the article newspaper.

Article Genre or News Format. Genre refers to the type of article written about the topic. Indices of this variable include regular article, editorial, column and interview. The variable is coded 1 for article, 2 for commentary, 3 for interview, 4 for wire service, 5 for press release or 6 for other.

Word Count. The word count variable records article lengths in categories, for instance, "1" represents 0-500 words and "2" represents 501-1000 words and so on.

Article Setting. This variable addresses the country in which the news item takes place. These are also likely to be migrant destination nations. The variable elements (EU nations) are listed in alphabetical order, beginning with Austria (1)

through the United Kingdom (27). Also included is a variable element for "multiple EU countries" (28) for instances in which multiple countries are mentioned.

Subjects or issues in the headlines. Topics are the subject of a news item. A list of topics developed based on the Nickels (2005) codebook, who studied the framing of immigration in Luxembourgish newspapers. To capture more contemporary topics, I combined Nickels' list with a listing of immigration topics adopted from Cheng et al, (2010), who studied the usage of immigration frames in the Spanish press.

Subjects or actors in the news. This variable answers the question, "who is the story about?" An article actor or source is a person, or organization serves as the subject of an article or who gives information, usually as an expert, to newspapers (Riffe, Lacy, Fico, 2005). They provide insight into trends relating to the motivations for disseminating information. Emphasis was placed on definitional categories as opposed to listing specific entities (Bailey & Hackett, 1997). Recording the German and Bulgarian parliaments as "national government" actors for instance, is a more consistent measure than recording them as individual variables.

Sources quoted. This variable addresses whether a source has been quoted in constructing the story. Sources quoted are important determinants as to whether the presence of group-threat sentiment originates from the storywriter, or whether the sentiment was conveyed within the context of a quoted source.

Expressions of threat metaphor. This variable addresses the language utilized by sources in referencing migrants. Negative beliefs about migrants are often expressed euphemistically through the use of metaphor.

Subject origins. This variable denotes the countries reported as the home countries of migrants. The countries are listed alphabetically in the codebook and adapted from lists created by EUROSTAT (Flander, 2011) and the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), as published by the BBC News Online (2005). The categories are in Table 34.

Table 34 Top Ten Migrant Origin Countries from as determined by EUROSTAT (2009) and IPPR (2005)

	EU Migrants		
Rank	NON-EU	EU Citizens	Top UK Migrants
1	Turkey	Romania	Republic of Ireland
2	Albania	Poland	India
3	Ukraine	Bulgaria	Pakistan
4	India	Germany	Germany
5	China	Italy	Caribbean
6	Brazil	France	USA
7	Ecuador	UK	Bangladesh
8	Columbia	Hungary	South Africa
9	Morocco	Netherlands	Kenya
10	Algeria	Portugal	Italy

Illegal/irregular immigration or migrants. This variable captures references to illegal or irregular immigration. Initial coding efforts lead to the conclusion that there may be statistical significance to the referencing of illegal immigration versus legal immigration.

Group-threat variables

To capture elements relating to group perception, I have followed Rigby (2009) and Schlüter (2007) in operationalizing group-threat tenets, particularly group-threat sentiment as expressions of ethnocentrism and nationalism, (Quillian, 1995, 1996). Those variables are illustrated in Table 35.

Table 35 Listing of group-threat variables and their operationalization

<table>
<tr><th>Ethnocentric Group Derived Prejudice</th><th>Nationalistic Group-Derived Prejudice</th><th>Increase in Population Size</th><th>Negative Changes in Economic Conditions</th><th>Race and Ethnicity</th><th>Religion</th><th>Sex or Gender</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">Does the article contain ethnocentric language indicating that the majority group is superior to the out-group and yet is some way threatened by the presence of an out-group? Yes or No</td><td rowspan="9">Does the article contain nationalistic language indicating that the majority group is superior to the out-group and yet is some way threatened by the presence of an out-group? Yes or No</td><td rowspan="9">Does the article reference an increase in population size? Yes or No</td><td rowspan="9">Does the article describe economic conditions negatively, as in the country or regions is experiencing recession, a downturn, increased unemployment, or other terms referring to negative economic conditions? Yes or No</td><td>African</td><td>Buddhist</td><td rowspan="9">Does the article contain a female primary source or subject? Yes or No</td></tr>
<tr><td>Asian</td><td>Catholic</td></tr>
<tr><td>Black</td><td>Hindu</td></tr>
<tr><td>Brazilian</td><td>Jewish</td></tr>
<tr><td>Middle Eastern</td><td>Muslim</td></tr>
<tr><td>Roma or Gypsy</td><td>Protestant</td></tr>
<tr><td>White</td><td>Sikh</td></tr>
<tr><td>Yugoslavian</td><td>Other</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>No Religion</td></tr>
</table>

Ethnocentrism and nationalism – the expressions of group-threat sentiment

Ethnocentrism. Sumner (1906) defined ethnocentrism as "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p. 13). I operationalize ethnocentrism by coding the variable positively if the article contains a specific statement regarding the dominant group's superiority to the out-group. The article author may present such a statement as a quote from a source, or, in the case of a commentary, the author may present such a statement as his or her own words.

Nationalism. This variable is derived from Quillian's notion that group-derived prejudice can be based upon nationalistic feelings, leading to a collective expression of prejudice. Barrington (1997) defined nationalism as "the pursuit-through argument or other activity-of a set of rights for the self-defined members of the nation, including, at a minimum, territorial autonomy or sovereignty" (p. 714). Stated differently, nationalistic sentiment define "territorial boundaries" and define the "membership boundaries of the population," while emphasizing members' exclusive control of territory. This emphasis on membership and control of territory is indicative of Blumer's (1958) notion of dominant's group exclusive claims to resources. This variable is operationalized by documenting language that expresses a prejudice against out-groups or migrants, from a nationalistic perspective.

Migrant Population Growth. This variable is used to capture references to the growth of immigrant population size compared to the dominant group. This variable is operationalized by capturing references to increases in migrant groups that are represented as negative in an article. The implication, as this variable relates threat perception, is that ***migrant group population growth has negative impact*** on a community.

Economic Downturn. Coders will mark this variable affirmatively if there is any mention of negative economic performance, such as references to downturns, recessions and unemployment.

Race and ethnicity. Race was also included as one of the two dependent variables in Quillian's (1995) original study. Ethnicity is often associated with race,

though it is based upon a host of cultural influences. Race and ethnicity are closely separate categorizations of people and often confused for one another (EUAFR, 2009). Ethnicity is associated with nationality, but more closely with cultural heritage than nationality, which is which I operationalize as "countries of origin" and "destination" as variable categories. Race and ethnicity, taken from the EUAFR (2009) was operationalized as follows: 1 for African (combining various African ethnicities), 2 for Asian, 3 for Black (if mentioned specifically), 4 for Brazilian, 5 for Middle Eastern, 6 for Roma or Gypsy, 7 for White and 8 for Yugoslavian.

Religion. This variable is included because of the vitriolic nature of religion discussion (Raina, 2009). Religion is discussed within context of immigration debate, especially in light of religiously motivated terrorism (King, 2007; McLaren, 2002). To create variable elements, the focus was limited to the dominant world religions, as listed in the CIA World Factbook (2012). Protestant and Catholic were separated based upon the large numbers associated with both religions. Religion categories are operationalized as 1 for Buddhist, 2 for Catholic, 3 for Hindu, 4 for Jewish, 5 for Muslim, 6 for Protestant, 7 for Sikh, 8 for "Other" and 9 for "No Religion."

Gender. Quillian (1995) noted that research indicates that males are more likely to express anti-immigrant sentiment than are women. This variable allows for the distinguishing between specifically cited male or female sources or story subjects. Gender is recorded by coders if the article specifically includes references to women, synonyms of women, or references to the female gender. If the source is referenced as "her, she," or any other pronoun specifically designating the source as female, then the article is coded as 1 for Yes or 0 for No.

Europeanization and EU Sovereignty. I have included this variable because I began this investigation seeking to discover the effect of consolidating authority over EU immigration issues and granting power to European Union. I sought to examine the effect of EU sovereignty over immigration as a leadership issue. These approaches subsequently lead me to begin my investigation on group-threat theory and its expression in news media.

Coders will be instructed to code articles positively (1) for the presence of EU legislative terms related to immigration. Coders will code the variable "0" if negatively if there is no reference to EU-level legislation. These terms were gathered from the Comparative Study of the Laws in the 27 EU members States for Legal Immigration (IOM, 2009). Examples of these terms are AENEAS, the "EU Blue Card" program, The Hague Programme, and the Schengen Agreement.

Framing variables

I am using media frames established in the literature for this study, specifically, the immigration specific frames identified by Nickels (2005). The frames have been operationalized as binary variables because of the high inter-coder reliability of this method (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Given that articles can contain more than one frame, coders will be instructed that they should code only the one most prominent frame in the article. I will also instruct coders that they can also select none of the frames, if the code sheet does not include an appropriate frame.

Administrative. This frame relates to covering administrative procedures or policy associated with immigration issues. This variable is coded positively if the immigration discussion contains some mention of legislation.

Conflict or war. This variable refers to activities related to war, as well as specific conflicts, such as Kosovo, the Gulf Wars and the various conflicts that have arisen in response to the "Arab Spring" uprisings. Included in this category are acts of ethnic cleansing, group massacres and genocide.

Criminality. The "criminality frame" (p. 123) suggests an association between immigrants and criminal activity. Press reports citing crime statistics while reporting on immigration, for instance, may indirectly infer a connection between migrants and crime.

Included under this variable is *violence*. This category includes assaults, hate crimes and xenophobic acts, or acts of aggression towards migrants that may be hate based, but is not necessarily politically motivated.

Return Home. This frame concerns deporting migrants back to their home countries. Essentially, this frame, stated Nickels, "has strong legal undertones" and relates "to the need for refugees and asylum seekers to return to their countries of origin, whether voluntarily or forcibly" (p. 83). This discussion could involve issues to revoking visas, deporting those convicted of criminal offences or utilizing law-enforcement or military official to ship detainees back to their home countries, to name a few examples.

Terrorism. As I covered in the literature review, the research is considerable in noting that that terrorism has been linked to immigration (Bigo, 2008; Norris, Kern, &

Just, 2003). I therefore have included terrorism as a separate variable, distinct from conflict, which emphasizes a connection between terrorism and migration. Terrorism relates to any act of violence aimed at civilian population with political aims. Terrorism has come to the forefront of the public's consciousness since the 911 attacks in New York, and Washington DC., as well as the bombing in Madrid and London.

Cultural conflict. This frame has been added to the list of variables after consulting the literature and my initial rounds of coding for intercoder reliability. It is exemplified by Huntington's (1997) "clash of civilization" frame, with which media suggests an incompatibility of cultures to coexist (Hussain, 2007). Huntington define the world as being composed of eight cultures or civilizations, which are the "the Western, Sinic (East Asian – China, Japan and Korea for example), Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox (Greece, Russia and former Yugoslavian countries for example), Latin American, Buddhist, and African (Russett, Oneal, & Cox, 2000, p. 589)."

Though La Porte and Azpiroz (2009) note that the clash of civilization is a frame often used by political figures and less so by the media, the frame is activated and transmitted by the media. They state that the "the media reinforce their function as intermediaries, spreading the declarations of political leaders for an audience who have no direct access to them. Alongside these political messages, they also transmit their own interpretation of events" (p. 11). This means that the media present the public with political statements, which may include clash of civilization metaphor, imagery and ideology.

Appendix B: Code Book

Coding instructions

The researcher will conduct the principal coding of the data. To establish intercoder reliability, additional coders will be trained by the researcher, equipping them to code independently a random selection of the sample on a coding sheet. Each coder's responses will then be transferred to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for summarization. The data will be analyzed via the SPSS program.

Coding Protocol

1. The coder should thoroughly read each article. The coder should mark important categorizations in the article for reference as variable elements, such as the topic (subject) and the actor (primary subject.) For guidance, the coder should note that the title and lead paragraph of an article often directly states the story subject and actor.

2. This study uses news stories downloaded from the LexisNexis database. The unit of analysis will be ***the first 400 words of the story.*** The use of the first 400 words of an article represents the use of a chunk of text that is still encompassing enough to likely gauge the presence of multiple frames in a story.

3. The coder should therefore the first 400 words of an article when answering questions associated with the variables. If multiple variable elements are included in an article – the coder should record ***the first element*** that appears in the article, unless a variable should be coded otherwise.

Immigration news-articles coding questions

V1: Publication Number – Please document the publication number provided by the LexisNexis Database.

V2: Actual date: document the actual date as mm/dd/yyyy

V3: Weekday – Please record the day on which the news item was published:

Number	Day	Number	Day
01	Sunday	05	Thursday
02	Monday	06	Friday
03	Tuesday	07	Saturday
04	Wednesday		

V4: Date, Month – Please record the date of the article using two digits. The accepted answers are:

No.	Month	No.	Month
01	April	04	July
02	May	05	August
03	June		

V5: Date, Year – Please record the articles' publication year as a two digit number, i.e., 2001 is recorded as following: 01 for 2004, 02 for 2005 and 03 for 2010.

V6: Publication or Newspaper – Please record the newspaper from which the article originates:

No.	News Source	No.	News Source
01	The Mirror	08	ANSA News Agency
02	Times of London	09	Corriere della Sera
03	CTK News Agency	10	La Stampa
04	Agence France Presse	11	Il Sole 24 ORE24
05	Deutsche Presse-	12	Le Figaro
06	Deutsche Welle	13	Mlada fronta Dnes
07	Die Welt & Welt am	14	Der Spiegel Online (Daily)

V7: Publication Country – Please record the home country of the publication. Disregard article if the news source is not from one of these countries.

No.	Country	No.	Country
01	Czech Republic	04	Italy
02	France	05	The United Kingdom
03	Germany		

V8: Article Genre – Please code the genre of the article according to the following table. Articles published by Agence France, Deutsche Press and ANSA Italy are wire services.

No.	Article Type	No.	Article Type
01	Article	04	Wire Service
02	Commentary	05	Press Release
03	Interview	06	Other

V9: Word Count – please record the word count as detailed by the LexisNexis database. Please code the variable using the following:

No.	Number of Words	No.	Number of Words
01	0-500	05	2001-2500
02	501-1000	06	2501-3000
03	1001-1500	07	Over 3000
04	1501-2000		

V10: Actual word account: list the word count as written on the LexisNexis document.

V11: Article Setting – In what country is the action of the story set? That should be a European Union nation. **Disregard the article if the setting is in a non-EU country.**

No.	Country	No.	Country	No.	Country
01	Austria	11	Greece	21	Portugal
02	Belgium	12	Hungary	22	Romania
03	Bulgaria	13	Ireland	23	Slovakia
04	Cyprus	14	Italy	24	Slovenia
05	Czech Republic	15	Latvia	25	Spain
06	Denmark	16	Lithuania	26	Sweden
07	Estonia	17	Luxembourg	27	United Kingdom
08	Finland	18	Malta	28	Multiple EU
09	France	19	Netherlands	29	European Union
10	Germany	20	Poland		

V12: Topics or issues in the news - What topic is most prominently featured in the headline and lead paragraph of the article? This is the subject of the article. Please examine the headline and the lead paragraph for this variable. Please code the newspaper topic as follows:

No	Topic/Issue	No	Topic/Issue	No	Topic/Issue
01	Aid to Asylum Seekers /Refugees	08	EU Expansion	15	Peacekeeping/Cease fire
02	Criminal Activity & Prevention	09	Financial Woes, Local or National Government	16	People Smuggling or Trafficking
03	Cultural Conflicts between Natives and	10	Illegal Border Crossing	17	Political Proceedings
04	Diseases/Famine	11	Migration Legislation/Legal	18	Refugee camps/Asylum Centers
05	Economic contributions of migrants	12	Migratory Experiences/Human	19	Terrorism or terrorism prevention
06	Elections, *National or International*	13	Migrant Targeting – Violence directed at	20	Other
07	Ethnic Cleansing/Massacres	14	Military Actions/War	21	Legal Migration/Asylum

V13: Subject/Main Actors in the news – Who is the subject of the article? What actors ***were most prominently featured in the story's headline and lead paragraph***? Actors in the news refer to the persons whom are the agents of action of the article, or those conveying the action. These codes *do not refer to specific people; rather, the type of source used should be recorded*. Former leaders should be coded by their previous title. For instance, Former French Prime Minister Nicolas Sarkozy should be coded as no. 17, President/Minister. Please examine the headline and the lead paragraph for this variable. Please record the article actors as follows:

No.	Subject/Article Actors	No.	Subject/Article Actor
01	Academics /Experts (incl. Medical)	12	Liberal Political Group/Leader
02	Anti-immigrant group/Leader	13	State/City Government Official
03	Business/Industry group/Leader	14	Media / Journalist/ Columnist
04	Criminal(s) or Organized crime	15	National Government Official
05	Conservative Political Group/Leader	16	NGO / Social
06	EU Parliamentary	17	President/Prime Minister
07	Famous person(s)- (artists, celebrities)	18	Religious Leader or Group
08	General Public	19	Social Services Organizations such as the Red Cross or
09	Judge(3), Lawyer(s) or Magistrate(s)	20	United Nations/Official
10	Immigrant/Asylum Seeker/Refugee	21	Terrorist Suspect(s)/Convict
11	Law Enforcement/Military Official	22	Human Trafficking Suspect(s)

V14: Source Quoted – Who is quoted in the article? This variable records the sources of information used by the article author. The source is the subject of the article, but just as often is not. If more than one source is used, please record the **first source referenced** in the article. These codes *do not refer to specific people; rather, the type of source used should be recorded*.

No.	Sources Quoted	No.	Sources Quoted
01	Academics /Experts (incl. Medical)	13	State/City Government Official
02	Anti-immigrant group or Leader	14	Media /Journalist/Columnist
03	Business/Industry group or Leader	15	National Government Official
04	Criminal(s) or Organized crime	16	NGO/Social Movement Org or
05	Conservative Political Group	17	President/Prime Minister
06	EU Parliamentary	18	Religious Group
07	Famous Person(s)- (artists,	19	Social Services Organizations such as the Red Cross of
08	General Public	20	United Nations
09	Immigrant/Refugee	21	Terror Suspect/Convict
10	Judge(3), Lawyer(s) or Magistrate(s)	22	Human Trafficking Suspect
11	Law Enforcement/Military Official		
12	Liberal Political Group or Leader	99	No Source Quoted

V15: Anti-immigrant Metaphor - This variable records instances in which ***quoted sources use metaphor to negatively reference migrants***. If the article contains a quoted source, does the statement include metaphors that negatively references migrants? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V16: Illegal or Irregular Migrant – does the article contain a literal reference to illegal or irregular immigration? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V17: Migrant origins – Does the article mention a migrant origin country or countries? This also includes references to specific nationalities (Turkish, Albanians, etc.). *Record only the **first nation or nationality** mentioned in the story.* Code those regions as follows:

No.	Country	No.	Country	No.	Country
01	Albania	19	Nigeria	37	Egypt
02	Algeria	20	Pakistan	38	Iran
03	Bangladesh	21	Poland	39	Iraq
04	Brazil	22	Portugal	40	Romania
05	Bulgaria	23	Republic of Ireland	41	Russia
06	Caribbean	24	Romania	42	Serbia
07	China	25	South Africa	43	Slovakia
08	Columbia	26	Tunisia	44	Somalia
09	Ecuador	27	Turkey	45	Uganda
10	France	28	United Kingdom	46	Vietnam
11	Germany	29	Ukraine	47	Zimbabwe
12	Hungary	30	USA		
13	India	31	Other	99	No Origin
14	Italy	32	Multiple EU		
15	Kenya	33	Multiple Non EU		
16	Libya	34	Afghanistan		
17	Morocco	35	Austria		
18	Netherlands	36	Chechnya		

V18: Group-threat Theory (GTT), Ethnocentrism – Does the article include language that claims ***the culture of the home nation*** (most likely the culture of dominant native group) is ***superior to migrant cultures***? Does the article contain language that paints migrants as ***cultural threats***, reflecting an ethnocentric point of view? Does the article address immigration using references to "otherness" or using metaphorical threat references? Ethnocentrism is the belief in the **superiority of one's own culture or ethnic group** as compared to other groups. Another view is that ethnocentrism involves *judging another culture by the standards of one's own*. Here is an example: expressing that monogamy is more culturally correct than bigamy is an ethnocentric viewpoint. Some examples of ethnocentrism are would not be considered

negative by civil standards. Examples of ethnocentrism include public bans on the wearing of burqas in public, demonstrating preference for western standards (Whitlock, 2005), even for safety reasons (AFP, 2010c). This therefore would be considered an expression of ethnocentrism. This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V19: Nationalism – Does the article include language that claims that one's ***own nation or political perspective is superior to migrant group nations***? Does the article paint migrants as *threats to national interests (not terrorism)*, reflecting a nationalistic point of view? Nationalism is a ***competitive positive regard for one's nation*** in comparison to other nations. For example, in the a New York Times article, Georgian political dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia states of Georgia's independence from the Soviet Union, "everything must start with the restoration of that which was taken from us--our sovereignty, our independence, our territory, our cultural heritage, our very nationhood (Parks, 1989)." This example demonstrates that the statement maker regards his own nation as superior for his people to the option of continued conscription in the Soviet Union. This is an example of nationalism. Please code the variable as follows: 1 for YES and 0 for NO.

V20: Migrant Population Growth - does the article mention an ***increase of immigration group size***? If any words, statistics or percentages are used in the article to reference migrant group size increases, please code the variable as follows: 1 for YES and 0 for NO. If the article or subject calls for a *decrease in the number of migrants* in the country, this variable should also be coded 1 for YES.

V21: Economic Downturn – This variable refers to statements claiming that immigration has ***negatively affected the economy***. Does the article include claims that economic conditions ***have changed negatively***? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V22: Race and Ethnicity – does the article include references to race or ethnicity? The options listed are based upon the 10 most populace ethnic groups in the European Union. Please code this variable if it specifically includes one of these synonyms for race and ethnicity (record the first incidence):

No.	Race/Ethnicity	No.	Race/Ethnicity
01	African (Ethiopian, Nigerian, for	07	Roma or Gypsy
02	Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean or Vietnamese, for example)	08	Serbian, Bosnian, Slovenian, Croatian or Macedonians
03	Black (if specified)	09	White (if specified)
04	Brazilian	10	Multiple races or ethnicities
05	Indian or Pakistani	99	No race or ethnicity mentioned
06	Middle Eastern (primarily Arab or Persian)		

V23: Religion – does the article include references to any of the following religions? Code only the first incidence, using the following options:

No.	Religion	No.	Religion
01	Buddhist	06	Protestant
02	Catholic	07	Sikh
03	Hindu	08	Other
04	Jewish	99	No Religion Cited
05	Muslim/Islamic		

V24: Gender – does the article reference a female actor or source? Can you deduce from reading the article that ***the main source (first mentioned) or lead actor is female***? If it cannot be determined by name, perhaps the article includes the use of feminine pronoun such as "her or she?" for a person ***central to the message*** of the article? If referencing a source, only consider *the first source mentioned*. Code the article in the following manner: 1 for YES or 0 for NO.

V25: EU Legislation (EU leadership) – does the article include references to *European Union-level migration-related legislation, such as a call for the harmonization of policy*? Code this variable 1 for YES or 0 for NO. Examples of EU-level legislation relating to migration include:

1. AENEAS - which is a program of economic support for "third countries" (IOM, 2009),
2. the "EU Blue Card" program, which is the familiar name for EU fast track visas for skilled workers or highly educated asylum applicants
3. And the Schengen Agreement, which deals with the ability of citizens to move about the EU without visas.

Framing variables. Please code the following variables with this in mind. News articles can contain more than one frame, please code as YES (1) only *the most prominent and important frame* (usually established in the lead paragraph.) Therefore, ***only one variable from number 26 to 29*** should be coded positively per news article.

Alternately, if the code sheet does not contain the appropriate frame, do not code any variable from 26 to 29 positively.

V26: Framing, Administrative – Does the article explain migration issues from a *legal and logistical perspective*? This variable refers to any activity related to the implementation, revision or revoking of policy at the local, national, international or supranational level. Please code this variable in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 for YES.

V27: Framing, Conflict or War – Does the article use references to *war or acts of violence* to explain immigration issues? War includes discussions of conflicts such as Kosovo, Somalia, or the Gulf War, as well as more generic synonyms such as conflicts or hostilities. This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V28: Framing, Criminality – Does the article include statements regarding an ***increase*** *in criminal activity* in relation to immigration? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V29: Framing, Human Dignity/Human Interest – Does the article contain statements emphasizing *personal or human stories of migrants*, which are designed to humanize the characters in the story or to invoke empathy? The story may contain metaphors relating to "odysseys" and "journeys." Further examples include stories focused upon the conditions under which migrants live in destination countries. This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V30: Framing, Return Home – Does the story *explain the need to return migrants to their homelands*? Does the article include discussions or debates concerning the ethical or moral viability of the deportation of migrants? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V31: Framing, Terrorism – Does the story reference *terrorism as relating to immigration*? Does the article explain terrorism as a consequence of immigration, or vice versa? This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

V32: Framing, Culture Conflict – Does the article frame the story in a manner suggestive of a clash of civilizations? Based on Huntington's concept of "clash of civilizations," the coder should determine if the article that suggests that there is a conflict between the major world cultures of civilizations. For example, the article "Security authorities report 2 Islamists attacks foiled in Germany (Heinen, 2004)," states that the "Madrid attacks are part of the "global jihad," which is meanwhile being wages against important states of the western world…" This statement is written in a manner suggesting an Islamic war on the Western world, which very literally suggests a clash of civilizations. **This one frame can be coded positively with the other frames represented by variables 23-29.** This variable should be coded in the following manner: 0 for NO or 1 YES.

Appendix C: Code Sheet

No.	Variable	Code
V01	Document Number – List the article number assigned to the LexisNexis document	
V02	Actual Date – List the actual date the article was published in mm/dd/yyyy form	
V03	Weekday – List the publication day of the week	
V04	Month – List the publication month	
V05	Year – List the publication year	
V06	Publication/Newspaper – List the code for the publication	
V07	Publication Country – List the publication home country	
V08	Article Genre – List the article type	
V09	Word Count – List the word count category	
V10	Actual Word Count – List the actual word count of the article	
V11	Article Setting – List the country/region in which the article action takes place.	
V12	Article Subject/Issues in the Headlines – What is the subject of the article?	
V13	Subject/Main Actors – Who is the subject of the article?	
V14	Source Quoted – If a primary source is quoted, please record the category of speaker.	
V15	Anti-immigrant Metaphor	
V16	Illegal or Irregular Migrant – does the article used the term "illegal or irregular immigrant?"	
V17	Origin Country – Does the article include discussion of a migrant home country? Code	
V18	GTT, Ethnocentrism – Does the article include an Ethnocentric perspective?	
V19	GTT, Nationalism – Does the article include a nationalistic perspective?	
V20	GTT, Population Growth – Does the article include discussion of the growth of a migrant population?	
V21	GTT, Economic Downturn – Does the article include discussion of a declining economy in relation to migrants?	
V22	GTT, Race or Ethnicity – Does the article discuss a specific race or ethnicity?	
V23	GTT, Religion – Does the article discuss the religion of migrants?	
V24	GTT- Gender - Does the article include a discussion or, or cite a woman as source?	
V25	EU Legislation – Does the article include discussion of EU level legislation?	
V26	Framing: Administrative – Does the article discuss legislative solutions to migrant problems?	
V27	Framing: Conflict – Does the article discuss conflicts/wars military actions in relation to migration?	
V28	Framing: Criminality – Does the article include a discussion linking criminal activity to migrants?	
V29	Framing: Human Dignity – Does the article include a human-interest discussion about migrants?	
V30	Framing: Return Home – Does the article discuss strategies to return migrants to home countries?	
V31	Framing: Terrorism – Does the article discuss terrorism in relation to immigration?	
V32	Framing: Cultural Conflict – Does the article discuss the conflict of civilizations or cultures?	

Appendix D: Alpha List of European Union Nations, with year of entry

Table 36 EU countries and member entry dates

Country	Entry Year	Country	Entry Year
Austria	1/1/1995	Latvia	5/1/2004
Belgium	1957	Lithuania	5/1/2004
Bulgaria	1/1/2007	Luxembourg	1957
Cyprus	5/1/2004	Malta	5/1/2004
Czech	5/1/2004	Netherlands	1957
Denmark	1/1/1973	Poland	5/1/2004
Estonia	5/1/2004	Portugal	1/1/1986
Finland	1/1/1995	Romania	1/1/2007
France	1957	Slovakia	5/1/2004
Germany	1957	Slovenia	5/1/2004
Greece	1/1/1981	Spain	1/1/1986
Hungary	5/1/2004	Sweden	1/1/1995
Ireland	1/1/1973	United	1/1/1973
Italy	1957		

Appendix E: Frequency and Cross-tabulation Tables

Table 37 Chi-square tests for group-threat variables

	Ethnocentrism				
	Population Growth	Economic Downturn	Race or Ethnicity	Religion	Gender
Pearson Chi	4.626	2.779	5.493	49.326	0.051
df	1	1	7	5	1
Asymp. Sig 2-sided	0.031	0.096	0.600	0.000	0.821
Phi value	0.123	0.095	0.134	0.401	0.013

	Nationalism				
	Population Growth	Economic Downturn	Race or Ethnicity	Religion	Gender
Pearson Chi	4.103	0.422	4.334	6.484	0.415
df	1	1	7	5	1
Asymp. Sig 2-sided	0.043	0.516	0.741	0.262	0.519
Phi value	0.116	0.037	0.119	0.146	-0.037

Table 38 Cross-tab of article sources to ethnocentrism

	Ethnocentrism		Total
	No	Yes	
The Mirror	47	2	49
Times of London	23	2	25
CTK News Agency	47	2	49
Agence France Presse	56	3	59
Deutsche Presse-Agentur	35	7	42
Die Welt & Welt am Sonntag	4	2	6
ANSA News Agency	57	3	60
Corriere della Sera	7	1	8
La Stampa	3	0	3
Il Sole 24 ORE	1	0	1
Mlada fronta Dnes	0	1	1
Der Spiegel Online (Daily)	2	1	3
Total	282	24	306

Table 39 Frequencies of articles by word count and concurrences with outcome variables

		Number of concurrences	
Word Count	Total Cases	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
0-500	208	12	17
501-1000	74	10	5
1001-1500	17	2	3
1501-2000	5	0	0
2001-2500	0	0	0
2501-3000	0	0	0
Over 3000	2	0	0
	306	24	25

Table 40 Cross-tabulation numbers country * month * year

2004	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Totals
Czech Republic	0	1	10	0	0	0	11
France	0	6	4	3	0	0	13
Germany	0	20	15	0	1	0	36
Italy	0	15	7	1	0	0	23
United Kingdom	1	11	14	0	1	1	28
Totals	1	53	50	4	2	1	111

Figure 14 Frequency of topic in 2004

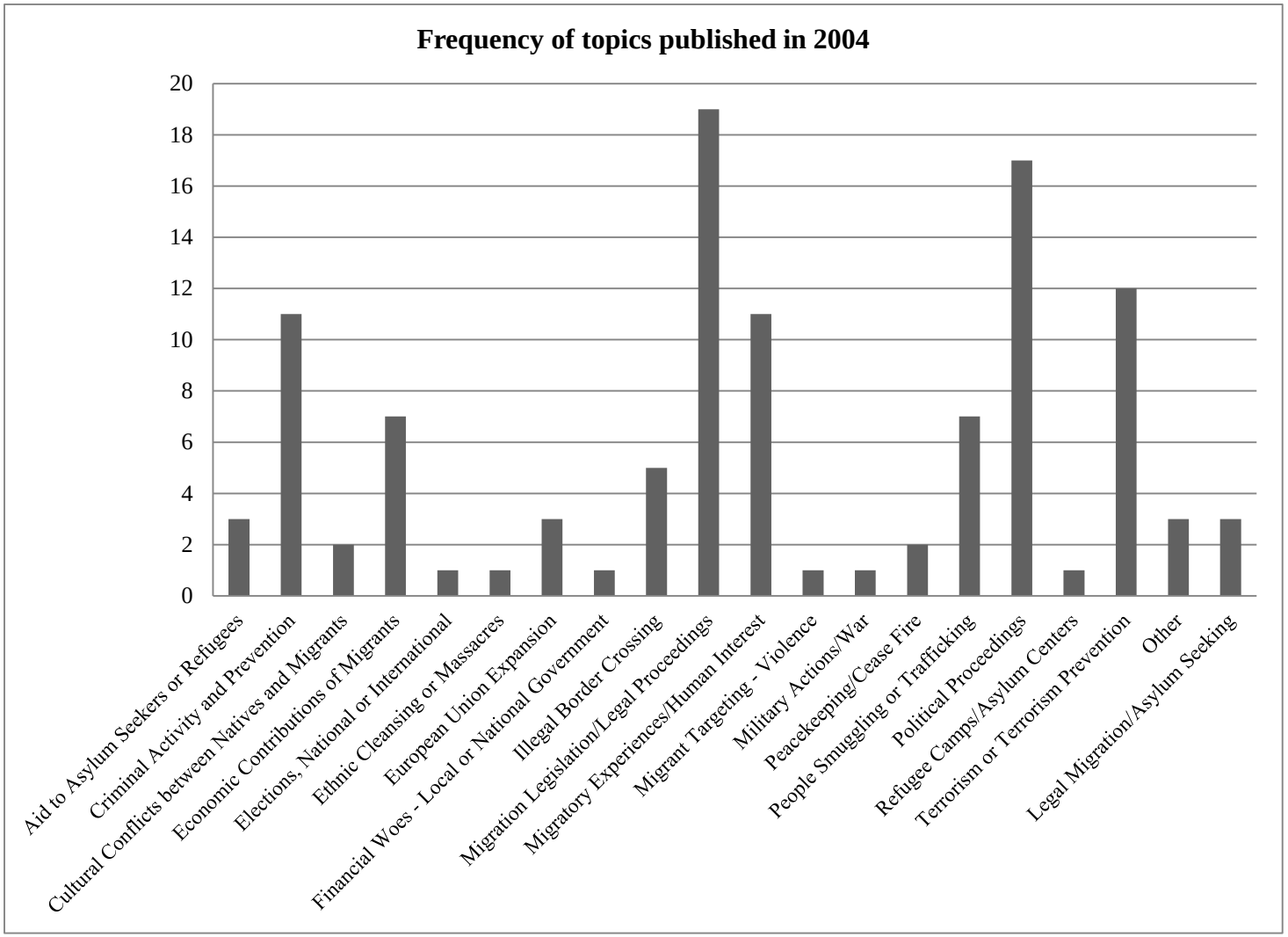


Figure 15 Frequency of topics in 2005

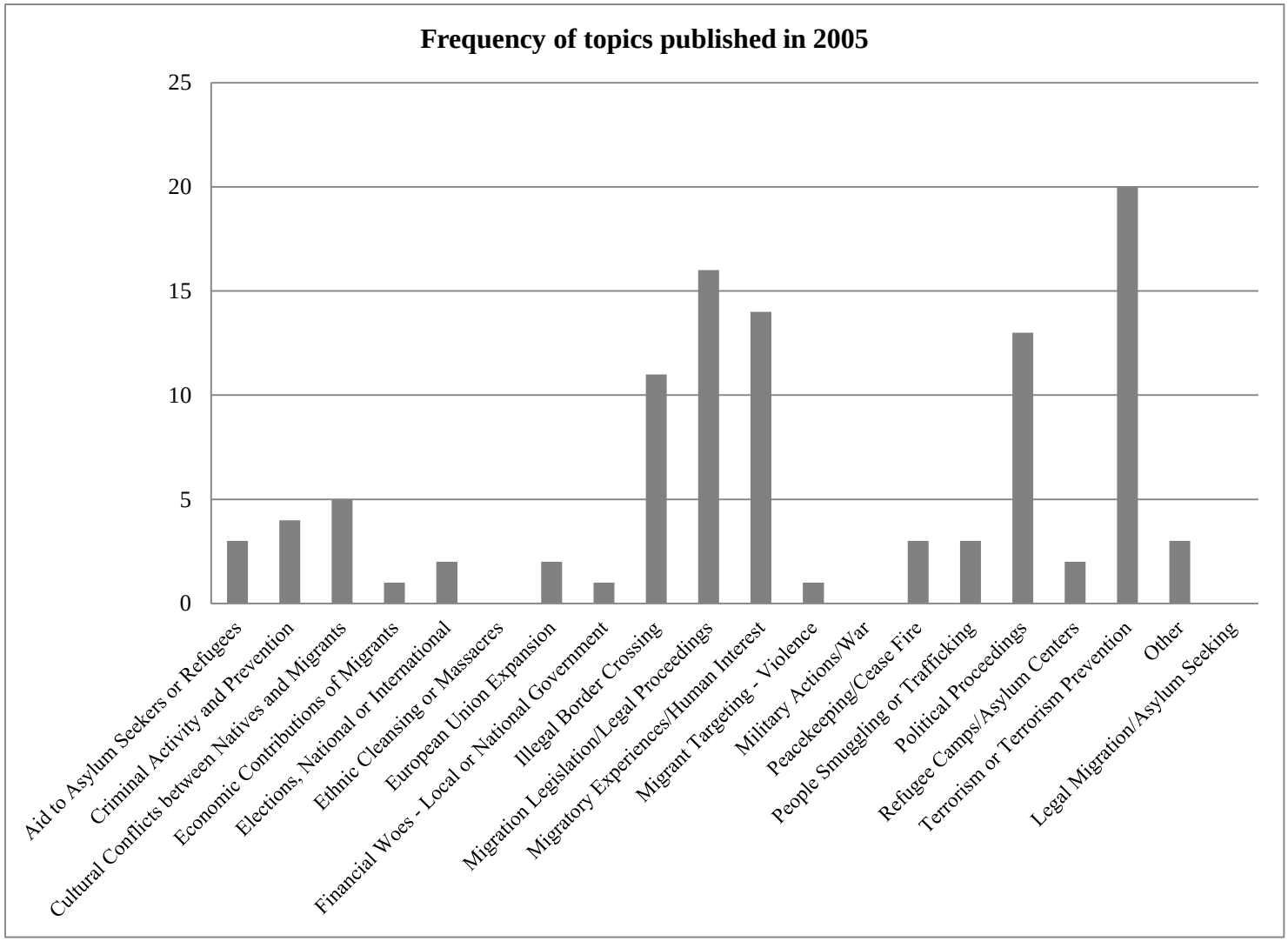
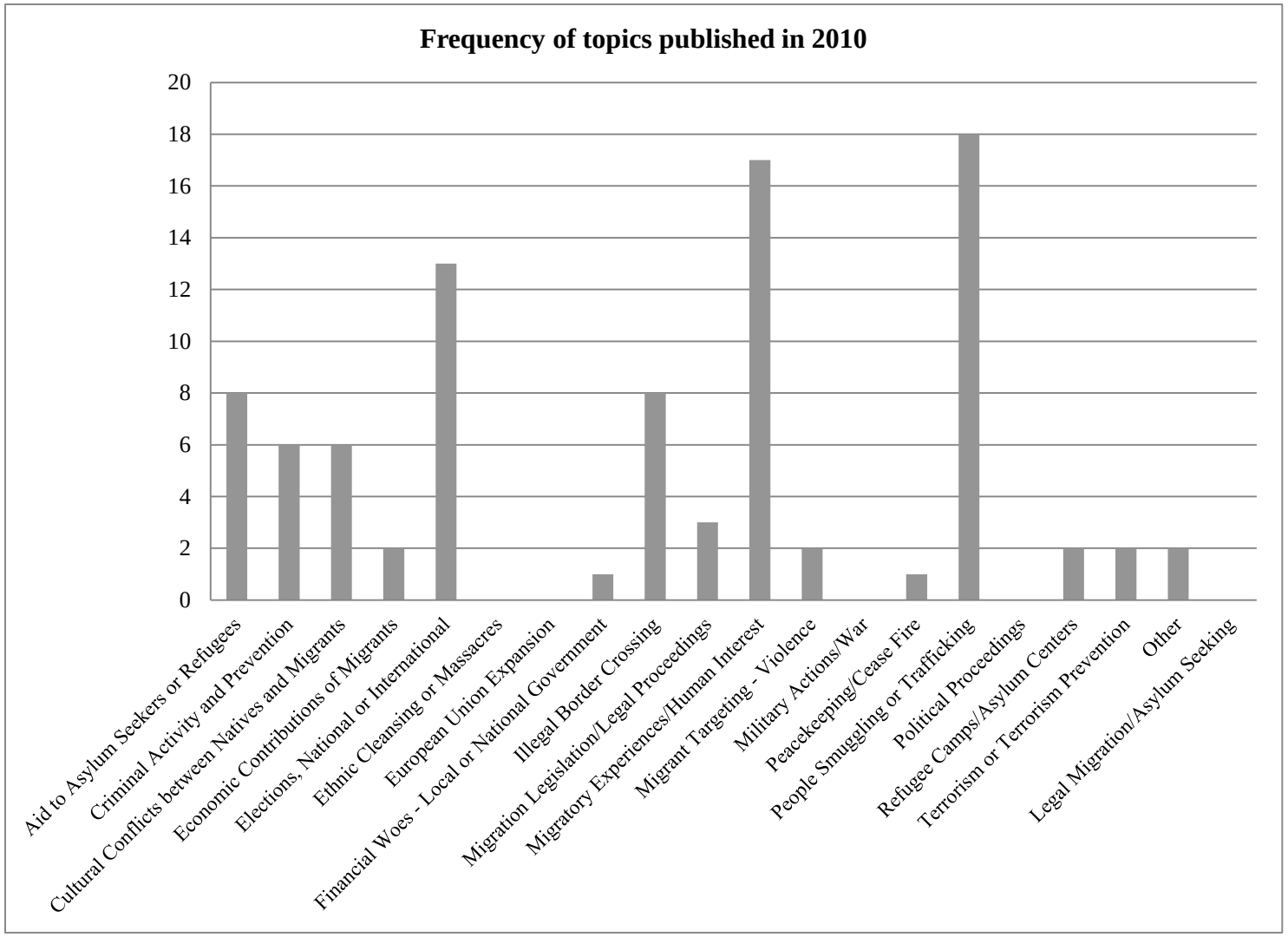


Figure 16 Frequency of topics in 2010



A cross-tabulation of article topics by country

Table 41 Cross-tabulation of Topics to Publication Countries by years 2004, 2005 and 2010

	2004					2005					2010				
Article Topic	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	1
Criminal Activity and Prevention	1	1	3	3	3	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	3
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	3	0
Disease and or Famine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic Contributions of Migrants	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Elections, National or International	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	8	0	0	5
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union Expansion	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Illegal Border Crossing	0	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	4	0	1	0	0	5	2
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	5	1	8	2	3	5	5	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	1
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	0	1	4	2	4	0	0	3	3	8	2	5	1	3	6
Migrant Targeting - Violence	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Military Actions/War	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
People Smuggling or Trafficking	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
Political Proceedings	1	3	5	5	3	5	0	4	2	2	4	0	0	3	5
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	6	0	0	0
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	0	2	4	4	1	2	6	1	3	9	1	0	0	0	1
Other	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 42 Cross-tabulation of article subjects to year

Topic		Year			Total
		2004	2005	2010	
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	Count	3	3	8	14
	% within Year	2.7%	2.9%	8.8%	4.6%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	Count	11	4	6	21
	% within Year	9.9%	3.8%	6.6%	6.9%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	Count	2	5	6	13
	% within Year	1.8%	4.8%	6.6%	4.2%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	Count	7	1	2	10
	% within Year	6.3%	1.0%	2.2%	3.3%
Elections, National or International	Count	1	2	13	16
	% within Year	.9%	1.9%	14.3%	5.2%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Year	.9%	0.0%	0.0%	.3%
European Union Expansion	Count	3	2	0	5
	% within Year	2.7%	1.9%	0.0%	1.6%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	Count	1	1	1	3
	% within Year	.9%	1.0%	1.1%	1.0%
Illegal Border Crossing	Count	5	11	8	24
	% within Year	4.5%	10.6%	8.8%	7.8%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	Count	19	16	3	38
	% within Year	17.1%	15.4%	3.3%	12.4%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	Count	11	14	17	42
	% within Year	9.9%	13.5%	18.7%	13.7%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	Count	1	1	2	4
	% within Year	.9%	1.0%	2.2%	1.3%
Military Actions/War	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Year	.9%	0.0%	0.0%	.3%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	Count	2	3	2	7
	% within Year	1.8%	2.9%	2.2%	2.3%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	Count	7	3	1	11
	% within Year	6.3%	2.9%	1.1%	3.6%
Political Proceedings	Count	17	13	18	48
	% within Year	15.3%	12.5%	19.8%	15.7%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	Count	1	2	0	3
	% within Year	.9%	1.9%	0.0%	1.0%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	Count	12	20	2	34
	% within Year	10.8%	19.2%	2.2%	11.1%
Other	Count	3	3	2	8
	% within Year	2.7%	2.9%	2.2%	2.6%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	Count	3	0	0	3
	% within Year	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Totals	Count	111	104	91	306
	% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 43 Chi-square test and Cramer's V for article topic associated with year

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Cramer's V
Pearson Chi-Square	83.066[a]	38	.000	.368
Likelihood Ratio	89.142	38	.000	
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.373	1	.020	
N of Valid Cases	306			

a. 39 cells (65.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .30.

Figure 17 Cross-tab of 2004 articles by month and news-source home country

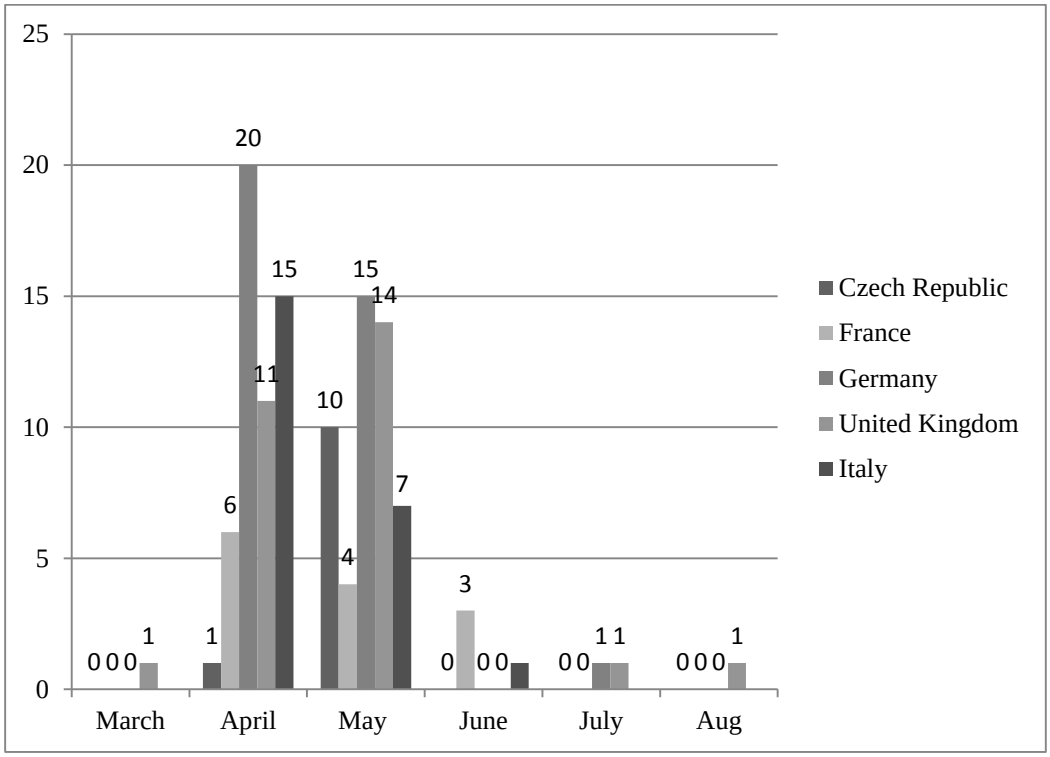


Figure 18 Cross-tabulation of articles published by country, month and year

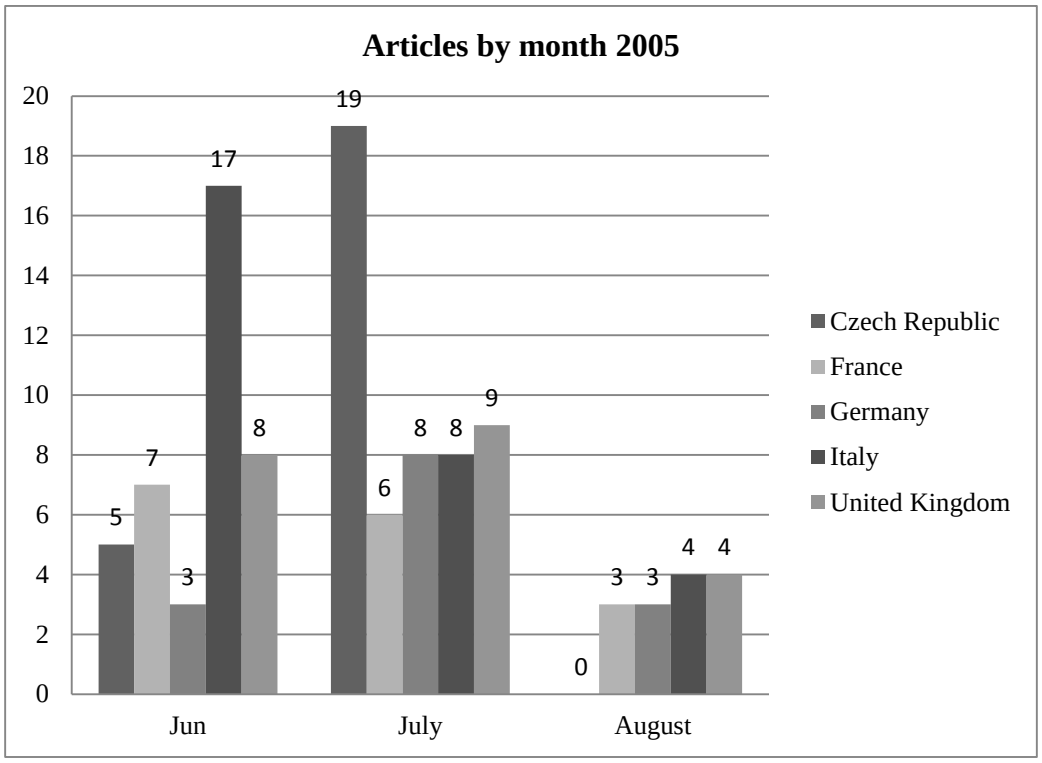


Table 44 Cross-tab numbers Country * Month * Year

Year- 2005	Jun	July	August	Totals
Czech Republic	5	19	0	24
France	7	6	3	16
Germany	3	8	3	14
Italy	17	8	4	29
United Kingdom	8	9	4	21
	40	50	14	104

Figure 19 Cross-tabulation of 2010 articles by country * month

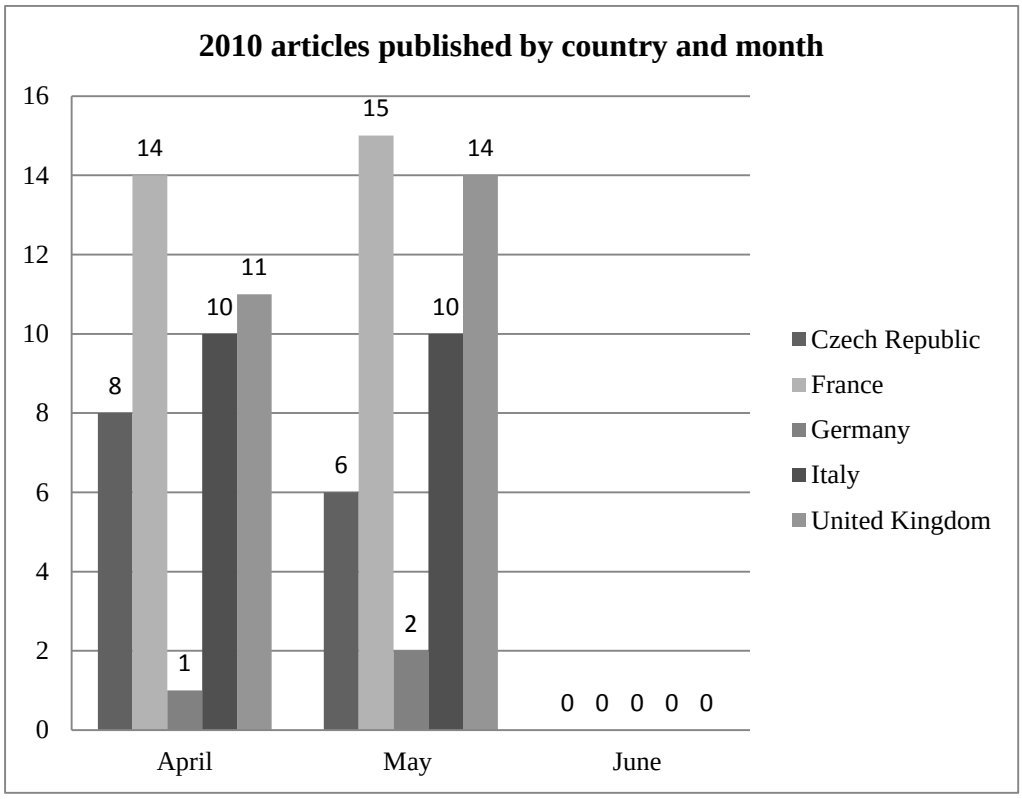


Table 45 Cross-tabulation of 2010 articles country * month

	April	May	June	Totals
Czech Republic	8	6	0	14
France	14	15	0	29
Germany	1	2	0	3
Italy	10	10	0	20
United Kingdom	11	14	0	25
Totals	44	47	0	91

Table 46 Cross-tabulation of topics to newspaper home countries (in percentage)

	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK	Totals
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	12.0	5.2	1.9	4.2	1.4	4.6
Criminal Activity and Prevention	4.0	3.4	9.6	8.3	8.1	6.9
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	4.0	5.2	1.9	8.3	1.4	4.2
Disease and Famine	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Economic Contributions of Migrants	4.0	0.0	1.9	4.2	5.4	3.3
Elections, National or International	0.0	13.8	1.9	1.4	8.1	5.2
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.3
European Union Expansion	4.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	2.7	1.6
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.4	1.0
Illegal Border Crossing	6.0	8.6	5.8	13.9	4.1	7.8
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	22.0	10.3	19.2	8.3	6.8	12.4
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	4.0	10.3	15.4	11.1	24.3	13.7
Migrant Targeting - Violence	2.0	0.0	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.3
Military Actions/War	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.3
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	4.0	5.2	1.9	1.4	0.0	2.3
People Smuggling or Trafficking	8.0	1.7	3.8	2.8	2.7	3.6
Political Proceedings	20.0	15.5	17.3	13.9	13.5	15.7
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.8	0.0	1.0
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	6.0	13.8	9.6	9.7	14.9	11.1
Other	0.0	6.9	0.0	1.4	4.1	2.6
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0.0	0.0	3.8	1.4	0.0	1.0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 47 Cross-tabulation of topics to newspaper home countries in actual numbers

Topic	CR	Fr	Ge	It	UK	Total
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	6	3	1	3	1	14
Criminal Activity and Prevention	2	2	5	6	6	21
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	2	3	1	6	1	13
Economic Contributions of Migrants	2	0	1	3	4	10
Elections, National or International	0	8	1	1	6	16
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0	0	0	1	0	1
European Union Expansion	2	0	1	0	2	5
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0	0	0	2	1	3
Illegal Border Crossing	3	5	3	10	3	24
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	11	6	10	6	5	38
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	2	6	8	8	18	42
Migrant Targeting - Violence	1	0	1	1	1	4
Military Actions/War	0	0	0	1	0	1
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	2	3	1	1	0	7
People Smuggling or Trafficking	4	1	2	2	2	11
Political Proceedings	10	9	9	10	10	48
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0	0	1	2	0	3
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	3	8	5	7	11	34
Other	0	4	0	1	3	8
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0	0	2	1	0	3
Totals	50	58	52	72	74	306

Table 48 Czech Republic most frequently covered article topics

Czech Republic Article Topics	%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	22%
Political Proceedings	20%
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	12%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	8%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	6%
Illegal Border Crossing	6%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	4%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	4%
European Union Expansion	4%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	4%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	4%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	4%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	2%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0%
Other	0%
Military Actions/War	0%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0%
Elections, National or International	0%
Totals	100%

Table 49 French most frequently referenced article topics.

French - Article Topics	%
Political Proceedings	16%
Elections, National or International	14%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	14%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	10%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	10%
Illegal Border Crossing	9%
Other	7%
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	5%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	5%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	5%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	3%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	2%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	0%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0%
European Union Expansion	0%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	0%
Military Actions/War	0%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0%
Totals	100%

Table 50 Germany- most frequently referenced article topics

German Article Topics	%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	18%
Political Proceedings	17%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	15%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	10%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	10%
Illegal Border Crossing	6%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	4%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	4%
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	2%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	2%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	2%
Elections, National or International	2%
European Union Expansion	2%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	2%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	2%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	2%
Disease and Famine	0%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0%
Military Actions/War	0%
Other	0%
Totals	100%

Table 51 Percentage frequency of Italian Immigration Topics

Italian article topics	%
Illegal Border Crossing	14%
Political Proceedings	14%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	11%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	10%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	8%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	8%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	8%
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	4%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	4%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	3%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	3%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	3%
Elections, National or International	1%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	1%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	1%
Military Actions/War	1%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	1%
Other	1%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	1%
Disease and Famine	0%
European Union Expansion	0%
Totals	100%

Table 52 Frequency of British Article Topics

British Article Topics	%
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	24%
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	15%
Political Proceedings	14%
Criminal Activity and Prevention	8%
Elections, National or International	8%
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	7%
Economic Contributions of Migrants	5%
Illegal Border Crossing	4%
Other	4%
European Union Expansion	3%
People Smuggling or Trafficking	3%
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	1%
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	1%
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	1%
Migrant Targeting - Violence	1%
Disease and Famine	0%
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0%
Military Actions/War	0%
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	0%
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0%
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0%
Totals	100%

Table 53 Cross-tabulation of article topic to publication

	The Mirror	Times of London	CTK News Agency	Agence France Presse	Deutsche Presse-Agentur	Die Welt & Welt am Sonntag	ANSA News Agency	Corriere della Sera	La Stampa	Il Sole 24 ORE	Mlada fronta Dnes	Der Spiegel Online (Daily)	Tot
Austria	0	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Belgium	0	0	2	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	8
Cyprus	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Czech Republic	0	1	19	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	25
Denmark	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Finland	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
France	0	1	0	8	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	13
Germany	0	1	0	2	18	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	29
Greece	0	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
Hungary	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Italy	2	0	0	7	2	0	48	7	3	1	0	0	70
Luxembourg	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Malta	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Netherlands	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Poland	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Romania	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Slovakia	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Spain	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Sweden	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
United Kingdom	46	21	9	20	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	101
Multiple EU Countries	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
European Union	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	49	25	49	59	42	6	60	8	3	1	1	3	306

Table 54 Cross-tabulation of Topics to Countries by Year

	2004					2005					2010				
Article Topic	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK	CR	FR	GE	IT	UK
Aid to Asylum Seekers or Refugees	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	1
Criminal Activity and Prevention	1	1	3	3	3	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	3
Cultural Conflicts between Natives and Migrants	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	3	0
Disease and or Famine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic Contributions of Migrants	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Elections, National or International	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	8	0	0	5
Ethnic Cleansing or Massacres	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union Expansion	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Financial Woes - Local or National Government	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Illegal Border Crossing	0	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	4	0	1	0	0	5	2
Migration Legislation/Legal Proceedings	5	1	8	2	3	5	5	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	1
Migratory Experiences/Human Interest	0	1	4	2	4	0	0	3	3	8	2	5	1	3	6
Migrant Targeting - Violence	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Military Actions/War	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peacekeeping/Cease Fire	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
People Smuggling or Trafficking	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
Political Proceedings	1	3	5	5	3	5	0	4	2	2	4	0	0	3	5
Refugee Camps/Asylum Centers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	6	0	0	0
Terrorism or Terrorism Prevention	0	2	4	4	1	2	6	1	3	9	1	0	0	0	1
Other	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
Legal Migration/Asylum Seeking	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	13	35	22	26	23	16	14	28	23	15	29	3	22	25