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The American University in Cairo  
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**Framing Arab Refugees in Global News**

A Thesis Submitted to  
Journalism and Mass Communication Department  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

By **Abdulrahman Mahmoud Ali Hasan Elsamni**

Under the supervision of Dr. Hussein Amin

May 2016

## **Abstract**

This study examines the framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the global news, represented by the news stories published on the online edition of CNN. Based on the framing theory, the quantitative content analysis found the attribution of responsibility frame to be the most salient and frequent frame in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. The responsibility frame ascribing the Arab refugee crisis or its resolution to different actors and groups surpassed the other four news frames— human interest, conflict, economic consequences, and morality; although the five frames were existent in coverage. The lone hypothesis of the study expecting thematic frames to be more common than episodic frames was found supported. That is, the news coverage of Arab refugees tended to be thematic, as it covered the issue in the broader context, whereas episodic frames that focus on individual accounts and personal stories were less frequent. Security terms that describe Arab refugees as potential threats were found more often than the humanitarian terms that frame them as victims. The study pinpointed the lack of photos and voices of Arab refugees in the news coverage, as 90% of the relevant news articles did not include their quotes, whilst around two-thirds of the news stories did not include any of their images. The featured quotes tend to frame Arab refugees negatively, whereas the embedded photos presented more positive frames, however, the overall framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in CNN news stories tended to be generally balanced.

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## **Chapter I: Introduction**

### **A. Introduction**

In the age of global media, with great technological convergences and huge revolution of information, the world became no more than a small village. Many people got access to news about people they never met, about places they have never been, about ideas they have never heard of, and about events they have never imagined to participate in. Thus, a gradual importance have been alluded to the critical role of mass media in creating broad judgments and general stereotypes about different individuals from various nationalities, ethnicities, cultures, religions, or groups.

Along these lines, and particularly after September 11, Arabs and Muslims became the topic of interest for the audience of the global media, receiving high media attention from most of the news outlets worldwide. Recently, the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (or ISIS) in Iraq and Syria, accompanied with the civil wars that have been sparked in the Arab region, all have brought Arabs back to the headlines of newspapers and the perceptions of the readers worldwide. Domestic civil wars forced large numbers of Arab citizens, particularly from Syria and Iraq, outside their hometowns fleeing their lives.

The large influx of Arab refugees and asylum seekers did not target only Arabian countries, such as Lebanon and Jordan, but large numbers of them sought refuge in the United States, while the majority sought asylum in European Union countries, such as Germany, Turkey, and Greece. This flow of people caused a refugee crisis that attracted media outlets worldwide, and opened the door to several discussions. Therefore, a study about the framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the global media gains a notable significance, especially in relation to the likes of ISIS, the regional war on terrorism, and the current upheaval in the Middle East.

## **B. Background**

The large flow of Arab refugees and asylum seekers to several countries all over the world in the last five years could be mainly ascribed to two political factors; the Syrian Civil War that erupted in 2011, and the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) in 2014. Both factors have forced large numbers of Syrians and Iraqis to flee, fueled by the fear of losing their lives, seeking asylum and refuge in other countries.

Syria has now the most critical refugee crisis all over the world, according to the United Nations Refugee Agency UNHCR, with a total of 4.8 million Syrians refugees in neighboring countries, and hundreds of thousands who have crossed the Mediterranean Sea to seek refuge in European Union Countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2016a).

It came as no surprise that Arab refugees constituted 61% of the Mediterranean Sea arrivals who tried to reach Europe through the sea, as Syrians represented 46% and Iraqis 15% of the total set of migrants and refugees who attempted the dangerous crossing during the first three months of 2016 (UNHCR, 2016b). In 2015, one in every two of the same set of refugees was Syrian, accounting for a total of half a million refugees, whereas Iraqis represented 7% of the Mediterranean Sea arrivals (UNHCR, 2015).

Reviewing the literature of scholarly articles relevant to the framing of refugees and asylum seekers and the stereotypic representation of Arabs in the media shed lights on how effective are news frames of particular groups. This came in accordance with what van Dijk (1995, pp.19-20) wrote two decades ago about the effect of power on news coverage; blaming news structures for framing refugees as threats and problems by calling them economic refugees, and using the cultural differences of language and religion to explain failed integration of Muslim and Arab immigrants.



### **C. Aims of Study**

This study aims to examine which frames were existent in CNN framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers, among the five news frames set by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)—conflict, human interest, responsibility, morality, and economic consequences. Another aim of the study is to test whether the framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers employed thematic or episodic frames, in the light of the distinction set by Iyengar (1990).

Through a quantitative content analysis, this study aims to investigate the quotes and photos that involved Arab refugees or asylum seekers in the news stories of CNN, in order to determine its amount of existence and to assess its neutrality. Furthermore, the study aims to evaluate each article in order to decide whether the news stories framed Arab refugees and asylum seekers in security or humanitarian terms, as well as to decide the overall portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the sample.

### **D. Problem Statement**

This study questions how Arab refugees and asylum seekers were framed in global news, represented by the online international edition of one prominent leading news network, namely, Cable News Network, or CNN. Based on the framing theory, this study conducts a quantitative content analysis that utilizes a deductive approach to assess which news frames were existent in the news coverage of the Arab refugee crisis, as well as to highlight any negative or positive characteristics of news reporting on Arab refugees and asylum seekers.

The sample of the study consists of the news articles published on CNN online during January 2016. This month was chosen on purpose as it witnessed a series of negative events that involved Arab refugees and asylum seekers in their countries of resettlement, such as Cologne sex attacks and Istanbul suicide bombing.

## **Chapter II: Literature Review**

### **A. Framing of Refugees in Media**

Mass media could play a negative role in the process of dehumanization of refugees and asylum seekers. This was contended by Esses, Medianu, and Lawson (2013, p. 518) who analyzed the role media play in fostering dehumanization of immigrants and refugees among individuals who are in a state of threat and uncertainty. The different portrayals that label refugees and immigrants as bogus, disguised terrorists, or carriers of contagious diseases, are in general conducive to the dehumanization of these groups and promote taking urgent actions against them.

In contrast to the media portrayal of refugees as illegal others in news reports, the fictional film image of refugees as central figures or heroes could stir the emotions of the audience and wins their sympathy. This contention was presented by Wright (2002, p.64), who analyzed the visual representation of refugees in different forms of media, such as film, where he found the media images of refugees as affected by traditions of Christian iconography, in reference to the forced migration (p.53).

Interest particular to the image of refugees and asylum seekers in different global, regional, and local mass media outlets is clear. This research interest led to the formulation of a considerable number of academic studies that either investigated the media portrayal of refugees with application to a specific country of resettlement, or with particular reference to their ethnicities, nationalities, or origin. In this section of literature review, around 68 studies that analyze the image of refugees in different intervals of time were reviewed, mostly are scholarly articles from peer-view journals. Except one study that dates back to 1998, all reviewed studies were published in a 15-years interval between 2001 and 2016.

This section of literature review is divided into two sub-sections according to the two types of research interest mentioned above. The first sub-section includes the studies of refugees according to their origin, such as Arab refugees, where the second sub-section encompasses studies that are concerned with the place of resettlement, such as Australia, Europe, North America, Malaysia, and the United Kingdom.

**a. According to countries of origin:**

**Arab refugees**

The way Arab refugees were framed in the media in the countries to which they fled or the regions that could be affected by their influx was the main topic of a set of studies that are concerned with refugees from Arab countries that have witnessed political turmoil. In this study, only refugees who are described as having the nationality of any of the 22 Arab countries that are currently members of the Arab League will be considered Arabs, thus, refugees from South Sudan would be considered Africans.

The official discourse related to Syrian refugees in Lebanon during a four-year period between 2011 and 2015 was the topic of a study conducted by Turbay (2015). Based on the politics of representation concept alongside the framing theory (p.7), the study analyzed the frames existent in the official discourses about Syrian refugees. Some of these official discourses were available through English-speaking Lebanese media, whereas the rest was extracted from official governmental websites, in addition to the speeches given by Lebanese political leaders (p.6). The findings of the study pinpointed a humanitarian trend in the coverage of Syrian refugees especially during 2011 and 2013, although security-wise terms were existent too. Moreover, the discourses of Syrian nationals who seek refuge in Lebanon referred to them as a quantitative mass or numbers reflecting the impact they may have on the Lebanese state, but did not address their problems as individuals (p.25).

Syrian refugees in Turkey as socially constructed by social media users were the topic of a study conducted by Yıldırım and Yurtdaş (2016, p.103), in a critical discursive psychological approach. The findings pinpointed seven repertoires, by which Syrian refugees and asylum seekers were either portrayed as threats, or marginalized as others, or depicted as Muslims who share the same identity of Turkish beyond nationalities, or framed as humans who deserve empathy. The fifth repertoire is concerned whether Syrians refugees fit in as normal refugees, while the administrative repertoire is about the problems in the governmental policy regarding the issue, and the economic burden frame refugees as burdens on the Turkish economy.

The media representation of Syrian refugees in the United Kingdom was discussed by Venir (2016, p.1), who conducted a quantitative analysis to four prominent English newspapers, namely, *the Guardian*, *the Telegraph*, *the Mirror*, and *the Sun*, to find a positive representation of Syrian refugees. The frames of this positive representation emphasized the moral responsibility of the United Kingdom in offering a hand of help to the Syrian refugees, who were portrayed as being genuine refugees in contrast to economic migrants who exploit the refuge rights, as well as being vulnerable and innocent, through an individualized coverage of personal stories and human tragedies.

Inspired by the haunting image of the drowned child, Aylan Kurdi, who was a Syrian refugee escaping the civil war, visual representations of Syrian refugees in European newspapers were analyzed by van Schaik (2015). The analysis found an over-representation of children, and their photos were mostly used to attract attention to particular issues. Syrian refugees were often depicted in a large group, except if they were children, whilst their photos holding modern mobile phones seems to imply a meaning that they are not in need for an urgent help, or rather to mean that all people constitute one urban family (pp.57-58).

Negative portrayals of Syrian refugees in social media were summarized by Rettberg and Gajjala (2016), in a short essay about the stereotypical image of men from Middle East that generally constructs danger. The portrayals of social media that emphasized danger depicted Middle Eastern male refugees as potential rapists, terrorists, cowards, or even as non-masculine (pp.179-180).

The online portrayal of Syrian refugee women in global and mainstream media was studied by Alhayek (2014), who examined a case study of social media, in application to one feminist campaign on Facebook that is called “Refugees Not Captives”. The study discussed how the discourses of the online campaign promoted orientalist depictions of Syrian women, and overlooked the voices of women refugees in an act of double marginalization (p.696). This marginalizing discourse came in accordance with the Western media and its dominant representations of women in Arab culture (p.700).

In contrast to these negative and misrepresentative portrayals of Syrian refugees in social media, Salhab (2015, pp.1-2) compared some excerpts from both of the mainstream media and the social media coverage of the same issues in refugee crisis, recommending that social media is more capable of presenting truthful of the crisis. This is due to a set of factors that could represent the advantages of social media, such as its being independent and able to work for public interest, rather than being profit-oriented or owned by media tycoons.

The Palestinian refugee issue was investigated by Khatib (2009), who focused on the editorials and reports published in The Guardian and The Times, regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1948 (p.4). The study found a little coverage of the refugee issue that underwent various shifts and increased over time. This coverage suggested resolutions for Palestinian refugees outside Israel, such as the resettlement in Arab countries, framing internal solutions as infeasible. It took the Guardian sixteen years to firstly demand the right of return (p.29).

## **African refugees**

Concerning African refugees in media, Fair and Barks (2001) analyzed the aerial images of Rwandan refugees fleeing 1994 genocide from afar, in addition to the on-ground television close-up coverage presented by the four prominent news outlets in the United States, in order to decide how news portrayed refugees as an affected mass (p.35). Whereas television coverage in a humanitarian story framed Rwandan refugees as continuously in the move, the aerial images reflected the seriousness of the issue on its huge scale; however, the afar coverage detached the Western audience from refugees (pp.51-52).

The media image of Liberian and Togolese refugees in Ghana were studied by Frontani, Silvestri, and Brown (2009), in relation to its effect on their social integration (p.69). The study recommended framing refugee issues not as security threats but in the light of human rights discourse, which could lessen the intensity of discrimination against these groups in Ghanaian society. In addition, the study pinpointed the importance of training journalists on how to cover the issues of refugees, as well as informing the latter of assistance and development programs (p.70).

In Kenya, Kaleda (2014) undertook a qualitative content analysis of online articles published between 2010 and 2012 in camp-based newspapers run by refugees in Kenya, and Western mainstream news outlets in the United States and United Kingdom. The study emphasized the emerging power of refugee-run media and its fresh and vivid coverage of the real refugee issues that other Western mainstream media overlooked (p.94). It went on contending that grassroots refugee media could work in the future as a means of shaping refugee policy, especially if they could reach global audience. This is as a result of their ability to cover both of good initiatives and refugee policy failures (p.110).

Refugees with HIV coming from sub-Saharan Africa to New Zealand were the topic of an analysis of the mass media discourses conducted by Worth (2002), who pinpointed blame and xenophobia to be existent, in the focus on the fear of contagion and the exclusionary policy of a mandatory HIV test for refugees (p.77). Mass media framed African men as sexual offenders and dangerous incomers who would infect local women, while African women were often overlooked or rather framed as HIV-positive or a pregnant of potential patients who would constitute a burden on the state economy (p.65). This rationalized economic discourse stripped African refugees out of the humanitarian coverage, framing them as unwanted and infective burdens (p.66).

The portrayals of Sudanese refugees who fled civil war to the United States were questioned by Robins (2003), who conducted an analysis of the top newspapers in the United States in application to the news narratives regarding Sudanese refugees who were described as lost boys. These narratives entailed components designated to suit local readers, such as the usage of American cultural myths, for instance, the concept of a promised land. Although human faces were featured in news stories, the latter failed to present thorough explanations that meet the expectations of an international coverage of one complicated issue (p.29).

In a similar study, Willis and Fernald (2004) conducted a content analysis of eight newspapers in Nebraska to examine news articles relevant to Sudanese refugees (p.271). In all newspapers, a little was mentioned about the native life Sudanese refugees left behind in their homeland (p.280). In addition, the analysis highlighted some cases when false information has been published, which could yield negative emotions towards Sudanese refugees or people in general. The study suggested benefiting from local experts in the preparation of print content to avoid misinformation and stereotypes (p.284-285).

Some studies about Sudanese refugees in Australia were influenced by the murder of Leip Gony, a Sudanese refugee teenager. For example, newsprint articles after the murder were examined by Due (2008) in relation to the governmental ban on African refugees intake (p.1). Results concluded that being white was promoted as the basic norm of belonging to Australia. Sudanese and other African refugees were framed as lacking the ability for easy integration; but their absorption into the white dominant culture is preferable. These discourses, though, denied racism and emphasized Australian generosity (p.11).

Radio calls about the murder of this Sudanese refugee were studied by Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos (2011), who analyzed the corpus of 12 talkback radio calls in a discursive psychology approach. The study reflected how talking about a minority group in terms of sympathy could argue against racist arguments, and how social actors could deliver their complaints while preventing their discourse from being described as prejudiced against humanitarian refugees (p.266).

In a broader context, Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos (2014) examined unscripted conversations on talkback radio, in order to show how Australian speakers interpreted the violent behavior of Sudanese refugees by ascribing it to the tribal characteristics Sudanese refugees possess, which were depicted as a salient and collectively shared possession among all group members (p.362).

### **Asian refugees**

The Afghan refugee crisis was examined by Wright (2004), who reviewed visual images and narratives in television news reports on the issue, determining three factors as responsible for effective media coverage of any refugee crisis— its magnitude and proximity, its dramatic nature, and the interest it stimulates (p.97).



Analyzing the portrayals of Hazara Afghan refugees in Australian television programs was the aim of a study conducted by Rodan and Lange (2008), who contended that two programs were successful in lessening the cultural disparity and narrowing the religious space between Australians and Afghan refugees. In contrast to the dominant and official mass media discourses, both programs framed Afghan refugees as members of the Australian society and its white culture (p.153). However, this assimilation of refugees to the Australian society as framed by the media could be considered a disadvantage if interpreted by the audience as a prerequisite for refugees in order to receive permanent protection visas. In this sense, emphasizing the ability of Australia to encompass the cultural and religious differences of the refugees is an essential part for equality to happen (p.164).

The refugee crisis after the arrival of hundreds of undocumented Chinese migrants from Fujian province at Canada in 1999 was examined by Greenberg and Hier (2002, p.545), who blamed the thematic media coverage of the issue in the Canadian media, considering it responsible for a collective portrayal of the arrivals as one dangerous and threatening body to the security and sovereignty of Canada.

Still relevant to the same case study of Chinese boat people, Greenberg (2005) found that the opinion discourse in the Canadian print media focused on the negative economic impact of these hundreds of Chinese migrants on the state (p.532). The five newspapers were critical of the government, its handle of the problem and poor laws that allowed boat people to bring with them crime and disease to Canada. It is in that sense that print media created anger and frustration that was to be directed towards refugees and asylum seekers (p.530).

Watson (2007) presented a detailed account for an incident that took place in July 1987 when 174 Sikh asylum seekers arrived from Rotterdam, contending that since their early arrival, the issue was securitized (p. 108). If compared to similar incidents at the past,

the term refugee was rarely used in the national media, allowing for the usage of other dehumanized and securitized terms depicting the asylum seekers as a threat (p. 109), leading to extraordinary practices against them—holding in detention and releasing names (p.113).

The 1987 incident of the 174 asylum seekers was also revived by Mannik (2013), who emphasized how Canadian national newspapers back then securitized the discourse. In contrast, local reports considered the incident as a crucial moment for showing the Canadian national hospitality (p.1). Thus, the focus of the local narratives was not blaming the criminal smugglers who invaded Canadian borders, but rather a humanized focus on the Canadian generosity of welcoming all people without limits or conditions as we are all humans (p.13).

Media reports on the arrival of Tamil refugees by Sea to Victoria in August 2010 were examined by Medianu, Sutter & Esses (2015), who scrutinized the reporting of Anglophone newspapers in Canada six months before and after their arrival (p.4). The results reflected mixed portrayal of Tamil refugees, as they were not only depicted in negative terms, but as victims as well. It is worth noting that before the incident, Tamil refugees were depicted as bogus, but were described as criminals afterwards. Thus, governmental bills regarding refugees were heavily criticized (pp.7-8).

Another study pertinent to the arrival of Tamil refugees by boat to Canada is conducted by Bardimore and Bauder (2011, p.637), who depended on the articles published in three Canadian newspapers, namely, *the Vancouver Sun*, *the Toronto Star*, and *the National Post*, regarding an incident that took place in October 2009, when 76 Tamil refugees arrived to Victoria by Sea. Findings reflected an overall negative portrayal of the Tamil refugees that frames refugees as a threat, employing a security-oriented discourse rather than humanitarian terms, and associating Tamil refugees with terrorist and criminal themes.

Academic studies frequently refers to a well-known incident that involved Tamil refugees in Canada back in 1986, when 152 Tamil asylum seekers arrived by boat. According to Watson (2007), the Canadian government gave primacy to the humanitarian cause, rather than all security-wise interests (p.102). Canadian media used the term 'refugee' in pointing out to the Tamils. Other terms helped the asylum seekers be depicted as vulnerable victims of Sri Lanka, as well as being abandoned at sea, such as 'castaway', 'found drift', and 'rescued'. The welcoming attitude of Canada was emphasized by the four prominent daily newspapers, which all embraced a humanitarian dialogue (pp.103-104). Remarkably, this dialogue was not supported by the citizens in their letters to the editors. Instead, they were feeling suspicious about the refugees and warned the government not to fall prey to their tricks (p.106).

In order to assess civic visibility in the media, the press coverage of Vietnamese and Indian communities in Canada and the United States from 1985 to 2005 was examined by Bloemraad, de Graauw, and Hamlin (2015). These two Asian communities legitimately entered North America in large numbers, as humanitarian refugees or economic family migrants. Findings contend that official refugees and immigrants whose entrance was blessed by the government gain more civic presence in the media and public policy (p.891).

### **North American refugees**

The representation of Cuban refugees in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s was questioned by Current (2008, p.42), who pinpointed how positive portrayals of incoming refugees from Cuba were present in the popular American media as a result of a public relations campaign launched by the government of the United States to pave the way for their arrival. These portrayals promoted Cuban refugees as possessing quality economic, social, and racial characteristics, as well as adopting anti-communist ideological perspectives that was framed as valuable.

The media image of Nicaraguan refugees in Costa Rica in the 1980s was examined by Larson (1995, p.25), who attributed the responsibility of negative perceptions of refugees from Nicaragua to the Costa Rican press that influenced the rejection of these refugees based on a long history of conflicts. The study emphasized the power of the press, pinpointed the need for present resolutions of problems that arose from the past.

The depiction of Salvadoran refugees fleeing the civil war of 1980 to 1992 was the topic of a study by Dubois (2014) that investigated three major Canadian newspapers to examine this issue. Although refugees from El Salvador remained as a disparate minority group within Canada and never accorded full access, the study pinpointed the effect of time and numbers on the decline of exclusion discourse, granting more Salvadoran voices in Canadian print media. At first, the newspapers included both the governmental stance of the authority and the advocates of Salvadoran refugees, although the latter rarely expressed themselves in Canadian daily newspapers. It was on behalf of time and having a larger community that Salvadoran refugees started to gain publicity in newspapers that name and quote their opinions (pp. 109-110).

Mexican refugee applicants in Canada was studied by Gilbert (2013), who reviewed Windsor's newsprint articles in 2007 and 2008 and the viewpoints of its readers (p.827), to question the relationship between newsprint portrayals of Mexican refugee applicants and the following policy of Canadian government regarding Mexicans and refugee system (p.839). Three salient dialogues were found—illegality and fraud, financial costs of refugee services, and the obligation to impose governmental control (p.827). These discourses applied three rhetorical methods utilized by newspapers—mentioning numbers to associate refugees with threats (p.831), using lexicons or choosing certain words (p.833), and the reliance on experts to seem legit in the portrayal of refugees as a crisis (p.836).

## **b. According to countries of resettlement:**

### **Australia**

The issues of refugees and asylum seekers as portrayed in Australian media were analyzed by Hightower (2015), who pinpointed their representation in a situation of limbo, one term that refers to the hopeless condition when people cannot have access to the means that could make their lives better off (p.335). The limbo structure was found salient in the Australian media regardless of the side of the argument represented, as if it is inevitable. Therefore, the study emphasizes the need for portraying refugees as human beings, clarifying their rights, offering suggestions to overcome the limbo situation, and presenting information about whom to hold accountable for their situation (p.355).

McKay, Thomas, and Blood (2015) analyzed Australian press and online coverage of the exploded boat carrying 49 asylum seekers to the country in 2009, which was commonly known as SIEV 36 incident (p.607). Framing of asylum seekers was found to be generally negative, emphasizing the illegitimate arrival method and associating moral panic and social anxiety with asylum seekers. In addition, asylum seekers were framed in economic terms as opportunists who want to exploit Australia. Although Australian press reflected various viewpoints that no longer rely on governmental accounts, it presented explanations whenever they published a balanced coverage of the issue (p.623).

In a similar manner, Parker (2015) adopted a discursive psychological approach in his analysis of the repertoires found in Australian print media framing of refugees and asylum seekers. Although there was evidence that asylum seekers were framed as tragic figures (p.16), the main repertoire utilized metaphors to construct them as unwanted invaders, underpinning the necessity of preventing the entry of this group, through the implementation of stronger border controls (p.1).

The attributes of Australian and New Zealand print coverage of issues pertinent to refugees were assessed by Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Afsar, and Hodliffe (2011). News reporting in New Zealand was more balanced and compassionate than that of Australia. In the latter, refugees' issues were commonly framed in a political context that constitute negative depictions, particularly after 2001. Overall, Muslim refugees were depicted positively, in spite of some specific frames that could stir Australian public opinion against them (p.363).

The social categorization of people who seek asylum was examined by O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007), in reference to its role in creating attitudes and actions of marginalization towards asylum-seekers in Australia (p.1). This role was investigated through extracts and texts from Australian articles. Print media under investigation were found as means of legislation and presenting explanations for exclusionary actions against asylum-seekers, as well as promoting policies of mandatory detention (p.9). In other words, the repetitive use of constructive labels such as boat people or illegal immigrants socially categorize asylum seekers as unwelcomed arrivals, allowing for the social acceptance of any consequential actions towards them (p.10).

Similarly, Gale (2004) examined the Australian media discourse about refugees and asylum seekers, commonly referred to as boat people in Australia (p.321). Three salient themes were outlined, the first of which constructs Australia on the humanitarian level as a safe resort for refugees, who are framed as humans searching for a refuge. The second theme, in contrast, emphasizes the sovereignty of the western nation and its traditional Christian values, whereas refugees are stereotypically framed as the illegal other who does not share the same ethnicity or religion of Australia. The last theme is that of a multicultural Australia in the age of globalization, where the nation is obliged to accept the right of asylum as one of the human rights granted by the United Nations to the refugees (p.334).

## **Europe**

The current refugee crisis was examined by Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore (2015), as covered by the press of five European countries, namely, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden, in 2014 and 2015. The content analysis reflected the cross-national disparities between the five countries in reporting about the issue, where the most positive portrayals of refugees and migrants were found in Sweden. While Sweden, Spain, and Italy reflected a homogenous coverage of the issue, internal variations in reporting within the national press systems were found in Germany and the United Kingdom that reflected a trend of polarization (p.10). Few news reports tackled the preferable impacts that asylum seekers may have on the countries of resettlement, or addressed the resolution of the issues that drive the influx of refugees out of their home countries (p.12).

Another comparative analysis of press in the United Kingdom, France, and Italy was conducted by Caviedes (2015), who examined the framing of immigration. The least negative portrayal of asylum was found in Italy, as the Italian press balanced its coverage between humanitarian and monolithic depictions of refugees. In France, asylum was framed in the far right discourse that associates immigration with problems, while in the United Kingdom asylum seekers were framed in the press as economic burdens (p.910).

In Finland, Järvinen (2015) investigated the articles and photographs published in one Finnish newspaper in 2013 and 2014 to determine depictions of refugees and migrants crossing the Central Mediterranean. Results showed that mixed migrants were more commonly framed in securitized contexts (p.58), rather than humanitarian frames. This was achieved through non-identification, using metaphors, and reporting of deaths in numbers rather than human faces. In addition, asylum and migration were depicted negatively in Finnish print (p.59).

In Spain, the five most read daily newspapers were analyzed by Durán (2013), with reference to their discourse regarding Lampedusa crisis, or the incoming flow of people from North Africa following the Arab Spring in 2011. The comparative analysis showed that displaced incomers to Europe during Lampedusa crisis were framed as intruder immigrants, rather than being framed as asylum-seekers and refugees who are victims. This frame was dominant in the analysis regardless of the newspaper and the time period.

In Serbia, Volarević (2013) examined daily newspapers between 1996 and 2012 to quantitatively analyze the articles published about the issues of refugees and internally displaced persons, during 11 different intervals of time (p.33). It was found that the issues of refugees and the return of internally displaced persons were not tackled on a regular basis during different intervals, but the frequency was unbalanced, where the average rate of appearance of these articles is less than one article per issue (p.94).

In Malta, People for Change Foundation (2010) analyzed the coverage of asylum and migration within the Maltese television, radio, and print media, as the country witnessed since 2005 a flow of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa (p.7). The study warned from the consequences of the negative depictions of migrants, describing them in numbers not as humans, and confusing legal terminology with regard to asylum (pp.52-53).

In Hungary, Vicsek, Keszi & Márkus (2008) explored how the Hungarian press report on asylum seekers and refugees and their affairs, through a content analysis of two prominent daily newspapers in 2005 and 2006 (p.87). Their analysis showed the prevalence of the negative tone, where refugee issues were mostly relevant to conflicts and problems. Moreover, the theme of politics and law was salient in the articles, that is, reporting on political views or regulatory affairs was more common than humanitarian aspects (p.104).



In Luxembourg, Nickels (2007) examined framing of asylum discourse through the headline analysis of news coverage and frame analysis of political discourse (p.37). Four prevalent frames of refugees and asylum seekers were found in media, the first of which is humanitarian and is keen about human dignity that must be maintained and protected (p. 51). The second frame is the genuineness of asylum request. That is, political refugees were portrayed as genuine, whereas economic refugees were depicted as bogus, guilty and in relation to smugglers. The third frame is pertinent to a couple of administrative problems— asylum shopping and burden sharing, while the fourth frame is associated with the return home due to accommodation shortages (p.52).

In Slovenia, Pajnik (2007) examined the portrayal of refugees in Slovenian print media between 2003 and 2005, with regard to the refugees who fled the 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the analysis showed the recent emergence of new issues, framing refugees as a threat to the state continued to prevail. However, media reports began to include human interest stories that give refugees a voice and emphasize their personal issues, such as their search for employment.

In Ireland, Haynes, Breen, and Devereux (2005, p.109) presented a critical analysis of Irish tabloid and broadsheet print coverage of the issues relevant to asylum seekers in 2002. Five negative frames were found in the media discourse by which asylum seekers were depicted as criminals, contaminants, illegal strangers, threats to integrity, and economic burdens on the Irish state. The study attributed the racist trend among Irish citizens to these salient frames in print media.

In Scotland, the 2001 murder of an asylum seeker from Turkey in Glasgow was discussed by Coole (2002), in association with the press coverage in Scotland and the United Kingdom (p. 839). Before the murder, asylum seekers were portrayed as potential threats.

After the incident, United Kingdom press attacked the habitants of Sighthill area where the murder took place, accusing them of racism. Thus, Scottish newspapers started to offer recommendations to lessen tension and enhance relations with asylum seekers (pp.850-851).

In Wales, the press coverage of asylum seekers was analyzed by Speers (2001, p.41), who found that asylum seekers were marginalized in the coverage that were framed as official. Framing asylum seekers as an official issue is the result of journalistic preferences that tend to overlook pro-refugee groups, and to use governmental officials as sources and to feature them in photos. Asylum seekers and refugees were discussed in numbers, as an economic burden or a threat to the community, whilst the reasons behind their seeking refuge were oversimplified lacking sympathy or understanding.

In Netherlands, d'Haenens & de Lange (2001) studied the framing of asylum seekers in Dutch regional newspaper to come out with important results related to the study of news frames. Case in point, although the five news frames determined by the research literature were: conflict, responsibility, human interest, economic consequences, and morality, the latter was found unsupported by the study sample. The news reports about asylum seekers rarely defend values, promote moralities, reflect religious ideas, or include recommendations regarding preferable social behaviors (p.859).

### **United Kingdom**

In the United Kingdom, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) explored articles published in the British press between 1996 and 2005 through a corpus-based approach, in order to investigate the portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers. In general, the results pinpointed negative portrayals of these groups, as well as the inconsistency of their definitions in the media, in addition to the existence and promotion of terms that does not make sense, for instance, illegal refugee (p.5).

In a similar manner, Kaye (1998) examined the language of three broadsheet newspapers in the United Kingdom, namely, *the Times*, *the Guardian*, and *the Independent*, in order to determine how the press framed the refugee issues between 1990 and 1995. This analysis was concerned with how the press described the status of refugees, and whether they were framed as economically driven refugees (pp.168-169). Results indicated that the expression of economic migrants was used in about one third of the articles. Although referring to refugees by harmful expressions, such as bogus, were found in more than half of the study sample, 35% of the cases this language was used in the context criticizing this usage (pp.171-172).

With regard to a particular event, the portrayal of immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees in the British press was explored by Khosravini (2009) at the time of two different occasions: the 2005 British general election and the 1999 Balkan conflict (p.477). Negative portrayals of these groups in the British newspapers were found reliant on common topoi that entail numbers, danger, and threats to identity and values (pp.493-494). Liberal accounts were adopting a humanized approach and a set of diverse and ethical themes in reporting about refugees, whereas conservative reports, in contrast, rarely mention names or other traits of refugees, except in negative contexts and violence themes (p.493).

To examine the visual depiction of asylum seekers and refugees in the United Kingdom, Banks (2011) investigated nine prominent English national newspapers through both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods of content and imagery. Newsprint images, similar to news reporting, were found conducive to the process of delineating asylum seekers, and constituting them as a deviant and dangerous threat to the United Kingdom (p.298). It is through recurrent repetition that the threat creates a panic, and consequently, the panic becomes conducive to a policy resolution, merely based on exclusion (p.293).

Depiction of asylum seekers as a threat in the United Kingdom was examined by Innes (2010) in application to the British media narratives. The results of the study pinpointed three main aspects emphasized by the mass media and public discourse in the United Kingdom in depicting refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants. These three aspects or tiers include the portrayal of asylum seekers as a physical threat as a result of depicting them as criminals (p.464), the economic threat or the fear that they could prevent British citizens from welfare (p.467), and the threat to identity they pose as they live inside the British borders. The study contended that depicting asylum seekers as a collective threat to the United Kingdom did affect the public discourse, although the only common trait between all asylum seekers is that they were all individually threatened themselves (p.473).

In application to a specific media campaign, Matthews and Brown (2012) investigated one tabloid newspaper, namely, *the Sun*, and its news campaign on asylum and immigration in 2003. Findings showed how tabloid newspapers could frame campaigns in a way that counters official stances and forms hostile attitudes towards asylum and governmental policies. The campaign that depicted asylum seekers as others or folk devils could be considered as a case study on how print media negatively set the asylum agenda (p.802).

The expression of folk devils used to portray asylum seekers in the United Kingdom influenced Khan (2012) to question how people who seek asylum and refuge perceive this depictive role of media, with analysis of asylum as covered by the British press (pp.55-56). The study suggested an association between the coverage of asylum and the political stances of the newspapers regarding immigration. This divides British press into two sections, the first of which includes left-wing newspapers that frame asylum friendly as victims, such as *the Guardian*, in contrast to right-wing press against asylum, such as *the Sun*, which frames asylum seekers as the evil and the other (pp.80-81).

The analysis of repertoires in British press media presented by Parker (2015, p.16) found the portrayal of refugees as unwanted invaders to be the most frequent narrative in the press in the United Kingdom. This narrative was employed to imply a necessity of deporting refugees and asylum seekers out of the United Kingdom.

The narratives of asylum in the British press, as argued by Threadgold (2009), consistently reproduce the dominant theme of losing control of a threatening invasion, resulting in a very negative portrayal of immigration to the United Kingdom in the press during the period between 1999 and 2009.

In this sense, asylum seekers would be the scapegoats of the press coverage of asylum in the United Kingdom, as contended by Greenslade (2005), who argued that British newspapers appeal to racism and xenophobia among their readers. Therefore, influencing the mindset of the British audience is more important than changing the agenda of mass media regarding refugees. In addition, newspapers have to consider three aspects of professionalism—accuracy, balance, and responsibility; before expressing the concerns of its readers by disseminating messages that feed hostility among the public, while thinking they are acting on behalf of the readers (p.30).

### **North America**

Hickerson and Dunsmore (2016) conducted a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the press coverage of World Refugee Day in the United States, in order to decide the framing of refugees as individuals and as a part of an issue (p.1). Findings showed that print media did not frame refugees negatively, as they were quoted and featured in human interest stories. However, refugees were represented as a local issue, overlooking the push factors behind their arrival. This localized coverage ignored the international situation of refugees and focused on their present and future in the United States (pp.435-436).

Relevant to refugees in the United States press, Steimel (2010) explored prominent newspapers to investigate American human interest stories about refugees. The study showed a widely favorable image of refugees and their families in the print media, regardless of the economic hardships refugees face within their communities of resettlement. Three themes were present in depicting refugees in the press of the United States— as a victim of the past, as a seeker of the American Dream, and as unable to fulfill the American Dream (p.219).

Similarly, Voge (2011) analyzed metaphors utilized in reporting about refugees within American communities in newspaper articles published between 1993 and 2011 in certain cities with high population of refugees (p.12). The study showed a favorable image of refugees as well as their communities of resettlement, as the refugees were depicted as ready to constitute a part of the United States of America (pp.31-32).

In Canada, Bauder (2008) inspected articles relevant to immigration law in five major Canadian English-language daily newspapers in a topoi analysis, to find out that the humanitarian theme is consistent in the immigration discourse (p.296). Nonetheless, danger was the most recurrent theme in articles relative to refugees, ahead of the humanitarian, political, and economic themes, while culture was not among the top four (p.307).

The representation of refugees as dangerous in Canadian media could be seen as a part of a larger pattern that is not uncommon if compared to similar studies. Chan (2013) examined the image of immigrants in the Canadian criminal justice system through a critical analysis of news in two Canadian newspapers from 1990 to 2005. Four frames were salient in reporting on immigrants and refugees— illegal migrants, gang members, criminals, or war criminals (p.5), disregard of their situation in the criminal problem (p.44). The depiction of immigrants as criminals represented 95% of the news sample, while a percentage of only 2% was directed to portray immigrants who are victims of crimes (pp.18-19).

## **Malaysia**

In Malaysia, Don and Lee (2014) analyzed extracts of the perspectives and opinions of government officials and public leaders that were included in Malaysian news reports about refugees and asylum seekers between 2003 and 2012 (p.690). The results pinpointed a couple of contrasting portrayals for refugees, by which they were either portrayed as victims in need for help, or as problems that urge resolution (p.701). Political elites were often nominated with honoring titles or affiliation, and embraced the national discourse in framing of refugees as others (p.703). As the voices of refugees and their advocates were nonexistent, labeling refugees as outlaws or criminals justified taking defensive actions against them, such as deportation and detention (p.702).

Similarly, Lee and Don (2011) tracked the representations of asylum seekers and refugees at the time of two refugees swap deals with Australia and Myanmar in 2011, through a critical discourse analysis of voices reported in Malaysian mainstream and alternative newspapers (p.1). Although refugees and asylum seekers were not much quoted, the press was found inclusive of different opinions about refugees and asylum seekers. The official stance was not absolutely dominant, but opposition voices were existent in both of alternative and mainstream press, where writers and readers were also given a space to differ (p.8).

In relation to the 2011 refugee swap deal between Australia and Malaysia that did not take place, Bolte and Keong (2014, p.93) analyzed the media coverage of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants, in the news reports of three English online Malaysian newspapers. The political stance of the newspapers was found as conducive to its media coverage. This print coverage entailed three common frames, the first of which is concerned about the protection of refugees, where the second frame tackled trafficking and smuggling, whilst the third frame was pertinent to national security.

## **B. Framing of Arabs in Western Media**

The research scope that focuses on the framing of Arabs in global media has its roots in literature long time before ISIS and September 11. Nonetheless, most of the studies did not study the Western media image of Arabs separately, but studied the image of Arabs and Muslims as a whole, and so did this section of literature review. Western misrepresentation of Arabs was discussed by Ridouani (2011, p.1), who contended that stereotyping Arabs is not a recent trend, but rather an old tradition that could be traced back to the earliest interactions between Arabs and Westerners; when Arabs entered Europe, or since Crusade Wars.

The distorted image of Arabs in the West could be traced back to the medieval ages, as pinpointed by Al-Olaqi (2012), who studied the English medieval literary portrayals of Arabs. That is, Arabs were portrayed as lustful, filthy, weak, or tyrant, whereas Arab women were depicted as immoral. In the Modern English literature, Arabs were mostly depicted as a threat to the West, in association with Islam.

In the field of media, and according to Hamada (2001, p.32), the Western journalists were found to have negative stereotypes, which help the formation of false, biased, and distorted images of Arabs and Muslims (p.32). Consequently, the negative frames of Arabs and Muslims disseminated by the media help sustain a set of negative perceptions and aggressive attitudes towards these groups in the West. It is no surprise that media stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims were the subject of a considerable number of media studies.

Filmmakers since 1896 were depicting Arabs negatively, especially in American movies, according to Shaheen (2003). Arabs in Hollywood were depicted either as different or as a threat, portrayed in the characters of religious fanatics, heartless murderers, brutal rapists, and women abusers (p.172), whereas Arab women were showed as humiliated slaves, demonized maidens, and erotic belly dancers in everlasting Arabian nights (p.183).



The stereotypical representation of Arabs and Arab Americans in Hollywood films between 1994 and 2000 was the topic of a qualitative study conducted by Elayan (2005). The results reflected that Arabs and Arab Americans were portrayed negatively in popular movies. The personal traits most depicted in the Arab and Arab American movie characters were negative too, that is, they were either portrayed as hostile, aggressive, or in association with terrorism, as well as acting natively, and speaking with an accent (p.2).

After September 11, the association between Arabs and terrorism became persistent. Dana (2009) questioned if Hollywood films portrayed characters from Middle East after September 11 different than before (p.6), and the study found they were portrayed as less intelligent and as more likely to commit terrorist attacks than before September 11 (p.21).

The image of Arab Americans in the newspapers of the United States, five years before and five years after September 11, were questioned by Parker (2008) who analyzed the articles pertinent to them in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *USA Today*. Between 1996 and 2006, Arab Americans were more commonly portrayed as out-group members, rather than as in-group members or victims. Surprisingly, in the year following September 11, the journalists were cautious in portraying Arab Americans as out-group members, and there was a vast increase in the amount of articles depicting them as victims. However, this phenomenon could only be related to the increase of violence crimes against people of Arab origins after the terror attacks (pp.67-68).

Frames used by the American news coverage of September 11 were analyzed by Ibrahim (2003, pp.200-201), who found two types of frames. The first of which portrayed Muslims outside the United States as a threat to the country, for their being angry, irrational, and violent. By contrast, the second frame portrayed Muslims inside the United States as an integral part of the country, following a peaceful mainstream version of the religion of Islam.

Portraying Arabs and Muslims as a possible threat did not result from media portrayals alone, but was thought to be influenced by the political leadership of the United States and its war against terrorism. Merskin (2004) conducted a textual analysis of the public statements made by the President George W. Bush and his political rhetoric speeches to the nation following September 11, to spot the dependency on preexistent stereotypes that portrayed Arabs as terrorists, helping constructing an image of enemy that violate human rights of Arabs and American citizens (p.157). It is in that sense that the political speeches affect and get affected by the stereotypes of Arabs in the American media.

In an extended study conducted by a group of researchers, a total of 19 newspapers from different cities inside the United States were scrutinized, in order to determine their coverage of Islam in the year following September 11 and highlight the links between news frames and the characteristics of each city. This community structure research approach found that different city characteristics could have a negative impact on the newsprint coverage of Islam, such as the percentage of Arabic-speaking people, or the percentage of citizens who were born outside the borders of the United States. Nevertheless, most of the cities presented neutral to positive coverage of Islam (Pollock, Piccillo, Leopardi, Gratale, & Cabot, 2005, p.15).

On the topic of the media in and after September 11, Kellner (2007, p.142) wrote a review essay to eight books. The conclusion emphasizes how necessary is it for Western media to abolish the stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims in its production, in addition to giving more time and space for Arab and Muslim voices, allowing for real and informed dialogue. These concluding remarks take into consideration the precedent dominance of Western media on the global field of media, a dominance that was recently threatened by the emergence of modern Arab media that could play a role in a better understanding of Arabs and Muslims.

Framing of Muslims in the West, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, was discussed by Morey and Yaqin (2011), in terms of contemporary stereotyping and cultural representations after September 11. Following the attacks, variable media responses have been influenced by the governmental sentiments, cues, and themes of the war on terror. Television programs in the United States that used to have one domestic and localized media agenda for ages were forced to exert genuine efforts in order to explore the Muslim world; however, this naïve exploration covered Islam in security terms, as a threat to the strategic interests of the United States (p.214). Similarly, the media agenda in the United Kingdom is influenced by national security agendas, opening the door to more alienation and injustice. Hence, the only way for Muslims to walk out of this frame is on behalf of politicians, only if they believe in the importance of addressing all the social, economic, and political factors that have created the frame (p.215)

Two American newspapers, namely, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Times*, were examined by Schönemann (2013), who analyzed their coverage of two topics— the veiling costume of Muslim women, and the cartoon controversy of the Prophet Muhammad, in order to determine the stereotypes in the American media. The results of analysis showed that the most of news stories were negative. In addition, there was a pattern of generalization in the coverage of Islam and Muslims that prevailed over individual frames, allowing for the labeling of all Muslims as a unified community with similar ideologies and characteristics (p.93). The study could not conclude that all media portrayals of Muslims are stereotypical or negative; however, a tendency towards stereotyping was found and is believed to be affected by different events and factors (p.91). The certain stereotypes that were found in the coverage show that the prejudice against Muslims is existent, and the American media either construct Arabs and Muslims as enemies, or as alien strangers (p.94).

In a similar manner, two international news magazines, namely, *TIME* from the United States, and *The Economist* from the United Kingdom, were examined after the death of Osama Bin Laden, by Yusof, Hassan, Hassan, and Osman (2013), who conducted a content analysis of the news articles published about Islam, along with a discourse analysis that extracted their dominant themes (p.104). The study concluded that the international media is not yet neutral towards Islam, allowing for a negative perception of Islam, even after the death of Bin Laden (p.119).

On the contrary, Alsultany (2013, p.161) highlighted some positive representations of Arabs and Muslims after September 11 in the American media, including Hollywood films, television dramas, and news reports between 2001 and 2009. Nonetheless, these sympathetic depictions were not in accordance with the attitudes of Americans towards Arabs on the ground, as they faced discrimination at work, for example.

An explanation of the sympathized portrayals of Muslims after September 11 could be extracted from a study by Smith (2013), who analyzed the anti-Islamic sentiment of the media in the United States after September 11 and its effects on the public opinion of Americans during a whole decade. The study pinpointed an interesting inverse correlation, by which the Americans were at their most favorable attitude towards Islam directly in the wake of the attacks, an attitude that later tend to become negative, despite the reduced threat (p.1). This interesting finding was attributed to the role of media framing, particularly to the immediate political and media efforts exerted to frame Islam positively in order to face possible discrimination. Later, the framing of Muslims in media entailed the negative depictions of the terrorists behind the attacks; thus the public opinion about Islam in the United States shifted towards negativity (p.7).

Representations of migrants and minorities in media were discussed by Bleich, Bloemraad, & de Graauw (2015), who highlighted the national disparities and differences in the coverage of migrants and their issues, calling for further explanations of this phenomenon. However, they contended that the empirical effect of securitizing immigration and portraying Muslims negatively does not exceed the spread of fear (p.868).

The extent to which stereotypes could affect the perceptions and attitudes of people toward Arabs was studied by Saleem and Anderson (2013, p.84), who conducted an experiment to measure the impacts of a stereotypic video game on college students in the United States. Interestingly, the study reflected the presence of an association between Arabs and terrorism in the perception of the participants, as terrorism videogames could increase negative attitudes toward Arabs, even if no Arab characters appear in the videogame. In general, the stereotypic videogames could prime aggressive perceptions of the stereotyped group, especially in videogames that are based on violent contexts and terrorism themes, rather than non-violent contexts.

The psychological effects of biased representations and discriminatory portrayals of the Arab-Muslim community were examined by Hamza, Yaseen, El-Houbi, Duncan, and Diaz (2009), who conducted a survey on Americans, in order to measure the attitudes towards Muslim and Arab Americans and its effects on their psyche (p.18). The findings showed the presence of biased attitudes and behaviors against Arab and Muslim Americans. The awareness of existent bias was not found to be associated with any behavior that could mitigate bias effects. Despite the fact that more than half of the respondents were aware of the media bias against Arabs and Muslims, more than 75% showed no intent to change the station. The study contended the importance of education and knowledge in mitigating the media effects of bias towards Arab and Muslim Americans (p.29).

The educational implications of the negative images of Islam in the United States were studied by Jackson (2010, pp.21-22), who contended that the students in the United States will eventually learn to label Muslims as terrorists, even if the media do not teach them to do so. This contention is based on the argument that the negative stereotypes of Muslims appear to be accepted in the media. The media in the United States, which seemed to lack the ability of expressing the diversity of the community worldwide, accept the negative narratives of Muslims as violent, irrational, and a part of a conflict.

The research concern about framing of Arabs and Muslims after September 11 was not exclusive to the United States but extended to other countries. Canadian mainstream media after the attacks was examined by Ismael and Measor (2003, pp.101-102), in order to pinpoint the major themes in the news coverage of the Middle East. Canadian news reports on the Middle East were found to be inspired by cultural values, personal beliefs, institutional interests; rather than being based on neutral accounts of realities and facts.

Canadian print news coverage of the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, particularly headlines, were analyzed by Steuter and Wills (2009), who found a trend of dehumanization, apparent in using animal metaphors to frame Arabs and Muslims, whether enemy leaders or citizens. In so doing, Canadian media frames could justify abuse of prisoners, racism, and genocide (p.7). Examples on these metaphors include using hunted preys to refer to captured enemies, whereas caging refers to their imprisonment (p.9).

Australian news framing of Arabs and Muslims before and after September 11 was analyzed by Manning (2003), applying on two prominent daily newspapers in Sydney. The study found a consistent perspective conforming to the Western view of the Orient as described by Edward Said. Arabs were framed as violent and threatening, whereas the peak issues were asylum seekers, Lebanese rape trials, and Palestinian Israeli conflict (pp.68-69).

Still in Australia, the news reports on Muslims and Islam were analyzed by Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005), who examined two Australian mainstream newspapers, namely, *The Age* and *Herald Sun*, since the time of attacks until the end of 2004. The study that aimed to understand how the Australian print media frame Islam and Muslims concluded that the depictions of Muslims and Islam were not free of problems. However, this cannot be solely attributed to the editorial decisions or the formulation of news stories, but mostly to the nature of the news stories that focused on conflict, war, and terrorism. Therefore, the positive frames were existent in the cases when the personal narratives of ordinary Muslim Australians were published, which could overcome any psychological barriers towards Muslims (pp.36-37).

Australian national broadsheet and tabloid newspapers were examined by Foster, Cook, Barter-Godfrey, and Furneaux (2011), in particular focus on how Arab and Muslim Australians were represented in the press (p.621). The discourses employed to discuss them were found to be reliant on a language that emphasizes the disparities between the Australian national identity and the other, in addition to reproducing a stereotypical definition of the identities of Arabs and Muslims (p.627).

The representation of Arabs and Muslims in Western media was questioned by Ridouani (2011), who argued that the American view of Muslims as a threat accords to that of the Europeans, where the West is considered as having the authentic right to defend itself by all economic, military, and cultural means (p.2). One cultural defense is stereotyping Arabs, by distorting Islamic terminologies and Arab costumes, in addition to portraying Arab men as uncivilized and Arab women as harem maidens and belly dancers (p.4). In addition, distorted facts of the Arab-Israeli conflict and associating Arabs with terrorism, all turn Arabs into what is called as social scapegoats of the West (pp.10-11).

Some views may contend that the negative nature of the news about Arabs and its associations with terrorism is the factor responsible for their negative portrayals in media. This contention was found unsupported when Powell (2011) examined the news coverage of a series of terror events that the United States witnessed after September 11 and were not completed, to find out the salience of a thematic frame by which the triangle of Muslims, Arabs, and Islam was constructed as the threat to the United States. That is, there was a dominant fear of international terrorism as a part of an organized war of Islam on the United States. In contrast, domestic terrorism was framed episodically as a milder form of a threat, taking place in individual occasions (p.90). Powell developed a model of terrorism, reflecting how this news coverage enhanced Islamophobia among American citizens (p.106).

Other views may contend that the news coverage in the West may not be neutral towards religion in general. These views were not found unsupported when Dahinden, Koch, Wyss, and Keel (2011) investigated the Swiss media, not only with the aim to determine how Islam was represented, but to examine the representations of Christianity and other religions as well. This aim was achieved through analyzing different news formats in print, radio, and broadcast media, in addition to conducting interviews with journalists and religious figures (pp.197-198). The analysis of the stereotypes associated with various religions reflected the negative portrayal of Islam and its followers; in contrast to the positive archetypes of Christianity and Buddhism, or the victim depiction of Judaism. Regarding the frames, Islam was rarely portrayed as a religion through focusing on its rituals and beliefs, but was depicted mostly as a political group (p.203).

This section highlighted how Arabs were framed negatively in Western media, with particular focus on the United States. The review of around 27 studies added to this study that investigates the framing of Arab refugees in one American news network, namely, CNN.



The extensive literature review that included more than 90 scholarly studies about the images of refugees and the portrayals of Arabs in the media helped the researcher to decide the categories of content analysis that would be under investigation in relation to the image of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the global media.

Similar to the methodology of a study of d'Haenens & de Lange (2001) on asylum seekers in Dutch media, this study measured the existence of the five news frames as inducted by the well-known study of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), but in application to the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the media.

Examining the proportion of humanitarian frames versus security frames of refugees in the media was the benefit of reviewing earlier studies, such as Järvinen (2015), Turbay (2015), Bardimore and Bauder (2011), and Nickels (2007). Other studies measured whether refugees were framed as threats or as victims, such as Durán (2013) and Mannik (2013). Therefore, this study entailed the dichotomy of humanitarian and security frames in the design of the coding sheet, asking whether refugees were framed as victims or as threats.

Analyzing the images of Arab refugees and asylum seekers was influenced by the studies of van Schaik (2015), Banks (2011), Wright (2004), and Wright (2002). Similarly, the existence of quotes by refugees in the media coverage was questioned by earlier studies about refugees, such as Dubois (2014), Don and Lee (2014), and Don (2011). This study examined both of the quotes and the photos of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the media, in addition to assessing the extent of neutrality in these photos and quotes.

Finally, this study measured the proportion of thematic frames and episodic frames as clarified earlier by Iyengar (1990) in the news coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. In so doing, this study is presenting a new application of news framing to the topic of the refugees and asylum seekers in the media.

## **Chapter III: Theoretical Framework**

### **A. Framing Theory**

A study aimed at investigating the framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in global news shall build up its theoretical basis on the framing theory, one of the well-known mass communication theories that study news, in particular, the frames that constitute them.

The core idea of framing is related to the impact of how something is framed on the way an individual perceives, interprets, or understands it. In mass communication field, different actors participate in the process of framing, including journalists, photographers, producers, editors, and sponsors. Their journalistic selections and choices develop the frame for the information that reaches the audience at the end, potentially causing a framing effect.

The effects of framing represent a cross-disciplinary approach to research, originally rooted in different branches of human knowledge other than mass media studies, such as sociology and psychology. In particular, the roots of framing theory are commonly attributed to the early works of the American sociologist Erving Goffman (1974), or what he called frame analysis, and how individuals organize their experiences.

It was contended by Goffman (1974) that individuals create a manufactured reality, or an aggregate corpus of all what they have heard, learnt, experimented, or even imagined. According to which, they tend to adopt a frame-relevant view of the world, inspired by their human instinct that fits to confirm with their understandings and analysis (p.563). In so doing, humans by nature reduce the complexity of surroundings using their own frames, which help them comprehend and interpret the world in a more simplified manner. This sociological understanding of frame analysis was the first factor that paved the way to the conceptualization of the framing theory in mass communication research.

The second factor that contributed to the development of framing as a theory of mass media effects was the evolution of other relevant communication theories, in particular, agenda-setting. This theory was based on the works of McCombs and Shaw (1972) during 1968 presidential elections in the United States. After which, the research of agenda-setting passed through different stages, which were categorized by McCombs (2005, p.544) as five active fields of research rather than historical stages— basic agenda-setting effects, attribute agenda-setting effects, psychology of effects, sources of the media agenda, and consequences of the media agenda.

It is worth noting that attribute agenda-setting is the field of research that emerged in the 1990s and had many linkages with framing research and its development. In fact, framing theory was connected to agenda-setting when McCombs and Shaw (1993) highlighted the evidence that framing a certain object on the agenda can impact behaviors and direct public opinion (p.63). It is in that sense that agenda-setting surpassed the basic effects of what issues people think about, to how people think about issues; through the selection of both of objects and frames (p.62).

There are existing similarities between framing theory and attribute agenda-setting. Both are concerned with the study of media content and its effects on the audience, as well as the process by which communicators portray issues and share views with the audience, in addition to emphasizing the importance of specific attributes or frames in media content (Ghanem, McCombs, & Chernov, 2009, p.519).

On one hand, similarities between second level agenda-setting and framing led some media researchers to embrace the thought that both are similar (Borah, 2011, p.256). Case in point, McCombs (2005, p.546) contended that it is at this point when certain attributes or frames affect how people think, framing and attribute agenda-setting do converge.

On the other hand, there were communication researchers who drew straightforward distinctions between framing and attribute agenda-setting regardless of their resemblances; as they considered them to be two distinct processes, due to cognitive and psychological disparities. One of the important distinctions between framing and attribute agenda-setting was presented by Takeshita (2006) who argues that agenda-setting in general is theoretically about cognitive effects, while framing process have different and various effects (p.281). Accordingly, Weaver (2007, p.146) argued that framing encompasses a wider array of cognitive processes than that of attribute agenda-setting, such as causal responsibility, moral judgment, and problem resolution, whereas second-level agenda setting is only about the salience of specific attributes.

Another essential distinction between agenda-setting and framing is situated in the psychological models of accessibility and applicability. Accessibility is the memory-based effect when a perception of salience is present due to media coverage, as in the case of attribute agenda-setting; whereas applicability effect of framing takes place as a result of how applicable a frame is to a specific concept (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2011, pp.12-13). In other words, applicability is when a news message recommends a link between two concepts, such as tax rates and unemployment, so that audiences believe after exposure to the message that this link is existent (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.15), which is a framing effect.

This distinction between accessibility and applicability model is crucial for comprehending differences between agenda-setting and framing. The accessibility effects of agenda-setting could be universal among different sectors of population, as simple exposure increases the salience of a topic among all readers. This is contra applicability effects that are mainly controlled by individual schemas and prior knowledge that decide what frame will work (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p.13).

Bearing in mind the distinctions and similarities between framing and agenda-setting, describing the relationship between both processes could be controversial. One precise explanation of this relationship could suggest that they are two distinct and parallel processes, but the process of framing could allow for the other process of agenda-setting to happen by creating appropriate conditions (Kalvas, Váně, Štípková, & Kreidl, 2011). This negates the presence of a direct cause-and-effect, but associates both concepts together.

Along these lines, Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson (1997) argued that framing is also different than changing beliefs and classical persuasion (p.229), as framing is not adding new beliefs regarding any issue, but is only about the psychological activation of the current beliefs and perceptions individuals possess. That is, framing effects on public opinion are implicit and often unintended; and are the outcome of influencing individual understanding of central aspects of any issue, rather than direct persuasion (p.236). Similarly, Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009, p.20) emphasized the same disparity between persuasion and framing as two different processes with two different types of effects, because persuasion produces attitudinal effects, while framing affects interpretation.

There is a substantial evidence for the popularity of framing theory among other communication theories. This evidence was presented by a network analysis that investigated the academic literature to end up finding that framing theory is the most-cited theory. Moreover, it has the highest number of direct associations with other theories, in addition to ranking first in both of the closeness to other theories, and the ability to mediate between them (Chung, Barnett, Kim, & Lackaff, 2013, p.992). Despite this popularity in academic literature, framing theory is claimed to be controversially ambiguous now than ever, as a result of its overlap with other conceptual models such as agenda-setting, and the inconsistent operational definitions of framing and frames (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p.8).

The concept of framing in mass communication research is not consistent, yet there are main characteristics and aspects that are usually present in each definition, such as constructing framing as a process. As de Vreese (2005, p.51) contended, the essence of framing concept is its being a dynamic process, rather than a static process of communication.

According to Entman (1993, p.52), selection and salience are two essential components of this framing process, where certain aspects of the reality are selected and made salient in the message, so that it defines problems, suggests causes, recommends remedies, or judges in moral terms.

The process of framing consist of psychological mechanisms that are explained by Chong and Druckman (2007), and begin with individuals importing available opinions from memorized beliefs, where some beliefs are more accessible at a certain time, and some of those accessible beliefs are stronger than others due to relevancy and applicability (p.111), hence, framing is the process where individuals change their perspective or accept a certain perception of an issue (p.104).

This variety of framing definitions could be attributed to the attraction of this research field and its cross-disciplinary origins, which emphasizes the need for studies that do not only investigate framing effects in different forms of mass media, but also work on theory development and a broader understanding of framing concept (Borah, 2011, p.275).

Two types of framing studies were differentiated by de Vreese (2005, pp.51-52), the first of which is called *frame-building*, and is dedicated to examine how frames emerge as dependent variables, whereas the second type is entitled *frame-setting*, and focuses on the interaction between individuals and media frames that are studied as independent variables.

In addition to *frame-building* and *frame-setting*, Scheufele (1999, p.103) developed his framing model with two other operations: *individual frames*, and *feedback* senders get from receivers. This, he presented a quartet of principal processes that should be taking into academic consideration.

In another typology, D'Angelo (2002) argued there are three paradigms of framing research—*constructionist*, *critical*, and *cognitive* (p.870). The constructionist paradigm emphasizes the interaction between journalists and frames. This interaction is of two-way, as media professionals not only influence but also get influenced by the frames they select and use unconsciously, due to different internal and external factors (Van Gorp, 2007, p.67).

The critical paradigm shares with the constructionist paradigm its social essence and the cultural and political understanding of news frames, but focuses on the latter as the result of the interaction between journalistic traditions and the dominant principles of the elites. Finally, the cognitive paradigm mainly concentrates on framing effects as the outcome of the negotiation process between the current knowledge of the audience and the media frames (Baresch, Hsu & Reese, 2012, p. 639).

A paradigm shift is believed to be needed in order to overcome the confusion surrounding the status quo of framing research. This shift could be achieved through several steps, the first of which is adopting a more rigid definition of framing, which excludes textual frames and other informational features of the message, and focuses solely on visual and nonverbal features. The second step is admitting the importance of the mechanisms behind the framing process by paying attention to theoretical basis of framing and its historical underpinnings (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p.15). Furthermore, the technological advances and the rise of social networks should urge researchers to change their thinking about traditional models of media effects (p.17).

## B. News Frames

Two main types of news frames were agreed upon by different academic researchers of framing, as they distinguished between news frames based on the amount of information the content of each article would bear. However, there was an inconsistency in the terms given for these two types so that they varied from one researcher to another.

First of all, Iyengar (1990, p.22) differentiated between two types of news frames, namely, *episodic* and *thematic* frames. Episodic frames cover news in personal terms, through providing specific cases, individual accounts, and personal experiences. For example, a news article would episodically discuss poverty through featuring a poor family. In contrast, thematic frames include information relevant to the broader scope or the general trend; such as tackling poverty by presenting statistics about poor cities and governmental initiatives to mitigate poverty effects.

Similarly, de Vreese (2003, p.28) made a distinction between *issue-specific* frames and *generic* frames. As its name suggests, an issue-specific frame is pertinent to particular news events, allowing for an in-depth and detailed analysis of certain events, however, this analysis is difficult to generalize in theory building. In contrast, a generic frame could refer to different topics in various cultural contexts and different periods of time, thus, allowing for generalization of results.

A similar distinction was presented by Scheufele (2004), who differentiated between *formal abstract* frames, and *content-related* frames, whereas the first do not refer to content but only to a formal principle (p.412), the latter could bear a meaning. That is, abstract frames would only discuss the episode, or the event, in covering a terror attack, whereas content-related frames would tackle the issue of Middle East (p.414).



Both of inductive and deductive approaches could be utilized for the content analysis of news frames. The inductive approach often analyzes small samples of news articles, based on very general guidelines, with the aim to extract possible frames of the news coverage, however, it is labor intensive and difficult to replicate. In contrast, the deductive approach is replicable and suitable for large samples; as it defines particular frames and measures their number of occurrences in news articles, with the aim to spot differences between different mediums of mass media and forms of content (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, pp.94-95).

This study adopted the deductive approach, by investigating the literature, in order to predefine an appropriate set of news frames, such as thematic and episodic frames, before measuring the frequency by which each frame is present in different news articles that cover the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers.

Earlier framing studies will be used as a reference for predefining the news frames used in the coding sheet. One study is by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, pp.95-96), who identified five news frames of conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility. Conflict entails a conflict between parties, while human interest frame depends on emotions to attract interest, whereas morality puts the issue in religious and ethical context. Economic consequences pertains to the economic impact the issue covered would have, while responsibility frame is about ascribing its cause or resolution to particular groups. Another study by d'Haenens & de Lange (2001) applied these five news frames on the specific topic of news coverage of refugees, similar to this study. However, the morality frame was found unsupported by their sample (p.859).

Therefore, this study aims to replicate on earlier studies, to determine whether the frames of reporting on refugees are thematic or episodic, as well as to decide the most salient frame between conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility.

## **Chapter IV: Methodology**

### **A. Method**

This study was conducted using a quantitative content analysis method, by which a sample of news stories was collected and analyzed with the aim to determine how global news frame Arab Refugees and asylum seekers in their coverage. The content analysis was conducted in the light of its definition set by Kerlinger (1973, p.525), in a systematic manner that relies on consistent rules to study units objectively in order to reach quantitative results that bear a statistical meaning.

To represent global news, one leading international news network, CNN, was chosen based on its prominent popularity worldwide. The international edition of CNN on its official website [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com) was searched for news stories relevant to Arab refugees and asylum seekers; by typing “refugee” in the embedded search engine. News stories were considered in the sample only if they regarded Arab citizens who seek refuge or asylum, which excludes news stories about any refugees from any other nationalities.

For the purpose of this study, refugees who have any of the Arab nationalities were considered Arabs, regardless of their ethnicity or native language. This is to avoid confusion in literature review and lessen the degree of complexity of content analysis. For example, it is quite impossible to differentiate between Arab and Kurdish refugees in a text that refers to them all as Iraqis.

The selection of articles was set to be limited to news stories published within a definite period of time. This period of time covered a whole month, from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 to January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2016. The unit of analysis was the news story published in CNN online official website, and the coding categories covered textual and imagery items in each article.

The study aims to answer one research question of how Arab refugees and asylum seekers were framed in news stories published on CNN website?; as well as to test one research hypothesis that expects thematic frames to be more common than episodic frames.

The research tool for the quantitative content analysis was a coding sheet that entails various questions that investigate on a quantitative level of measurement the global news framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. In this coding sheet, the section that decides the type of news frames consists of 20 Yes or No questions that were designed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p.100), in their frequently-cited study on news frames.

## **B. Research Questions**

This study has one main research question:

RQ: How Arab refugees and asylum seekers were framed in news stories published on CNN website?

This research question was answered through deciding which type of the five news frames, formerly presented by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), was salient in the news stories published on CNN website regarding Arab refugees and asylum seekers. These five news frames are attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic consequences. Each frame has different aspects that were quantitatively measured to determine which aspect was frequent in framing Arab refugees and asylum seekers.

The textual and imagery content of news articles was analyzed, in order to highlight how quotes and photos framed Arab refugees and asylum seekers. The existence of quotes said by or about Arab refugees and asylum seekers was questioned, and the inclusion of photos that feature Arab refugees and asylum seekers were investigated in every news article. Moreover, the content analysis decided whether Arab refugees and asylum seekers were

framed in humanitarian or security terms, or in other words, whether Arab refugees were portrayed as potential threats or as victims. Finally, the general or overall portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in each news story was assessed.

### **C. Research Hypothesis**

This study has one main research hypothesis:

RH: Thematic frames were more common than episodic news frames in framing Arab refugees and asylum seekers in news stories published on CNN website.

This hypothesis is influenced by one well-known study conducted by Iyengar (1990), in application to American television news broadcasts and its coverage of the issue of poverty in the United States. Episodic frames were found to be more common than thematic frames, causing a less proper understanding of the issue due to the individualized pattern of coverage. Therefore, Iyengar's study pinpointed the significance of thematic frames in covering social issues and problems.

The importance of thematic frames in understanding political and social problems as argued by Iyengar (1990) was not denied by Houston, Chao, and Ragan (2008, p.217) on their study of SARS outbreak. However, they considered episodic frames as being more useful in reflecting the seriousness of a problem and creating empathy with victims.

To test the hypothesis of this study, the content analysis determined the percentages of thematic and episodic frames in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. This study is not concerned with measuring the effects of thematic and episodic framing on the audience, but to only highlight examples on thematic and episodic frames employed in the coverage, in order to provide a better understanding of their contexts and uses in the global news coverage.

## **D. Sampling**

Given the time limitations of this study, the selection of news stories was limited to one news network, which is Cable News Network, or CNN. This specific network was chosen as the sample due to two reasons, the first of which is its prominence as one leading English-speaking global news outlet. The second reason is its nationality, as there are already numbers of Arab citizens who sought asylum and refuge in the United States, thus, the refugee crisis is present on the news agenda of the network.

The sample of news articles was set to be within a time period of a whole month, from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 to January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2016. This time frame was purposively chosen because it witnessed a series of events that involved Arab refugees and asylum seekers. One of these events happened in Germany, when Arab asylum seekers were charged of Cologne mob sex assaults that took place in the city of Cologne on the New Year's Eve. Another event took place in Turkey, when a Syrian suicide bomber who was registered as a refugee, killed ten Germans in Istanbul.

In the United States, January witnessed a vote on a bill that caused debate between Democrats and Republicans after being presented to the Senate. This bill that was blocked by the vote of Democrats was trying to ban the entry of refugees from Syria and Iraq into the United States, unless they have been granted security certificate. These events, to name a few, gave January its significance as a suitable time period for the study.

Articles were drawn from the international edition of CNN website, by entering the keyword "refugee" on the embedded search engine of the website. This search yielded 111 news stories published during January. Irrelevant articles about refugees from other nationalities and regions, such as North Korea and Central America, were excluded. Thus, the sample of this study consists of a total of 60 relevant articles.

## **E. Operational Definitions**

Arab: One who is a citizen of any of the 22 Arabic-speaking states, which are members of the League of Arab States. This study will use the term Arab to refer to all citizens of these 22 Arab countries, regardless of their native language or ethnicity.

Refugee: “a person who cannot return to his/her country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of persecution or serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom” (UNHCR, 2011, p.413).

Asylum Seeker: “an individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum-seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on” (UNHCR, 2011, p.407).

## **F. Inter-coder Reliability**

The content analysis process was conducted by two coders— the researcher in addition to another graduate student who was trained on coding decisions through a number of news stories relevant to Arab refugees from CNN website during February, which is a different month than the time period of the study sample.

Afterwards, the full percentage of the coding units (N=60) were analyzed by the researcher and overlapped by the second coder, in order to provide an inter-coder reliability for the quantitative content analysis.

Using the Holsti (1969) formula ( $R = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$ ), inter-coder reliability was calculated, where M is the number of coding choices agreed upon by the two coders, N1 is the total quantity of coding decisions taken by the first coder, and N2 is the sum of coding choices made by the second coder.

To avoid the inflation of reliability, the variables of article title and article date were excluded, in addition to omitting news stories that do not include any photos or quotes about Arab refugees from the set of coding decisions agreed upon in the framing of refugees in quotes and photos.

**Table 1: Inter-coder Reliability**

	<b>Inter-coder Reliability</b>
<b>Responsibility</b>	0.94
<b>Human Interest</b>	0.92
<b>Conflict</b>	0.92
<b>Morality</b>	0.93
<b>Economic Consequences</b>	0.92
<b>Episodic/Thematic</b>	0.95
<b>Humanity/Security</b>	0.91
<b>Quotes by Refugees</b>	1.00
<b>Quotes about Refugees</b>	1.00
<b>Framing in Quotes (N=43)</b>	0.88
<b>Photos of Refugees</b>	1.00
<b>Framing in Photos (N=22)</b>	0.86
<b>General Portrayal</b>	0.91
<b>Overall</b>	0.93

The inter-coder reliability for individual items ranged between 0.88 and 1, where the overall inter-coder reliability of the whole content analysis was found to be 0.93. These scores imply that the results of the coding process are reliable, as they reflected high levels of agreement on coding decisions.

## Chapter V: Results

### A. Data Results

Assigning 1 for every Yes and 0 for every No in the 20 questions compiled by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), similar to what they did in their study, will create one score for every item or frame aspect. Averaging these scores will form one multi-item scale for each frame, with a mean score between 0 (frame absent) to 1 (frame present). The higher the score, the more visible is the frame in the coverage of Arab refugees.

The average multi-item score for the frame of responsibility (0.39) indicates it was the most common frame among the five types of news frames. The summative mean scores for the two frames of human interest (0.34) and conflict (0.32) indicates that these frames were existent and used frequently in the whole sample of the study. The average scores for the frames of economic consequences (0.17) and morality (0.12) indicate they were employed significantly less often than the rest of the frames in framing the issues of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. It can be concluded that there was an evidence for the five news frames in the sample of the study (N=60), although this evidence was little in the frames of economic consequences and morality ( $0.1 < M < 0.2$ ).

**Table 2: Average Scores of the Visibility of News Frames**

Type of News Frame	Scale Average
<b>Responsibility</b>	0.39
<b>Human Interest</b>	0.34
<b>Conflict</b>	0.32
<b>Morality</b>	0.12
<b>Economic Consequences</b>	0.17



**Table 3: Visibility Scores of Responsibility Frame**

<b>Responsibility Frame</b>	<b>Visibility of Frame</b>
<b>Governments could solve</b>	0.50
<b>Responsible Governments</b>	0.45
<b>Suggested Solutions</b>	0.25
<b>Responsible Individuals</b>	0.42
<b>Urgent action</b>	0.35
<b>Average</b>	0.39

**Table 4: Visibility Scores of Human Interest Frame**

<b>Human Interest Frame</b>	<b>Visibility of Frame</b>
<b>Human example</b>	0.33
<b>Personal adjectives</b>	0.45
<b>Effect on people</b>	0.45
<b>Visual information</b>	0.18
<b>Private lives</b>	0.3
<b>Average</b>	0.34

**Table 5: Visibility Scores of Conflict Frame**

<b>Conflict Frame</b>	<b>Visibility of Frame</b>
<b>Disagreement</b>	0.53
<b>Reproaching</b>	0.4
<b>Two or more sides</b>	0.23
<b>Winners/Losers</b>	0.12
<b>Average</b>	0.32

**Table 6: Visibility Scores of Morality Frame**

<b>Morality Frame</b>	<b>Visibility of Frame</b>
<b>Moral messages</b>	0.21
<b>Religious beliefs</b>	0.05
<b>Social recommendations</b>	0.10
<b>Average</b>	0.12

**Table 7: Visibility Scores of Economic Frame**

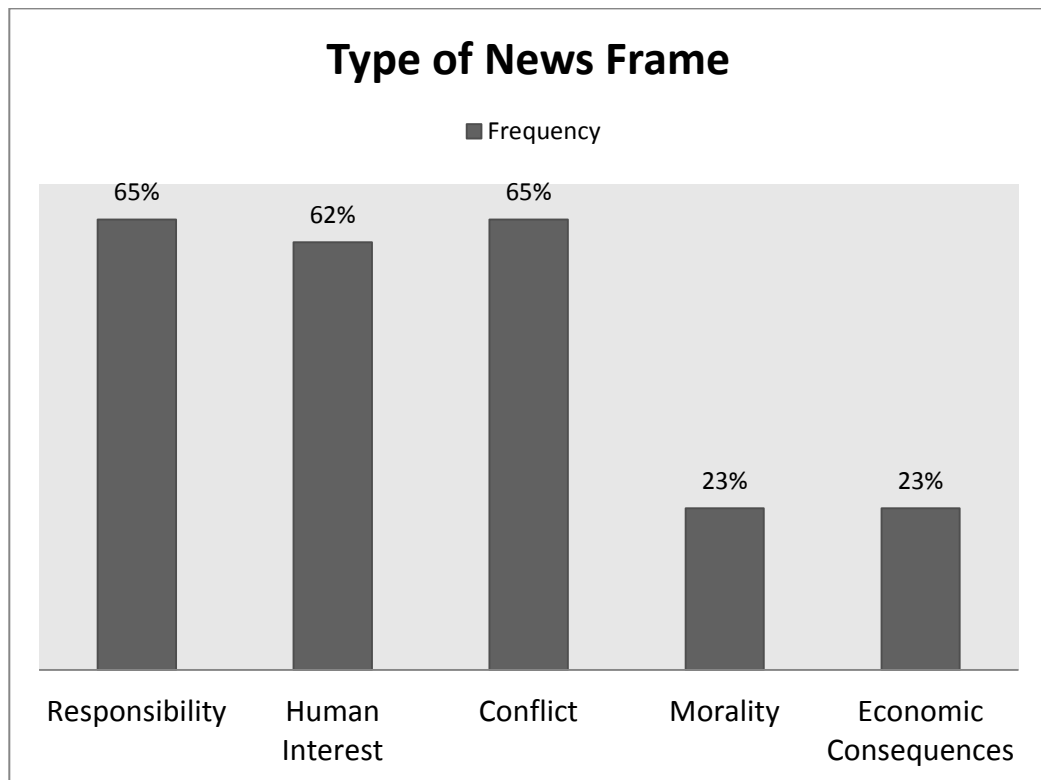
<b>Economic Consequences Frame</b>	<b>Visibility of Frame</b>
<b>Economic Consequences</b>	0.17
<b>Financial losses/gains</b>	0.17
<b>Costs</b>	0.18
<b>Average</b>	0.17

There is another method to discuss the frequency of the five news frames used for the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in global news. This could be achieved not by averaging the aspects of every frame, but by counting the percentage of news articles that have employed at least one aspect within the frame. In other words, if one aspect or more within the responsibility frame is existent in the news article, the article would be counted as using the responsibility frame. Hence, the number of aspects existent in each frame does not matter, but what matters is how many articles are using at least one frame aspect.

This second method indicated that the most frequent news frames used in framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers were the attribution of responsibility and the conflict frame, as each of them accounted for 65% of the whole sample of news articles, directly before human interest frame that is responsible for 62% of articles.

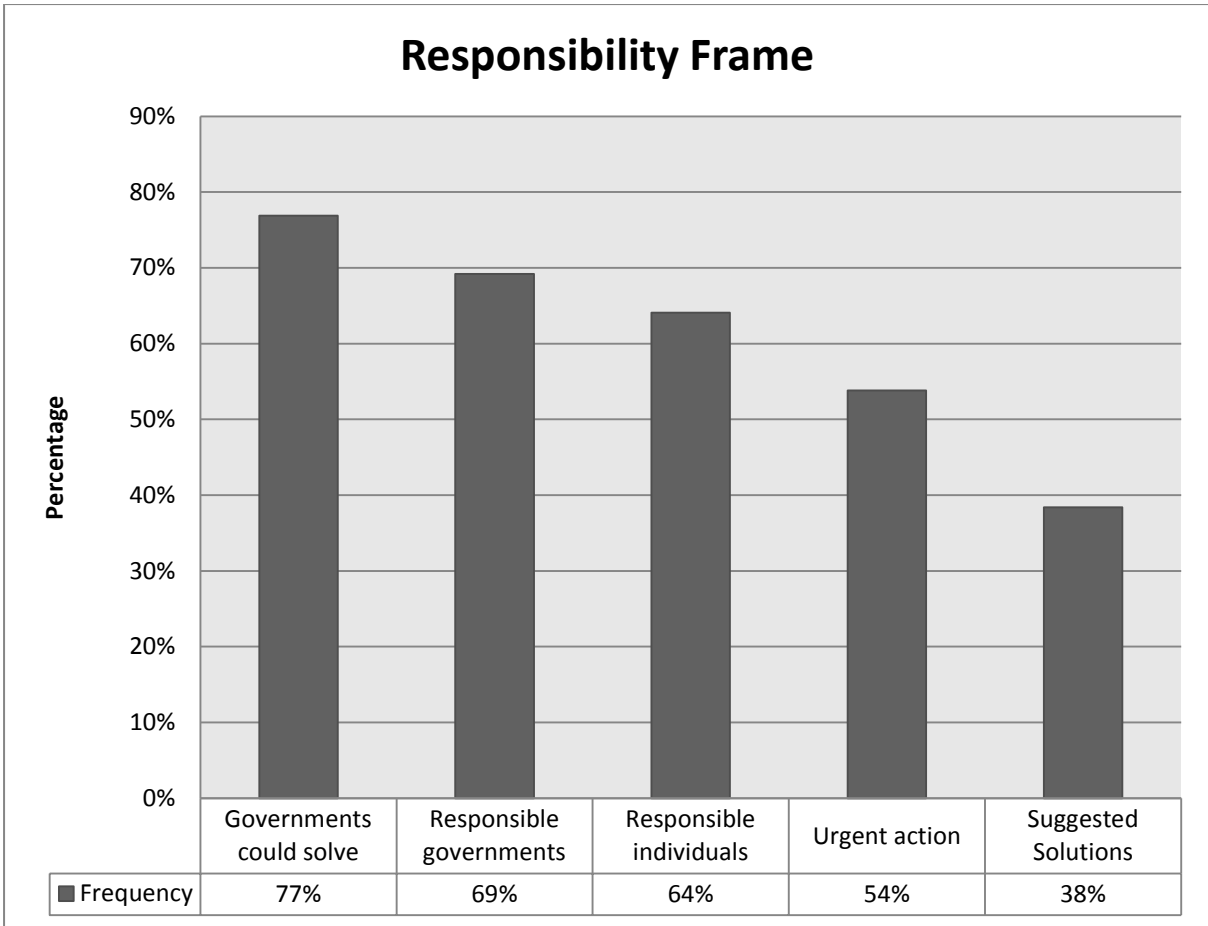
In contrast, the frames of morality and economic consequences were less existent than the rest of frames, as each of them was existent in only 23% of articles. This means that less than one-quarter of news articles about Arab refugees and asylum seekers included moral or economic aspects.

Around two-third of the news articles have either attributed the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers to one of the responsible entities such as the government, or emphasized the conflict between two parties, or by a less proportion, employed human faces and personal attributes that may stir feelings in describing the issue of refugees.



**Figure 1: Frequency of News Frames**

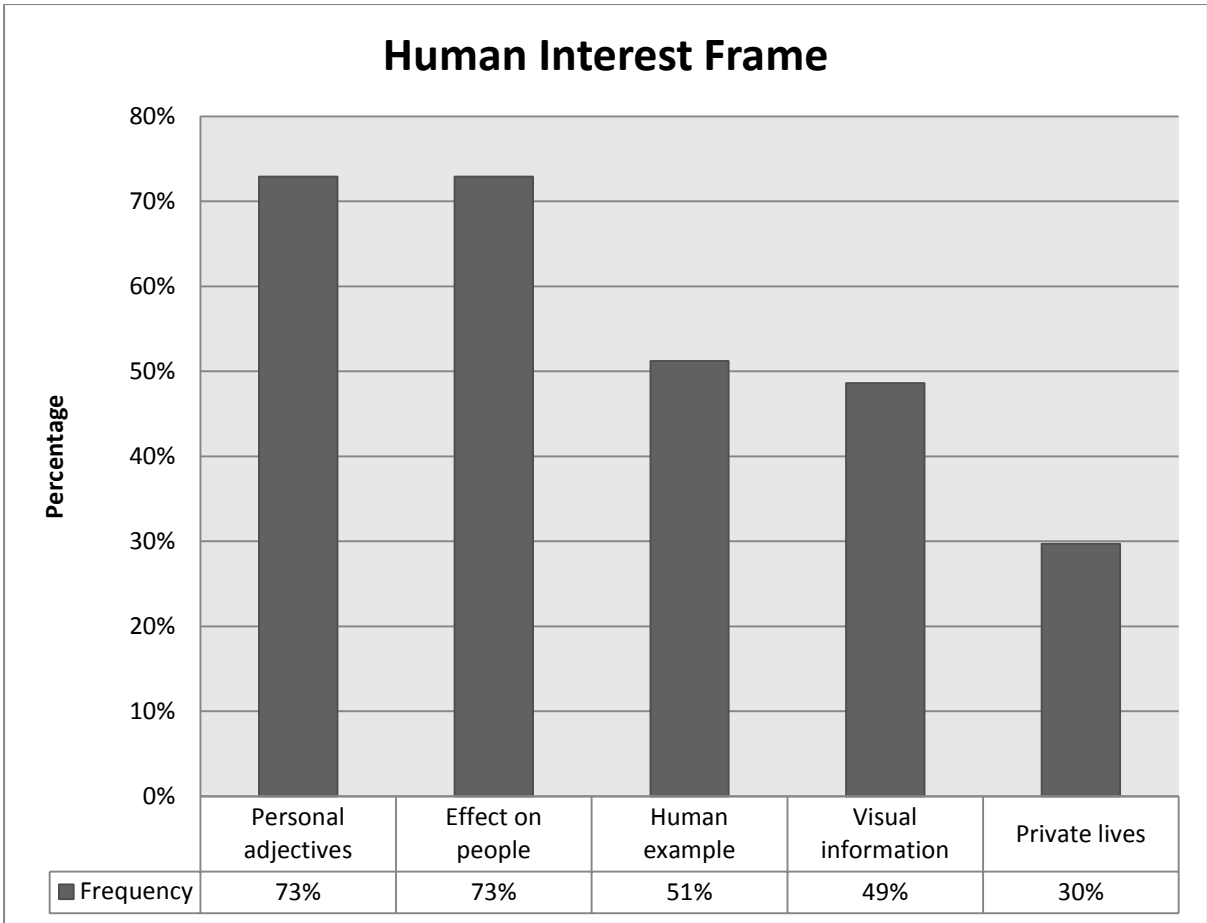
From both methods, it could be argued that the responsibility frame was the most salient frame in framing the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers, with a multi-item scale of 0.39 and a percentage of 65% in the whole sample of articles.



**Figure 2: Frequency of Responsibility Frame Aspects**

Out of the 65% of the news stories that employed the responsibility frame, the most salient aspect in this frame was the contention that some governmental levels could alleviate the problem of the Arab refugees and asylum seekers (77%).

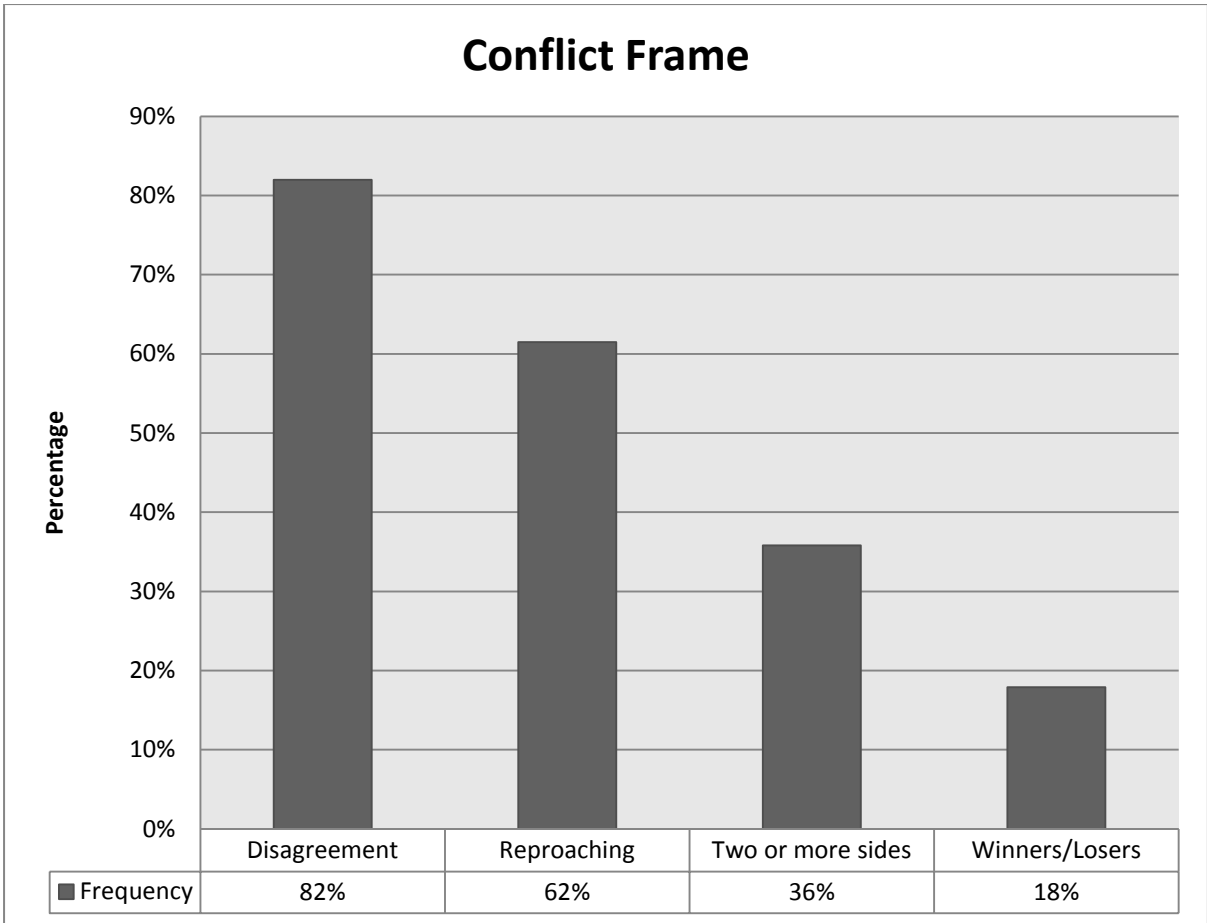
Within the attribution of responsibility frame, the second most common aspect was contending that the governments are responsible for the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers (69%), then the aspect that contend that particular individuals or some groups have caused the problem (64%). More than half of the articles that utilized the responsibility frame portrayed the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers as requiring urgent intervention; whereas only 38% presented suggestions and recommendations on how to solve this issue.



**Figure 3: Frequency of Human Interest Frame Aspects**

Within the 62% that represent the human interest frame, the most frequent aspects were utilizing personal adjectives that may cause emotional feelings such as sympathy or anger (73%), and presenting how people are affected by the problem (73%), followed by presenting a human example on the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers (51%).

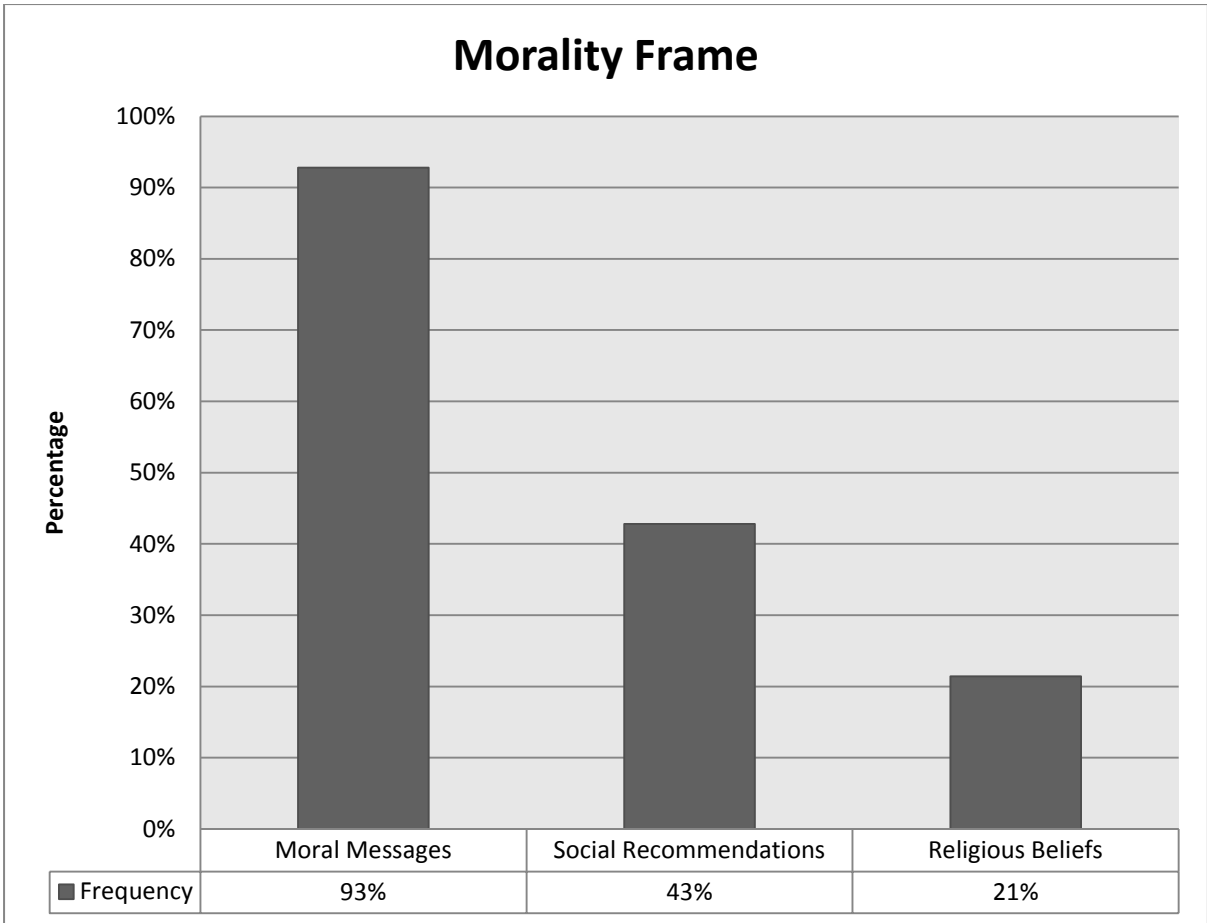
Around half of the articles entailed visual representations that may stir emotional feelings such as sympathy, caring, or anger towards Arab refugees and asylum seekers. The least common aspect within the human interest frame was presenting personal experiences or private accounts of Arab refugees or asylum seekers with only 30% within the frame of human interest.



**Figure 4: Frequency of Conflict Frame Aspects**

In the conflict frame, which is responsible for 65% of the sample of the news articles, the most common aspect was presenting a disagreement between two different parties or individuals (82%). In general, this aspect was the most visible (0.53) among all aspects in the five news frames used in framing Arab refugees and asylum seekers, followed by one aspect from responsibility frame, namely, the governmental ability to end the problem (0.50).

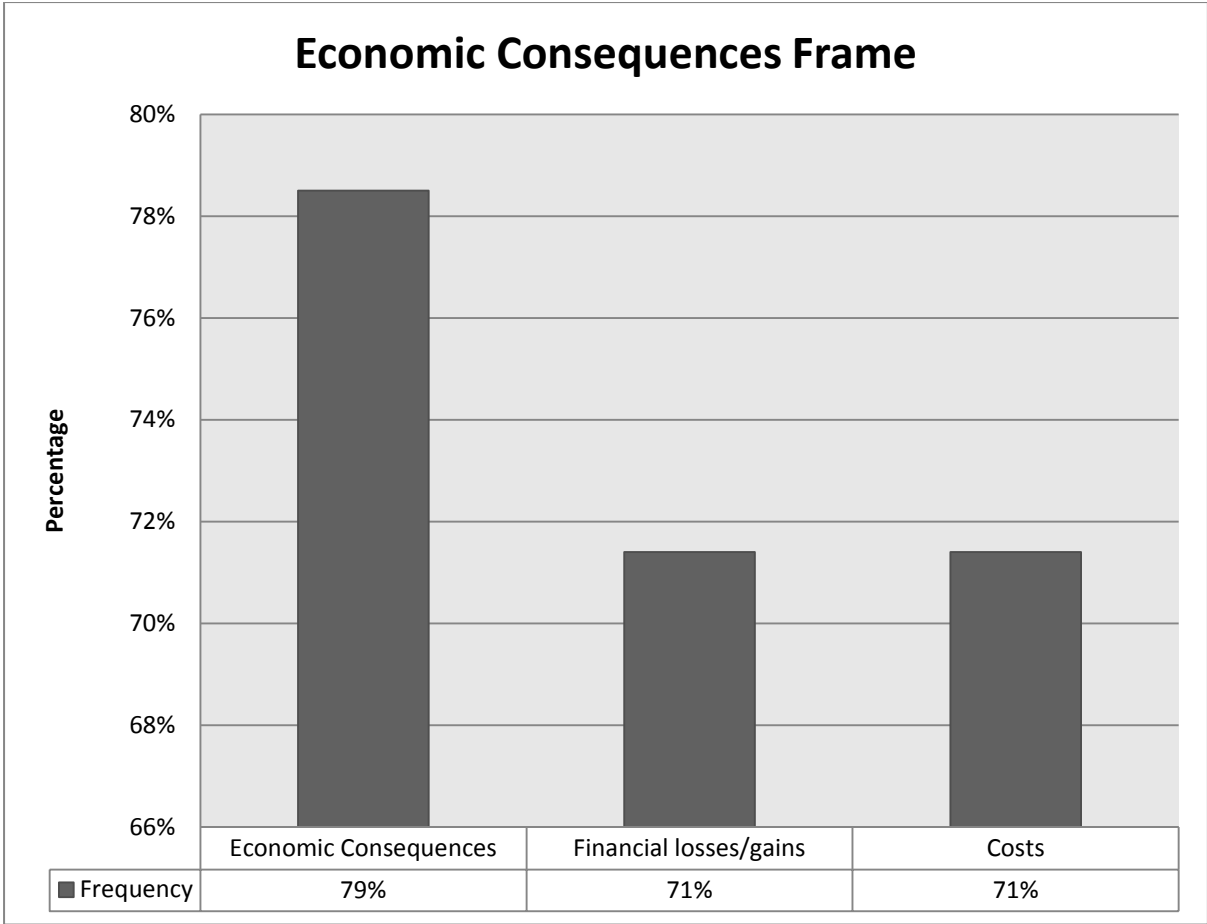
Among 62% of the articles that utilized the conflict frame in its coverage of the Arab refugees and asylum seekers, one party or individual was expressing disagreement and disappointment to another. In 36% of the news articles that employed conflict, two or more sides of the issue of the Arab refugees and asylum seekers were represented, while half of this percentage included references to either winners or losers as a result of the issue.



**Figure 5: Frequency of Morality Frame Aspects**

In the morality frame that is accounting for only 23% of the sample of the news articles, the most frequent aspect was the presence of moral messages regarding the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers (93%), followed by the suggestion of recommendations on social behaviors regarding the issue (43%).

The reference to religious beliefs was the least employed aspect between all aspects within the morality frame (21%). In general, the religious beliefs aspect was the least common among all the aspects within the five news frames used in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. This aspect is pertinent to the presence of references to moral principles and religious doctrines, such as God, and is existent in only 5% of the whole sample of the news articles analyzed in the study.



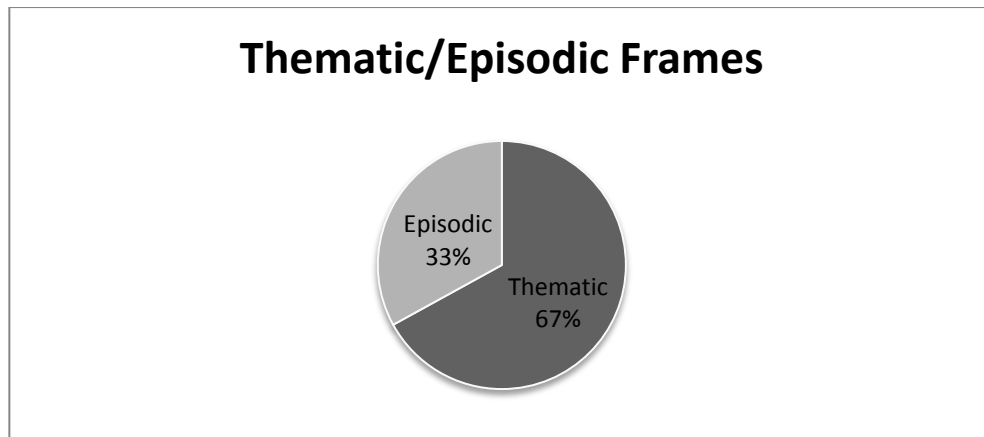
**Figure 6: Frequency of Economic Frame Aspects**

The economic frame, which is existent in only 23% of the sample of the news articles, the most frequent aspect was the discussion of economic consequences of taking a certain action regarding the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers (79%).

Tackling the losses or gains in financial terms in regard to the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers has accounted for 71% of the economic frame articles. Equally, the reference to the costs and expenses regarding the problem of the Arab refugees accounted for the same percentage.

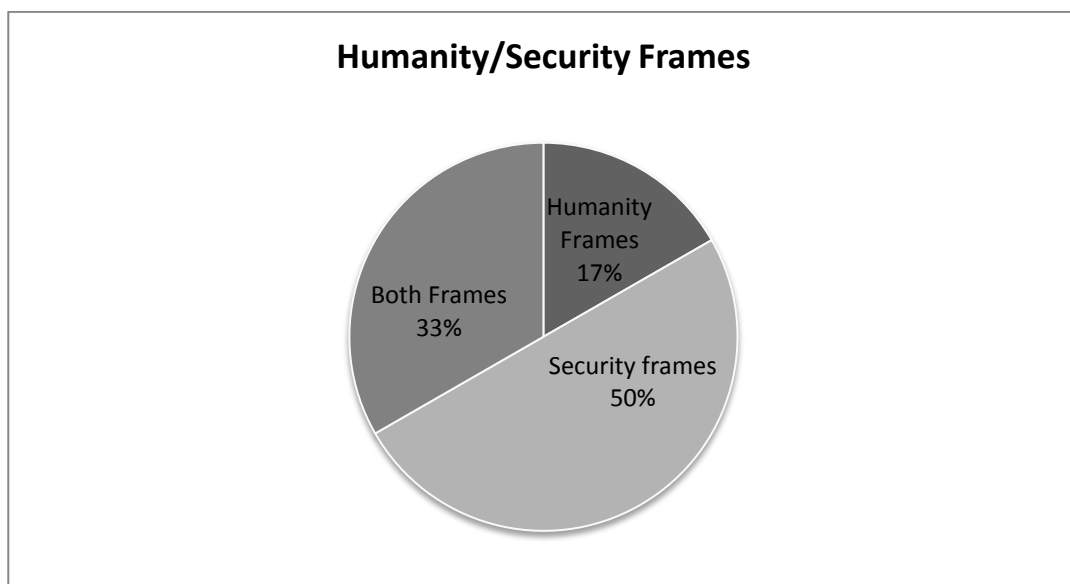
Overall, the most salient aspect in the five frames employed for Arab refugees and asylum seekers was found to be the disagreement aspect in conflict frame; while the least common aspect was the religious beliefs aspect in morality frame.





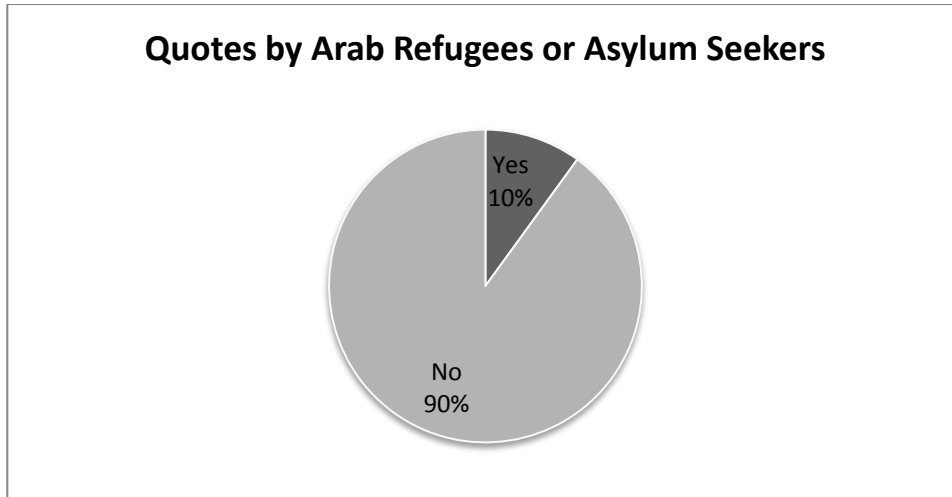
**Figure 7: Percentage of Thematic/Episodic Frames**

Two-third of the news articles used thematic frames in its coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. That is, the majority of the articles interpreted the issue in a broader context, or utilized different information to frame the issue as a theme, rather than focusing on specific events and certain incidents. Therefore, the lone research hypothesis predicting thematic frames to be more common than episodic was found supported.



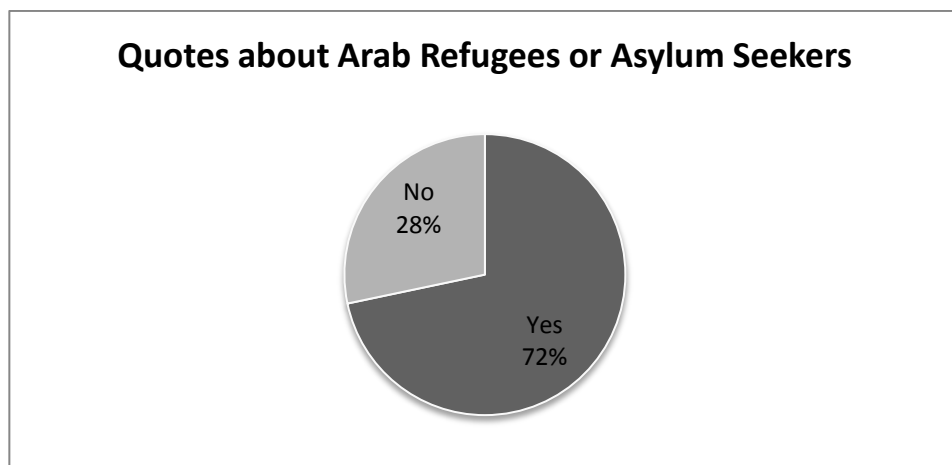
**Figure 8: Percentage of Humanity/Security Frames**

Half of the articles framed Arab refugees and asylum seekers in security frames solely (e.g. as dangerous or potential threats), while 17% of the articles used humanitarian frames (e.g. as victims), whereas one-third of the articles could be described as neutral as it employed both security and humanity frames.



**Figure 9: Presence of Quotes by Arab Refugees or Asylum Seekers**

Only one of each ten news articles about Arab refugees and asylum seekers had featured quotes said by Arab refugees or asylum seekers. Although its text entailed references or information pertinent to Arab refugees or their issue, 90% of the news articles did not include any quotes said by them; and either quoted other people or did not quote at all.

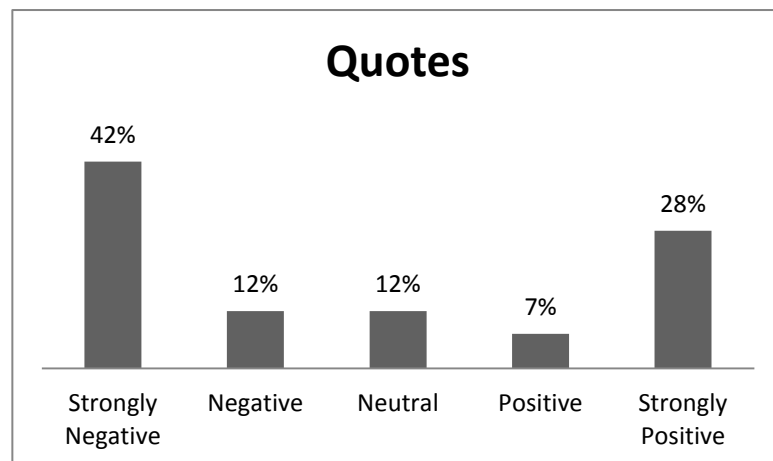


**Figure 10: Presence of Quotes about Arab Refugees or Asylum Seekers**

Around 72% of the news articles that constitute the sample have included quotes about Arab refugees or asylum seekers, whereas more than one-quarter of the news articles did not include any quotes about Arab refugees or asylum seekers at all. That is, these articles referred to Arab refugees or asylum seekers in the light of the content prepared by its journalists, without featuring any other portrayals on behalf of other sources.

Evaluating the portrayals of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the quotes within the news articles was conducted through a 5-point Likert scale in the coding sheet, giving a score that lies between 1 (strongly negative) and 5 (strongly positive) to each article featuring quotes about Arab refugee and asylum seekers.

Given that the median lies at 2 (negative), while the mean score for the portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the quotes indicates that news articles, on average (2.67), tend to include negative quotes about the Arab refugees or asylum seekers. However, the standard deviation for this mean has a sigma  $\sigma$  of 1.71, which means that the tendency towards negativity in the quotes could not be called consistent ( $M=2.67$ ,  $SD=1.71$ ).



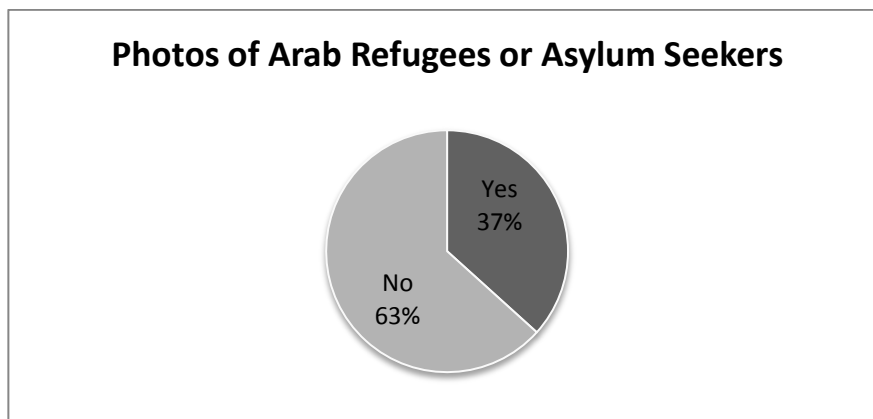
**Figure 11: Neutrality of Quotes about Arab Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

Statistically, 42% of the quotes included strongly negative portrayals of Arab refugees and asylum seekers, whereas 28% of the quotes framed them in strongly positive frames. This means the quotes were skewed between both extremes and did not cluster around the mean. It could be said, though, a tendency towards negativity (54%) surpasses the positive frames (35%), whereas the neutral quotes account for a smaller portion (12%) of the sample. That is, although the framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the quotes reflected a lot of variation, a tendency towards negativity could be spotted.

**Table 8: Statistical Properties of Quotes Neutrality**

Quotes	
<b>N</b>	43
<b>Mean</b>	2.67
<b>Median</b>	2
<b>Mode</b>	1
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	1.71
<b>Variance</b>	2.93
<b>Range</b>	4
<b>Sum</b>	115

Regarding photos, only 37% of the articles pertinent to Arab refugees and asylum seekers include at least one image featuring them. This means around two-thirds of the relevant news articles did not include any images of Arab refugees or asylum seekers.



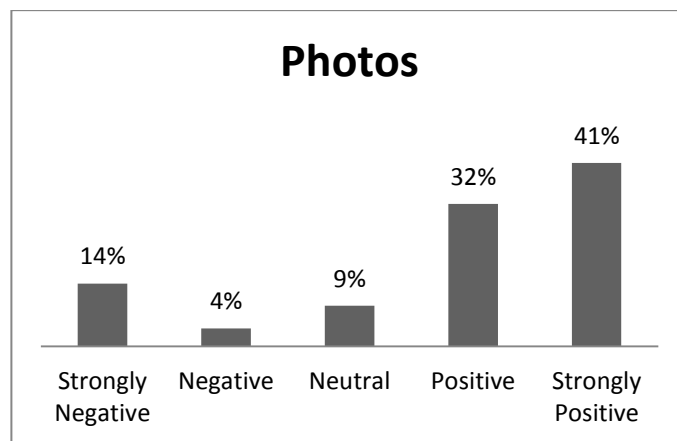
**Figure 12: Presence of Photos of Arab Refugees or Asylum Seekers**

In a similar manner to the evaluation of quotes, the portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the photos within the news articles was conducted through a 5-point Likert scale in the coding sheet, giving a score between 1 (strongly negative) and 5 (strongly positive) to each article that included photos of Arab refugee and asylum seekers.

**Table 9: Statistical Properties of Photos Neutrality**

Photos	
<b>N</b>	22
<b>Mean</b>	3.81
<b>Median</b>	4
<b>Mode</b>	5
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	1.4
<b>Variance</b>	1.9
<b>Range</b>	4
<b>Sum</b>	84

The median score of results is 4 (positive), and the mean score for the portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in photos indicates that news articles, on average (3.81), tend to entail positive photos of the Arab refugees or asylum seekers. Nonetheless, the standard deviation for this mean has a sigma  $\sigma$  equal to 1.4, which reflects that this tendency towards positivity in photos could not be described as consistent (M=3.81, SD=1.4).



**Figure 13: Neutrality of Photos of Arab Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

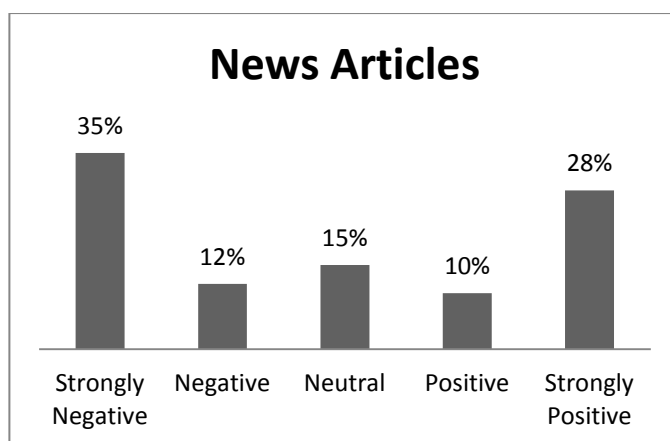
Statistically, a total of 73% of generally positive portrayals in photos was found in contrast to a total of 18% negative photos, and 9% neutral frames. Therefore, one significant trend could be existent, by which there is a positive framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the photos of the news articles of the sample.

Similar to quotes and photos, the general portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in each news article was measured on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly negative) to 5 (strongly positive) to evaluate the neutrality of news framing. The median score is 3 (neutral), and the mean score for the general portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in news articles indicates that the news articles, on average (2.85), tend to present neutral portrayals of the Arab refugees or asylum seekers.

**Table 10: Statistical Properties of Articles Neutrality**

<b>Articles</b>	
<b>N</b>	60
<b>Mean</b>	2.85
<b>Median</b>	3
<b>Mode</b>	1
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	1.66
<b>Variance</b>	2.77
<b>Range</b>	4
<b>Sum</b>	171

Despite the fact that the standard deviation has a sigma  $\sigma$  of 1.66, which reflects that the results do not cluster around the mean but entail variable responses between both extremes (M=2.85, SD=1.66), the median lies at 3 (neutral), which implies an existent tendency towards neutrality.



**Figure 14: Neutrality of Articles about Arab Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

Therefore, the content analysis of the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers indicated a tendency towards negative framing in the quotes, in contrast to a positive trend of framing Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the photos within the news articles. Nevertheless, the overall portrayal of the Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the news articles tended to be generally neutral.

### **B. Analysis and Discussion**

The attribution of responsibility frame, which was the most salient frame ( $M=0.39$ , 65%) included five aspects that were existent in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. Of which, the most common aspect was the contention that some levels of different governments could put an end to the crisis of the Arab refugees.

The reference to various governmental levels pinpointed European governments, not in terms of their ability to alleviate the whole refugee crisis, but of imposing certain measures to reduce the influx of refugees to their countries. For example, a report focused on the call by German President Joachim Gauck to the European governments to take in their share of refugees (Kottasova, 2016), where another report tackled the stronger border controls introduced by Sweden in response to the large number of arrivals (Shubert, 2016).

The governments being responsible for the Arab refugee crisis was another aspect that commonly appeared in the coverage. One reason for this attribution of responsibility was that these governments posed a threat to their citizens so they were obliged to flee. Case in point, Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad was hold responsible for "torturing and gassing his own people" (Melvin, 2016). Another reason for ascribing the responsibility of the crisis to certain governments was the open policy towards refugees that allowed outlaws to enter their countries. Examples include Turkish President Erdogan, who was blamed for hospitality to Syrian refugees that caused domestic instability (Watson, 2016), and German Chancellor Angela Merkel who took the blame of welcoming thousands of refugees from the Middle East, among which were those accused of Cologne attacks (Melvin & Botelho, 2016).

The third aspect of the attribution of responsibility frame, by which some groups are framed as the reason for the Arab refugee problem, became very common due to the amount of news stories that framed ISIS as the reason behind the large influx of refugees. For instance, the mass killings of Iraqi civilians by ISIS were framed as the horror that pushes Iraqi refugees out of their homelands to Europe (Shah & Hume, 2016). The necessity of taking an urgent course of action regarding those who flee terror was an example on the fourth aspect of responsibility frame, such as the urgency of immediate psychological assistance to Iraqi children who escaped from ISIS (Elbagir & Wilkinson, 2016).

The fifth aspect concerning resolutions of the Arab refugee crisis included different political, economic, and social initiatives. An end to the Syrian civil war through political transition was framed as a prerequisite for combating ISIS, where the extremism of the latter was said to be fueled by governmental corruption (Labott, 2016). Initiatives include the designation of a special fund for refugees from Iraq and Syria coming to the United States (Johns, 2016), the call for big companies to solve the humanitarian crisis (Ulukaya, 2016), and the medical assistance to keep a million refugees healthy (Senthilingam, 2016).



The human interest frame was not employed to influence only positive feelings towards refugees, but was utilized to stir anger and outrage as well, depending on the news story context. Having said this, the commonality of human interest frame ( $M=0.34$ , 62%) among the stories about Arab refugees and asylum seekers should not itself be considered as an advantage for a more humanitarian coverage. This is because human interest frame could be used to frame Arab refugees in security terms, as dangerous or as potential threats, stirring outrage and anger against them. In this case, human interest frame is said to be existent, but Arab refugees are still framed in security terms, rather than humanitarian frames.

On one side, positive emotions towards Arab refugees, such as sympathy and compassion, could be drawn from news stories that employ the five aspects of human interest frame, by showing how people are affected by the crisis, using personal adjectives, providing human examples, featuring visual representations, and presenting personal experiences.

Examples on positive frames include a story on the Yazidi children who escaped from ISIS after suffering a lot of pain and torture, 'like coming back to life' (Elbagir & Wilkinson, 2016). Another story interviewed the children who seek refuge in Northern Iraq after mass graves were found in Sinjar (Elbagir, 2016). Syrian war refugee girls were the theme of another story, in particular those who have been married off at a very young age with the hope of protecting themselves from the civil war, being described them as a 'lost generation' (Patterson, 2016). A fourth story featured the 'heartbroken' Syrian pen-seller whose image with his daughter in Beirut was spread online stirring a lot of compassion (Abdelaziz, 2016).

On the other side, negative emotional feelings, such as anger and disgust, were stirred particularly by the coverage of the aftermath of Cologne sexual assaults, which involved Middle Eastern asylum seekers on the New Year's Eve (Melvin & Botelho, 2016), and Istanbul suicide bombing by a registered Syrian refugee (Shubert & Melvin, 2016).

The conflict frame featured four different aspects, the most common of which was the disagreement between different entities or parties, followed by the aspect when one party reproach another, then featuring two or more sides of the issue, and making references to winners and losers. This frame was very frequent ( $M=0.34$ , 65%) due to the fact that January witnessed a debate between Democrats and Republicans in the United States concerning allowing the refugees from Syria and Iraq into the country. The Senate was considering a bill that could ban any refugee from these two Arab countries unless he is granted a certificate that he does not pose a threat to the United States, by security institutions, such as FBI.

News stories have featured the debate on the bill between Democrats, backed up by the White House and President Obama who was planning to veto the bill, and Republican lawmakers and Senate members (Barrett, 2016a), until the bill was blocked by the Senate (Barrett, 2016b). Similar debates about allowing refugees into Germany took place after the Cologne sex attacks and a series of robberies (Kottasova, 2016), and after the Istanbul suicide bombing committed by a Syrian refugee in Turkey (Shubert & Melvin, 2016).

Although the morality frame was found unsupported by the sample in an earlier study by d'Haenens & de Lange (2001) regarding the framing of asylum seekers in Dutch newspapers, the morality frame was found supported in this study ( $M=0.12$ , 23%), in application to the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in global news.

An example on the moral messages regarding the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers is when the German President emphasized the moral necessity of setting limits to the refugee influx in order to sustain the state existence (Kottasova, 2016). Religious principles were existent in the coverage of Yazidi refugees and their beliefs (Elbagir, 2016). Social prescriptions include a call by German Chancellor Angela Merkel for Arab refugees to integrate in the community (Melvin & Botelho, 2016).

The economic frame was existent ( $M=0.17$ , 23%) in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in relation to the consequences, losses and gains, expenses and costs. This came as no surprise as January witnessed the World Economic Forum in Davos, where the debate about refugee crisis and the affordability of Europe was going on (Thompson, 2016).

Arab refugees and asylum seekers were not solely framed as an economic burden on the countries they enter, but one report adopted another perspective. That is, the story addressed the potential economic gains of having refugees who may have skills unavailable in the labor market, and are more down to jobs that others may refuse (Ulukaya, 2016).

In regard to thematic/episodic frames, this study found that one third of the news articles employed episodic frames in its coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. Episodic frames in this sense tackle the issue by representing individual incidents, which may include human faces and tragedies, rather than thematic patterns concerned about broader issues, which may report on refugees as numbers and emphasize the impact of crisis on economy.

Examples on existent episodic frames include Nadia, the refugee teenager who escaped from ISIS to Germany (Ulukaya, 2016), Abdul Halim, the Syrian refugee who works as a pen-seller in Beirut (Abdelaziz, 2016), Abdulkarim, who escaped the Syrian war to Jordan (Senthilingam, 2016), and Nouri, the 11-year-old Iraqi refugee who was abducted by ISIS and got his leg broken by them intentionally when he refused to join their military trainings (Elbagir & Wilkinson, 2016).

Although this study is not concerned with framing effects, it is worth noting that thematic frames could stir less sympathy with victims than episodic frames, as argued by Houston, Chao, and Ragan (2008, p.217). Another concern with the thematic frames used for Arab refugees is that it could allow for negative generalization, by linking the Arab refugee crisis to other larger issues such as terrorism and outlawed activities.

For instance, when two Palestinian refugees were arrested in terror-related crimes in the United States (Shoichet & Berlinger, 2016), the reporters employed a thematic frame, rather than an episodic frame that would tackle the case as individual episode that must not be generalized on all of Arab refugees. The employed thematic frame posited the question of whether the United States should keep accepting refugees with Syrian ties.

On the contrary, episodic frames were used in the news reports to frame peaceful Arab refugees who fled the war. For example, when one of the guests of the State of the Union who will be seated with Michelle Obama was a Syrian refugee named Refaai Hamo, the frame used was an episodic frame (Malloy & Acosta, 2016).

Regarding the humanity/security frames used for reporting on Arab refugees and asylum seekers, the majority of the articles were found to frame them in security terms, rather than in humanitarian terms. Whether the news story was about the security measures taken in order to deal with the huge numbers of arrivals (Shubert, 2016), or a suggested bill that made its way to the Senate in order to limit the entry of Iraqi and Syrian refugees (Barrett, 2016a), the frames were mostly discussing the refugee crisis in security terms. Furthermore, the countries that welcomed Arab refugees, such as Turkey, were blamed for causing domestic instability that could extend to the rest of Europe (Watson, 2016).

Rather than using security terms, some news articles framed the refugee crisis in humanitarian terms, as a cause that needs the cooperation of the whole world. This was either by presenting humanitarian stories of refugees in an episodic frame as they flee war and mass killings, or even by praising countries that have presented substantial assistance to refugees. This was the topic of one news story that featured an online petition that is nominating Greece for Nobel Peace Prize for their role in welcoming people fleeing conflict in the Middle East and Africa and seeking refuge in Greece (Hume, 2016b).

Although around three-quarters of the articles pertinent to Arab refugees and asylum seekers included quotes about Arab refugees and asylum seekers, only 10% of these articles included quotes said by them. This percentage is lesser than expected, and was mainly existent in episodic frames, rather than thematic framing.

The quotes about Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the pertinent news articles were found as tending to contain negative portrayals. Examples on these negative frames include quoting one banner held by German protests after Cologne sexual harassments that read "*Rapefugees not welcome.*" (Hume, 2016a), and the announcement made by German Chancellor Angela Merkel afterwards "*I don't think these are single cases*" (Pearson, Botelho, & Schmid, 2016).

Although being absent in around two-thirds of the articles, the photos of Arab refugees tended to be positive. Examples on positive photos include a well-dressed Syrian asylum seeker in Denmark who carries his daughter on his shoulder, then another photo of her sleeping besides him inside a German train station near the Danish borders (Krever, 2016).

Overall, the general portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the news articles tends to be neutral, which is an important finding of this study, taking into consideration the series of negative events that involved Arab refugees or asylum seekers and took place in the time period of the study.

Finally, it is worth noting that the tendency towards the neutral coverage cannot be interpreted as the result of a high percentage of news articles being neutrally balanced, but rather as the aggregate result of a series of articles that frame Arab refugees and asylum seekers positively, on one hand, in response to another set of news stories that frame them negatively, on the other hand. That is, the balanced coverage is the pattern of the full sample of news stories as a whole, but neutrality cannot be spotted separately in most units.

## **Chapter VI: Conclusion**

### **A. Conclusion**

In conclusion, framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in news stories published on CNN were mostly achieved through employing the frame of the attribution of responsibility. This frame, which were found to be the most salient and frequent among the five types of news frames, was directly followed by conflict and human interest frame, where the morality and the economic frames were less frequent, although existent too. The most salient aspect within the five frames was a particular aspect under the conflict frame, by which a disagreement between two different parties or individuals was featured. The second most salient aspect was within the attribution of responsibility frame, by which some levels of the government were framed as able to resolve the problem of the Arab refugees.

The content analysis of news articles concluded that Arab refugees and asylum seekers were framed in thematic frames more than episodic ones, implying that the issue of Arab refugees and asylum seekers was most frequently framed in relation to broader issues, rather than focusing on individual accounts and personal experiences. Similarly, framing Arab refugees in security terms was more common than humanitarian frames. That is, Arab refugees were most commonly portrayed as potential threats, rather than victims.

There was a lack of voices and photos of the Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the coverage. The quotes by Arab refugees were much less frequent if compared to the total quantity of featured quotes about their issue. Accordingly, the portrayals of Arab refugees in the quotes tend to be negative. However, the featured photos of Arab refugees and asylum seekers presented more positive frames of them, despite its absence in around two-thirds of the articles. The overall portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers tended to be balanced.

## **B. Limitations**

The main limitation of this study is the time constraint, which has limited the sample of the study to a certain news network and the period of time to a sole month of articles. However, this limitation was treated by choosing a particular time period that may yield larger results, given the series of events that took place in relevance to Arab refugees and asylum seekers during January. Another limitation of the study was the lack of studies that discussed the framing of Arab refugees in CNN, whether during the current migration crisis or earlier crises, which could add other interesting hypotheses to this research. Nevertheless, the study benefited from the rich literature pertinent to the media framing of various nationalities of refugees in different countries of resettlement.

## **C. Future Recommendations**

Future framing research regarding Arab refugees could study the effect of news frames of Arab refugees and asylum seekers on the European audience or American news readers. It is also suggested to question the relationships between the stereotypic frames of Arabs and Muslims existent in global news, and the frames of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the same media outlet, with the aim of deciding whether the coverage is affected by stereotypes and journalistic routines.

Comparative framing studies may focus on the similarities and disparities between the news framing of Arab refugees and asylum seekers and their counterparts in the same country in the same period of time within the same news outlet. For example, conducting a comparative study on the news frames used for framing Arab refugees and those used for Central American refugees inside the United States, in a specific newspaper. Moreover, the news frames used for Arab refugees in a certain newspaper in comparison to other newspapers could be investigated as well.

## **Chapter VIII: Appendix**

### **Appendix A. Coding Sheet**

#### **Article Title**

#### **Article Date**

#### **Responsibility Frame**

1. Does the story suggest that some level of the government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
2. Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
3. Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
4. Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
5. Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

#### **Human Interest Frame**

6. Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?
7. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy or compassion?
8. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
9. Does the story hang on the private or personal lives of the actors?
10. Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy, or compassion?



### **Conflict Frame**

11. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
12. Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
13. Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
14. Does the story refer to winners and losers?

### **Morality Frame**

15. Does the story contain any moral message?
16. Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
17. Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

### **Economic Consequences Frame**

18. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
19. Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
20. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
  
21. Which type of episodic/thematic news frames was used in the article?
  - A) Episodic Frame
  - B) Thematic Frame
  
22. Which type of terms was used to frame Arab refugees in the article?
  - A) Humanity terms (e.g. as victims)
  - B) Security terms (e.g. as dangerous or potential threats)
  - C) Both of Humanity and Security terms

## Quotes

23. Is there any quote by Arab refugees or asylum seekers in the article?

A) Yes

B) No

24. Is there any quote about Arab refugees or asylum seekers in the article?

A) Yes

B) No (Skip to Q.26)

25. The portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the quotes was

1 Strongly Negative

2 Negative

3 Neutral

4 Positive

5 Strongly Positive

## Photos

26. Is there any photo of Arab refugees or asylum seekers in the article?

A) Yes

B) No (Skip to Q.28)

27. The portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers in the article photos was

1 Strongly Negative

2 Negative

3 Neutral

4 Positive

5 Strongly Positive

## **General Portrayal**

28. The general portrayal of Arab refugees and asylum seekers in the news article was

- 1 Strongly Negative
- 2 Negative
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Positive
- 5 Strongly Positive

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